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# Tapol

British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 9

March, 1975

## WOMEN ON TRIAL



The four women on trial, at the first hearing on 3rd February. From left to right: Sulami, Sudjinah, Sri Ambar Rukmiati and Suharti Harsono.

Four women political prisoners, all of whom have been in detention since 1966, are now on trial, on charges that carry the death sentence. They are being charged with subversion and with attempts to undermine the lawful government.

The four accused are Sulami, the main defendant, who was Third Secretary of the now-banned women's organisation, GERWANI; Sudjinah, who was on the staff of the GERWANI responsible for Education and Culture; Sri Ambar Rukmiati, head of the Women's Bureau of the now-banned trade union federation, SOBSI; and Suharti Harsono, on the staff of the now-banned peasants' organisation, BTT. The selection of these four co-defendants is apparently based not on co-membership

of GERWANI but on their alleged collaboration in illegal activities after the coup attempt was foiled.

When the trial commenced on 3rd February, the defendants had no counsel to defend them. As the charges could mean the death sentence in which counsel must be present, the court adjourned for a week for counsel to be appointed.

The indictment accuses them of having participated, directly or indirectly in the coup attempt of October 1965, and of working after that event to revive the Indonesian Communist Party even though it had been defeated and outlawed.

The primary charge of subversion is based on allegations

(cont'd p.3)

## EDITORIALS

### A QUESTION OF NUMBERS . . . .

TAPOL has for more than a year quoted the figure of 70,000 as its estimate of the number of tapols under detention in Indonesia. In the last issue of our Bulletin, we reported an estimate of at least 100,000 contained in an account published in the World Council of Churches International Review of Mission (July 1974) and written by a social worker involved in relief work for the tapols.

We have now decided, after careful study, consideration, and consultation with persons recently in a position to make an on-the-spot observation, to refer in future to the figure of 100,000. We feel that our readers would appreciate an explanation of this decision.

There is no practical way of accurately assessing the number of people being held as tapols. We believe that the Indonesian Government has no reliable method for gathering statistics of this kind. The former Attorney-General himself once frankly admitted that he "simply did not know" how many tapols there were.

One thing is certain, and that is that there are far more prisons, detention camps, work camps, interrogation centres

and the like where tapols are being held than is general recognised. The prisons and camps known by name represent but a small proportion of the places actually existing. It is certain that there are prisons or camps in every single provincial capital, district capital and sub-district capital, and that even at the lowest level of civil and military administration -- in the villages, of which there are more than 50,000 -- tapols are held. It is impossible to know moreover, how many local military commanders keep a tapol or two to perform domestic chores for them, to service their cars or to redecorate their homes.

The figure of 100,000 is not the result of any precise calculation based upon a complete list of all places where tapols are held for such a list is unobtainable. But we have decided to accept the assessment of those very competent to judge as a more accurate reflection of the magnitude of the problem.

## ECONOMIC AID AND HUMAN RIGHTS

By its refusal to re-schedule the re-payment of Chile's debts and to attend the forthcoming 'Club of Paris' aid consortium for Chile because of the brutal violation of human rights in that country, the British Government has established a precedent.

(cont'd p.3)

## Political Trials – The 1965 Cases:

### TWO MORE DEATH SENTENCES

Courts in various parts of Indonesia have passed another two death sentences against persons detained for alleged involvement in the 1965 events. And in one other case, the prosecution has demanded the death sentence. In other trials, a number of life sentences and 20-year sentences have been passed down.

The two death sentences have been passed against: Rustomo formerly Second Secretary of the East Java Provincial Committee of the PKI and described also as chairman of the Party's Special Bureau in East Java; he was sentenced on 10th January this year; and Ismanto, described as coordinator for the PKI's Liaison Committee for several districts in North Sumatra, who was sentenced on 6th December last. In the case of another North Sumatran PKI leader, Atmo, death sentence has been demanded by the prosecution but news of the verdict is not yet available.

In all cases, the accused are said to have been involved, prior to the 1965 events, in preparations within their localities for a response to the developments in Jakarta, and to have taken part, after the failure of the coup attempt, in underground activities aimed at restoring the PKI.

The charges against Rustomo are available in some detail from a long report that appeared in the Surabaya Post on 13th December 1974. They are fairly typical of the indictments against many PKI leaders from various regions who have been appearing before the courts in the past couple of years. A brief summary may therefore be of interest to readers who would like to know more about these trials.

It should be noted however that all press reports of trials are based on special briefings of journalists by public relations officers of the Army even though journalists themselves attend the hearings. The reports are therefore very heavily biased against the defendant, with guilt being assumed from the start, and with little space, if any, devoted to the arguments submitted by the defendant.

The charges against Rustomo were that he had conspired to organise revolt against the lawful government and that he had sought to undermine the lawful government and the State ideology. The first charge was based on activities he is said to have engaged in as Chairman of the East Java Special Bureau of the PKI, prior to the abortive coup on 1st October, 1965. The second charge is based upon his alleged involvement in efforts to restore the PKI after it had been banned, and his participation in underground activities for this purpose.

