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## British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 6

August, 1974

# JANUARY INCIDENT TRIALS BEGIN

Hariman Siregar, Chairman of the Students Council of the University of Indonesia (Jakarta) until his arrest in January this year, is now on trial before the Central Jakarta State Court. He is being charged with subversion and plotting to overthrow the Indonesian Government to replace the Constitution. He faces possible death sentence or life imprisonment.

Siregar is one of scores of detainees held since January this year in connection with the demonstration held in protest against the visit to Indonesia of the Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka, and the movement of dissent that preceded these demonstrations.

Two days prior to the commencement of the trial on 1st August, 'readiness manoeuvres' were held by the Army in the capital of Jakarta, during which heavily-armed troops displayed their tactics in dealing with riots and protest demonstrations. The entire capital was affected by the exercises which lasted 6½ hours and which were under the direct command of the Commander of the Jakarta Military Command who is also Jakarta Commander of *Kopkamtib* (Army Security Command).

When the trial opened, the courthouse was surrounded by many thousands of people who had come to see the accused and to listen to the proceedings on loudspeakers. The entire area was heavily guarded by armoured vehicles and armed troops. There can be no doubt that the 'readiness manoeuvres' two days previously were specifically aimed at warning anyone against organising any large-scale expression of solidarity with Hariman Siregar on the day the trial commenced.

Hariman, who is 24 years old and a final-year medical student, was in good spirits when he appeared at the court. He is being defended by four barristers of *Peradin*, the Indonesian Bar Association. S Tasrif, chairman of *Peradin*, is leading the defense team. Up to the moment the trial opened, Hariman had not been given any opportunity to appoint counsel or to meet

any lawyers. The lawyers were appointed for him by the Rector of the University of Indonesia, Prof Mahar Mardjono who is himself now living under constraint.

At the opening session, the team of lawyers told the court of their deep dissatisfaction that the accused had not been permitted to consult a lawyer during the entire period of his detention. A request by the defense for a postponement to allow time to prepare the case was granted by the court.

When the court reassembled on 12th August, Mr S Tasrif submitted a demurrer, arguing that the law under which Hariman Siregar was being tried, namely the Presidential Decree 1963 on Eradicating Subversion, had in fact already been revoked. Following this startling move, the court again adjourned for a week and will resume hearings on August 20th.

### 34 Witnesses to be Called

The indictment read out by the Prosecutor deals extensively with Hariman's activities as chairman of the Students Council in organising meetings from October 1973 to January 1974 at which opposition and criticism was expressed about the Government's policy and the widespread corruption in government and military circles. He is quoted for example as renaming *Koptamtib* the *Komplotan Penindas Masyarakat Tidak Berdosa* (Conspiracy to Suppress the Innocent Masses). Prosecution informed the court that 34 witnesses would be called. The list consists largely of student leaders and some intellectuals, the majority of whom are themselves now in detention.

Hariman's wife was not in court. She is in hospital suffering from hepatitis, after having given birth a few weeks ago to twins, both of whom were stillborn. His father-in-law Prof Sarbina is himself a detainee, having been arrested in January this year.

### EDITORIAL

#### NEARLY NINE YEARS . . .

In two months' time, in October this year, the vast majority of *tapols* in Indonesia will be saying: 'Nine years already. When will this end?'

Well may they ask, for recent developments in Indonesia indicate that the end is getting not closer but even more remote.

The transfer of thousands of *tapols* to workcamps is a 'solution' that prolongs the agony of the prisoners and puts off the day when the only real solution – unconditional release – can be expected.

The decision of the military regime to go ahead with the trial of Hariman Siregar, the first of the January 1974 *tapols* to come for trial, rather than hold these *tapols* for a few more months then quietly release them, as some people had expected, suggests that the regime is determined to make of the January events a long-term political issue which will keep this new crop of prisoners in prison perhaps for several years.

October is an anniversary that should be commemorated – not the ninth anniversary of the abortive coup which is marked in Indonesia in an effort to justify the continuing repression, but the ninth anniversary of the first mass arrests. In Britain we intend to commemorate this occasion, and we urge our readers and friends in other countries to consider ways of commemorating the occasion too.

# MORE ON TAPOL FORCED LABOUR

## The Oil Pipeline

According to very reliable sources, one of the projects on which political prisoner labour is now being used in Central Java is the construction of an oil pipeline running from Cilacap in the south to Cirebon in the north. The pipeline is being built by *Pertamina*, the all-powerful state oil company which is under full military control. The *tapols* working on this project are accommodated at Nusakembangan, the prison island just off the south coast of Central Java, near Cilacap.

