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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 10

June 1975

DUTCH WARN: FREE TAPOLS OR FACE AID CUT

"If there is no improvement in the situation of the political prisoners in Indonesia, it is not unlikely that there will be a reappraisal of Dutch aid to Indonesia," said Dutch Minister for Overseas Development Co-operation, Dr. Jan Pronk.

He was speaking at a press conference in Amsterdam on the second day of the twice-annual meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia which took place from 12th-14th May to decide upon the aid to Indonesia during the 1975-76 fiscal year. The 14 member states (West European countries, the U.S.A., Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand) were all present, together with multi-national agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Minister Pronk said that Dutch aid to Indonesia had been cut by one-quarter, but this had been for economic reasons, related mainly to the oil crisis. "However, we are worried about the political prisoners and we only hope the situation will soon get better."

£2,000 Million Aid Figure

Despite these expressions of concern about the tapols, the IGGI meeting appears once again to have given the Indonesian Government exactly what it wanted in terms of a yet-further increase in the amount of aid. The IGGI agreed that Indonesia's aid requirements for 1975-76 come to \$2 billion (\$2,000 million). Of this aggregate amount, approximately \$400 million would be made available bilaterally, from IGGI member states, at concessional rates, that is to say at favourable interest rates. Another \$500 million or perhaps more would be made available at semi-concessional rates by multinational sources within the IGGI, notably the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (of which IGGI countries are members). It was expected that the remaining \$1,000 million would be forthcoming from non-IGGI sources, through export credits and the like.

(cont'd p.2)

Editorial:

AN EXCUSE TO STEP UP REPRESSION

Two days following the downfall of the U.S.-backed regime in South Vietnam, Indonesia's Defence Minister, General Marsden Panggabean, warned that Indonesia would step up operations against underground Communists because of the Communist victories in Indochina. "We will increase our vigilance, particularly in dealing with the remnants of the PKI," he said, according to a report by Reuters in Jakarta on 1st May.

He also expressed the conviction that the departure of the Americans from Vietnam "would not create a vacuum in the region". This opinion is consistent with earlier statements by General Panggabean at the Armed Forces Leadership Meeting in Jakarta from 19th-22nd March this year when he said that the coming years would be "extremely difficult" from the point of view of safeguarding national security and implementing economic development. He also said that, although detente between the superpowers was leading to a relaxation of tensions globally, this had not led to a relaxation of tensions regionally, particularly in South East Asia where the Communist movement was making progress.

(cont'd p. 5)

PRES. SUHARTO MAKES WORLD TOUR

President Suharto is going on a grand tour round-the-world which is to include State Visits to five countries, with a conspicuously important one-day stop-over in Washington for talks with President Ford.

Official announcements by the President's official spokesman indicate an itinerary that is both far-flung and well-filled with key official consultations. Leaving Jakarta on 26 June, he will visit Iran for four days (26-30 June), then Yugoslavia from 30 June to 2 July, and on to Canada for three days (2-5 July).

President Suharto will arrive in Washington on 5th July, one day after America's Independence Day. He is slated to have talks with President Ford. The importance of these talks is underlined by the fact that they are expected to discuss "the political changes in Asia, as well as the relations between the two countries". One subject of their talks is reliably reported to be on the question of American military aid to Indonesia (see the final leg of the tour takes President Suharto to Japan from 6-9 July, for consultations on the relations between Japan and Indonesia in the economic and military spheres, with the events of January 1974 in the minds of all concerned.

The tour was originally intended to include visits to Egypt and Saudi Arabia, but these were dropped two weeks before the trip was to start "for technical reasons".

U.S. CONGRESS WOULD CURB AID TO REPRESSIVE GOVERNMENTS

The U.S. Foreign Assistance Act, as adopted on 30th December 1974, now includes a Section entitled Security Assistance and Human Rights which sets out new criteria debarring the provision of U.S. military assistance to countries where gross violations of human rights occur. This provides the basis for a campaign in the U.S. for these provisions to be applied to Indonesia, which is plainly one of the worst offenders among those countries enjoying support in the form of large-scale security assistance from the U.S. Government.

For the record, we publish the full text of the amendment which is enumerated as Section 502B. Human Rights, being an addition to Chapter 1 of part II of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (Public Law 93-559).

"(a) It is the sense of Congress that, except in extraordinary circumstances, the President shall substantially reduce or terminate security assistance to any government which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally recognized human rights, including torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment; prolonged detention without charges; or other flagrant denials of the right to life, liberty, and the security of the person.

"(b) Whenever proposing or furnishing security assistance to any government falling within the provisions of paragraph (a), the President shall advise the Congress of the extraordinary circumstances necessitating the assistance.

"(c) In determining whether or not a government falls within the provisions of subsection (a), consideration shall be given to the extent of cooperation by such government in permitting an unimpeded investigation of alleged violations of internationally recognized human rights by appropriate international organizations, including the International Committee of the Red Cross and any body acting under the authority of the United Nations or of the Organization of American States."