The primary charge lists a series of meetings he is said to have organised or attended, aimed among others at ensuring that the PKI could exercise an influence over members of the Armed Forces. It states that preparations were being made for the October events by means of discovering who within the Armed Forces were sympathetic to the PKI and who were sympathetic to the Council of Generals. Questions said to have been discussed at these meetings were the mustering of forces in preparation for the October events, the composition of the "revolutionary council" in East Java, and measures that would be taken to occupy vital buildings. His participation in meetings where such matters were discussed and the various trips he made to and from Jakarta to attend meetings of the central Special Bureau constitute the basis upon which the charge of conspiracy is made.

The subsidiary charge involves his attempts, together with other PKI leaders, to establish so-called "project committees" after the PKI had been banned, and his alleged participation in armed attacks while active within this underground movement. He is also said to have been responsible for the circulation of a book entitled Letikan Api based upon an ancient legend, which allegedly represented an attempt to call upon former PKI supporters to keep up their spirits and to oppose the lawful government. Thus, he is accused of having engaged in activities which he knew or should have known would undermine the lawful government and the Panca Sila ideology or would arouse hostility and conflict within society. "

According to one press report about the trial, a number of witnesses were called by the prosecution, most of whom were themselves already sentenced, in some cases, to death.

Rustomo, who is 55 years old and has been in detention since May 1968, announced after sentence was passed that he would appeal against the verdict.

### Other Trials

Meanwhile, reports of other trials in progress or completed continue to appear in the Indonesian press. There is the case of Sutarto, described as a PKI leader in East Kalimantan, who was found guilty of charges largely similar to those made against Rustomo and Ismanto, and sentenced to 20 years. In Klaten, Central Java, a former Army major, Major Sumaryo, was charged with participating in the kidnapping of a local Army officer in Central Java in the early days of October 1965. In this case, the prosecution has demanded a sentence of 15 years; the verdict is not yet known.

In Medan, North Sumatra, where the PKI leader, Atmo has been sentenced to death, another defendant, Probo Sukeso, tried together with four others in Binjai (as reported in our last issue) has been sentenced to life imprisonment; the prosecution had demanded 20 years. The other four defendants have been given 20 years each.

In Magelang, Central Java, Supono, formerly Secretary of the PKI Magelang Committee has been on trial on charges similar to those brought against Rustomo. At a hearing the end of February, the prosecution demanded a sentence of 17 years.

In Padang, West Sumatra, a military court is trying the case of ex-Second Sub-Lieutenant Koesno, who is accused of having acted with others in the Army to "ripen" the situation in preparation for the October 1965 events. He is charged with with subversion.

In East Java, the Attorney General's Office has announced that twelve more subversion cases are soon to be heard in the courts. So far, the Office says, two cases have been heard, those of Suwandi and Rustomo, both of whom were given death sentences. In Maluku, it has been announced that two subversion cases have been submitted to the Attorney-General's Office for trial.

All in all, the impression is that the number of trials has increased considerably in the last six months or so, and that the courts continue to hand down extremely severe sentences.

## Political Trials – The January 1974 Cases:

### LECTURE NOTES AND SPEECHES THE BASIS FOR SUBVERSION CHARGES

The second of the trials of persons arrested in connection with the protest movement that led to the students' demonstration against the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Jakarta in January 1974 is now in progress. The defendant is Syahrir, an economics graduate of the University of Indonesia, who was for some time Secretary of the University of Indonesia Discussion Group said to have been the group that inspired criticism of the government's policies and to have encouraged Hariman Siregar, the student leader who has been sentenced to 6 years imprisonment for his role in organising the students' demonstration.

The indictment submitted by the Prosecution accuses the defendant of having engaged in activities, demonstrations, discussions and dialogues within the UI Discussion Group, of having aimed at distorting and undermining the state ideology and bringing about the overthrow of the lawful government. Among the specific charges are that he "sought to oppose the existing political culture and replace it by a political elitist culture", that he "attacked the government's development strategy for paying too much attention to Gross National Product and not enough attention to creating employment opportunities", that he had "instigated students by urging that university campuses must involve themselves in society's affairs", and that he had "attacked the Army's dual function". He was also accused of having drafted the memorandum that was presented by a delegation of students to Dr. Jan Pronk, Dutch Minister for Overseas Aid and Chairman of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, when he visited Indonesia in October last year.

The defendant rejected all the charges. The questioning of the defendant and of the witnesses called by the prosecution

(cont'd p.7)

## MOCHTAR LUBIS ARRESTED

One of Indonesia's best-known editors, Mochtar Lubis, was arrested on 4th February. He was editor of Indonesia Raya, one of the eleven papers banned immediately after the 15th January demonstrations in 1974. He is President of the Press Foundation of Asia, and a contributing editor of Newsweek. He was known to have been interrogated following the January events, and towards the end of 1974 the Attorney General's Office announced that he, and another well-known public figure in Indonesia, Sujatmoko, had been ordered not to leave the country as their presence was required in connection with investigations of the January 1974 events.

