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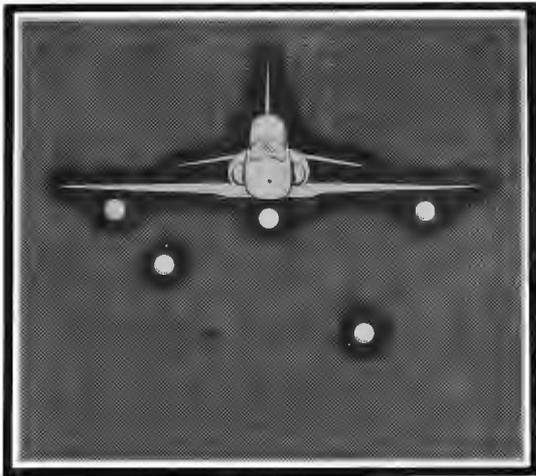
British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

TAPOL Bulletin No. 27

April 1978

NO WARPLANES FOR INDONESIA

A campaign to stop the recently announced sale of eight British Aerospace Hawk ground attack/trainers to the Indonesian government, and to impose an embargo on all future sales has been launched by TAPOL in collaboration with the British Campaign for an Independent East Timor and the Campaign Against the Arms Trade. This sale contradicts the British government's avowed concern for human rights considerations



in its approval of arms exports. In response to the campaign, on 18 April the International Committee of the Labour Party recommended to the Party's National Executive that representations be made to Dr. David Owen and the Defence Ministry, opposing the arms deal.

The sale, worth £25 million, was concluded on 4 April and includes training programs for pilots and engineers, as well as spare parts for the jets. In the press release announcing the transaction, British Aerospace described it as "an important break-through into the South East Asia market, which is one of great potential."

Because the Hawk is able to carry large quantities of weapons, including rockets, bombs and napalm, there are fears that the plane will be put to use in East Timor, where the Indonesian military has been unable to overcome the stiff resistance put up by the East Timorese people and Fretilin. The jets could alter the balance of power in this war of annexation and cause even larger casualties among the civilian population. 100,000 people, one-tenth of East Timor's population, are estimated to have been killed already.

As part of this campaign in opposition to the sale of the warplanes, thousands of leaflets have been printed and distributed. Last week TAPOL wrote to every constituency Labour Party Secretary in England, Scotland and Wales enclosing letters to be forwarded to all Labour Party branches. Readers who are members of the Labour Party are asked to phone the local constituency party secretary and remind him to forward these letters; to attend their next branch meeting and propose a resolution that the plane sale be stopped. If they are members of their GMC, readers are urged to attend and propose an emergency resolution. In addition, readers of the TAPOL bulletin are also urged to write to Prime Minister James Callaghan, Foreign Secretary Dr. David Owen and their Members of Parliament to express opposition to the sale.

This arms deal was concluded shortly after the Carter Administration announced in Washington that it had agreed to sell 12 F-5 fighters and 4-5F trainers to the Indonesians. The cost of the American jets will be \$120 million, and will be financed by credits supplied by the U.S. These two airplane shipments will significantly upgrade the fighting capacity of the Indonesian airforce.

'Tapol' is an Indonesian contraction for 'tahanan politik' meaning political prisoner. It is still widely used although it was banned in 1974 because the military authorities said that all prisoners are 'criminals'.

Repression of student dissent



Since the Army's crackdown on 21 January when seven Jakarta newspapers were closed *, all student councils banned and many students arrested, a number of strong-arm measures have been taken against the students. These have included the storming of university campuses, the violent dispersal of on-campus meetings, the occupation and closure of universities and mass arrests.

Despite fierce repression, the student movement has continued to organise protests against General Suharto's re-election as President. In this respect, it contrasts sharply with the student movement in 1973/74 which culminated in a protest against the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister. On that occasion, the crackdown of 15 January 1974 succeeded in completely silencing student protest. Another striking contrast appears to be the independence of this year's movement. In 1974, manipulation by one of the rival factions in the Army played a key role and no doubt explains why, when the supporting faction (that of General Sumitro) was decisively defeated, the student movement ran out of steam. This time, although dissident elements within the Armed Forces have spoken out at student meetings, their role would appear to be no more than supportive.

Student demonstrations continued throughout February and right up to 11 March when the People's Congress began its 12-day meeting which ended with the unopposed election of Suharto. On the opening day of the Congress, university and high-school students staged demonstrations in the capital. Feelings were running so high that the Government closed down all high schools (universities were already closed) in the capital for two weeks. For a description of the tense atmosphere in Jakarta during the session, we take the following from an article by David Jenkins in *Far Eastern Economic Review* (31 March):

Ever since the session began on March 11, Jakarta has resembled an armed camp. Soldiers with bamboo riot-sticks lounged at every major intersection in the city and armoured cars and troop carriers were parked in side streets ready for action. Helicopters scudded across the city, keeping a weather eye for trouble. Combat-ready troops were stationed at every 10 ft along the back perimeter of the Congress grounds. At the front there were guard dogs and anti-riot trucks.

* For a full report of the tight restrictions placed on these papers after resuming publication, please turn to the Special Supplement published with this Bulletin.

Numbers of arrests unknown

Because of tight restrictions on reporting student actions, it has not been possible to obtain accurate figures of the number of persons arrested, killed or injured. Arrests have certainly been widespread, and although many of those held have been released after a day or two, there are a large number of students still being held. The latest government figure is contained in a statement made on 31 March by Admiral Sudomo who is now Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces. He said that 50 students and 100 Moslem youths would be brought to trial for anti-government activities and that another 150 persons still under detention would soon be released.

Those under arrest include: *Lukman Hakim*, former chairman of the University of Indonesia Student Council; *Arief Rachman*, Assistant-Rector of IKIP-Jakarta (Pedagogical Institute); *Mahbub Djunaedi*, journalist and leading member of the Moslem party, PPP, *J.C. Princen*, chairman of the Human Rights Institute who, during a recent visit to Holland, met members of the Dutch Parliament's Foreign Affairs Commission and told them about the current situation in Indonesia.

The student 'white' book

On 16 January, the ITB Student Council published a *White Book* which sets down in great detail the criticisms being levelled against the Suharto Government. The document is described as being the result of thorough discussion between student representatives from a number of universities. The following is a very brief summary of the *White Book*:

No means exists for channelling people's feelings. Both Parliament and the People's Congress (totally unrepresentative) are required to conform to the wishes of the Executive.

Political parties have no real independence, nor are they permitted to function in the villages where the vast majority of people live.

In the economy, no attention is given to social justice, only to raising Gross National Production. Development is regionally distorted with the so-called *non-pribumi* gaining most benefits (a reference to the Chinese, indicating racialist overtones).

Pollution from foreign-financed industries is allowed unchecked and foreign agencies like the World Bank are relied on to heavily.

The two causes for all this are the National Leadership and the Development Strategy. In its comments about the National Leadership, the *White Book* draws a stark comparison between Suharto and Sukarno, Indonesia's first president.

More of the numbers game

Recently the Indonesian Government has been attempting to place beyond dispute the reliability of its official pronouncements about the number of political prisoners being held. Too many years of contradictory statements have somewhat tarnished its statistical credibility. During January and February the government used the columns of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* in an effort to set the record straight. Its spokesman, Jusuf Wanandi, stated (FEER January 20) that all pre-1974 figures were "inaccurate", but claimed that the KOPKAMTIB statistics were now correct. But only a week earlier, in the January 13 issue, David Jenkins had pointed to a discrepancy of 1,810 between a figure given to him in October 1977 by a KOPKAMTIB official (31,461) and that announced by Admiral Sudomo of the number of prisoners held before the December 1977 releases (29,651). Interestingly, even Jenkins had his numbers wrong. The figure that KOPKAMTIB has been providing is 29,791.