DUTCH AMNESTY: RESTORATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS MUST BE AID PRE-REQUISITE

On the occasion of the IGGI meeting, the Indonesian Coordination Group in the Dutch Section of Amnesty International sent a letter to all delegations attending the meeting. The letter made a strong appeal to governments which are IGGI members to consider the human rights situation in their determination of aid commitments to Indonesia. The letter stated in part:

"As long as the Indonesian Government fails to restore legal order, as laid down in its Constitution, it cannot guarantee to any IGGI donor country that certain groups of people are not excluded from enjoying the economic aid, because these groups are systematically being robbed of their constitutional rights or are being held in detention solely because of their political convictions. The Indonesian Government cannot guarantee that certain groups will not be illegally imprisoned if they intend to criticise openly the ways in which that economic aid is spent. The question therefore arises of whether a full restitution of constitutional rights ought not to be made an explicit condition for future economic support."

U.K. Delegate Turns Back on Amnesty Rep

While the meeting was in progress, members of the Coordination Group lobbied delegates to present their views and hear reactions. Most delegates were willing to discuss the problem and some indicated sympathy with the views expressed by Amnesty representatives. However, a British delegate approached in the lobby turned his back abruptly when the person introduced himself as coming from Amnesty.

PENTAGON BARES NEW AID HOCUS-POCUS

The Pentagon is presently seeking to divert \$425 million in military aid, which was originally earmarked for Cambodia until the fall of the Lon Nol regime, to several other countries, including Indonesia. The Pentagon is confident that President Ford will give his approval to this new plan, as part of the overall \$800 million foreign military aid programme he must sign before it is sent to the Congress for debate and final ruling.

The New York Times reported on 11th June that following on the political changes in Cambodia and congressional cuts in military aid appropriations, a Pentagon staff conceived of a new loophole that would add millions of dollars in military hardware "to provide reassurances" to about eight countries, including Indonesia, South Korea, Turkey and Greece.

1975 IGGI MEETING . . . (from page 1)

Perhaps the most significant change in commitments is the drop in U.S. aid -- from \$250 million last year to \$60 million this year. The change appears to reflect the far more critical attitude of the new U.S. Congress towards the whole question of aid. Japan is now the largest supplier of bilateral aid, committing \$140 million. The Netherlands is the largest European donor.

Regime Gives Tall Order

Prior to the IGGI consortium gathering, Indonesian Government spokesmen, in particular Adam Malik, made it quite clear that they wished their dependence upon foreign aid to get even greater than before. Far from taking their increased revenues from oil as a sign that they should reduce their foreign aid bill, which has put the country into debt to the tune of \$7 billion (\$7,000 million) since the military came to power, Adam Malik spoke in terms of 'doubling, trebling or even increasing ten-fold' IGGI aid this year. He claimed that Indonesia's increased oil earnings were making it more capable of taking on future liabilities.

The degree to which this influenced thinking among IGGI countries is not clear. It is reported that the French delegation at the meeting expressed particular concern about the current financial disorders of Pertamina, whose overseas short-term debts have been taken over by the Bank Indonesia. The French delegation insisted that its concern on this matter should be formally minuted in the report of the IGGI meeting.

On the other hand, the Japanese delegation is reported to have related the need for continuing with high commitments to Indonesia to counteract the defeat of the U.S.A. and the Thieu regime in South Vietnam, and the contention that with such developments, more assistance should be forthcoming for Indonesia.

Sudden Change in U.K. Position

The position adopted by the U.K. delegation is significant. Initially, it was understood that the British Government would not be making any commitment of aid, for three reasons: (a) concern over the human rights situation in Indonesia, (b) a feeling that aid should go where its effect could be most directly felt in the rural area, and (c) the belief that Indonesia, with huge oil earnings, could no longer be deemed eligible for help. However, very late in the day, the Minister for Trade, Peter Shore, and the Foreign Secretary, James Callaghan (who was in Jamaica attending the Commonwealth Conference), insisted that this decision be changed and threatened that if this did not happen, the matter would be raised at Cabinet level. Their reason was quite simply that aid was essential to ensure a marked increase for British exports in the Indonesian market. Under such pressure, the decision was changed, and a U.K. commitment of \$23.2 million was formalised.

Although it has been stated that IGGI meetings would from now on be held only yearly, it is understood that the next meeting will take place in November this year.

SYAHRIR REJECTS ALL CHARGES, DEFENDS HIS STAND

In a defence plea presented by the accused to the court on 7th April last, Syahrir, economist and university lecturer, who is on trial for alleged subversion in connection with the January 1974 events, said that "it is easy for every citizen to see that any action undertaken in this Republic can quite easily be alleged to be subversive." This fact had made it difficult to work out his own defence.

