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# NEW TASKS FOR 13TH YEAR

## TAPOL EDITORIALS

30 SEPTEMBER 1977 will be the 12th anniversary of the abortive coup in Indonesia following which most of the tapols still in prison were detained. With every year that passes their feelings of frustration and injustice grow deeper and the misery of their families increases. We think the coming year will see major transfers of prisoners away from Java (where most of their families are) to the enormous prison camp on Buru, now holding about 14,000 tapols, and from the prisons on the other islands to new labour camps on the Buru model. The major release programme announced last year is in reality one for mass transfer of tapols to labour camps, not for their release (see page for item on "psycho-tests") . .

TAPOL feels that an expansion of our research and campaigning activities is urgently needed to expose this "release" programme for what it is and to press for genuine releases, and also to help draw the attention of the world to what is happening in East Timor, where Indonesia's war of conquest drags on to the accompaniment of murder, torture, frequent rapes and, of course, detention of civilians without trial. We think the release programme announced last December was designed to distract the attention of the world, and particularly the aid-giving governments, from what is happening in Timor.

We are therefore planning a major intensification of our campaign in the forthcoming year (TAPOL years run, of course, from October every year). We have many projects planned which we have been unable to implement

because of shortage of manpower, and we have now decided an increase in staff is necessary. This will result in a corresponding increase in our budget. Any reader who feels able to contribute or suggest a source of funds must not hesitate to do so; the need of the tapols both in Indonesia and in East Timor, is too urgent.

## ILO AND INDONESIA

THE International Labour Office is currently the only governmental world agency that is seriously challenging Indonesia for its violation of human rights. The discussion was overshadowed by other problems that bedevilled this year's ILO Session, including the US Government's threat to withdraw.

Indonesia sought to avoid condemnation by submitting information that is clearly untrue, for example that tapols are given "occupational training courses" before their release and that "there is freedom of choice of employment" for them.

But the ILO's decision was clear. Indonesia is still violating ILO Convention No. 29 on forced labour.

\* \* \* \* \*

## 52 STUDENTS ARRESTED

52 students were arrested in Jakarta on 1st August for posting protests against higher bus fares. Bus fares were raised by more than 60% on that day. The posters had appeared in thirteen bus depots before the police were called in and the arrests started.

Although the students were making strictly economic demands, the authorities feared that the movement could again develop into a movement of protest against Japanese economic penetration to coincide with the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Jakarta from 14-16 August. To forestall any demonstrations, 3,000 anti-riot police and troops with army helicopters and 70 armoured cars staged a 'show of force' in Jakarta on 8th August. AFP, reporting this 'show of force' also said that anti-riot exercises would again take place two days before the Japanese Prime Minister's arrival.

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

# Psycho-tests for Category B Tapols

SO-CALLED 'psycho-tests' are now being carried out on Category B tapols in order to determine their grading according to a new type of classification.

Information about this new classification was obtained from a source within a prison in Java where many tapols are being held and are now undergoing these 'psycho-tests'. It tallies with the report we published in our last issue entitled 'New Labour Camp in Kalimantan' (TAPOL Bulletin, No. 22, page 8).

Four categories have been established: L<sub>0</sub> which means 'very soft' (L being the first letter of lunak, the Indonesian word for 'soft'), L<sub>1</sub> which means 'soft', L<sub>2</sub> which means 'rather soft', while K (for keras, the Indonesian for 'hard') is the category for 'diehards'.\*

Those under the various degrees of 'soft' will be 'released'; in other words they will be transferred to the Buru labour camp as part of the compulsory 'transmigration' scheme referred to in the statement last December by Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB. Those classified as 'diehard' will only be 'released' after being subjected to a period of quarantine during which they must undergo some form of re-education or brain washing.

## Corruption Delays Trials

The same source also sheds further light on the degree of corruption operated by military authorities handling the tapols. The source stated that the former chairman of one regional investigation team (Teperda) had pocketed nearly Rp. 2,000,000 a month from the misappropriation of funds intended for the upkeep of the prisoners.