Sure enough, Jusuf Wanandi supplied an explanation for the discrepancy (FEER February 10). He explained that between May and November 1977 the Indonesian Government had in fact released 933 B category and 900 X category detainees. KOPKAMTIB was still trying to account for the other nine prisoners. Yet the complicated computation that Wanandi provided in his letter was still incorrect. The actual discrepancy should have been not nine but seventeen (29,808 minus 29,791). No wonder Jakarta's trouble-shooters have had so many problems with their figures. They cannot even add and subtract correctly.

If one were to accept this latest explanation, then the Indonesians actually released 11,833 (10,000 plus 933 plus 900) prisoners during 1977. Yet they only take credit for releasing 10,000. Surely this is not something that they would wish to hide. It makes Mr. Wanandi's "tidying up" exercise rather difficult to believe.

Wanandi also stated in his February 10 letter that "figures stated by the then Foreign Minister Adam Malik . . . were incorrect; the Minister was merely giving a quick off-the-cuff answer to a question . . ."

As another example of continuing inconsistencies, there is a discrepancy in the number of A category prisoners that the Indonesians claim to have tried. The January 1978 Department of Foreign Affairs document "Indonesian Government Policy in Dealing with the G-30-S/PKI Detainees" claims that 904 cases have been "adjudicated". However, two months later, in his speech before the Peoples Consultative Assembly, President Suharto stated that 894 prisoners had been tried. Surely no one would imply that the National Leader could be wrong! Or maybe he was speaking "off the cuff" as well.

All of this makes us think that if the gentlemen in Jakarta insist upon playing their fanciful numbers game, they will at least have to agree amongst themselves about the numbers they fabricate.



Major incidents of student protest

Space unfortunately prevents us from giving a full account of the incidents that have occurred since January. We list below only some of the highlights:

On 28 January, the Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) issued a call for a study-strike to press for the release of detained students and the repeal of the ban on student activities.

On 1 February, the study-strike began at ITB and other Bandung colleges, spreading soon afterwards to other places.

On 9 February, a meeting attended by 4,000 students at ITB was stormed and broken up by troops who then occupied the campus. After being tricked into appearing to be in favour of the Army's occupation, ITB's Rector, Professor Alisyahbana resigned on 16 February.

On 15 February, troops raided the campus of the University of Indonesia (Jakarta) as well as the campuses of the three other major State universities in Jogjakarta, Semarang and Surabaya. Student meetings were attacked by troops using rifle-butts or bayonets; there were many reports of casualties and arrests. An ITB student meeting was fired on, with one reported dead and 50 injured.

On 22 February, two University of Indonesia campuses were closed after reports of a planned march by high-school students to demonstrate unity with university students. Defence Minister General Panggabean spoke of "serious threats" from students and other groups and said that the Armed Forces "must maintain their vigilance".

On 25 February, a rally of 900 students took place at Gaja Mada

University, Jogjakarta. Anti-riot troops moved in; violent scuffles occurred after troops attacked students with rifle-butts and kicks. At least five students were injured and 55 arrested after a two-hour battle with troops, according to Education Minister General Syarif Thayeb. Classes were suspended till 6 March.

On 1 March, KOPKAMTIB Chief, Admiral Sudomo ordered a 'silent week' prior to the People's Congress Session.

On 3 March, University of Indonesia students staged a sit-in strike. They posted up hundreds of posters on outer walls. Troops tore the posters down and fired shots into the air as they forced students out of the campus.

On 9 March, troops converging on a highschool were met by a barrage of stones. Later troops entered a teachers training college and destroyed hundreds of anti-Suharto posters.

On 10 March, technical high school students put up anti-Suharto posters. When troops arrived to tear down the posters and occupy the compound, the students staged a street demonstration which was baton-charged by troops; at least 11 students were injured.

On 11 March, as the Congress session opened, Vice President Sultan Hamengku Bowono announced he would not stand again. Although he cited ill-health as the reason, he is believed to be very unhappy about the government's handling of the students. Demonstrations occurred in Jakarta streets; small groups of high-school and university students used hit-and-run tactics. Several clashes occurred with baton-charging troops. At least three injured students were seen being taken to hospital.

On 13 March, the Jakarta military commander issued an order to "shoot on the spot" anyone "indulging in rioting, looting or other disturbances".

Political prisoner release in Indonesia

The following article by Yudhu Lelana, who is currently living in Central Java, was written in February this year.

My friend! Do you know the dream of every prisoner? Of course you do! Get out . . . be free, mix with friends, brothers, sisters, with everyone. Perhaps with you the words "get out" don't make an impression. But for the prisoner and ex-prisoner, oh, how those sweet words stir the soul! They are just as sacred as the national anthem (Pramudya Ananta Toer, Blora, 1952).

The Government of Indonesia released 10,000 political prisoners on December 20, 1977. Ninety percent of them had been in jails and prison camps on Indonesia's outer islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, the Lesser Sunda Islands and Irian Jaya. Only a small portion of those held in the prisons in Java were released. Only two of the eighty-six political prisoners held in one county of Java were released, but 24 residents of that county were Asians were arrested and held in overflowing prisons and prison camps for political reasons. Some 500,000 of those prisoners were released in 1971-72. Probably the difference between the 20,000 political prisoners the government claims it is holding and the 45 to 90,000 estimated by groups like Amnesty International can be partially accounted for by differences in terminology and classification of prisoners. The use of terms seems to be quite flexible depending on the need or occasion. Some months ago President Suharto made a public statement that Indonesia had *no* political prisoners; what it has is criminals.

Living conditions in Indonesian prisons are harsh. The food provided is considerably below the standards of quality and quantity necessary to maintain reasonable health. The administration of prisons is frequently inept and often corrupt. It has by no means been a certainty that packages sent to the prisoners by their families get through. Even clothing provided for the prisoners by social service organisations has often been taken by prison staff and sold outside for personal profit. To prevent this some social organisations have resorted to having the clothing they wish to provide for the prisoners made to a very odd design so that the prison staff can hardly market them outside. Usually prisoners are provided with no bed of any kind, not even a bamboo mat. They have to sleep on the cold, damp masonry or dirt floor. Medical services are extremely limited. Nurses assigned to look after the inmates usually have no medicine to use. Prisoners suffering ailments like hernia or tuberculosis go for years without proper medical attention.

Perhaps it could be seen as an ameliorating fact that those still imprisoned and the more than half million who have been released are at least still alive. Estimates have it that an equal number were slaughtered in the aftermath of the '65 coup-attempt. Just as it is not known how many persons are yet in prison, so no one – not even the government – knows how many persons were killed in those post-coup days. There seem to be no records of the activities of the shabbily rigged local military "courts" who ran untold numbers of people through their machine and then took them out by the truck load to some lonely beach or rubber plantation to be shot to death and buried in mass graves. To force some air of legitimacy onto those gruesome affairs respectable citizens, frequently Chinese,

were forced to sit in. Ironically, those executions are now sometimes given as one of the reasons for delaying the release of remaining political prisoners. The logic has it that many innocent persons were put to death at that time and it was the leaders of the coup movement who escaped early execution and are now imprisoned. Were they to be released now the relatives of executed innocents would likely take revenge on them.

Harassment of ex-prisoners

In the decade and a quarter since the coup-attempt Indonesian society has been harangued by the zealous hunters of so-called remnants of the Indonesian Communist Party. Until very recently government regulation required anyone seeking employment to provide a letter from his/her village head or the police stating that the person had not been involved in the '65 coup-attempt. But even though the regulation has been rescinded, and the practice of requiring such letters continues both out of habit and out of fear. Many employers want to have nothing to do with anyone who has a questionable political record. At least three agencies of the government continue to make it their business to keep constant tabs on the nation's half million ex-political prisoners. Such persons can be summoned at any time on a day's notice to appear before the regional military command, justice department officials, the intelligence police or township authorities to be interviewed, lectured and questioned. These several government agencies apparently operate independently of each other because orders to appear sometimes come in close succession. Several of these agencies use detailed questionnaires to keep constant account of the political and social attitudes of the ex-prisoners. These tests also seem to have a sort of mind changing purpose; after so many times of trying to answer the questionnaires in the "right" way to avoid harassment supposedly the person will begin to be convinced of – or at least used to – that "right" way of thinking.