Mochtar Lubis, who spent about nine years in prison during the Sukarno era, and was released in 1966 after Suharto came to power. Initially, he was strongly in support of the new policies being pursued under the military government, but has become increasingly outspoken in his criticism in the past two years. His paper which had also been banned under Sukarno was allowed to reappear by Suharto, and gradually became a channel for criticism of many aspects of life, in particular corruption, economic policies in general and the growing gap between the rich and the poor.

His arrest in February was hardly reported at all in the Indonesian press. The weekly Tribun reported in its issue of the second week of February that a spokesman of the Attorney General's Office had confirmed that Lubis had been arrested and that he would be charged under the Anti-Subversion Law No. 11/PNPS/1963, the law on which the January 1974 trials have been based. This would suggest that Mochtar Lubis may soon be brought to court for trial.

There have been world-wide protests and enquiries about his arrest, including from the Asian Press Foundation and the International Press Institute.

## Released 1974 Detainees Re-Arrested

Several of the January 1974 detainees who were released at the end of 1974 and in the first months of this year have been re-arrested. The names of the persons concerned have not been released.

A spokesman of the Attorney General's Office quoted among others in the weekly journal, Tribun, in its issue of the second week of February, stated that those released were liable to re-arrest at any time if this was considered necessary for further investigations. He made this remark when announcing the release of two more January 1974 detainees, the third in a series of releases that commenced with the release of Mr Yap Thiam Hien in December last. The two persons whose release he announced were Imam Waluyo and Fahmi Idris.

Referring to the maximum period of one year's detention allowed under the Anti-Subversion Act of 1963 which is used as the basis for the January 1974 arrests, he made it clear that, if those released after the expiry of this period were re-arrested, this would not be a prolongation of their earlier detention but would be counted as a new detention. In other words, this means that they can then be held for another one-year period without charge. He then confirmed that some of those released had indeed been re-arrested.

## Hariman Siregar Appeals Against Sentence

Hariman Siregar, the student leader who was sentenced to 6 years imprisonment in December, has made an appeal to the High Court against the sentence. It is also reported that the Prosecution which demanded a sentence of 12 years, has also appealed against the Court's decision and has urged a reconsideration of its original demand.

## EIGHTY NAVAL OFFICERS ARRESTED

In what appears to be a widespread purge of the Indonesian Navy, eighty officers have recently been arrested and many more have been purged. The arrested officers include middle-ranking officers, first-rank officers and cadets. The majority were attached to naval units in Surabaya where Indonesia's Navy has its chief base of operations and naval harbour.

Head of the Public Relations Division of the Navy, Colonel M. Hatta, declared on January 15th that the 80 arrests were made as part of the purge that commenced in 1973 and would be

completed in 1976. It was aimed, he said, at "cleansing the ranks of the Navy of G.30.S/PKI elements". He claimed that documents discovered during the purge had revealed a plan, in operation since 1966, "to gain control of the Navy". He added that the arrested officers were now under interrogation and that purge was still under way.

## Underground Network Discovered in East Java

Kopkamtib\*) Public Relations Officer in Surabaya, East Java, has also announced recently that an "underground network aimed at restoring the PKI" was discovered in East Java in the first quarter of 1974. There have been a number of arrests though no figures have been published.

News of the so-called discovery was not made public until January 1975 when the Kopkamtib officer, Captain Suwady, said that the network had taken the form of a "production organisation" (usprod) whose members were PKI members working in various transport, commercial and industrial enterprises in the province. The purpose, he said, was to accumulate funds to finance activities aimed at the restoration of the banned PKI. The Kopkamtib statement also attempts to link this organisation to groups of young hooligans and robbers said to be operating in various parts of East Java.

## WOMEN ON TRIAL . . . (from p. 1)

of their collective and individual participation in underground activities in Jakarta after the coup was foiled. These include the publication and distribution of an illegal bulletin, 'Mimbar Rakjat', the false acquisition of identity cards for themselves and others, attempts to help the children of political prisoners, and other illegal activities.

The subsidiary charge of attempting to undermine the lawful government is based on allegations related to their presence in meetings prior to the October 1965 events at which preparations for these events are said to have been made, and allegations specifically against Sulami that she recruited women to go to Lubang Buaya (the place where the coup conspirators established their headquarters) to do sewing and cooking.

The nature of the indictment shows that this is not in fact a 'GERWANI trial' as was first suggested; it is, rather, an attempt to implicate the GERWANI obliquely in a trial of four women alleged to have collaborated in the underground movement, only two of whom were GERWANI leaders. It also confirms the impression created by the current sudden spate of trials that charges related to pre-coup activities are now deemed to be insufficient, with the result that the cases being selected are ones where allegations of post-coup illegal activity represent the severest aspect of the charge.

## ECONOMIC AID. . . . (from p.1)

It has recognised that providing aid to repressive governments only encourages them. The least governments can do in cases like this is to withdraw their support in the hope that this will bring repressive regimes to their senses.

The Dutch Government too has announced that it will not attend the 'Club of Paris' meeting; neither will the Belgian, Danish, Norwegian and Swedish Governments.