Corruption is also causing delays in trials because regional military authorities establish exorbitantly high budgets for pending trials. According to information which reached us from another source, a group of Category A prisoners in one region were offered a defence lawyer who would require a payment of up to Rp. 200,000 per defendant. The lawyer who was willing to take up the case at this fee had previously been chairman of a regional Military Tribunal. Needless to say, the tapols' families were quite unable to raise this kind of money; furthermore from subsequent 'haggling' about the price, it became apparent that the money would probably have been divided between the prosecution, the defence counsel and the judge! The trial has been indefinitely postponed.

## NEW ARRESTS EQUAL RELEASES

A CONTACT in Indonesia, writing in July, says:

"The Indonesian government insists that political detainees, estimated to be 30,000 to 100,000, are now being processed more rapidly. A legal aid lawyer active in Jakarta says that while some people are being released, just as many are being arrested or re-arrested. He emphasised that it is wealthier people who are being arrested, less because of their political stance than because of their ability to pay off the proper authorities to get out soon."

On the general elections, the same contact also writes:

"Elections around . . . . (deleted to protect source) were relatively quiet. The hospital staff (Christian) had a lot of pressure put on to vote GOLKAR with the understanding that the future of the hospital was at stake. Voting in our kabupaten was GOLKAR barely 50 percent, the rest divided evenly between PDI and PPP. People who had been dismissed from jobs or had been arrested previously in connection with PKI arrests had to vote in separate booths (in . . . . , I don't know about other places). Our gardener continues to get called arbitrarily to work for the police even though they understand he has a steady job for our office. . . ."

### INDONESIAN NEWS SELECTIONS

The Bulletin of the Indonesia Action Group in Victoria, Australia.

Appears every two months, with translations of items from the Indonesian press about selected topics. For example, Issue No. 3, June 1977 deals with the May Elections and Irian Jaya-PNG Incidents.

The stated aims of the Selections include "creating an awareness of the widespread deprivation of human rights in Indonesia".

Annual subscription: A\$6.00 overseas

Single copies: A\$1.00

Address: Indonesian Action Group, P.O. Box 137, Collingwood 3066, Australia.

\* It is not clear whether the three sub-divisions of 'soft' imply any differentiation in treatment before or after reaching the labour camp.

# Sawito to be Tried

MR SAWITO KARTOWIBOWO, who was arrested in September last year for allegedly conspiring to overthrow the Head of State, was scheduled to come for trial before the Jakarta State Court at the beginning of August.

Mr Sawito was arrested following publication by the Government of a letter signed by him and five prominent leaders calling for changes in the moral and political climate of the country.

According to Tempo (30th July, 1977), the accused will be tried on four counts: engaging in subversion, conspiring to overthrow the Head of State, defaming the good name of the Head of State and spreading false reports. Seven witnesses will be called by the prosecution, but the five prominent co-signatories of the 'Sawito Letter' — Mohammed Hatta, former Vice-President, Professor Hamka, Moslem leader, T.B. Simatupang, President of the Indonesian Council of Churches, Cardinal Darmoyuwono, head of the Catholic Church and R.S. Sukanto, a well-known mystic, will not be called to testify.

The human rights lawyer, Mr Yap Thiam Hien, has agreed to defend Mr Sawito at the request of the defendant's wife. She also requested Mr Yap to act for her husband free of charge, which he has agreed to do. He is likely to be assisted by other lawyers but no names have yet been announced.

Four other persons who are being held in connection with the 'Sawito Affair' are also scheduled for trial. They are: Mr Sudjono, one-time Indonesian ambassador, Mr Iskaq Tjokrohadikusumo, one-time Minister of Finance, Drs. Singgih, economist and Major-General Ishak Djuarsa, one-time Military Commander of West Java who became Ambassador to Cambodia after retiring from active military service. With the exception of Major-General Ishak who will appear before a Military Tribunal, these defendants will be tried before the Jakarta State Court.

# ILO: INDONESIA VIOLATES FORCED LABOUR CONVENTION

Indonesia's violation of ILO Convention 29 on Forced Labour (1950) was once again raised at the 63rd Session of the International Labour Conference in June this year.

The Committee of Experts which had prepared a report\* on the application of conventions and recommendations for submission to the Conference made a number of complaints about Indonesia. On trials, it asked the Indonesian Government to supply detailed information on "the number of persons tried, the number still awaiting trial and the measures taken to ensure that persons who are acquitted or whose sentences do not involve further detention are permitted to recover their free choice of employment."