Aside from this constant surveillance, ex-prisoners receive other regular reminders of their suspect status. In the decade after the coup-attempt ex-prisoners were sometimes called away from their regular jobs and required to do forced labour emphematically termed *kerja bakti* (sacrificial labour) like sweeping the streets of the village. During the 1977 election campaign three-foot high red

During the 1977 election campaign three-foot high red crosses were painted on the fronts of the houses of ex-political prisoners in some areas so that their identity would be clear to all.

crosses were painted on the fronts of the houses of ex-political prisoners in some areas so that their identity would be clear to all. Ex-political prisoners in some areas were instructed to vote for the government party and required to cast their ballots in separate ballot boxes. One vote for another party found in the box set aside for ex-political prisoners could mean repercussions and harassment against all ex-prisoners in that precinct.

Prisoner resettlement

The international press criticizes the recent release of prisoners in Indonesia by saying that many of those released are just being transferred to resettlement areas on the outer islands, and that the resettlement areas are just a new kind of detention. In many respects



that criticism is true. Most of the recently released prisoners have been separated from their families for ten to twelve years. Some have had absolutely no contact with their families during this time. That there is little or no contact between prisoners occurs sometimes because the prison administration is often very poor. But it also occurs because people are afraid of repercussions they or the prisoners may experience if they make contact. Many wives remarried because they have no way of knowing if their husband is alive or they get tired of waiting. Many prisoners and their families have lost their houses, and other property has been taken over by military personnel. Getting anything back is highly unlikely. So many prisoners have no idea of what kind of reception they will receive when they are released. Can they expect real freedom from a society whose government has treated them as they have for so long? Will they be able to get a job? Likely not. Can they face the prejudices of the seven administrative layers and all the agencies of the everpresent government bureaucracy? Some ex-political prisoners try to deal with societies' prejudices by maintaining official residence in one county but actually living and working in another country where government officials and neighbours are not aware of their political background. This can work if a friend who lives at the person's official residence can be counted on to deliver the frequent summonses. But it is not hard to understand if some of those newly released prisoners might choose to live in resettlement camps where their neighbours will also be political suspects like themselves, instead of trying to reenter the mainstream of Indonesian society.

Perhaps upwards of 10,000 Indonesian families each year migrate from overcrowded Java and Bali to outer islands under the government's transmigration programme. There are also special transmigration settlements for retired military personnel. The resettlement areas for ex-political prisoners are physically not unlike the transmigration settlements. Each family is given a simple house and two hectares of land to live off of. But there the similarity ends. The transmigration areas for the general public are noted for their minimal government security apparatus. Resettlement areas for ex-political prisoners have tight security. Just how tight the sec-

urity in resettlement areas really is was perhaps indicated by a recent article in TEMPO, Indonesia's weekly newsmagazine. It reported that a prisoner by the name of Sukarmo had been living with his family in a prison camp on the island of Buru. They were informed that they would be among the 10,000 prisoners released

Resettlement areas for ex-political prisoners have tight security.

in December. But then Mr. Sukarmo was called and informed that the announcement that they would be released had been a mistake. Needless to say this news was an exceedingly cruel and tragic shock. When Mrs. Sukarmo heard it she fainted. But the point is that as TEMPO reports it, the place where this family is presently being detained is a resettlement area! Obviously there is no more freedom of movement in or out of this resettlement area than in any other place of imprisonment.

Whether the released prisoners go to the resettlement camps, or back to their old communities, one thing is tragically clear; the freedom they will experience upon release will be of a very compromised variety, hardly worthy of the name. The vision of "getting out" for Indonesian political prisoners has become badly tarnished. For unknown years to come they will continue to be summoned, watched, tested and harassed.



Congressional hearings

The United States Departments of State and Defence misled Congress in stating that a six-month embargo on arms sales to Indonesia had been imposed after the December 1975 invasion of East Timor. Testifying before the Congressional Subcommittee on International Organisations on February 15, 1978, Cornell University Professor Benedict Anderson revealed that during the period in question the United States made "at least four separate offers of military equipment" to the Indonesians. These war materials included \$1,260,641 of spare parts and servicing for OV-10 "Bronco" counterinsurgency aircraft which have been used exclusively in East Timor against Fretilin forces and Timorese civilians.

Under questioning by Subcommittee Chairman, Representative Donald Fraser, State Department spokesman Robert Oakley and Deputy Director of the Department of Defence Security Assistance Agency, Erich von Marbod, acknowledged that the arms transactions had in fact taken place and that they had only just been "discovered" by von Marbod. Oakley stated that neither the State nor Defence Departments had been "out to deceive" Congress, but one TAPOL observer speculated that the official admission of the weapons sales had been made because Anderson and others had found out about them.

This revelation contradicts a statement made on March 23, 1977 by Lt. Gen. Howard Fish, the former Director of the Defence Security Assistance Agency. He claimed that all processing of Indonesian arms requests had been suspended from the time of the Timor invasion until July 1976 because in using American weapons to attack East Timor, the Indonesians violated provisions of the Foreign Assistance Act and Foreign Military Sales Act which limit the use of American-supplied military equipment to internal security and self-defence.

On the day of the hearings the Defence Department also announced that it was offering to sell 12F-5 and 4F-5F jets to Indonesia. These fighter bombers are capable of being used for air-to-ground operations, and although it was stated that the planes were intended for defence purposes, Oakley could not "be categorical" that they would not be utilised in East Timor.

The February hearings marked the beginning of a Congressional review of the human rights situation in countries that will receive military assistance and sales credits during Fiscal Year 1979. It coincided with the release of the 1978 *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices* prepared by the State Department.

With respect to the political prisoner question, Mr. Oakley stated that there had been "very positive recent developments." He accepted the Indonesian Government claims that it had released 10,000 detainees in December 1977, and that less than 20,000 remained in prison. He also presented the Indonesian figure that 70 to 80 per cent of those released had returned to their homes. In addition, Oakley revealed that the Government of Indonesia and the International Committee of the Red Cross had reached agreement on the resumption of ICRC visits to Indonesian prisons.

In discussing the present political situation, Oakley mentioned the 1977 parliamentary elections, but failed to acknowledge any of the evidence of the harassment, intimidation and arrest of opposition party candidates and campaign workers. Moreover, he ignored the fact that 61 per cent of the representatives to the Peoples Consultative Assembly had been hand-picked by President Suharto. He also made light of the January crackdown on students and newspapers. Oakley stated that it was not a serious development that would "impose tighter long-term restrictions on political activities or freedom of the press." He did not see it as a blow to those groups in Indonesian society attempting to assert their democratic rights against an authoritarian government.

Professor Anderson's views clashed sharply with Oakley's. He stated that the published State Department report on Indonesia was "inaccurate, tendentious, evasive and shoddily researched." In particular he attacked it for referring to the Indonesian political system as "a form of democracy", when in fact all criticism of the government is prohibited, newspapers are banned for reporting student activities and more than 500 persons are being arrested annually for political offences. Anderson denounced the 1977 general election and stated that Indonesian democracy is limited "to the point of extinction."

Anderson characterised the Indonesian government as one whose power "rests on guns", guns which come overwhelmingly from the United States. He accused the American government of direct complicity in the massive violation of human rights in Indonesia, and particularly in East Timor. Because Indonesia "faces no credible external dangers", Anderson stated that there was "no decent justification" for continuing military assistance to the country. It could only be used to maintain in power "an extremely corrupt, dictatorial and aggressive military regime."

Cabinet changes

The 1978 session of the People's Congress re-elected General Suharto as President, and elected Adam Malik, former Foreign Minister as Vice-President.