The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia will be meeting from 22nd-24th April in Amsterdam to decide on this year's aid commitments to Indonesia. For eight years, since the IGGI was established in 1967, Western governments have been aiding one of the most repressive regimes in the world. It is high time these governments reviewed their aid programmes to Indonesia not only because of Indonesia's recent enormous influx of wealth from oil, but also because of Indonesia's gross and persistent violation of human rights for almost ten years.

As one of Britain's leading national dailies, The Guardian, said in an editorial on 13th March 1975, in which it spotlighted the bleak prospects for Indonesia's 100,000 political prisoners in this tenth year of military rule: "Britain has refused to re-schedule Chile's debts because of the assault on civil rights there and has won some support for the move in Western Europe. It should do the same through the IGGI for Indonesia's political prisoners".

# SPOTLIGHT ON WOMEN

Women in Indonesia have for many years played an active part in political and social affairs and so it was inevitable that when widespread repression was unleashed, following the establishment of the military régime in 1965, women would be greatly affected. offer the following information to our readers on the occasion of International Women's Year in the hope that it will be useful as a means of drawing attention to the effects of political imprisonment on women in Indonesia, both as prisoners and as the wives of prisoners.

## I. The Banned Women's Organisation

From the early days of the Indonesian Republic, a number of women's organisations came into existence, each oriented more or less towards the various political trends within society. Among these was the Gerakan Wanita Indonesia (GERWANI), the Indonesian Women's Movement which represented the leftwing of the women's movement and included a far greater number of working and peasant women among its members than any other women's organisations.

The GERWANI was not affiliated to the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) and did not confine its membership to communist women; it described itself as 'an organisation of communist and non-communist women'.

By the time of the October 1965 events, the GERWANI was the largest women's organisation in the country with a membership of several hundred thousand. It organised women on such widely varying issues as fighting against polygamy and forced marriages, setting up women's clinics and creches, running infants' schools and educational courses, fighting for economic demands such as resisting rising prices, and arranging social gatherings for women. It also had a periodical entitled Api Kartini, named after Kartini, Indonesia's first outstanding woman emancipationist who died in her early twenties at the beginning of this century.

After the coup attempts had been crushed on 1st October, 1965, the PKI and numerous other organisations associated with the leftwing movement were immediately banned and held responsible for the events that had occurred. The GERWANI was included among the organisations banned and its members became liable to immediate arrest or, for those employed, to immediate dismissal from their jobs.

Women were also playing an active part in the trade union and peasant movements, and here too as members of the leftwing trade union federation, SOBSI, and the leftwing peasants organisation, BTI, both banned in October 1965, they became liable to immediate arrest.

**GERWANI - A Special Target** After the military took over, an unbridled attack on all leftwing organisations was launched; and the leftwing, deprived immediately of all its organs of press and channels of communications, was unable to reply. The GERWANI took the brunt of the attack in a vicious campaign that was deliberately aimed at arousing passions by depicting it as an organisation of sex-maniacs. The organisation was said to have been responsible for recruiting women and girls to go to the Lubang Buaya Training Camp which became the headquarters of the people responsible for the 1st October coup attempt. Sensational reports appeared in the press about "Gerwani prostitutes", "obscene sex-dancing and ritual", and "girls mutilating the sex organs of the murdered generals". There is no doubt that these unchallenged reports helped to incite the frenzy which led to the massacres that swept many parts of the country in the latter months of 1965.

## II. The Women *Tapols*

There is no way of accurately estimating the number of women being held as *tapols*. There are some women's prisons and camps where numbers are known approximately, but



Mrs. Lie Tjwan Sien, also known by her maiden name, Go Tjun Nio. She is a *tapol* in Plantungan; she's been imprisoned without trial since 1969 when she was arrested a second time. Her husband, a doctor, has been at Salemba Prison, Jakarta, since 1967 without trial.

there is no way of knowing how many women are being detained in the scores of lesser-known prisons, the interrogation camps and military units dotted throughout the country.

Plantungan Women's Detention Camp in Central Java has a total of 386 *tapols*. This camp accommodates long-term, category B women, the category officially described as those who cannot be tried for lack of evidence but who will not be released because they are considered "a threat to national security". They work on the land for their sustenance in a very inaccessible region. Only a very small proportion are still in contact with their families and receive occasional food parcels. Family visits are extremely difficult and a great rarity because the camp is remote and much time and money is needed to secure a permit. Most of the women have lost all contact with their children and husbands, and live in an atmosphere of constant anxiety about what may be happening.

The two other known women's prisons are Bukit Duri Prison in Jakarta and Bulu Prison in Semarang. The former is believed to hold about 75 women in the special wing for political prisoners. There are probably several dozen women being held at Bulu Prison. A fairly large number of women are known to have been arrested in West Kalimantan on charges of helping the guerrillas operating in the province.

With an estimated 500 women *tapols* in the small number of known institutions, it is reasonable to estimate that there are at least five-hundred more being held in other places. There are therefore at least one-thousand women being held as political prisoners in Indonesia.