In its report, recorded in the Provisional Records of the 63rd Session, the Indonesian Government gave a figure of "over 800" trials up to June 1976, and added that "a large number had been tried since then; figures were unfortunately not available" (it is strange that the government is not able to keep an up-to-date record of trials).

Regarding "released prisoners", the Committee of Experts stressed that "to ensure the observance of the Convention, detainees who are not brought to trial should be permitted once again to enjoy full and effective freedom of choice of employment".

On this, the Indonesian Government's statement makes some interesting assertions. For example, it says that the 2,500 tapols released in 1976 "had been released on schedule after occupational training courses". Regarding released C category tapols, it asserted that "a good many were reinstated in their jobs" and "pension rights had been restored to former public

servants". On conditions in Buru (the main concern of ILO discussions), the Government said: "Lodgings, which were not forced residences (sic), sports facilities and facilities for education and religion were provided for the detainees, who had the right to use the fruit of their labour and were well fed."

During discussions by the Committee on Application of Conventions and Recommendations, both worker and employer representatives expressed their dissatisfaction with the information submitted by the Government. Workers' representatives were concerned that detailed information on trials was not available and again stressed that detainees released "must regain complete liberty", "must be free to settle where they wished and have free choice of employment; otherwise, resettlement would be contrary to the Convention". They also expressed the view that "sending a report was insufficient, and there must be on-the-spot checks."

Employers' representatives were disappointed that there were "no precise details on implementation" (of the release programme) and warned that "the resettlement programme should not become one of compulsory labour or enforced residence".

Concluding its discussion, the Committee "noted that Convention 29 was still not being observed and expressed the hope that the situation would be changed as soon as possible."

\* The Report was not formally adopted because of dissention by socialist countries regarding the sections not related to Indonesia and the failure to get a quorum when it was put to the vote.



By courtesy of The Guardian, London

Demonstrators outside Sadlers Wells Theatre, London on 9th August 1977.

TAPOL leaflets distributed for five days running pointed out that the island of Bali is a part of Indonesia, the prison state.

# PUNISHED FOR RELI

THE following story was received from Jakarta recently, written by a young person held in Salemba Prison. In a brief introduction, the writer wrote that the event described here is in sharp contrast with another event. In the same year, 1968, a prisoner of Chinese extraction underwent religious conversion from Buddhism to Islam. He was very well treated — he was given a new shirt, a sarong and a pici (black velvet cap), and the event was celebrated by a gathering of prisoners.

We should add that Block E, referred to in the article, is still used for punitive purposes in Salemba Prison, and that conversion to Christianity still faces formidable obstructions in many prisons.

\* \* \* \* \*

It was about two o'clock in the afternoon. Not yet time for me to get up from my afternoon nap. But the officer's call made me jump. I quickly washed my face and asked who else had been called besides me. Altogether three of us had been called. After speaking for a moment to older people in the block for advice on how to deal with any questions we might be asked, we went as quickly as we could.

A lieutenant, the officer in charge of Mental Guidance, was waiting for us in the observation room. He ordered us to sit down on benches one behind the other. In front of us was a table behind which the officer was sitting. He fired his first question to the friend right in front.

"Which block are you from?"

"Block R."

"What's your religion?"

"Christian."

The officer then asked the other friend and me the same questions, and we replied as our friend had done.

These answers made the officer explode with fury.

"Were you a Christian before you were arrested, or only afterwards?"

"It was my religion before I was arrested, and I was baptised and confirmed here," replied the first friend.

"And what does your interrogation report say, Islam or Christian?"

"As far as I can remember, Christian."

The officer rose to his feet and came close to our friend. He kicked him with his heavy boot as he said:

"Don't lie. According to the records, you are a Moslem. Don't go making things difficult for yourself. Don't play about with religion."

"It could be, sir, that the records are mistaken. As far as I remember, I said in my proces verbal that I was a Christian. I wouldn't dare play about with religion."