Other workcamps where *tapol* labour is being used are in Boyolali, near Salatiga, and Ungaran, near Semarang, both in Central Java.

## The Nusakembangan Cement Works

Meanwhile, the statement issued by TAPOL in June exposing the employment of *tapols* as forced labour has provoked a denial by the Head of Information of the Indonesian Defence and Security Ministry, Brigadier-General Sumrahadi, who told foreign journalists in Jakarta on 24th June last that 'not a single political detainee (is) made to do forced labour' and that 'the mention of the Cilacap cement works proves that the news is not true (because) the Cilacap cement works at the moment are not built' (*Kompas*, 24th June, 1974).

This denial however is quite unconvincing because it was never suggested that *tapols* were being used as regular factory labour in a completed factory but rather most probably in the construction of the plant. We have now discovered, on further investigation, that the plant in question is *actually located on the island of Nusakembangan itself*. In a statement to the press, reported in the Jakarta daily *Buana* on 26th September 1973, Ir Sunarjo, Director of the Indonesian company participating in the joint venture building the cement works in question, stated that work on the project would commence in the early part of 1974 and would not be completed until 1976. The plant site, he said, would be located in the district of Brambang Nusakembangan, with packing and servicing stations at the ports of Cilacap and Tanjung Priok (Jakarta).

The plant which will involve a total investment of \$50 million, is being set up by two Japanese companies and an Indonesian company. The Japanese companies are: Onoda Cement Co Ltd and Mitsui & Co. The Indonesian Company is PT Gunung Ngadeg Djaja.

## ILO Also Worried

Less than a month after his denial of the TAPOL statement, Brigadier-General Sumrahadi found it necessary to issue yet another denial on a similar issue, in response to a decision adopted at the June meeting of the ILO in Geneva this year, which, Sumrahadi states 'obliges Indonesia to report on the implementation of Convention 29 on forced labour, in particular forced labour by untried political prisoners'. The Jakarta daily *Sinar Harapan*, which reports Sumrahadi's statement on 13th July last, states that ILO was focussing attention on the *tapols* now on Buru, where they are working a full 12 hours a day on civilian projects and other endeavours in the interests of the commanders.

Incidentally, it is very disturbing to note that Sumrahadi stated there are 'about 9,000 to 10,000' *tapols* on Buru, whereas the most recently published figure was 9,988 in October 1973. Why was the General being so vague about the figures? Is this yet another example of the Army's inability to be precise? Or are we to assume that the death-rate on the island has accelerated recently?

## SOME NOTES ABOUT CONDITIONS IN SEVERAL PRISONS

Recently we have been able to obtain more information about conditions in several different prisons and places of detention from sources which, for obvious reasons, we cannot divulge. We would like to share this information with our readers.

**Salemba** Food conditions are very bad. Rice or staple food rations are down to three spoonfuls a day. Prisoners grow spinach on a vegetable plot and this is virtually the only vegetable they eat. Understandably, after years or even months eating the same vegetable, a revulsion for it develops. On an average, only one prisoner in eight receives supplementary food from relatives, and this extra food is usually shared. Thus, in many cases, one prisoner is looking after seven others. Sometimes, in desperation, prisoners capture cats or rats for food.

One block is reserved for criminal prisoners, mostly people convicted of murder, bodily assault or other serious crimes. Their conditions are much better than those of the *tapols*. A common form of punishment for a *tapol* is to spend a period in the criminal prisoners' block where they are often badly treated and deprived by their co-prisoners of what food they receive from outside. Salemba which accommodates under conditions of extreme overcrowding about 2,000 prisoners, is a high-security prison, under complete military control, with about 90 percent political prisoners. The criminal prisoners' block is maintained there probably for two reasons: because high security is needed for the prisoners who are convicted of crimes of violence, and because the block provides a convenient form of punishment for the *tapols*.

**Military Prison, jalan Budi Utomo 7, Jakarta** Conditions here are quite different from Salemba. The prison accommodates about 200 prisoners, mostly high-ranking officials or senior Army officers. Food from outside is therefore more plentiful, and family visits are permitted far more frequently. The *tapols* here are generally those awaiting trial or waiting to be called to testify in a trial. This prison also accommodates criminal prisoners, usually those held on charges of corruption. These men receive plentiful food supplies from their families and this prosperity is often shared with the political prisoners. Restrictions are far fewer than elsewhere: some prisoners have their own TV and are permitted to receive light reading (eg *Readers Digest*), to study languages etc. But, as many prisoners here are under intensive investigation, torture is common and the psychological atmosphere is often very tense.