The new cabinet announced after the session includes the following appointments:

Foreign Affairs: Mochtar Kusumaatmadja
Defence: General Mohamad Yusuf
Interior: General Amir Machmud
Information: General Ali Murtopo
Education: General Daud Yusaf
Armed Forces Commander: General Panggabean, who also heads the "Super Ministry" of Politics and Security.
Armed Forces Deputy Commander and Commander in Chief of KOPKAMTIB: Admiral Sudomo
KOPKAMTIB Chief-of-Staff: General Daryatmo

TAPOL Chronology

TAPOL has prepared for publication a chronology of political developments in Indonesia, covering 1976, 1977 and the first few months of 1978. It will be published on May 22-23 for the meeting in the Hague of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), and delegates attending that conference will receive copies as part of TAPOL's lobbying effort there. The chronology includes information on human rights, political prisoners, the 1977 general elections, the recent student problems and the March 1978 meeting of the Peoples Consultative Assembly (MPR). In addition, events in East Timor have been incorporated. Hereafter, this chronology will be published each year, and is available to interested readers. The price will be announced later.

Trials! Trials! Trials!

Reports have been received recently about a number of trials of A category tapols, held during the latter months of 1977.

C. Java: Life sentence

A sentence of life imprisonment has been passed against Argo Ismoyo who was Mayor of the Central Java town of Magelang until the Army crackdown against the leftwing in October 1965. He was found guilty of seeking to undermine the government and being involved in a revolt against the state. (Haagse Courant, 31 December 1977)

E. Java: 19 and 17 years for two tapols

Sentences of 19 years and 17 years were passed against a man and a woman, tried together before a civil court in Tulungagung, East Java. The man, Ir. Mudjani, and the woman, Mrs Kartini, were found guilty of subversive crimes said to have been committed prior to and following the so-called 30th September Movement in 1965. They were accused of becoming involved in an illegal movement by setting up a "trio" group. Their activities were said to have included preparations for guerilla actions, engaging in agit-prop work, contacting former PKI members and sympathisers, and helping to set up other "trio" groups.

The two accused were arrested in July 1968. The court specified that the sentence was passed with deduction of time served. They were also ordered to pay costs of the trial. (Kompas, 13 December 1977)

S. Sumatra: 10 years plus time served

A civil court in Palembang, South Sumatra passed a verdict of ten years against Darmansyah bin Abdul Hamid, 53 years old, formerly a member of the S. Sumatra Provincial Committee of the PKI. The court specified that the sentence should run from 22 August 1977, the day on which the prisoner's trial documents were formally handed to the public prosecutor's office. This was described as being based upon Circular No. 2, issued on 25 February 1977 by the Supreme Court specifying that sentences should not take account of time served in "non-judicial" detention (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 21, April 1977). The accused had been in detention since November 1965 and will thus have to serve a total of 22 years in prison.

Darmansyah was also deprived for life of his right to vote or be elected and to enter the Armed Forces. He was also ordered to pay costs.

Prior to October 1965, he had been a member of the Working Committee of the Provincial Government of S. Sumatra. He was found guilty of "seeking to undermine the authority of the lawful government and causing disruption and disturbances within society".

After consultation with his defence counsel, the sentenced man announced that he accepted the verdict but would appeal to the Head of State for clemency.

(Suara Karya, 30 December 1977)

Riau: Two trials under way

The trial of a tapol has been taking place before a civil court in Pekanbaru, Riau province. Johannes Sucipto, 54 years old, was accused of "involvement in the 30 September/PKI Movement" and was alleged to have been the chief of the PKI Special Bureau in Riau. He is also accused of having "continued to

promote clandestine political activities despite the defeat of the 30 September Movement" Other charges were that he had provided hiding places for PKI activities trying to escape arrest. He was arrested in Jakarta in 1967.

Prosecution demanded a life sentence, but reports of the final verdict are not available. (Indonesia Times, 30 November 1977)

Also in Pekanbaru, the civil court had been trying Wismar Marpaung, accused of engaging in subversion by hiding Riau PKI leaders. The witnesses who testified in this trial were persons who said they had hidden in the accused's home or been helped by him. One of the witnesses was Abdullah Alihany, formerly First Secretary of the Riau Provincial Committee of the PKI, who was sentenced to death by a Riau military tribunal in 1968. (Pelita, 15 November, 1977)

Former Sargeant-Major on trial

A former Sargeant-Major of the Indonesian Army is being tried, charged with being a member of the unit that tried to kidnap General Nasution on the night of 1st October, 1965. The trial is taking place before a military tribunal in Jogjakarta C. Java. The accused man, Sargeant-Major "J.L.T" is said to have gone into hiding after the 1965 events until his arrest in 1967.

The prosecution demanded a sentence of twenty years minus time already served. (Antara News Agency, 2 November 1977)

People's youth member to come for trial

A People's Youth member, named as Usup Sunarno, was due to be tried in Jakarta commencing 6 December 1977. He is said to have been in command of one of the teams which operated in Lubang Buaya where the headquarters of the 30 September Movement had been established. Usup Sunarno was not arrested until January, 1976. (Kompas, 25 November 1977)

ALI MURTOPO:

"NO TIME TO WASTE ON PRESS FREEDOM"

Within days of his appointment as Indonesia's new Minister of Information, General Ali Murtopo told a session of the Non-Aligned Countries Press Agency Pool Coordination Committee in Jakarta that Indonesia would not allow press freedom to interfere with stability. "Developing countries cannot afford the luxury of wasting too much time by allowing absolute press freedom to disintegrate into all kinds of excesses, of which the consequences cannot be foreseen." It could "in no way jeopardise the preservation of stability, without which no development can have a chance of success."

The Information Ministry is one of several portfolios that have passed from civilian to military hands in President Suharto's "Third Development Cabinet." Ali Murtopo has been a key figure in New Order politics. As the head of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies and the number two man in BAKIN, the intelligence Coordinating Body, he was deeply involved in the detention of political prisoners, the West Irian self-determination vote of 1969 and the 1975 invasion of East Timor.

Letter from Buru

To all friends in the world who wish to restore our human rights:

Dear Friends,

First of all, your unrelenting efforts on our behalf and your sympathy with us shielded us from physical liquidation — a process systematically carried out between 1965 and 1968 by means of firearms and starvation.

From 1968 onwards they have used a different method against us in order to achieve their aim: Systematic brainwashing accompanied by coercion to grow our own food. This at the same time has enabled the functionaries in charge to enrich themselves. It is solely due to your sympathy and your activities, solely because friendly voices have been loudly raised in the world, voices which appeal to the history of human dignity, that our fate has been shifted from physical liquidation to a situation of slavery similar to the time when Pharaohs ruled.

Disconcerted by your demands, my good friends, they have gradually exiled us to the northern island of Buru, or to be exact, to the plain through which the Way Apo is flowing, an infertile savannah. Your friendly voices still sounded in our ears while, to the delight of the authorities we opened roads, cleared forests, reclaimed virgin land and transformed it into *sawah* and *ladang* (wet and dry fields). Your voices and your actions have in the course of the past twelve years, made us feel that we do not stand alone. We know that the torch of humanity held high by your friendly hand is still illuminating this part of the human world.

Friends, your efforts are not in vain. Through the past twelve years many, too many, of us have succumbed. We, those who remain, are still standing upright. As people of culture, endowed with human civilization, we have not collapsed as misfits. We still feel like men among mankind. We are still aware of being humans in a human world. It is this feeling which makes us survive and which enables us to continue our lives. Twelve years of life, still experienced as a luxury despite injustice and maltreatment, have steadily strengthened our consciousness that your unrelenting efforts on our behalf are providing a sound basis for world brotherhood, international peace, mutual understanding and a still higher state of civilization for mankind. After all these long years we are convinced that it is not necessary for anyone anywhere in this world, under whatever regime to suffer what we have had to suffer.

The people of Indonesia, who in their historical development have not gone through a "bourgeois period", have as a consequence been compelled to do without many human values. Therefore, they need a lot of enlightenment from many parts of the world. Praise be to the great humanist from the Netherlands, Multatuli, who said: "The vocation of man is to be human."

The angel's mask on the devil's face and the angel's garb which hides his being is a disgusting sight at a time when mankind is being confronted with more and more urgent problems which threaten its existence. Mutual understanding, friendship and international co-operation are the only way leading towards peace and welfare for man and his world. Compulsion and exclusive reliance on power have for too long played their role. The world yearns for a new song, for music more beautiful than all classics together.