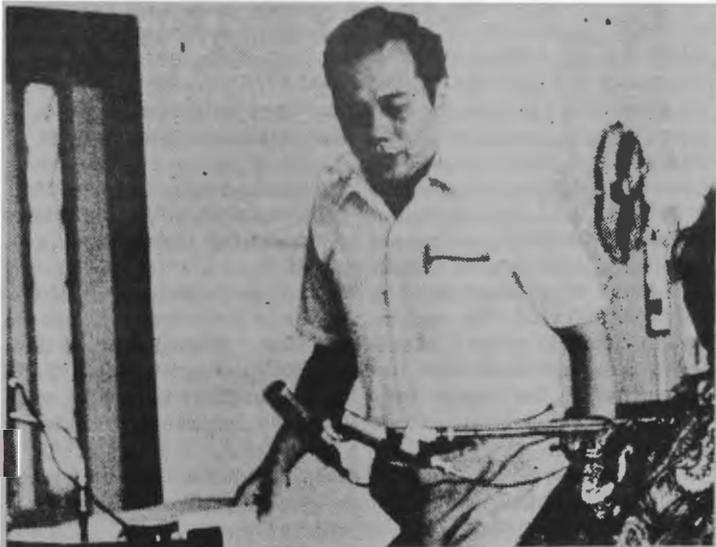
He quoted complaints made by lawyers about the Anti-Subversion Law under which he was being tried and said that such a confused law, capable of great elasticity in its application, was being enforced whereas other laws, much more in need of enforcement were being ignored. As an example, he mentioned the Basic Agrarian Law (providing for land reform), "a law which, because it guarantees the welfare of the peasants and prevents excessive ownership of land, is not being enforced".

Corruption and Unemployment

What he had been trying to do, he said, was to warn that problems like corruption, unemployment and the uneven distribution of wealth could not be relegated to second place. Together with friends, he had warned of the mismanagement and corruption in the Pertamina State Enterprise, the state oil monopoly, which led at the time to the establishment of the 'Commission of Four'. "Today, the validity of that warning has been proven with the exposure recently of the financial chaos within Pertamina."

He denied that he'd been trying to change the Broad Lines of State Policy. "All I suggested was that certain measurements should be used to know the real level of unemployment and the degree of economic injustice. These measurements are extremely important to economists, yet I was arrested and brought for trial for making such suggestions." Persons who, like the Prosecutor, tried to create the impression that by making such requests he was opposed to the official State Policy were persons "who only give lipservice to their support for the Policy, who agree but who do not want it to be implemented".

He denied the charge that he had been "manipulating academic freedom" to his own purposes. "The Prosecution is quite incapable of pointing out the scientific basis of this charge, neither did he explain what he meant by the 'impure way' in which I was said to have used academic freedom."



"He accused me of inciting the students. Such terminology does not exist in discussion. All we were engaging in was dialogue, two-way communication, exchange of ideas and critical analysis. Inciting people occurs when leadership-from-above imposes ideas on the masses-from-below in a non-scientific way, by means of orders that must be carried out".

It is quite unjustifiable, he said, to claim that the Broad Lines of State Policy are immune from criticism, as the en-

TWO 1974 TAPOLS DIE

It has recently come to light that two tapols arrested early in 1974 for their alleged involvement in the January 1974 events (student demonstrations against the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Jakarta) have died. They are Ramadi, formerly member of the People's Consultative Assembly until the time of his arrest, and Colonel Djuhro. No further information about the circumstances or causes of these deaths has been forthcoming. With regard to Ramadi's death, the Public Prosecutor, General Ali Said, simply announced on 7th April that he had died "at the moment of his release", a clarification that raises more questions than it answers.

General Ali Said also declared that a total of 34 persons arrested in connection with the 1974 event are still under detention, that 20 have been released and two brought to trial.

Mochtar Lubis Released

Mochtar Lubis, the well-known publisher and journalist who was arrested on 4th February this year, was released in April. He had been arrested during investigations of the 1974 affair. Announcing his release, the Head of Public Relations of the Public Prosecutor's Office stated that no evidence had been obtained of Lubis' involvement in that event.

It is interesting to note that of all the 1974 tapols, Lubis is the one about whom the greatest international pressure and protest has been expressed. His brief period of detention is shorter than any of the other 1974 tapols.

Another Student Trial Begins Soon

The third person to be brought to trial in connection with the 1974 event is Moh. Aini Chaeruddin, a student leader from Jogjakarta, Central Java. The Public Prosecutor announced in April that his trial would open as soon as Syahrir's trial had been completed. At the time of going to press, we had not yet received news of the verdict passed against Syahrir.

General Ali Said also announced (*Kompas*, 13th March) that Ramadi was to have been brought for trial but these plans had been abandoned after his death. The problem now, he said, was what to do with the persons who have been detained in order to testify as witnesses at Ramadi's trial. "We still need to carry out further investigations to decide whether they will be switched over to being the accused or whether the cases will be closed and the persons released."

Regarding the status of those 1974 tapols held for more than one year without charge, they would, he said, be released in accordance with the laws in force. But this excludes those whose cases have not yet been completed; these would be subject to "re-arrest", he said. This renders meaningless Ali Said's pledge last year that those held for over one year would be released in accordance with the provisions of the 1963 law on the basis of which the 1974 tapols are being held.

tire people are being expected to believe. It is quite proper for there to be criticism and discussion. To criticise and have different opinions should not always be taken as being an enemy of the state, still less an enemy of the nation and people.

The Prosecution's Idea of Freedom

Syahrir's two defence counsel also submitted a defence plea entitled "Freedom of Thought and Opinion Under Test". The Prosecution rejected the contention of this title and the entire plea, saying that freedom of thought and opinion were upheld in the Indonesian Constitution (Article 28) but that "implementation of that freedom cannot be conducted just as one likes... every freedom has its bounds and its limits, namely positive law." The Prosecution maintained that the accused had, in the implementation of this freedom, broken the law. Thus it was wrong to say these freedoms were under test but that acts perpetrated by the accused were being tried as infringements of the law.