**Nirbaya** This accommodates a small number of *tapols*, mainly ex-Ministers, senior Army officers and others of the elite. The *tapols* here enjoy comparatively comfortable physical conditions, with separate rooms that are furnished with a bed and a table. This is perhaps the only prison in Indonesia which is underpopulated. The majority of prisoners are high-ranking military personnel and receive regular visits from families.

**Cipinang** This prison is under the jurisdiction of the Justice Ministry and mainly accommodates convicted criminals. But there are a number of convicted *tapols* there too. Because they are no longer under military supervision, their conditions are comparable with the criminal prisoners and they are subjected to the same conditions. This is very unusual: elsewhere, where *tapols* are under the supervision of the military, which applies to the vast majority of prisons, the *tapols* live under far worse conditions than criminal prisoners. About 18 months ago, following a prison riot that broke out among the criminal convicts, security was very much increased at Cipinang, affecting all categories of prisoners.

**Plantungan Women's Camp, Central Java** Food is now down to 1½ ounces of rice or other staple once a day with less than 2 spoons of vegetable. Some prisoners obtain money from handicrafts they make or from relatives outside, and can therefore buy soap, sugar, tea and coffee. Others must do without such things. The Commander of Plantungan, Major Prayoga, was reported in *Suara Merdeka* on 1st June 1974 as saying that most *tapols* there 'could in fact be restored to society'. Some, he said, 'conscientiously carry out their religious rituals, but there still are some who display complete lack of interest when asked questions to test the degree to which they are conscious of the correctness of the government's policy under the New Order'. According

to Major Prayoga, cash allocations per prisoner amount to Rp.65 a day (approximately 6½ pence). Small as this is, the rations which the prisoners actually receive suggest that even part of this allocation does not reach them. Regarding the health of the prisoners, Major Prayoga said a major scourge among the women is breast cancer: three women have died of this and another is now in a critical condition in hospital suffering from womb cancer. Another major affliction is rheumatism.

## INDONESIAN INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS TRAINING IN AUSTRALIA

Firm evidence seems to have developed in recent months that the Australian Government has been training Indonesian officers in interrogation and torture techniques at its mysterious School of Military Intelligence at Woodside near Adelaide. The big question is whether these techniques are carried home and used on the 70,000 political prisoners held without trial in Indonesia for the past nine years by the Suharto regime.

Cornered by repeated allegations in the Australian press of a torture camp at Woodside, Lance H Barnard, Australian Minister of Defence admitted in a statement 24th June 1974 that 24 Indonesian officers were being trained but not in the 'two courses concerned with interrogation. No Indonesians have attended these courses'. But later in his statement he says: 'In 1973, on the last such course conducted for foreign officers - including Indonesians - there was a total of 277 40-minute periods. Of these, eight periods of lectures and one demonstration/seminar-type exercise dealt with aspects of interrogation in the intelligence setting. This comprised six per cent of the overall course'. So Indonesians were trained last year. Can we be sure they are not this year?

Significantly, a TV programme by the Australian Broadcasting Corporation in June of this year declared: 'The Ministry of Defence confirmed that the Australian Army conducts courses in interrogation techniques at Woodside, that foreign military officers are instructed in interrogation methods at Woodside as part of a seven-week intelligence course, that these officers come from Indonesia, South Vietnam and Singapore'.

The programme also quoted the Commander of Woodside, Lieutenant-Colonel Guy Boyleau as confirming that the Code of Conduct courses (which include training in torture techniques, run ostensibly as a preparation for soldiers when they fall into enemy hands) are still being held twice a year. He also confirmed that Indonesian officers had taken part in intelligence courses over a number of years. Though none of them had taken part in Code of Conduct courses, he was expecting a number of Indonesians in October or November this year, who would receive four 40-minute instruction periods in how to resist hostile interrogation methods. He also told the programme that since the Whitlam Government had recognised China and North Vietnam, he had received instructions that 'the enemy' was no longer to resemble orientals.

## AND IN BRITAIN . . .

Optimists in Britain who believe that such things could never happen in free, democratic society and that our hands are clean in respect of President Suharto's means of suppressing opposition, won't be encouraged by the answers to two questions recently asked in Parliament.