"I don't believe you," said the officer. "If you were in East Java, they'd murder you. Consider yourself lucky that you were arrested here." (The officer himself was from Banyuwangi, East Java.)

"And what about you?" he said, turning to the other friend.

"Are you Islam or Christian?"

"I'm Christian, sir," he said. The officer, angry again, slapped him.

"And what about you," he asked me.

"I'm Christian, sir." Luckily for me, he didn't kick or slap

me.

Then he said:

"Right, here's how it is. Do you want to be Moslems or do you insist on remaining Christians? If you insist on remaining Christians, I shall transfer you all to Block E because you have broken the rules."

We all said nothing. The officer stopped speaking, and sat down.

"So, what's it to be," he asked the friend in front.

"I shall go on being a Christian, sir," he said.

"And what about you," he asked the next one.

"I shall go on being a Christian, too, sir."

"And you," he asked me.

"I'm a Christian, sir," I said.

"If that's the way you want it, okay," he said. He stood up and called a security guard, and ordered him to take us all to Block E.

Yes, here in this place, the rules come before everything else. Anyone thought to have broken the rules can be transferred to block N or block E, the isolation blocks where a special set of rules are in force.

Inmates here in this prison are not free to choose their religion. Such things are linked to the interests of certain groups,

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## Inmates here in this prison are not free to choose their religion.

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and with the ambitions of people like this officer who simply does not respect the principle of Belief in One God included in the Panca Sila. This is a time of trial for Christians, especially those who were baptised or confirmed in prison. In the eyes of the church, they are recognised as bearers of Christ's cross, but this is not acceptable according to the rules. Many of us have been compelled to abandon our beliefs and return to a religion in which we do not believe. The church has carried out its sacred mission towards us although many of its sheep are in the clutches of wolves.

We are people, made of flesh and blood, with beliefs that are still strong. We want to follow in the footsteps of the Apostles and disciples of Christ but because our faith is still weak, we are not strong enough to bear Christ's cross. The path we have to take is slippery, and there are many rocks to trip us up. Hopefully, the church will understand.

A friend in charge of Christian affairs was able to overhear our dialogue with the officer; there were tears in his eyes. He couldn't bear to see us, fellow Christians, being treated like this by the officer. Later, he resigned from his post.\*

### Block E

Everyone here knows what isolation blocks mean. Most of the inmates in these blocks are criminal prisoners. The rest are newly-transferred political prisoners or those who are said to have broken a rule. The criminals in these blocks are deliberately encouraged by the guards to bully, threaten and

\* The person referred to here was a tapol who was subsequently transferred to Buru.

# GIIOUS CONVICTIONS

deliberately encouraged by the guards to bully, threaten and bludgeon the political prisoners. In such a situation, most of the political prisoners try not to lose their patience; they restrain themselves, and give in rather than get into trouble with the criminals. This makes the criminals all the more big-headed, behaving as if they ran the place. The head of block was a former military man with a heavily-built body, who threw his weight around and behaved like a guard.

The three of us were handed over to the head of block. He ordered us into Room One, his own room. Outside, other criminal prisoners were standing, watching us. He started asking us questions, as if he were a member of the interrogation team. Most important of all, he wanted to know whether we had things that could be taken from us. My feeling had been correct. This fellow took from one of my friends the new vest he was wearing. He couldn't take anything else because we hadn't brought anything except the things we wore. He ordered us to our cells. I was put into Cell 17, and my two friends were put into Cell 20. There were six others in Cell 17, most of them new prisoners. They had only three sleeping mats between them which they shared. In the way of clothing, they had nothing of value; the criminals had taken everything. I introduced myself and they gave me a warm welcome.

I couldn't sleep at all that first night because it was very cold and there were many mosquitoes. I took off the shirt I was wearing to use it as a blanket, and I pulled my trousers lower to protect my feet.

The next day, I asked the head of block to let me get some things from my old block. The friends I had left in Block R of course only sent me absolutely essential things.

I had to acclimatise myself to conditions in this block. I became cautious and wary at all times of the criminal prisoners.

The cells were opened from six to eight in the morning when we got hot water from the kitchen, had a bath, got some fresh air, did our washing and other things. The doors were opened again from eleven to twelve to take our midday ration — rice with a piece of tempe (soya bean cake) or salted fish and some spinach. They were opened again in the afternoon, from four till five, to get our afternoon ration. Then they were closed until the next morning.