Oh, we want to live as befits human beings, simply, with normal rights and duties. We are not professional play-actors, nor are we dilettantes. We are ordinary people without any aspiration to subject to that world and our fellow men, but also unwilling to be subjected to that world by our equals. Possibly one will view this very simple desire as a sin. If this be so, we are prepared to stay and live in that sin.

Noble friends,

We do not wish at all that those who have made us suffer this fate for such a long time will have to undergo the same. We here all yearn only for a better world. We put forth our strength to achieve this. We struggle for it.

In the past year those who were 16 years old became 27, those who were grown-ups have become old people, and yet one more menace is confronting us ever more visibly: Koch's illness, tuberculosis (5%), hernia, liver diseases, unsteady blood pressure, kidney stones. Our companions in adversity have had to combat filariasis, malaria and hookworm. And then, there is the rotting of our teeth. Notwithstanding and in full awareness of all this, our respect for you, our Friends, is great indeed, as is also our gratitude for all that you are doing on our behalf. We still stand upright. We have not collapsed.

One last word: Accept this handshake from us. All of you, good friends, noble and beloved friends, live forever in our hearts, in our history, in the history of the land and people of Indonesia, in the history of human dignity.

Goodbye!

(Received in December 1977)

*One hundred thousand political prisoners
held for more than ten years without trial*

More Than a Million Years

A film which portrays for the first time the true facts of political imprisonment in Indonesia. Narrated by Albert Finney. Have you seen it yet? If not, contact your local or national Amnesty Section. If there is no copy in your country, write to the German Section of Amnesty International for information on how to get one.

Address: Venusbergweg 48, 5300 Bonn, Germany'

Tapol campaigns for the release of Indonesian political prisoners and is a humanitarian organisation. It is not associated with any political groups, either in Indonesia or abroad, and is supported by individuals and organisations of many shades of opinion.

— NOTES TO READERS —

To cover increasing costs and our expansion plans, we have decided to raise the subscription rates for the Bulletin. This will only affect the rate in sterling; our dollar subscription rate has been maintained at an earlier exchange rate for the two currencies and will not be changed.

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SPECIAL SUPPLEMENT

TAPOL

British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

Bulletin No. 27

April 1978

To the 1978 Annual Delegate Meeting of the NUJ

For most British and Irish journalists, I'd say, Indonesia is just a far-off collection of islands scattered between Australia and the Asian mainland about which we know little and care less.

That's a short-sighted attitude. Indonesia is a growing economic and military power in the region with dubious expansionist ambitions. Now that's not strictly the business of the NUJ but hand in hand with the rightward political drift since the military takeover in 1965 has been a cruel repression of journalists and a remorseless suppression of newspapers and free press comment. And that ought to be the concern of every NUJ member.

Press freedom is indivisible. If the idea that journalists should be compliant tools of government gains currency think how happy some of our home-grown politicians will be.

This detailed report from TAPOL shows that Indonesia has to be placed high in the first division of countries where free reporting has vanished and journalists are under physical threat. It is a grimly unemotional account of the various ways journalists are repressed from the murder of an Australian television crew in East Timor to the absurdities of the black paint experts who black out unkind references to the wonderful Indonesian government in foreign magazines.

I hope that NUJ members who read TAPOL's account will remember its details when they are next called on to report or sub material from the country, particularly those at the big national newspapers and broadcasting branches.

And there is much that all branches and members can do. They can protest to the Indonesian Embassy in London or to President Suharto. They can support the work of TAPOL and Amnesty International. They can adopt imprisoned Indonesian journalists. Often constant pressure about a named journalist can have the effect of securing his release or ameliorating his conditions.

Of course complaints from NUJ branches will not overthrow the military dictatorship in Indonesia nor ensure the return of a free press. But they will serve to remind Indonesia's rulers that among members of the world's biggest union of journalists, the treatment of Indonesian journalists is neither forgiven nor forgotten.

Denis MacShane.

Vice-President National Union of Journalists.

“The Freest Press in Southeast Asia”

Since the military took power in Indonesia in October 1965, there has been precious little press freedom in the country; On a number of occasions, newspapers have been banned while journalists have at all times been subjected to close scrutiny and supervision by the military authorities. As with all other forms of repression, control over the press is exercised by the Army through the all-powerful Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB).

From time to time, newspapers independent of government or Army proprietorship have tried and, within limits, succeeded in publishing news and comments that reflect criticism, exposing corruption or revealing economic or social conditions that challenge the government's claim to be pursuing a policy of economic development designed to serve the broad masses of the people. But inevitably, as editors have displayed more courage, the axe has fallen. Warnings and threats followed by suspensions or bans have left the press more severely shackled and with the actual number of publications significantly depleted.

The most recent of these clampdowns occurred in January this year when the military closed down seven major non-government and non-military Jakarta dailies as part of its crackdown on political dissent. After two weeks, the papers were allowed to re-appear but only after their editors had accepted strict government guidelines on what could be published. These restrictions together with the close supervision exercised over foreign journalists working in Jakarta have effectively blacked out news of the widespread unrest that preceded and accompanied the March session of the People's Assembly and the unopposed re-election of General Suharto as President.

Press bans since October 1965

The most drastic curtailment of press freedom came in October 1965 immediately after the Army seized power. At the same time as they outlawed Indonesia's three-million strong Communist Party and a host of leftwing organisations with an estimated combined membership of some 15 million, the entire leftwing press was banned and has never been allowed to re-emerge. Altogether 31 newspapers, national and local, were closed down. These included the Communist Party's *Harian Rakyat* which had the third largest circulation in the country. The largest circulation paper, *Suluh Indonesia* which belonged to the Nationalist Party was closed down, its staff severely purged, and replaced several weeks later by *Sulah Marhaen* a paper which was later to be banned too. The 1965 military takeover also led to a massive purge of the national news agency, *Antara*, and many of its staff were arrested and have been in detention without trial ever since. Many journalists on the central committee of the Indonesian Journalist Association (*Persatuan Wartawan Indonesia*) were arrested and the Association, under a completely purged leadership, fell into line with the military crackdown on the left by excluding 304 of its members.

During the horrendous months from October 1965 to March 1966 when massacres swept the Indonesian countryside, leaving a toll of at least half a million dead (some estimates more than double that figure), the severely mutilated press played a shameful role. Sensational reports of alleged sexual orgies by members of the now-banned leftwing organisations were published and helped create an atmosphere in which killing 'infidels, atheists and heathens' was seen in some regions as a patriotic duty. Newspapers also carried libelous reports about many individuals who had no way of answering these charges publicly.

In November, 1966, a Basic Law on the Press was enacted which, while giving lip service to the principle of press freedom, stipulates that "any publication which is contrary to Panca Sila* and which is inspired by Communist, Marxist and Leninist ideologies shall have no right to appear" and that "the Government shall have the right to ban from circulation any foreign publication that would harm the Indonesian society, State and Revolution."

For several years, what remained of the Indonesian press operated under a whole series of restraints with little in the way of dissent to cause the authorities to act further. Then in 1971, three more papers that had emerged after the military takeover and which were regarded as being supportive of the former president, Sukarno, whom the military had deposed, were banned. The next major clampdown occurred in January 1974 when eleven publications were banned in the wake of the large demonstration of students held to protest against the visit of Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka. During the preceding months these publications had gradually increased their coverage of news about the upsurge in student protest that had preceded the demonstration; broadly speaking, they reflected Moslem or liberal views. None of them has since been allowed to re-appear. The best-known was *Indonesia Raya*, a paper that had been banned under Sukarno too, whose editor, Mochtar Lubis spent nine years in detention without trial before the military takeover and who won the Magsaysay Award for courageous journalism.