On 22nd May 1974 in reply to a question asked by Richard C Mitchell (Labour, Southampton), David Ennals, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, stated: 'It is the policy of Her Majesty's Government to strengthen the present close and friendly relations with Indonesia, including our economic relations, following the successful State visit in March and particularly in the context of Indonesia's standing with Commonwealth Governments in the area and its role in the United Nations and other international organisations'.

And on 14th June 1974 there was the following question from Stan Newens (Labour, Harlow):

'To ask the Secretary of State for Defence, what military training is provided for members of the Indonesian armed forces by Her Majesty's Government?'

The answer, from Mr Brynmor John, was:

'A small number of Indonesian officers are attending training courses in this country'.

## AN EYEWITNESS ACCOUNT - *Sunday Observer* - Australia, 16/6/74

'There is an initial interrogation for the prisoners at Woodside . . . and it is terrifying. There are stripped naked, abused, shamed, jeered at, sexually humiliated, and generally roughened up, though there is no actual violence. They are issued with ill-fitting clothes. Everything at this camp is simulated to make it exactly like one you could find in Asia. There are underground cells, a People's Court, interrogation centres (soft and hard), filthy open toilets and a well. In the initial interrogation sessions prisoners are taken to the underground cells. They are made to sit on a one-legged stool. There are two interrogators and one plays the strong man. He swings a length of short rubber hose and occasionally kicks the stool away from under the prisoner . . . this is done from behind. The strong man also hits the hose violently against the wall. This induces fear in the victim. Sometimes prisoners have their arms placed in splints and are tightly banquaged. Another tactic is to force the prisoners to keep their arms outstretched for long periods. The interrogation room is designed so that a prisoner will strike his head on the door frame when he enters it. The men are brought in with hoods over their heads and the door is very low. In the next interrogation another room is used. Arc lights are played on the prisoner's face as he sits on a low-legged stool. When the prisoner starts to relax under the hot lights a dish of icy water is thrown in his face. There is continual abusive questioning . . . humiliation . . . threats. Visits to the toilet (kept as filthy as possible) are limited and some prisoners relieve themselves in their cells. I have seen several officers come out as babbling wrecks from this course.

The camp's infamous well is the most frightening feature . . . It is a large concrete well with a grill about 6 feet from the bottom. Prisoners are placed in the well and the iron top is slammed down. Water is then poured in while the interrogators pound on the iron top with sticks. This sound echoes in the well'.

## BURU ISLAND PERMANENTLY CLOSED TO FOREIGNERS

The Commander of the XVth (Pattimura) Territorial Division of Eastern Indonesia has issued an order effective from 26th April this year banning all foreigners from residing in or visiting the island of Buru. Foreigners already resident on the island were ordered to leave within 45 days. Firm measures will be taken against those who resist the ban. The order also applies to all Chinese who moved to the island since 1965; only those who have resided there since 1965 are exempted from the order.

## IMPRISONED PAINTER'S WORK MADE INTO POSTCARD

A painting by Hendra Gunawan, one of Indonesia's best known painters, who is now in detention on Buru Island has been reproduced on a postcard by the painter's Amnesty International adoption group, Danish Group 22. The painting reproduced in black and white, is called 'Delousing' and depicts a familiar Indonesian scene of a group of women cleansing each other's hair. The reproduction has been taken from 'Art in Indonesia' by Clare Holt.

The card is intended to be sent to the Indonesian authorities demanding Gunawan's release and relates the painter's biography. The card would also be an effective way of popularising Indonesia's *tapols*. Readers wishing to get copies for use should write to: Anna Le Steen Hansen, Broderskabvej 25<sup>1</sup>, 2000 Kobenhaven F, Denmark. Anna explains that the cards cost 10 kroner for ten. We strongly recommend them to our readers.

# US Senator: US 'UNDERWRITES REPRESSION & MILITARISM IN INDONESIA'

Indonesia is one of the leading recipients of US military aid, the money to be used largely to 'underwrite repression and militarism'. This is the charge made by US Senator Alan Cranston in an analysis of the foreign aid request of former-President Nixon, prepared by the Senator's staff.