Late News Flash: Syahrir has been given a 6½-year sentence. He is appealing, as is the Prosecution, which sought 16 years.

Indonesia: **THE PRISON STATE**

tapol

British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

A SPEAKING TOUR FOR TAPOL IN THE U.S.A. by Carmel Budiardjo

Touring the United States for nearly five weeks from 13th till 15th May to speak about Indonesian political prisoners has convinced me of two things. Firstly, that very few people, even within those organisations that have become deeply involved in the issues of human rights, peace and independence, are aware either of the significance of Indonesia in world affairs today or of the extent to which gross violations of human rights are being perpetrated in that country. Secondly, that once alerted to the truth people are horrified by the situation, disturbed by the fact that so little has been done to inform public opinion of the scale of the violations in Indonesia and very responsive to the idea of developing a campaign in America to press, through actions directed at the U.S. Government, for release of the prisoners.

The fact that the Indochina War came to an end during the weeks I spent in the States, which meant events in S. E. Asia were constantly in the news and uppermost in people's minds, only served to highlight the need for people in America to turn their attention to situations in other countries, including Indonesia, where U.S. policies strongly and actively support repressive regimes and where U.S. and multinational capital is flowing in to develop economies that do not serve the fundamental interests of the people.

Across the Country

My tour was partly sponsored by the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, at whose invitation I attended the Women's Seminar on Disarmament held at the UN. Aside from the help I received from WILPF, the tour was made possible by the co-operation and hospitality offered to me by a number of organisations and individuals, including members of Amnesty International, student and university contacts, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, and representatives of several different church bodies.

In addition to attending the UN Disarmament Seminar from 7-9 May, during which time I had plenty of opportunity to discuss the Indonesia problem with many women delegates from various parts of the U.S.A. and from several other countries, I visited altogether 19 places, including such major cities as New York, Washington, San Francisco, Berkeley, Boston and Philadelphia. I addressed over thirty meetings and gave a

number of press and radio interviews. The meetings ranged from tiny gatherings to which less than ten people came (reflecting the problems my hosts had in one or two places to interest people in what sounded like a remote topic) to several well-attended meetings of 50 people or more, and a lecture I gave to a class of more than 200 students at the University of California in Berkeley. The places I visited also included Ann Arbor (the centre of the University of Michigan), Lawrence (the University of Kansas), Palo Alto and Santa Cruz in California, Long Island, and the New England towns of Westport, Bridgeport and Stamford, as well as Reading in Pennsylvania.

In most places I concentrated on giving as full an account as I could in the time at my disposal of the present situation of the political prisoners, illustrating where necessary from my own experiences as a prisoner or as a prisoner's wife. The questions most frequently asked were about the bloodbath that killed an estimated one-million people in the wake of the October events in 1965, the extent of resistance now being waged in Indonesia against the repressive military regime, the degree of U.S. Government support for the regime, more details of the role played by the CIA in the events of October 1965, the possible impact of the defeat of U.S. policies in Indochina on Indonesia's foreign and domestic policies, and the effectiveness of international pressure in bringing about an end to the prolonged political imprisonment in Indonesia.

Although I had not set out to get major media coverage, preferring at this stage to contact people and organisations who could be involved in a campaign on Indonesia, I was in fact interviewed in several places by major local dailies. I also gave five radio interviews. KPFA, a listener-sponsored station in California that broadcasts from Berkeley and also relays its programmes from Los Angeles and New York, gave me over 40 minutes in which to describe the situation. Frank Ford in Philadelphia interviewed me for half an hour on his very popular midday programme, and a six-minute interview over National Public Radio from Washington probably reached out to the largest audience, in a programme beamed twice in one evening to numerous towns in the eastern part of the U.S.

At the Seat of Power

Unfortunately, my schedule allowed me only two working days in Washington, but with the help of friends there, I was able to visit the offices of several Congressmen and contact other groups working with various lobbies 'on the Hill' (Capitol Hill). I also visited the State Department and was received by the Human Rights Legal Officer and by two officials from the East Asian Bureau. My attention was drawn on all these occasions to Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, adopted as an amendment to the Act in 1974, which expresses the sense of Congress as being that the U.S. President should "substantially reduce or terminate" security assistance to governments "which engage in a constant pattern of gross violations of internationally-recognised human rights". I learned that some members of Congress were concerned to press the U.S. Government to review its security assistance to the Indonesian Government in the light of that country's continuing violation of human rights.

I found everywhere a wide interest in the exhibition of photographs carried with me, as well as in the literature published by TAPOL which I offered for sale. When I started the tour, I had not visualised the possibility of setting up a TAPOL committee in the States, but I found a number of people who thought that this would not only be very desirable, but also quite feasible.