The most recent crackdown has also occurred as a result of growing criticism and dissent which once again gradually obtained substantial coverage in certain dailies. The protest dates back to the general election of May 1977 and the campaigning which preceded it during which widespread intimidation and fraud ensured the military-backed party, GOLKAR, an overwhelming majority. Critics have also attacked top-level corruption particularly by the President's wife and other members of his family, and have sought to expose appalling impoverishment and food shortages in the countryside. As part of this movement, calls were made for a second candidate to be nominated to run against Sukarto's re-election. Some newspapers opened their columns to reports about this movement although they took care not to criticise the government editorially.

Soon after students at the Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) issued a White Book on 16 January totally rejecting Suharto's re-election, the military moved not only against the student movement which had already spread to many universities throughout the country but also against the press. The seven newspapers banned included the two most widely-read dailies *Kompas*

(circulation: 270,000) and *Sinar Harapan* (circulation: 150,000). The papers were accused of having "exaggerated" the student movement and of having "sharpened tensions". Two weeks later the papers were permitted to re-appear but not until they had signed statements dictated by the government pledging "to recognise their responsibility for the protection of national stability, security and order" and undertaking "not to slander or humiliate the National Leadership or members of his family". The latter quite specifically aims at protecting Suharto and his family who have amassed huge fortunes in the past few years. Moreover, editors were required to refrain from reporting on student activities and not to publish any statements made by a number of persons including the distinguished lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, Indonesia's leading playwright W.S. Rendra and several retired generals.

The new restrictions that have been imposed which also apply to all other publications represent yet another setback for those people who have been attempting to assert their democratic rights and insist on the rule of law in the face of military authoritarianism. A *Sinar Harapan* journalist told David Jenkins of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (10 February) that

things will not be the same again. There will obviously be a gap between what our readers hope and expect and the kind of *Sinar Harapan* that reaches them.

As if in confirmation of this, Jenkins also quoted a senior government official in charge of press affairs as saying:

We intend to do a thorough job this time. We intend to lay down some very clear rules of the game. It was never clear after the (January 1974) event what academic freedom and press freedom actually meant. This will now be done. There is no way this sort of situation will be allowed to recur every few years.

The effectiveness of the controls that have now been imposed is shown by the suspension on 13 February of a newspaper in the Central Java town of Jogjakarta. The suspension order came from the local military command because the paper, *Masakini* had published an item reporting Bandung students' protest against the occupation of their campus by troops on 9 February.

Forms of Press Control

The methods used by the military to exert control over the press cover a wide range of formal and informal restraints.

Licences All publications have for years been required to obtain two permits: one is a Publishing Licence issued by the Ministry of Information and provided for in the 1966 Basic Press Law, and the other is a Printing Licence issued by KOPKAMTIB. In 1977, KOPKAMTIB announced that Printing Licences would no longer be required, suggesting that the Army was relinquishing its role in the control of the press. Few people believed then that this would lead to any change although the Journalists Association tried to get some mileage out of the announcement by suggesting that the authorities might as well repeal the law about Publishing Licences too if they did really intend to loosen things up. In the event, regardless of any changes about Printing Licences, it

was KOPKAMTIB that acted in January this year, and KOPKAMTIB that has laid down the "rules of the game" referred to above.

Press Briefings On matters of national importance, KOPKAMTIB holds 'briefings' with journalists indicating the ways in which events should be reported. Although such briefings have no legal force, their intimidatory effect is obvious. When, for instance, *Merdeka* a leading nationalist daily (and one of those banned in January) stepped out of line in January 1976 by criticising the government over its policy towards East Timor (not, mind you, opposing the invasion but simply criticising the Foreign Minister for having failed to secure international support for this act of aggression), it was sharply reprimanded and required to retract publicly or face the consequences of a ban. KOPKAMTIB 'briefings' are clearly responsible for the uniformity of press reports about the political trials that take place from time to time. Editors are frequently summoned by KOPKAMTIB and reprimanded for their reportage of an event or for their failure to publish a government statement.

Intimidation of Reporters This practice is common, especially in the regions where local officials may be upset by revelations in the press. Many incidents occur where reporters are held and questioned by local military units, and even beaten up in order to get the message home. The most recent example to come to light is the case of two reporters who visited a village in East Java after hearing that it had been seriously affected by food shortage. The two men, reporters of *Suara Indonesia* (Surabaya) were arrested for "having entered a closed region" and were warned that to report that villagers were eating cattle fodder was "improper and humiliating" (*Tempo*, 31 December, 1977). In another instance, reflecting the other side of the same coin, a village chief in West Java was dismissed for discussing the food situation with a journalist.

Blacklists KOPKAMTIB is known to have warned newspapers against employing certain journalists at the risk of losing their licences. No journalist who worked for the papers that were banned in October 1965 has been able to return to the profession, and journalists who worked for the papers banned in January 1974 are known to have been blacklisted.

Financial Pressures These are exerted in a number of ways. Discrimination is practised in the placing of government advertisements, which accounts for a sizeable portion of total advertising in view of the predominant role of the State sector. Government office subscriptions also play an important part in keeping some local papers in business and preventing others from sustaining themselves. As Benedict Anderson, professor at Cornell University stated in testimony before a U.S. Congressional Subcommittee considering human rights in Indonesia in May 1976:

It must be remembered that few newspapers in Indonesia are financially secure. Editors have to worry about the future of their staffs in a society where unemployment is severe. Suspension of publication even for a short time, as well as withdrawal of advertising, can have ruinous effects.

Against this background, it is not difficult to understand why the seven papers banned in January 1978 succumbed so quickly to military pressures and

accepted such sweeping restrictions on their freedom. *Kompas* for instance employs a staff of no less than 500 people.

* * * * *

The Indonesian press has now been placed under the most stringent form of press control ever imposed in Indonesia's history. Journalists and newspaper proprietors who have from time to time had the courage to place their fragile positions at risk by independent reporting of sensitive issues have inevitably paid the price. Little has been done to spotlight the problem internationally and to bring pressure to bear on the military regime. On the contrary, some commentators as well as official human rights reports produced by the U.S. State Department have even managed to claim that Indonesia has "the freest press in South East Asia,"!

Yet, in the few cases where international protest has been expressed, as for instance when Mochtar Lubis was detained in January 1974, the government's response has been quick. Mr Lubis spent only two months in detention, far shorter than any of the other people arrested in 1974 in connection with the student protest in January of that year. Clearly, there is a pressing need for journalists in all countries to take up the case of their colleagues in Indonesia, to expose the total absence of press freedom there and call for the restoration of press freedom.

* *Panca Sila* The five State principles: Belief in God, Nationalism, democracy, humanitarianism and social justice.

Foreign Journalists Killed in Timor

East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesian troops in December 1975. Five months later, the country was forcibly annexed by Indonesia. East Timor is now sealed off from contact with the rest of the world. With widespread resistance to Indonesia's takeover, Indonesian troops have been able to occupy less than a quarter of the country. The number of people killed is horrendous; the lowest estimate is 60,000 which is one-tenth of the total population. And the killings still continue.

The following article describes the case of five television journalists who died on 16 October 1975 in a village close to East Timor's border with West Timor which is part of the Indonesian Republic. The group had gone there to film Indonesian incursions across the border, nearly two months before the main invasion was launched.

On 16 October five journalists were killed in the village of Balibo as they were filming Indonesian troop incursions across the border into East Timor. The journalists, Greg Shackleton, Gary Cunningham, Tony Stewart, Brian Peters and Malcolm Rennie, were working for Australian TV channels 7 and 9; two of them, Brian Peters and Malcolm Rennie, were British subjects. Despite mounting evidence that they were killed by Indonesian troops, neither the Australian nor the British Government have carried out any serious enquiry into the deaths.

The journalists arrived in Balibo on 13 October. Some footage they made on 15 October has reached the outside world and has been shown in many countries. They were last seen on 16 October.

A month later, the Indonesian authorities handed over to British and Australian officials the 'ashes' of four of the journalists together with the pass-

ports, personal belongings and camera equipment of all five. An Australian doctor could do no more than verify that they were 'human remains'. Surprisingly, all the belongings returned were intact and showed no signs of fire damage.