Indonesia is slated to receive \$221 million of a total aid bill of \$7.5 billion sought for 1975. Aside from the countries of Indo-China and S.Korea, Indonesian ranks as the third largest recipient of US aid. Sen Cranston's study, as reported in the *International Herald Tribune*, 22 July 1974, underscores the fact that more than two-thirds of this aid will go to military dictatorships and authoritarian governments. It concludes that 57 of the 94 governments listed for the aid 'range from one-man or one-party to out-and-out police states including 18 governments which the State Department itself classes as 'military dictatorships'.

The *Herald Tribune* story continues: 'Critics of the programme have said that the United States is bolstering military dictatorships abroad in the mistaken belief that the policy will provide more protection and friendship for the United States'.

Similarly, a lengthy analysis in the *New York Times* (26 June 1974) of US military presence in Southeast Asia reveals growing involvement in Indonesia. 'In the aftermath of the war (in Vietnam) the United States has been able to undertake a new and important military relationship. In the last two years after a hiatus of more than a decade, it has quietly resumed military aid to Indonesia'.

How does Suharto stand to gain? The article continues: 'the United States . . . armed two mobile brigades to serve, as the House Appropriations Committee was told last year, 'as a valuable deterrent to any significant dissident challenge in that far-flung archipelago'.

In return, US economic penetration seems assured. Representative Otto Passman, chairman of the committee, obtained a special briefing on Indonesian natural resources and then supported the move, telling his committee: 'They just discovered an island that is almost sinking with nickel. It is the largest nickel deposit the world has ever known. Another island is almost solid copper'.

## Indonesian Officers Train in the US

Finally, the story reports that about 200 of the 1000 Asian military officers being trained in the US will be Indonesians. In return, 'seventy American military men are stationed in Indonesia as inconspicuously as possible because that is the way both governments must have it'.

Published information of the US Government reveals that actual aid disbursements to Indonesia in 1973 were \$244,365,000 of which \$28,745,000 were military assistance grants and \$4,500,000 were excess defence articles.

Other information available to TAPOL reveals continuing US interest in the effectiveness of the Indonesian police forces. The US Police Assistance Program gave \$10m in aid to Indonesia over recent years. In addition, 231 Indonesian policemen were trained in America.

What Indonesian police may learn from their stay at Washington's International Police Academy is indicated in an article by Jack Anderson (*New York Post*, 3rd August 1974) which refers to 'chilling views about torture tactics'. While the school obviously does not officially teach third-degree methods, many reports and theses written by the students support or recommend those techniques. Anderson quotes various inspectors at the academy as saying such things like: 'As a last resort, torture is a practical necessity'.

'Based upon experience we are convinced there is just one sure way to save time and suppress stubborn criminal suspects . . . proper use of threats and violence.

'The water torture is a very effective method in breaking a tough man and can make a raving lunatic of any human being after an hour'.

## INTERNATIONAL ARMS MERCHANTS SIGNING NEW DEALS WITH SUHARTO

Jakarta (Associated Press) 31 July, 1974 – Indonesia plans to beef up her defence by purchasing arms from the United States, Britain, The Netherlands and West Germany, Defence Minister General Maraden Panggabean said here Wednesday.

Panggabean said the arms would include 100 armoured cars, about 40 'Corvet' warships and several airplanes.

The defence minister made the statement following discussions with President Suharto at the Presidential office.

Informed sources said some non-governmental American arms representatives were now negotiating with the Indonesia Government on the arms sales.

## WORLD COUNCIL OF CHURCHES ASSEMBLY MEETING SWITCHED FROM JAKARTA

After nearly three years of preparatory to convene the Fifth General Assembly of the World Council of Churches in Jakarta, a meeting of the Council's Central Committee decided on 12th August to cancel these plans and to switch the venue, probably to Vancouver in Canada.

It was felt that such a meeting might have an unfavourable impact on Indonesian national unity, following growing signs that the Moslem community in Indonesia would raise strong objections to a meeting of 3,000 Christians in Jakarta. The decision may also have been influenced by statements made in June by Adam Malik, Foreign Minister, stressing that the Assembly would have to abide by Indonesian rules and regulations, which appeared to hint that the Indonesian Government would withhold visas from persons whose presence it felt to be undesirable. It is also very likely that the prospect of the Assembly taking a clear stand on human rights made the whole venture far less palatable to the Indonesian authorities.

## News of Trials

### ANOTHER DEATH SENTENCE

There is a steady stream of news about trials of *tapols*, held in most cases since 1965 for alleged 'involvement in the October 1965 Coup'.