I am deeply indebted to all those who helped me carry out this tour successfully. Without their warm hospitality and sympathy, and without the financial support given in so many places, I would have been able to achieve nothing. Indonesia may still be extremely remote to the vast majority of people in the U.S.A., and the fate of its 100,000 political prisoners a matter about which they are still in almost total oblivion, but there are plenty of people who welcome TAPOL's work and who are willing to join with us in educating the American people and public opinion about the situation in Indonesia today. Only when the truth is known will it be possible to arouse enough interest in America to wage an effective campaign on behalf of Indonesia's political prisoners.

CAMPAIGN FOR TAPOLS IN WEST GERMANY

A major campaign for the release of Indonesian political prisoners is under way in West Germany, organised by the German Section of Amnesty International. The Section, which is the largest of all National Sections in Amnesty, decided to make Indonesia its main concern in 1975 as part of Amnesty's concentration this year upon long-term political imprisonment.

The first major highlight in the year's activities took place in April, when activities were undertaken in thirty towns to mark 21st April, Kartini Day. This is the day celebrated in Indonesia to commemorate the great Indonesian woman who rejected feudal inhibitions to become, in her very short life, one of the country's first modern thinkers and who pioneered the cause of education for women. Nearly 15,000 leaflets prepared for the occasion by German Amnesty referred to Kartini's desire to see women play an active part in political and social affairs. Thousands of women who have become involved in such activities, and who uphold the great traditions that Kartini established, are today being held in detention as political prisoners, the leaflet pointed out.

Since January, Amnesty members in Germany have been actively collecting signatures on a Petition urging the Indonesian authorities to release all political prisoners by an amnesty on the tenth anniversary of the October events in 1965. It is planned to submit this Petition to the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn on the occasion of Indonesia's Independence Day which falls on 17th August.

During Amnesty's Prisoner of Conscience Week in October this year, public meetings will be held in virtually all major West German towns to publicise the plight of Indonesia's political prisoners and to urge action pressing for their release.

The Annual General Meeting of the German Amnesty Section, held in Saarbrücken from 17th-19th May, also gave special emphasis to the Indonesian case. The keynote speech at the opening session was delivered by Carmel Budiardjo, ex-tapol and wife of an Indonesian who has been in political detention for more than nine years without trial. Her call for close collaboration between TAPOL and Amnesty International in their efforts to work for the release of Indonesian political prisoners was warmly welcomed by the meeting, which was attended by over 600 representatives from Amnesty groups in all parts of West Germany.

On 18th May, German national radio ran a two-hour phone-in programme with Dick Barner, AI International Chairman, accepting calls and answering questions. The programme included an interview of Carmel Budiardjo. One caller, who said he was an Indonesian but refused to identify himself because he feared repercussions from the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn, commented on the idea that efforts should be made to get countries like West Germany and the USA to cut their support for the military regime while human rights continued to be violated. He doubted whether these governments would accede to such demands. Mr. Barner, replying, said it would certainly be difficult to achieve this objective but that was no reason not to press for its realisation.

The major German television network, in its news report on Amnesty's Annual Meeting, also drew attention to the Indonesia campaign being waged in West Germany.

ONE REPRESSOR TO ANOTHER

The Indonesian Government has conferred the Mahaputra Adipradana order on Juan Ponce-Enrile, the Philippines' Secretary for Defence. This is one of the highest awards to members of foreign governments, and was bestowed upon the Defence Secretary for 'his foresight, wisdom and sensitivity in solidifying the friendly ties between Indonesia and the Philippines'.

The Defence Secretary was on a visit to Indonesia to sign an agreement on joint naval patrolling between the two governments, aimed among other objectives at repressing anti-government activities in both countries. The award is but a symbol of the very close relations between two neighbouring regimes, run in each case by the military.

HEALTH CONDITIONS ON BURU

In an earlier issue (no. 8 - January 1975), we published excerpts from a report published by a doctor who worked for some months several years ago as an official member of the medical staff at the Buru Detention Center. Since the appearance of that item, we have received further information about the health conditions of the tapols on Buru. The material originates from a number of independent sources and relates to the situation during 1974. The following is a slightly abridged compilation of this information:

Food is very poor nutritionally. The tapols eat rice only occasionally (maximum 250 grams a day); generally, they eat cassava, corn, sweet potatoes or sago. By now they are quite accustomed to eating rats, snakes and other such meat.

Illnesses - It is generally estimated that about ten per cent of tapols on Buru are suffering from one kind of ailment or another. The most widespread ailments are tuberculosis, muscular deficiency, worms including filariasis, malaria and liver disorders. Malaria is a particularly serious scourge and in some units a much higher percentage of tapols are latent malaria sufferers with fairly frequent attacks.

Hospitals - These are nothing more than sickbays where conditions are extremely primitive. The facilities are little better than in the barracks where all tapols are accommodated. A few of the patients lie on separate benches or wooden divans, but the majority lie together on larger wooden contraptions regardless of what ailment they have.

Medicine - The supplies are minimal, and there is no special equipment for the performance of operations and proper medical examination. There is, for instance, no x-ray equipment. Anaesthetics are not available and operations must therefore be undertaken, insofar as other equipment is available, without anaesthetics. This applies to such major operations as amputations.

Accidents - The accident rate is high, in view of the nature of the strenuous work the tapols are made to perform and the lack of safeguards. One tapol, whose leg was crushed in an accident, has been in the sickbay for more than a year without proper medical attention. He is now beyond help and totally bed-ridden.