The explanations given by pro-Indonesian sources and Indonesian Government spokesmen have been contradictory. Initially, they said that four European bodies had been found in a house marked 'Australia' and that the newsmen had been killed in cross-fire between pro-Indonesian Timorese and the forces of Fretilin, the East Timor independence movement. Subsequently, they stated that the bodies were burnt beyond recognition because the journalists had been sheltering in a house used to store kerosene which was hit by mortar fire. Then in mid-1976, an Australian farmer living in East Timor, who testified for the the Indonesian Government before the UN Decolonisation Committee, claimed that the five had been executed by Fretilin forces wearing Indonesian uniforms in an attempt to embarrass the Indonesian Government. These statements have conflicted internally. For example, five days after the journalists' death, an Indonesian radio broadcast quoted the leader of a pro-Indonesian East Timor party as saying that the journalists had "integrated with Fretilin and deserved to be killed". Yet, three days later, the same man, Lopez de Cruz, officially denied all knowledge of their deaths.

By contrast with these reports, several eye-witness accounts were given by Timorese to Australian reporters who were then in Dili, the capital of East Timor. These were people who had just come from the border area. According to a Fretilin medical orderly, invading Indonesian troops entered Balibo where, in his own words,

They fired on the buildings where the Australians were, and I saw one fall. The others pointed their hands at the sign (of the Australian flag on the wall) and were shouting 'Australians, Australians'.

As he left the village, the orderly heard the shouting for some time, and then the voices ceased. Three soldiers interviewed gave a more detailed account:

The Australians were outside a house called the Australian Embassy by Fretilin forces, with the word 'Australia' and a likeness of the Australian flag painted on the front. The militiamen watched as the journalists, with their hands up and screaming 'Australians, Australians', were surrounded and then gunned down by soldiers wearing green and brown uniforms and carrying automatic weapons.

The discrepancies in the accounts from Indonesian sources, the problem of the unburnt documents and eye-witness accounts obtained shortly after the event, all raise the possibility that the journalists were deliberately shot by Indonesian troops who are thereby guilty of the murder of unarmed non-combatants.

Subsequently, further facts have emerged to strengthen this conclusion. In late 1976, a former Australian consul in Dili, Mr James Dunn, interviewed non-Fretilin East Timorese refugees now living in Lisbon and was given accounts by people who had talked to eyewitnesses of the shootings. They

confirm the earlier accounts given above and provided more detail. At least two of the journalists, it was claimed, were shot deliberately and their bodies propped up behind a machine-gun in an attempt to prove that they had been fighting with Fretilin.

Further interviews have been carried out more recently by Australian lawyer, John Dowd, President of the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists. He found refugees in a camp outside Lisbon who were able to name people present at the time of the killings and who gave evidence of an Indonesian soldier who boasted of having killed "the last of the news-men".

Attempts have been made both in Australia and Britain to push for an official enquiry. In Australia, journalists through their union have repeatedly made this demand. In Britain, the Foreign Office said in reply to queries from MPs that it has kept in close contact with the Australian Government about the case. In February 1976, the Foreign Office concluded that

in view of the circumstances then prevailing in East Timor, Her Majesty's Government has no means of ascertaining the truth.

This is hardly valid. The Australian Government did carry out an 'investigation' in November 1975 but its representative went only to Dili and did not interview any eye-witnesses though such people were available. Moreover, during the period from late October up to 7 December when Indonesia invaded Dili, a serious investigation could have been undertaken; indeed, a number of foreign nationals remained in East Timor during this period.

And now, the Australian claim not to have known anything about the killings until they received the journalists' 'remains' has been shattered by a recent revelation that the Australian Government knew of the murders within hours, but the information was immediately suppressed under the D-notice system. The Australian Journalists Association publication, *The Journalist*, quotes a Melbourne *Sun* journalist, Laurie Oakes as saying in February 1978 that the Defence Signals Division intercepted Indonesian radio messages reporting the slaughter, but that

the relevant D-notice on ciphering and monitoring activities rules out the publication of just about anything concerned with the DSD, including the name of any country towards which such monitoring is directed.

Mr Oakes said that he learned about the message some eighteen months ago and would have published the information but for the D-notice.

In view of this most recent revelation and the previous evidence strongly suggesting that the five journalists were deliberately murdered, it is essential that both the British and Australian Governments undertake a full investigation, as a matter of urgency.

In addition to these five journalists, it is also likely that another Australian journalist, Roger East, who was caught in Dili when Indonesian troops invaded on 7 December was shot by invaders. Fretilin radio gave an account of the circumstances of this death some months after the invasion which makes this claim. The account tallies closely with evidence produced by Australian nationals regarding his whereabouts on 6 December, the day on which they

flew out of Dili. It would seem therefore, that yet another journalist – renowned for his reporting of the Nurenburg trials and other major international events – also fell as a victim of the Indonesian Army in its aggression against East Timor.

Censorship (Translated from *Tempo*, 4 March 1978; slightly abridged)

BLACK PAINT EXPERTS

With an increase in the degree of censorship of foreign publications coming into Indonesia, the people who handle these publications are faced with a new level of activity.

There are a number of foreign publications circulating in Indonesia. For instance, the Hong Kong edition of *Time*, has a circulation of about 17,000 roughly half of which goes to subscribers. *Reader's Digest* sells about 15,000 copies and *Newsweek* about 10,000. Dozens of other papers and magazines have circulations running into the hundreds or the thousands.

Political developments in Indonesia have led to an increase in the amount of news coverage of this country in the world press, and not all news items are regarded by the Government in a positive light. Such items face a black future – censorship with black paint. In order to handle this work, the agents handling foreign publications have to employ special people. The Attorney-General's Office only lays down which items in a publication are censored. Censorship has given birth to a new occupation.

What then is blacked out? "Photographs that could disturb the public order, for example photographs of nudes. Articles that contain incitements, false reports about our country or comments that are harmful to the interests of the State", said M.S. Tomasouw, Public Relations Chief of the Attorney-General's Office to *Tempo* correspondent Syarif Hidayat.

Censorship of foreign publications is indeed a matter for the Attorney-General's Office, according to Presidential Decision No. 4, 1963. The problem is now handled by a special unit of the Office, headed by Halin Nain. Each agent who imports printed matter is required to send a few copies to the Attorney-General's Office for censorship. If a decision is taken that a photograph or article must be censored, then an order is issued for the item to be blacked out, covered up or torn out.

To avoid losses, the agents of weeklies or monthlies usually receive several copies a few days early for submission to the Attorney-General's Office as periodicals require a permit from this Office before they may be distributed. Gunung Agung, the company which has handled *Time* since 1958 hands over copies to the Attorney-General's Office every Friday or Saturday at the latest. If the issue is 'clean' of articles or photographs regarded as being negative, a permit is issued on Saturday or Monday at the latest. After getting the green light from the Attorney-General's Office, Gunung Agung sends a telex to Hong Kong where *Time* is printed with instructions to go ahead and send the issues although the permit has not yet been issued.

Illiterate in English

As soon as *Time* arrives at Halim Perdanakusuma Airport, the cargo is immediately transported to the Gunung Agung warehouse in Kwitang, for which a removal permit is required from the Attorney-General's Office. If the permit to distribute contains a requirement that an article or photograph must be blacked out, a new kind of activity gets underway at the warehouse. About forty employees none of whom can understand English and who have all been carefully screened by the Attorney-General's Office black out or paper over the parts that have to be excluded.

For the whole time they are at work, from early morning till 9 o'clock at night, they are under the constant supervision and control of officials. Only after this work has been completed is it permitted to distribute the magazine. Subscribers may get upset by this delay. But Gunung Agung has nothing to complain about because the costs of the operation are borne by *Time*.