**Torture of Women** Torture is widely and systematically practised against *tapols* in Indonesia. Women are also subjected to these brutalities with the added ingredient of unbridled and often violent sexual assault. In many cases, women are forced to strip naked during interrogation as a method of embarrassment and demoralisation. The standard forms of torture are practiced such as electric shock, beatings, cigarette burns and being left dangling by the wrists for many hours at a stretch. To all this is added, in the case of women, insertion of implements into the vagina and vicious pummeling of breasts, even against women who are known to be still suckling babies.

## III. Women on Trial

The number of women who have been brought to trial since the first arrests took place nearly ten years ago is extremely small. The only two trials about which anything is known are those of Suwardiningsih and Munadi Widodo. Suwardiningsih who was a member of the PKI Central Committee was put on trial in 1967 and charged with having gone to South Sumatra on PKI instructions in September 1965 to organise a response to the coup attempt in Jakarta and with having organised and led underground political resistance in

the province after the coup had failed. She was found guilty and sentenced to life imprisonment and is probably now being held at a prison in Palembang, South Sumatra. Her trial was fairly widely reported in the Indonesian press. Virtually nothing is known about Mrs. Munadi's trial which took place in Ujung Pandang, Sulawesi, except that she was described as a local GERWANI leader 'directly involved in the 1965 events'.

Although a large number of members of the Central Council of GERWANI have been in detention since 1965 or soon after, including the Chairperson, Umi Sardjono, the Vice-Chairpersons Mrs. Mudigdio and Charlotte Salawati, several Secretaries including Sulami and Maasje Siwi, and Sudjinah, editor of *Api Kartini*, there was no news of a central GERWANI trial until a few months ago. So despite the frenzied sensations that surrounded the GERWANI during the early days of Suharto's New Order, it has taken more than nine years for the military apparatus to decide that they had enough grounds for bringing a central GERWANI figure before court.

Several women *tapols* have appeared in various trials as witnesses. Most notable in this respect is Sri Ambar, a leading member of the Women's Department of SOBSI, the now-banned trade union federation. She was called as witness at the trial in 1965 of Sudisman, member of the Politbureau of the PKI. When she appeared, she informed the presiding judge that her hearing had been impaired as a result of beatings during interrogations, that she had sustained several injuries as a result of assaults, also during interrogations (she pulled up her batik wrap to reveal scars on her thigh and buttock), that she did not know the accused, had been compelled to sign a document expressing willingness to appear as a witness and in fact did not wish to do so. The judge had no alternative but to dismiss her as a witness. Sri is still under detention at Bukit Duri Prison.

#### IV. Problems of Detainees' Families

The wives and children of the tens of thousands of *tapols* many of whom have been under detention for almost ten years, are in many cases living in conditions of destitution. Social services are non-existent in Indonesia and there are no benefits available to families deprived of the breadwinner. The families suffer too because of the fears that have been instilled in all sections of society, strongly discouraging anyone, even close relatives, from doing anything to help the dependents of *tapols*. Many things such as obtaining employment, enrolling at a school and moving into a new district can only be done if a person has a 'certificate of non-involvement in the October 1965 events'. Generally speaking, the wives of detainees are not entitled to such certificates, although in some places they succeed in getting one by concealing their identity or bribing a local official.

Many of the *tapols'* wives found themselves completely unprepared for taking on the responsibility of earning enough to keep their children and feed a husband in prison and, with society forced into such a hostile attitude, they have not succeeded in establishing for themselves a stable income. The problem of ensuring their children a proper education has greatly added to their worries. No education is free, even at primary school level because of levies imposed for entrance, monthly school maintenance fees and contributions to teachers.

Many families, in an effort to ensure their survival against harassment by military or other officials, took the step of moving into a completely new district where they could build a new life for themselves. But there are many disadvantages to such a choice. It means that wives must opt not to visit their husbands in prison or supply them with food; it also means that if their real identity were discovered, they could be arrested for having attempted to 'flee from justice'.

Another aggravating factor to be borne by *tapols'* wives is that in Indonesia there are few single women, and divorced women and widows usually remarry because most communities have little tolerance for the 'unattached' woman. *Tapols'* wives are therefore often frowned upon by their neighbours, pestered by men and mistrusted by jealous women. Such attitudes have compelled many wives to move to other districts or to ask their husbands for a divorce in order to seek the security of another marriage. The pressure of divorce is understandably high when women live in such uncertainty about their husbands' prospects of release.

## EDITOR ON TRIAL FOR SLANDERING PRESIDENT

The Editor-in-Chief of a now-banned glossy magazine, POP, is on trial in Jakarta for publishing a family tree of the President which disputes the official version of the ancestry of Suharto.

The family tree with details of investigations carried out by the staff of the magazine of persons claiming to know the true origins of the President appeared in November last. It describes Suharto as being of aristocratic stock, whose father discarded the mother and child for a wife acceptable to his family. According to this version, Suharto was then fostered by a man whom Suharto now claims was his father. The official version describes Suharto as being of peasant stock.

Immediately after the publication of the POP article, vehement denials were put out by Suharto's family and Suharto gave a press conference for the first time in history. He was evidently disturbed by the fact that one of the managers of the staff of the magazine is on the staff of OPSUS, the Special Operations Unit under the control of the powerful Lieutenant-General Ali Murtopo.