Contagious diseases - The most serious of these is tuberculosis, and there are many advanced cases. With little medicine available and the sickbay facilities being what they are, the danger of spreading is present at all times.

EDITORIAL . . . (from page 1)

The victories attained by the people of Vietnam and Cambodia have indeed come as a severe blow to the military regime in Indonesia, which was deeply involved in supporting the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. While on the one hand, some Indonesian leaders have sought to stress that the U.S. debacle in Indochina was the result of regimes, in Saigon and Phnom Penh, that totally ignored the aspirations of the people, hinting broadly that Indonesia should take note and avoid making the same mistakes, others such as General Panggabean who speak with the powerful authority of Army Commander and Defence Minister, have made it clear that the developments in Indochina will be interpreted as meaning that the Indonesian regime needs to be more repressive than ever to ensure its continuance in power.

This makes it all the more necessary, as we approach the tenth anniversary in October this year of the military takeover, the colossal slaughters and the first mass arrests, to intensify our work of informing and educating world public opinion about the massive violation of human rights in Indonesia and turning this awareness into actions that will make it increasingly difficult for the Indonesian military to continue with its policy of repression against the population of 130 million people.

TAPOL extends heartfelt thanks to Michel and Marika Julian, Chris Smith, Jim Perry, Richard Fuller and Gus. Their encouragement, and their patient help and craftsmanship have made this issue a reality.

ADAM MALIK FACES QUESTIONING AT COUNCIL OF EUROPE

When Adam Malik, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, addressed a meeting of the Council of Europe on 22nd April in Strasbourg, several members of the Council who are all parliamentarians in their own countries took advantage to raise with him the tapol question and to express their deep concern.

Even the President, in his introductory remarks, made a point of raising the human rights issue by informing the Foreign Minister that "the Council of Europe constitutes the first and only region where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been transformed into a European Convention on Human Rights, with its own court. This solution changes human rights into justiciable law where the citizen can sue his government for a violation of human rights. Human rights ... in the Council of Europe countries ... are practical law, and I am sure that you understand the importance of these changes which the European countries have made." One can well imagine that Adam Malik understood only too well, and was more than pleased that his country was not part of Europe!

It was British Labour MP, Philip Whitehead (Derby North), who raised the tapol question most comprehensively. After mentioning some of the facts about the numbers currently detained without trial, he said "the Council cannot be indifferent to the continued detention of trade unionists, political leaders and journalists in Indonesia, a country with which we have such close trade and aid links."

Cunning Distortions

Space makes it hard for us to include the whole of Adam Malik's reply, which is a lesson in evasiveness and deliberate deception. There were, he said, initially 600,000 political prisoners but "we immediately began to discover whether these people were guilty or not. In that process ... only about 20,000 are left and they fall into various categories. These people will be brought to trial. Those who have already been found not guilty have been released. As others are found not guilty, they too will be released."

This neatly conceals the fact that the majority of those still in prison fall into the category of people not scheduled for trial and have been waiting for ten years to be 'found not guilty'. It also creates the impression that many have already been tried and 'found not guilty' which is a complete deception as there are virtually no acquittals in the trials being held. Even accepting Adam Malik's figure of 20,000, the record is appalling.

When queried by Mr. Whitehead "when all those in the category of detainee would be brought to trial or released, bearing in mind that it is now ten years since the Untung coup", Adam Malik said: "I do not want to attempt to deceive you by saying for sure that it will be finished this month or this year. No one can say. All that I can say is that we are trying sincerely to speed up the process. This is a big problem for us."

Mr. Malik then faced a strong attack from French Communist MP, Mr. Depietri, who spoke of the way the current regime had liquidated all opposition, had massacred half-a-million opponents and had detained without trial many others. He wanted to know when they would be freed and said that the Council was greatly concerned with human liberty.

After declaring that "they" (presumably he means all the tapols still being held) wanted to force their views on others through killing, through murdering innocent people and not through channels provided by the law, Mr. Malik said: "I should very much like to invite the honourable questioner to come to Indonesia, where he will be free to ask any questions he wants of anybody and to see for himself whether the situation is indeed as he has depicted it."

DID YOU KNOW — —

- that in the year 1972-73, the latest one for which final figures are available, Indonesia was in receipt of more foreign aid (multilateral and bilateral), private foreign investment, and trade credits than any other country in the world?
- that Indonesia now receives more British aid than any other non-Commonwealth country except Pakistan?

Perhaps there are MPs in Europe or Senators and Congressmen in the U.S.A. who would be interested to take up Adam Malik's invitation. We only hope that if they do so, they get a better reception than the Australian Amnesty mission which did indeed include a member of the Australian Senate, as well as other distinguished members.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REFUSE TO MEET AMNESTY MISSION

An Amnesty International delegation composed predominantly of Australians, which visited Indonesia in January this year, was unsuccessful in its attempts to meet Indonesian Government leaders.

The Mission was led by Australian lawyer, Mr. R.E. McGarvie Q.C. and included Senator Peter Raume of the Australian Liberal Party (New South Wales), the Reverend Neil Gilmore, President of the Australian Council of Churches and Mrs. Leonore Ryan of the Victoria Section of Amnesty International, as well as Mr. W.S. Huang, head of the Asian Section in Research Department of the Amnesty International Secretariat in London.