Newspapers are dealt with differently. There are dozens of newspapers entering Indonesia every day. The one with the largest circulation is *The Straits Times* which is published in Singapore. This is also the paper which arrives at Halim Airport first. A newspaper does not require a distribution permit, says Sajuti Bahtiar, assistant-director of Home Services AH, the largest distributors of foreign publications. AH employs its own team of inspectors consisting of five persons, and this team is in regular consultation with the Attorney-General's Office. The team, says Sajuti, does not work "in a blindly arbitrary way". But nevertheless, he says, anything that presents the Government in a bad light is blacked out because AH does not want to take any chances. "As the responsibility rests with us, we are inclined to be even more cautious. We read virtually every written word, even including the advertisements," he told *Tempo* correspondent, Widi Yarmanto. Any article with a "communist flavour" is covered over with black paint though Mao Tse-tung's photographs are no longer censored as they used to be until a few years ago.

As newspapers come in at all times of day, the twenty or so people doing the blacking out are on duty night and day. A newspaper that has been inspected is sent to the Attorney-General's Office. If everything is alright, the newspaper can then be distributed. Although censorship is exercised by the distributors, there has never been any conflict with the Attorney-General's Office.

Almost all foreign publications subjected to censorship are in the English language. Is it not so that people who can read English account for only a tiny percentage of the population? "Yes, indeed. But brains that are capable of instigating disturbances belong precisely to the very people who know English," said M.A. Tomasouw.



JOURNALISTS IN PRISON

The following is a list of journalists known to be in detention in Indonesia at the moment. The list is by no means exhaustive. Unless details of a trial are given, they are all being held without charge or trial.

ADISUMARTO: aged over 65; journalist and political worker; following the military takeover he joined the Bung Karno Corps, a group supporting President Sukarno; tried in 1968-9 for his part in this group, he was given a 12 year sentence. Held in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. Suffers from very poor health.

Rivai APIN: aged 50; editor of the literary journal *Zaman Baru*; arrested in October 1965; detained on Buru Island; some of Apin's poems have been translated into English and were published in an anthology in the 1970s.

ARMUNANTO: aged about 59; former editor of *Bintang Timur*, a Jakarta daily newspaper banned in October 1965; former Indonesian ambassador to Czechoslovakia; member of parliament and minister of mining until the time of his arrest; arrested in March 1966; detained in Nirbaya Detention Camp.

Sjamsoe BAKRI: aged about 40, journalist and member of the Communist Party; arrested late 1965; detained on Buru Island; married with four children, his wife is also imprisoned.

DAHONO: aged about 39; home news editor of *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily) the Communist Party daily newspaper banned in 1965; arrested in 1971; he was first detained in the Central Intelligence Unit; Kebayoran-Lama, Jakarta, although he may since have been transferred to Salemba Prison

A.S. DHARTA: a poet and writer; closely connected with the establishment of the leftwing cultural association; aged about 53; used the pen name of Klara Akustia; detained in Kebon Waru Prison, Bandung.

A. Sosrodanukusmo HADI: a writer and a member of LEKRA, (League of People's Culture), an organisation in which he held an executive position in the Surabaya district branch; editor of *Tenaga Pembangunan Indonesia* (Indonesian Forces of Development) magazine; a collection of his short stories and verse won a national literature prize in 1953; detained on Buru Island.

Hasjim RACHMAN: aged about 55; managing editor of *Bintang Timur*, a Jakarta daily newspaper banned in October 1965; active member of the Indonesian Journalists Association and member of the leftwing cultural organisation, LEKRA; arrested October 1965; detained on Buru Island; married with children.

ROESLAN: aged about 48; a journalist before his arrest; married with children; detained in Salemba Prison, Jakarta.

Mrs RUSJIATI: journalist, working for several years on regional newspapers before joining Indonesia's national news agency, *Antara*, where she specialised in reporting domestic political matters; active member of the Indonesian Journalist Association; detained in Bulu Prison, Semarang, under very poor conditions.

SANTOSO: about 48 years old; journalist with *Antara* News Agency; married with children; detained in Salemba Prison, Jakarta.

Mrs Maasje SIWI: aged about 55; secretary general of Gerwani, the women's organisation at the time of the 1965 attempted coup; co-editor of *Api Kartini*, the organisation's journal; arrested October 1965; detained in Bukit Duri Prison.

Miss SUDJINAH: aged 43, a regular contributor to *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily) *Bintang Timur* and *Api Kartini* (the Gerwani magazine) which were all banned in October 1965; arrested late 1966; charged with "participating, directly or indirectly, in the 1965 attempted coup, and of working after that event to revive the Indonesian Communist Party"; tried early 1975 and sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment.

Lies SUKATNO: journalist on *Ekonomi Nasional*, a Jakarta daily newspaper; precise date of arrest unknown, probably 1968, arrested together with her husband, who was secretary general of *Pemudya Rakyat*, the People's Youth Movement; detained in Bukit Duri Prison; beaten during interrogation; her husband, Sukatno, was tried (date unknown) and sentenced to death, but there is no confirmation that sentence was carried out or whether it was commuted.

HARIUDI: a writer and journalist before his arrest; his wife lives in Jakarta; detained on Buru Island.

Ayub JOEBAR: literary critic and features writer; elected to the central board of LEKRA in 1959; member of parliament; arrested November 1968; detained in Salemba Prison, from which he was transferred to another detention centre in Jakarta in early 1977, whilst a delegation from the International Committee of the Red Cross visited Salemba Prison; other articulate prisoners were also transferred from Salemba, to avoid them being interviewed by the Red Cross; all prisoners were returned to Salemba Prison following the conclusion of the Red Cross visit; married with one daughter.

JULIARSO: aged about 49, foreign news editor of *Harian Rakjat*, the Communist Party daily newspaper banned after the 1965 attempted coup; precise date of arrest unknown, probably 1967 or 1968; detained on Buru Island; married with children.

KARIM D.P.: aged about 52; editor in chief of *Warta Bakti*, the leftwing evening newspaper which was banned in October 1965; chairman of the Indonesian Journalists Association in 1965; arrested in 1965; one of the group of prisoners temporarily transferred from Salemba prison during the visit of a Red Cross delegation in January 1977; married with children.

S.W. KUNTJAHJO: well known in Indonesia as both a trade unionist and a poet; his articles and poems were published mainly in the Communist Party newspaper *Harian Rakjat*; aged about 55 years old; married with six children; detained on Buru Island.

Ferdinand Lodewijk RISAKOTA: a writer and journalist before his arrest, he does in fact come from Ambon (which is close to Buru Island); married; detained on Buru Island.

NAIBAHO: aged about 48; editor in chief of *Harian Rakjat* (People's Daily), the Communist daily newspaper which was banned in 1965; arrested October 1965; detained on Buru Island, married with children.

OEY Hay Djoen: aged about 50; well-known essayist and writer who frequently contributed to *Zaman Baru*, the journal of LEKRA the leftwing cultural organisation; arrested October 1965; wife and daughter living in Jakarta; detained on Buru Island.

Alex Sinarjo SURYO: aged 49; formerly a journalist with *Gelora Indonesia*, a pro-Sukarno newspaper, he was studying in Yugoslavia in 1965; arrested shortly after his return to Indonesia in 1967; detained on Buru Island.

SUWARGONO: aged about 47; journalist with the national news agency, *Antara*, before his arrest, the precise date of which is unknown; detained in Salemba Prison.

Marlon TAMPUBOLON: aged about 37; journalist for *Bintang Timur*, a Jakarta daily newspaper banned in October 1965; arrested 1965; detained on Buru Island.

THIO Keng Hok: aged over 50; journalist with *Dharto Bakti*, which is believed to have been banned in October 1965; of Chinese nationality, he is a Buddhist; married with five children; detained at Nusakembangan Camp.

Benni TJUNG: aged 40; writer and poet; contributed regularly to the LEKRA magazine *Zaman Baru*; married with children; detained on Buru Island.

Pramoedya Ananta TOER: aged 52, one of Indonesia's leading novelists, also essayist and critic; imprisoned by Dutch colonial government for his work in the nationalist movement; then detained by the Sukarno Government, due to his book *The Chinese Question in Indonesia*, which aroused official military and civilian antagonism by its defence of the Chinese community at a time when discriminatory policies were being pursued by the government; the book was banned; arrested again in 1965; active member of LEKRA; detained on Buru Island; married with eight children.

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