Trials and verdicts reported in the Indonesian press in the past few weeks include the following: Mrs Amnah, described as a leader of the left-wing women's organisation, *Gerwani*. She was tried by a court in Tebingtinggi, Riau Province and sentenced to life imprisonment in late March this year. Tried together with her was Mario, described as a member of the Indonesian Communist Party. He too was found guilty, and was sentenced to 20 years imprisonment.

Another woman, Taty Hartaty, has also been given a life sentence recently in North Sumatra. Others sentenced to life in North Sumatra, apparently at the same time, are Katimin and Captain David. The first two are described as communist leaders; Mrs Hartaty is said to have held illegal meetings with other communist leaders while Katimin is accused of having trained communist cadres before and after the 1965 coup attempt. Captain David, a former deputy commander of the 202 infantry division, was found guilty of treason and plotting to overthrow the legal government. Yet another life sentence was passed against Kite Tarigan, formerly a communist leader in Deli Serdang. In Pekalongan, Central Java, a military court sentenced Major Darsono to 12 years imprisonment for involvement in the 1965 coup attempt.

On 2nd May the trial of Ruslan Widjajasastra commenced at the Central Jakarta Subversion Court. He was a member of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party and Deputy Chairman of the now-banned left-wing peasants union, *Barisan Tani Indonesia*, and is also described in the indictment as the Chairman of the Communist Party appointed after the arrest of Sudisman in late 1966. He has been charged with 'criminal plotting and revolt' as well as subversion. He was arrested in July 1968 in South Blitar, East Java when the Army discovered an underground network established by leaders of organisations that had been banned in October 1965.

Ruslan told the court that he had tried to organise the PKI after it had been banned by setting up a base in South Blitar. They had conceived an overall armed struggle he said for defensive purposes as they were always being hard-pressed by government armed patrols.

On 15th July, the court sentenced Ruslan to death.

There is news too of the trial of 170 political detainees in Central Java. The trials which took place in June this year were held before military court. News of the verdicts is not yet available.

### Former Minister to be Tried

Oei Tju Tat, Minister of State in the last Sukarno Government, who was arrested on 13th March after Sukarno had been compelled to surrender virtually all his powers to General Suharto, is to be brought to trial. The documents related to his case have been formally handed over to the Prosecutor's Office by *Kopkamtib*.

Oei Tju Tat was a leading member of the left-wing nationalist party, *Partindo*, and was also a Deputy Chairman of the *Baperki*, an organisation mainly of Chinese-born Indonesian citizens set up to help integration into Indonesian society. Both these organisations were banned in October 1965 for alleged associations with the Indonesian Communist Party.

When the documents were handed over, it was stated that the case would come up for trial 'immediately'. Similar statements were made nearly a year ago about the case of the journalist, Karim D.P. who still has not been brought for trial.

### January 1974 Incident

#### ARRESTS, DETENTION AND BAN ON TRAVEL CONTINUE

Although government spokesmen continue to refer to a figure of 42 for those still under detention since the January 1974 student demonstrations, it is clear that the actual number is far greater than this. Not only have there been more arrests recently in Jakarta in connection with this event, but a number of student leaders have been arrested in other parts of the country too. This figure also ignores the fact that people are frequently called for interrogation and held in detention for several days, thus adding to the general atmosphere of intimidation and fear.

Besides those held in detention, a number of well-known intellectuals have been affected by a ban on travel abroad. Included under this ban are *Sudjatmoko*, adviser to the State Planning Office and Indonesian Ambassador to Washington until 1971; *Mochtar Lubis*, editor of the banned newspaper *Indonesian Raya* (according to one report, Lubis has in fact been detained), *Dr Umar Kayam*, sociologist and short-story writer, and one-time head of the Radio, Television and Film Directorate; *Professor Dr Mahar Mardjono*, Rector of the University of Indonesia; *Danuwinata S.Y.*, a Jesuit priest; *Albert Hasibuan S.H.* of the Legal Aid Bureau; and *Sudarno Sastrosatomo*, a businessman.

A new acronym, *tapol malari*, has now entered the Indonesian vocabulary to describe the post-January 1974 detainees. *Tapol* means political prisoner and *malari* is a compression of 'the night of 15th January'. Broadly speaking, *tapol malari* fall into five groups: (1) The student leaders; (2) the socialists; (associated with the social-democratic party, PSI banned under Sukarno and never restored to legality); (3) Moslem figures; (4) pro-Sukarnoists and persons associated with the purged leftwing of the nationalist party PNI (described as PNI-ASU) and (5) some Army officers.