A report of the Mission contained in a document published by the Victoria Section of Amnesty International states that although the Mission was unable to have discussions and contact with Government leaders, it was able to make contact with a good number of Indonesians outside the ranks of government.

The report states that the lack of cooperation from Government leaders was in contrast with the cooperation Indonesian Government leaders had shown to the three previous Amnesty missions to Indonesia: that of Mr. Bruce Grant in April 1966, that of Professor Julius Stone in August-September 1969, and that of Mr. Sean McBride of October-November 1970. It was also disappointing in view of the assurances of cooperation which had been received from President Suharto's personal assistant for political affairs, Lieutenant-General (then Major-General) Ali Murtopo when he visited Australia in October 1973. And it was particularly disheartening in light of the breadth of Australian concern for the fate of Indonesian political prisoners expressed by the petition of 64 Australian Members of Parliament which was presented to Indonesian Ambassador in Canberra, General Her Tasing, in December 1974.



Supono, former secretary of the PKI Section Committee in Magelang, Central Java, on trial before a civil court and guarded by the military police. The Commander of the Magelang Military Police is also present. He is being charged with subversion and conspiracy because of his alleged favourable response to the coup attempt (G.30. S/PKI) in October 1965. As we reported in our last issue, the Prosecution has demanded a sentence of 17 years. This is typical of a number of trials taking place in many towns throughout Indonesia at which extremely severe sentences are being handed down. The military seek to show that by bringing a small fraction of the tapols to trial they are upholding legal principles. The trials are however entirely based on political activities of persons who were members of a party or organisations that were legal at the time. Established legal procedures are breached in numerous respects, not least by the inability of the accused to appoint his own defence and have proper, unsupervised contact with the lawyer appointed for him by the court.

This photograph appeared in the Central Java daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 20th February 1975.

THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR

In recent months, the threat of an Indonesian invasion of East Timor has in no way lessened. Rather, its form appears to have changed.

The Whitlam Government, following campaigns both inside and outside the Australian Parliament, has distinctly cooled its previous support for Indonesian actions against East Timor. This, together with the strong criticisms coming from the Portuguese Government, increasingly means that Indonesia will get little international blessing for any forced annexation.

Consequently, a new strategy has been developed by the Suharto regime over the last few months. Instead of a direct and immediate invasion, it now seems to favour a longer-term perspective, in which a series of internal conflicts will be provoked in the Portuguese colony. This would not only lead to a delay in or even outright obstruction of the holding of elections for the post-independence period, but would also provide a convenient 'excuse' for Indonesian armed intervention, since such conflict will probably spill over into neighbouring E. Timor.

Fomenting Internal Strife

Thus, the pro-Indonesian party in East Timor, APODETI, has of late engaged in bribing local village chiefs (who often

have their own private armies) to send villagers to Atambua in Indonesian Timor, for training in guerrilla warfare. The Indonesian radio, broadcasting from Indonesian Timor, tries to stir up conflicts between tribes, alleging that the Portuguese in alliance with anti-Apodeti forces, are torturing pro-Indonesian tribal chiefs. Claiming that the newly-formed coalition between the Portuguese governor, the pro-Portuguese UDT and FRETILIN is a "Communist Alliance" to ensure the victory of "Communism" in the elections, one broadcast (24th February) concluded desperately: "Because we are strong, Apodeti must win, whatever the cost".

Meanwhile, the Suharto Government has begun to move large details of crack, battle-trained officers to the border with East Timor, and has carried out major road repairs in the border area, to accommodate military traffic.

In the present situation, international pressure on the Indonesian Government can clearly have quite a considerable political impact, particularly since the military has been forced to drop its more immediate plans for military invasion of East Timor after objections raised by the Portuguese and other governments, and by the volte-face of the Australian government.

Further information on the critical situation in East Timor can be obtained from CFMAG, 11-12 Little Newport Street, London, WC1; from the British Indonesia Committee, 21 Solon Road, London, SW2; or from TAPOL.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION AND GLOSSARY

WHAT IS TAPOL? This is the Indonesian word for political prisoner; it is a contraction of tahanan politik. Although it has been an accepted part of the Indonesian vocabulary since 1965, the military authorities recently prohibited its further use on the pretext that Indonesia "has no political prisoners". The British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, which adopted the word TAPOL as its name, naturally has no intention of complying with the efforts of the Indonesian authorities to deceive world opinion.

WHAT'S THE BACKGROUND? In October 1965, following a coup attempt by a group of pro-Sukarno officers, the leadership of the Indonesian Army staged a military counter-coup which led initially to the decimation of the Indonesian leftwing movement, the slaughter of an estimated one-million people and the arrest of many hundreds of thousands, and subsequently to the removal of President Sukarno from power. The Indonesian Communist Party, with about three-million members and a large number of mass organisations (peasant's unions, trade unions, women's organisations, youth organisations and others) having a combined membership of many millions, were declared banned and their members liable to arrest and prolonged detention for 'indications' of being 'directly or indirectly involved' in the October 1965 coup attempt.