The editor, Rey Hanityo, who is now on trial, has denied the charge of slander. He told the court he had no reason to disbelieve the information he had received and which had been carefully checked.

The magazine had been expected to issue an apology for the incident, but the defendant said this had not happened because its publishing permit had been withdrawn before it could be done. Efforts by the court to seek assurances that the defendant was regretful for what he had done appear not to have been successful.

At a hearing on 5th March, prosecution demanded a sentence of 4½ years.

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## MPs URGE HMG TO PRESS INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

Twenty-eight Members of Parliament have signed an Early Day Motion on Indonesian tapols, which reads as follows:

"That this House, noting that Indonesia is the recipient of substantial British aid; urges Her Majesty's Government to make strong representations to the Indonesian Government to abandon its policy of political repression and release the 70,000 political prisoners held without trial, the majority of whom have been in detention for more than nine years."

The following MPs have signed the Motion: Frank Allaun (Lab), Guy Barnett (Lab), Alan Beith (Liberal), Sidney Bidwell (Lab), Bryan Davies (Lab), Ioan Evans (Lab), John Evans (Lab), Ted Fletcher (Lab), Bryan Gould (Lab), Colin Jackson (Lab), Lena Jeger (Lab), Russell Johnston (Liberal), Tom Litterick (Lab), E. Loyden (Lab), Joan Maynard (Lab), John Mendelson (Lab), Ian Mikardo (Lab), Stan Newens (Lab), Maurice Orbach (Lab), Jo Richardson (Lab), Caerwyn Roderick (Lab), J. W. Rooker (Lab), Paul B. Rose (Lab), Jim Sillars (Lab), Ron Thomas (Lab), Stan Thorne (Lab), William Wilson (Lab) and Audrey Wise (Lab).

## INDONESIAN DIPLOMAT REFUSES TO TALK

The Indonesian Ambassador in London, Admiral Subono, has turned down a number of requests from British organisations wishing to send deputations to discuss the problem of political detention. He argues in his replies that this is "directly related to national security and the country's stability ... and Indonesia is not responsible to anyone or any organisation except to its own people".

Among those known to have been turned down in this way are the Labour Party, the National Peace Council, and Lord Soper who recently led an ecumenical deputation to discuss the matter with the Foreign Office.

The Ambassador's replies contain a number of quite amazing statements. In his reply to Mr. Ron Hayward, Secretary of the British Labour Party, he said that the detainees had been arrested "not (because) they were political adversaries of the Government but because they committed criminal acts when they revolted" and had "committed acts of treason". He then says: "Thus it is apparent that they are guilty beyond any doubt of committing gross violations of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian people." Guilty beyond any doubt? Yet later in the same letter he admits that the problem would be settled "gradually through trials and rehabilitation".

He makes similar points in his reply to the National Peace Council and even goes so far as to assert that the "purpose of their arrest was to safeguard ... the lives of the detainees from the fury of the masses". He refers to a survey "recently carried out (which) indicated that the majority within the Indonesian society still strongly objected to the return of the detainees". He does not explain what kind of a survey this was, nor how, if indeed such a survey was carried out, anyone would dare to speak in favour of the release of people already condemned "beyond any doubt" of having committed acts of treason without even having been tried.

But what of his claim that the detainees were not political adversaries of the government? In his reply to the NPC, he states that the release of the detainees will depend, a great deal "on the attitude of the detainees themselves, whether they are willingly prepared to adjust themselves to prevailing new social conditions." This is a clear admission surely that it is not a matter of punishing people for crimes that they allegedly committed, but of their having to "adjust their attitudes". If this is not political, then what is?

## TAPOL - A NEW INTERNATIONALISM?

A leading Indonesian general, Lieutenant-General Ali Murtopo, has warned in a recent speech of "the danger of a new internationalism centred in London". He describes this "new trend" as a trend that proclaims slogans about "liberty, amnesty and other such things in a tone of revolt". He then warns of the need for greater vigilance against this trend because Indonesia is currently facing nationalism in its own process of nation-building.

Can the General be referring to TAPOL which is indeed centred in London? Or to Amnesty International which also has its centre in London. He gives us no further clue. But clearly things happening in London are beginning to worry the General. If he does mean us, then we would only like to say that there is nothing new about campaigning internationally for human rights. Perhaps he hasn't yet read the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is more than a quarter of a century old. If he hasn't read it yet, we would recommend it to his attention for he may then begin to understand the slogans of which he is evidently so very much afraid.

## NATIONAL PEACE COUNCIL VISITS FOREIGN OFFICE

On Wednesday 12th March, a delegation arranged by the National Peace Council went to see Lord Goronwy-Roberts who is Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office responsible for Britain's diplomatic relations with Indonesia. The delegation consisted of Frank Allaun MP, Sarah Leigh, Sybil Morrison, Sheila Oakes and Harry Robertson.

The delegation expressed concern at Britain's continuing support of the Indonesian regime as evidenced, among other things, by the aid programme and the Queen's State Visit to Indonesia last March, at a time when Indonesia holds so many tens of thousands of political prisoners without trial.