### IPI FAILS TO CONDEMN PRESS CENSORSHIP IN INDONESIA

Although the International Press Institute has on several occasions sought to secure the release of the many journalists now in detention without trial in Indonesia, it failed at its last General Assembly meeting in Kyoto, Japan in May this year to adopt resolutions on this matter as well as on the serious aggravation of press censorship in Indonesia since the beginning of the year.

Early this year, while on a visit to Australia, Mr Ernest Meyer, Director of the IPI, indicated that he 'was unable to obtain background information from our Indonesian colleague'

and that 'our letters simply remained unanswered'.

Since that time, the position of the Indonesian press has sharply deteriorated with at least twelve dailies and periodicals now permanently banned. How rigidly the press is controlled is indicated by official policy, enunciated by Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff of the *Kopkamtib*, the Army Security Command, in charge of political and social affairs.

'Papers must uphold the spirit of the New Order, respect the *Panca Sila* ideology, refrain from inciting the public, refrain from twisting facts, and refrain from carrying reports that would incite tribal, religious and social conflict. They must not disobey the national leadership. We guarantee the freedom of the press, based on constructive criticism'.

Yet despite this, a resolution on press freedom in non-communist countries made no reference to any of the countries in Asia, although five countries, including Indonesia, were included in the original draft submitted to the meeting.

The journal of the IPI, *IPI Report*, in its June-July 1974 issue, states that the resolution was 'vigorously debated' and that reference to the Asian countries was eventually deleted.

### A Battle to Defend Press Censorship

An insight into how this happened is given in an article by one of the Indonesian delegates who attended the Kyoto meeting, Chrisianto Wibisono, in *Suara Karya* on 13th June, 1974.

Wibisono reports how the Indonesian Foreign Minister originally refused an invitation to address a speech to the Assembly but changed his mind at the last moment. 'It can well be imagined how frantically busy we were, lobbying, pleading and urging, especially the Committee and the IPI Director, that just ten minutes be found for this message to be read out. It was very necessary to have this message read out in order to be able to explain the philosophy and identity (of the Indonesian press) in particular to the US and Scandinavian delegations because it became known that they were going to table a resolution condemning the Indonesian and other governments for failing to respect the freedom of the press'.

Yet despite Adam Malik's message, which was eventually read out, the offending resolutions were tabled. Then the Indonesian delegation had to redouble its efforts: 'With all the energy at our disposal, we went on lobbying to eliminate that resolution. The previous day', Wibisono writes, 'I had succeeded in slipping through a point of view in a 3-page document which, as a result of personal approaches with the secretariat (sic!) was duplicated and distributed to the delegates, though on the last day this document was withdrawn by the Committee . . . developing countries cannot be forced to accept in toto and undiluted form that which is referred to as freedom of the press in the advanced countries . . . There must be a partnership, a tolerance and co-operation with the government'.

Having won a determined battle at the IPI Assembly meeting, Wibisono says that 'it is absolutely essential to defend and fight, tooth and nail, to uphold Indonesia's position at the (annual meeting of the) International Federation of Newspaper Publishers (FIEJ) . . . as . . . recommendations made by the FIEJ will be used as guidelines by the UN in determining an attitude towards the press in the developing countries'.

Wibisono concludes: 'Now after having got the better of the bigwigs in the IPI, it is up to the SPS (Indonesian Newspaper Proprietors Association) to complete the victory. The fight at the IPI was the preliminary battle; the FIEJ will be the arena for the final battle of 1974'.

### BRITISH CAPITAL IN INDONESIA

UK investors have, on the whole, been slow to launch new investments in Indonesia and have left it to the Japanese and Americans to exploit widely the opportunities offered to Western capitalists by the Suharto regime. At the end of 1973 the British share of total foreign investment since 1967 stood at \$45.2 million, just 2% of the total \$2,413 million. The number of projects involved was 38, from a grand total of 655.

Both these figures, however, are somewhat illusory, indicating only approved investments. Actual implementa-

tion of the global figure is thought to be much smaller; in 1971, it was only about one-fifth of the total which stood then at \$1,300 million. However, the rate of implementation of British investment is probably a good deal higher than the average, as much of it has been in the rehabilitation of plantations and other interests lost prior to the overthrow of Sukarno. Much that is new has come from multi-nationals and groups already operating in the Far East, in schemes such as forestry which can easily set up and are extremely profitable.