AND TODAY? Nearly ten years later, there are still some 100,000 political prisoners held without trial, some of them allegedly members of organisations now banned but perfectly legal prior to the Suharto takeover. Many prisoners were not even members of banned groups. At best, the tapols are living under unbelievably horrible conditions. At worst, they are subjected to torture, starvation and denial of medical care. The release of these prisoners is TAPOL's main concern.

ANY QUESTIONS? If you have any questions concerning the historical background, we shall be glad to answer them.

A BRIEF GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

G. 30. S/PKI: Abbreviation of 30th September Movement/PKI, the term used to describe the coup attempt of 1965 which actually occurred on 1st October.

Surat-bebas G. 30. S/PKI: Certificate of non-involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. This document is required by anyone applying for a job or for entry to a University or other educational institutes, and for numerous other occasions. This requirement effectively debars millions of people, formerly members of the banned organisations, from employment, education and many other areas of everyday activity.

Kopkamtib: Abbreviation of Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban, (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), the Army Command under the direct commandship of General Suharto, the Indonesian President. Kopkamtib is in charge of political security and is directly responsible for the arrest and detention of political prisoners. According to a statement by General Panggabean, Indonesian Defence Minister, at the 1975 Armed Forces Leadership Meeting (19th-22nd March 1975), Kopkamtib, whose Chief-of-Staff is Admiral Sudomo, now falls within the field of operations of the Department of Defence and Security, known by the abbreviation HANKAM.

Panca Sila (pronounced pancha seela): The Five Pillars, originally formulated by President Sukarno in 1945. These are: belief in one God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice. The military regime asserts its adherence to these Five Pillars, and proclaims that tapols must abandon their ideology and "become good Panca Sila-ists". One wonders why Indonesia's rulers do not start by setting a good example themselves!

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TAPOL EDUCATIONAL AIDS

Exhibition and photographs

TAPOL has available a mobile exhibition of photographs and maps about repression and political imprisonment in Indonesia. Organisations or groups wishing to use this exhibition should contact us. We can also make available prints of photographs for use in local publicity. Costs will be kept to a minimum, covering production and postage.

Set of Slides

Compiled by TAPOL, this set of 25 black-and-white slides is a very useful aid to those wishing to give lectures. The photographs cover the 1965 massacres, the arrests, prison and camp conditions, as well as maps and a copy of a 'non-involvement certificate'. Notes provided on photographs and suggested lecture format. 25 slides for £2.50 plus postage.

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Pamphlet: "Indonesia - The Prison State" issued by TAPOL in March, 16 pages. A full, up-to-date account of political imprisonment in Indonesia, with photos, maps and a list of readings on the country. A must in your campaigns to inform and arouse public opinion this year. Price 10p or 25¢ (U S \$) plus postage. Reductions for bulk orders of 20 or more copies.

Drama Script In 1974, TAPOL presented a drama on political imprisonment in Indonesia. The 15,000-word script entitled Ten Long Years, which includes a number of authentic documents, prisoners' letters, government declarations, etc., is available for use by groups.

Please send your orders for Educational Aids with cheques or postal orders to: TAPOL, at the address below.

Please address subscriptions and all correspondence to. TAPOL - 103 Tilehurst Road, Wandsworth Common, London SW18



Part of an Exhibition at the Public Library in Bielefeld, West Germany. One of many activities organised by Bielefeld Amnesty groups during an Indonesia Week in June. It appeared with a display of books in the library about Indonesia and about human rights. The Library also issued a special catalogue of books on Indonesia and on human rights. A well-attended public meeting was also held, which was addressed by TAPOL member, Carmel Budiardjo. The *Bielefeld Tagblatt* published a long interview of her two days later.

NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL LOBBIES FOREIGN OFFICE

Lord Goronwy-Roberts, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, met a delegation arranged by the National Peace Council on 12 March and again on 15 April to discuss the problem of the Indonesian political prisoners. The delegation was led by Harry Robertson, NPC Chairman, and included Frank Allaun MP, Sybil Morrison, Sheila Oakes, and Sarah Leigh (representing TAPOL).

The policy of the British Government towards Indonesia in relation to the continued detention of the prisoners without trial was the main topic of discussion. Members of the delegation felt an increase of international pressure at high levels might force the Indonesian authorities to release the tapols.

Lord Goronwy-Roberts expressed great concern about the situation, but said that he believed present Foreign Office policy would be more effective in securing an improvement in the situation than a change to a more aggressive policy vis a vis Indonesia. Members of the delegation pointed out to the Minister that so far, the present policy of HMG had not met with much success in achieving this improvement.

The future of East Timor and Indonesia's designs on her were also discussed.

CBI MISSION IN INDONESIA

A top-level team of British industrialists, bankers and consultants visited Indonesia from 25th April to 7th May. The purpose of the mission, sponsored by the Confederation of British Industry, was "to find out, at first hand, the prospects for developing British trade and investment in Indonesia, one of the most exciting growth areas in the world." Indonesia was described as "bigger in area than the EEC . . . (that) stands out as a country where opportunities now exist for British industry."

The CBI has also announced that after the Mission's return, conferences would be held throughout Britain to stimulate greater interest in the development of trade and investment there.

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