The fear that Indonesia might invade Portuguese Timor was also expressed.

It was agreed that the delegation should meet the Minister to continue the discussion on 15th April.

**WHAT IS TAPOL?** This is the Indonesian word for political prisoner, and it is the name we have taken for our organisation, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, and likewise for our Bulletin.

**WHAT'S THE BACKGROUND?** Young readers and many others may have forgotten the blood-bath of October 1965, when the Indonesian Army under General (now President) Suharto overthrew the government of President Sukarno, and carried out one of the worst slaughters in history - when somewhere between half a million and a million people were killed.

**AND TODAY?** Nine 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.

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## Portuguese Timor:

### INDONESIAN MILITARY PREPARING FOR MILITARY INVASION?

The future of Portuguese Timor, a territory that borders on the Indonesian Republic, appears to be very much in the balance. Several recent events indicate that the Indonesian Government, which has made it quite clear on several occasions that it regards the territory's integration into Indonesia as the only viable alternative, is now seeking a pretext to stage a military invasion.

In November last year, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik declared that "amalgamation with Indonesia was the most appropriate way for the people of Portuguese Timor to raise their economic and social standards" (Berita-Yudha, 28th November 1974). In March this year, while denying that Indonesia had any territorial ambitions or that it was planning an invasion, he stated: "The situation in the territory is not in accord with the pledges made by the Portuguese Government. It is absolutely essential for them to keep their promises; not like things at the moment when there is a state of chaos. If the atmosphere goes in a direction that is dangerous, we will not tolerate it. (Tempo, 8th March, 1975)

What is the "state of chaos" to which the Indonesian Foreign Minister refers and which he represents as posing a threat to stability? Although Major Costa Jonatas, Head of Social Communications in Portuguese Timor said recently on his return to Portugal that the situation was calm and orderly, the Indonesian official news agency, Antara, has recently issued several reports complaining that "leftist forces are in control of the territory", that a "hate-Indonesia campaign" is being organised and that people who favour integration with Indonesia are being compelled to flee the country.

The Australian press has reported on several occasions recently that Indonesian troops are massing along the borders of Portuguese Timor, and that Indonesian Army engineers are undertaking road repairs in the border region.

To give our readers a brief outline of the situation in the colony, we shall summarise developments since the political changes took place in Portugal last year. Following the change, three political parties emerged in the territory: the UDT which initially favoured a policy of retaining links with Portugal, Apodeti which favours integration with Indonesia and Fretilin which favours complete independence.

Some months ago it was announced in Lisbon that elections would be held in March this year to elect representatives to a Constituent Assembly for all remaining Portuguese colonies which would decide on their constitutional future.

Following the appointment of a new Portuguese Governor, he invited the three political parties to appoint representatives to an advisory council to advise him on state affairs until such time as the future of the territory was settled. The UDT and Fretilin both agreed to appoint representatives but Apodeti refused to do so. It was also announced in February that UDT and Fretilin made a declaration of joint action on 21st February which suggests that they have now reached agreement on their views about the future of Portuguese Timor.

Following reports that Indonesian troops were preparing for an invasion, the Australian Government has made diplomatic representations to Jakarta to ask for a clarification. The Australian Government's view is believed to favour the incorporation of Portuguese Timor into the Indonesian Republic but wishes to see this done in a way that ensures proper expression of the right of self-determination of the people.

### LECTURE NOTES. . . . (from p.2)

to give testimony has all been related to the contents of lectures given by Syahrir at the University in Jakarta and at several other universities, or to notes he made on various topics and to documents he is said to have helped to compile.

At a hearing on 11th March, the Prosecution presented its summing up and requested the court to sentence the defendant to 16 years' imprisonment.

### NEW RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON POLITICAL PARTIES

A new law on political parties is about to be introduced in Indonesia which virtually eliminates any of the remaining trappings of the parties as independent organisations. The stipulations of the law include the following: parties must be based on the Panca Sila and the 1945 Constitution and no parties will be permitted to exist that pursue Marxist and communist ideals; the President is granted powers to dismiss party executives if he deems that they have failed to observe the law; persons who cannot read and write Latin script may not join parties nor may persons under 18 years of age; only people who are "capable of taking part in political activity" will be permitted to join parties and the members will be screened by the party leadership; parties will not be permitted to engage in activities at levels below the district capital (kabupaten) which means excluding the vast majority of the Indonesian people who live in the villages.

The law eliminates the possibility for any new parties to come into being in addition to the two that now exist (the result of mergers enforced by the Government). It establishes GOLKAR, the Army-sponsored 'functional' group as the sole functional organisation, in other words, the organisation through which all sectional interests must be channeled.

During a discussion of the law's provisions in Parliament, a spokesman for the Moslem party, the United Development Party (PPP) complained that political parties were now in a state of listlessness. "People have become completely apathetic about parties and democracy, and a fear of joining parties, a party-phobia, has developed." According to the representative of another permitted party, the Democratic Unity Party (PDI), the supervisory powers granted to the President should be withdrawn. On this same point, the PPP spokesman said this supervision would turn the parties into government departments. "Ministers will have powers to replace personnel just as they do within their department."