The figure above is derived from the Indonesian official records of approved investment which does not accurately indicate the actual source of capital, so that British capital interests in Indonesia may be much higher, concealing investments made through companies registered in places such as Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. When the operations of multi-national banking and financial groups are considered, total UK involvement may be more far-reaching than is immediately apparent.

### 'OCTOBER WEEK' IN BRITAIN

British TAPOL is planning a series of activities during October this year to commemorate the ninth anniversary of the first wave of mass arrests in Indonesia, immediately after the abortive coup was crushed.

The Week will run from 19th till 27th October. We have selected the last week in the month in order, hopefully, to avoid clashing with general elections which are generally expected to take place in late September or early October.

On 19th October, a Seminar will be held in London. Papers will be presented by well-informed experts on Indonesia's political and economic situation, its foreign relations and its system of repression.

On 20th and 27th October, we shall present performances of the dramatised documentation of political imprisonment in Indonesia which had such an enthusiastic reception when it was first put on in March this year at the Embassy Theatre in London.

We shall also be organising a protest event, the precise nature of which is still under consideration.

As soon as the programme has been worked out in more detail, we shall issue and distribute a leaflet on the events of the Week.

We look forward to widespread participation in our October Week which, we hope, will help to put the Indonesian *tapol* question on the map in Britain.

We invite any of our British readers wishing to help with the organisation of the Week to contact TAPOL at the address given at the bottom of the last page of this Bulletin. And we remind our supporters that such activities cost money - so, any contributions will be gratefully received.

**WHAT IS TAPOL?** It is the Indonesian word for 'political prisoner'. It is therefore 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, certainly, may have forgotten the bloodbath of October 1965, when the Indonesian Army under General (now President) Suharto, overthrew the government of then-President Sukarno and carried out one of the worst slaughters in history - somewhere between half a million and a million people were killed.

**AND TODAY?** Nine years later, there are still some 70,000 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. Many are children. At best, they 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.

## PROTEST AGAINST BRITISH DESTROYER VISIT TO JAKARTA

On 19th July, a British guided-missile destroyer, HMS Fife, paid a five-day visit to Tanjung Priok, the harbour of Jakarta, on joint exercises in the Java Sea with the Indonesian naval frigate 'Kri Jos Sudarso'. It is currently deployed in strategic exercises with the US and Australian navies. Asked about this visit by several Members of Parliament, the British Minister for the Navy, Frank Judd, MP, described the visit as a 'routine call'. In reply to a letter from TAPOL urging that the visit be cancelled, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office declared that such a call represents 'an important element in maintaining good relations with the Governments of the region which it is Her Majesty's Government's policy to maintain'.

Meanwhile, the following letter appeared in *The Guardian* on 22nd July:

### The navy sails into an Asian storm

Sir,—We, the undersigned, have learned with deep concern that a Royal Navy guided missile destroyer, HMS Fife, is currently paying a five-day visit to Indonesia.

Quite apart from the serious implications this visit has for Britain's policy in South-east Asia, it represents yet another goodwill gesture towards a government that continues to hold in detention without trial at least 70,000 political prisoners, most of whom have been in prison for nearly nine years.

We are appalled by the inhuman and unjust practices of the Indonesian Government and feel strongly that the very least the British Government could do under the circumstances would be to refrain from such gestures which are inevitably interpreted by the Indonesian Government as condonation of its policies.

This was precisely the interpretation given to the Queen's visit to Indonesia in March this year which the Indonesian ambassador to London described as "confirmation of the views of the British Government and people of the Indo-

nesian Government's foreign and domestic policies."

It is morally inexcusable for the Government to close its eyes to the enormous sufferings of such a large number of people in Indonesia and to ignore the fact that the present Indonesian regime came to power to the accompaniment of mass slaughters that left at least half a million people dead.

Where is the consistency in a government that withdrew a decision to send warships to Greece, that cancelled a visit by naval frigates to South Africa, yet plans a visit of this very nature to a country whose government is no less repressive than those of Greece and South Africa?

Frank Allaun, MP (Labour, Salford East); (Lord) Avebury; (Lord) Fenner Brockway; Martin Flannery, MP (Labour, Sheffield Hillsborough); Kenneth Lee; John Mendelson, MP (Labour, Penistone); Hephzibah Menuhin; Sybil Morrison; Stan Newens, MP (Labour, Harlow); Jo Richardson, MP (Labour, Barking); (Lord) Soper.

London.

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