### "OEDIPUS" BANNED

A rendering in Indonesian of "Oedipus Rex" by Sophocles, written and produced by the well-known Indonesian playwright, W. S. Rendra, has been banned. The play, entitled "Oedipus Berpulang" (Oedipus Comes Home) in the Indonesian rendering, was to have been put on at Rendra's Theatrical Workshop in Jogjakarta, Central Java.

The ban which was issued by the Jogjakarta Police gave the following reasons for the prohibition: firstly, that the rendering did not conform with the original, and secondly, that considerations had been given to the matter by higher bodies.

This is the second time a play by Rendra has been subjected to a ban. But on the first occasion, a few months prior to the January 1974 demonstrations, General Sumitro who was then encouraging dissent, intervened in Rendra's favour and the ban was lifted. In the earlier case, Rendra's play "Mastodom and the Condor Bird" depicted a revolutionary situation in an unnamed South American republic living under a military regime.

Rendra's reaction to the latest ban was expressed at a poetry reading in Jogjakarta a few days later. "My creative powers cannot die as a result of pressure. Even if I have to go to the jungles, I shall continue to produce works." He said he has another four plays ready for presentation, and denied that his works were linked with protest movements. He said:

"I only defend healthy ideas and am conscious of ideas that are not suitable any more, regardless of whether they emanate from those in power or from the students. I am not afraid of them. Am I committing a sin by being conscious? This is the task of writers and artists."

### AGE AND NON-INVOLVEMENT CERTIFICATES

Kopkamtib in West Java has announced that persons who were under 12 at the time of the 1965 events need no longer be in possession of "certificates of non-involvement in the G.30.S/PKI(\*)". This does not however affect the necessity for all persons of whatever age to undergo screening, and the need for continual checks to determine whether a person is involved in efforts to restore the PKI.



## NUSAKEMBANGAN PRISON ISLAND AND THE CEMENT FACTORY

In our No. 6 issue, we reported that plans were afoot for using tapols moved to Nusakembangan Prison Island last April to work as forced labour on a cement factory to be constructed in the region.

Although these reports were strenuously denied by the military authorities, information in the press recently suggest that the dangers we pointed to are very real.

On the one hand, several newspapers have published reports of conditions on Nusakembangan Island. These include an article on 15th November 1974 in *Suara Karya* by R. Sutarto, and two articles in *Angkatan Bersenjata* on 24th and 25th February 1975 by Poeng Purwijati. The former acknowledges the fact that tapols are being held on the island besides convicted criminal prisoners. The articles agree that there are altogether nine prison units on the island and one, administered jointly, in the nearby harbour town of Cilacap, but whereas R. Sutarto says the island has a capacity of 4,000 prisoners, Poeng Purwijati gives a capacity figure of 7,000. Both stress that only prisoners and prison officials with their families are allowed to live on the island and that access is debarred to anyone not connected with the prison apparatus.

As for the progress with the cement factory, it has now been reported that construction of the Japanese-financed plant, which will be situated in Karangtalun just a few miles north of Cilacap, will commence in June 1975 and production is planned to start in June 1977. The chief raw material, limestone, will be obtained from the northern districts of Nusakembangan Island, and 1,000 hectares have been designated for this purpose. Clay will also be quarried in Nusakembangan. There can be no doubt that prisoner labour will be used for the limestone and clay quarrying, as there is no other labour available on the island.

It has been learned that some tapols being held at the prison unit at Cilacap are presently being used in connection with the preparatory work on the construction of the factory.

Many thanks to Chris Smith, Jim Perry, Michel and Marika Julian, Janet Bailley, Gus and Dorcas. Their help over long hours and their consistent encouragement has made this issue possible.

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## TAPOL EDUCATIONAL AIDS

TAPOL has erected a large mobile documentary exhibition of photographs and maps, for display at meetings in London and throughout Britain.

Scripts of 'NINE LONG YEARS,' a 15,000-word stage drama in two acts written by TAPOL for presentation during 1974.

The 20" x 30" TAPOL poster in three striking colours (black, ochre yellow and red) with assorted slogans. 45 pence + postage. Shown here at left.

"Indonesia: The Prison State" pamphlet.

## SET OF SLIDES ON POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

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. Send your order to TAPOL - 103 Tilehurst Road, Wandsworth Common, London SW18 - United Kingdom.

## GLOSSARY

tapol: abbreviation of tahanan politik, meaning political prisoner. Widely-used in Indonesia since 1965, both officially and by the public. In October 1974, the regime suddenly announced the banning of the word.

Kopkamtib: abbreviation of Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, the Army Command under the personal supervision of President Suharto which is in charge of political security and directly responsible for arresting and detaining political prisoners.

G.30.S/PKI: the way in which the 1965 coup attempt is officially described in Indonesia.

Panca Sila: the Five Pillars of State Ideology. These are Belief in One God, Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Democracy and Social Justice.

HMG: Her Majesty's Government, United Kingdom.



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