The days for receiving food from outside were the same as in the rest of the prison. But here, the baskets of food were not brought in until noon. The baskets were taken first to Room One where the criminals took their pick, and only after that were they given to the prisoners they were intended for. On days when food was sent in from outside, we usually got some extra food from those friends who had received things. But we had to wait for this until night-time, after the cells had been locked up for the night. If the criminals had known, they would have taken the food. The food would be tied onto poles and passed through

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The food would be tied onto poles and passed through into our cell.

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into our cell. No-one in our cell received any food from outside and so we were always helped in this way by other friends. We finished up the food the same night.

Things were even more dreadful during the fasting month. The food ration for sohor\* was brought in at two in the morning and passed through the hatch — the doors were not opened. The rice and spinach were mixed together, and if the container leaked the stuff would get onto our mats. We had to eat the food in pitch darkness because there was no light in our cell.

I had to discipline myself very strictly to be able to stand all this. Plenty of physical jerks, fresh air and sleep to keep me healthy. Although I lost a lot of weight, I knew that if I could only keep healthy, I would be able to cope. And especially, with my faith, these burdens would be lighter. By being resolute, firm and self-confident, I have been able to cope up to now.

The fiftieth day after we had been moved to Block E, the Observation Officer came round on an inspection of the blocks. When he saw us three, he gave the order for us to be moved back to Block R.

These experiences made me more mature. It showed me that I have to be vigilant at all times, not only towards those who have us in their power but also towards those around us. Our attitude towards those who have arrested us is quite clear. But what of those around us? We must behave correctly. We need to be suspicious of anything unclear, but we must have the courage to believe in those whom we can trust. We must get to know people as individuals — their characters, attitudes, behaviour.

And are there not Judases among them? A person's character should not be judged by the position of leadership he may once have held, by his social standing or by the amount of scientific knowledge he has. We must judge people by their attitudes, character, integrity, loyalty, fidelity and their behaviour towards others.

From my observations about religion, I have seen people who are so keen to get special facilities, to have a well-filled stomach or to get their freedom quickly that they behave in a way harmful to others and even to themselves. They want to become loyal bulldogs. They forget that however good the fate of a bulldog, a dog is always a dog, never a human being with dignity and self-respect.

\* During the fasting month all prisoners are supplied with food at times specified for orthodox Moslems, around 2.30 am and then not till after sunset.

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## CONNECTING ROPE IN PRISON

Political prisoners in one small district prison in Central Java have installed a secret 'connecting rope' between themselves and criminal prisoners being held in the same prison. In this particular case, the tapols seem to be receiving more supplementary food from relatives outside than their criminal co-prisoners; all prisoners are provided with only one meal a day. Although contact between political and criminal prisoners is strictly forbidden, food is passed from the tapols to the criminal prisoners by means of the connecting rope — that is to say, adds our informant, when the food being sent in is not intercepted by the prison officials in the first place.

# TAPOLS FACE THREAT OF EXECUTION

FIVE members of the Fretilin Central Committee are facing the threat of execution in a prison in Dili, the capital of East Timor, now under Indonesian occupation. Fretilin is the party which set up the Democratic Republic of East Timor in November 1975 and is organising the resistance to Indonesia's subsequent annexation of the country.

In a move to save their lives, the South East Asian Delegate of the Red Cross, Mr Andre Pasquier has asked the Red Cross in Geneva "to explore ways of providing assistance and protection" to these five men. However, the chances of the Red Cross being able to investigate these cases are very slight. The Indonesian Government has refused to allow Red Cross missions into East Timor and efforts which are still under way to persuade the Indonesian authorities to lift this ban have so far been unsuccessful.

The five men, whose names have not been made public, were arrested on 7th December 1975, the day Indonesian troops invaded East Timor and captured the capital, Dili. They have been held as political prisoners ever since. Other Fretilin Central Committee members arrested at the same time were summarily executed along with hundreds of Fretilin supporters as well as a large number of Timorese and Chinese with no political background. A women's leader, Rosa Bonaparte, president of the East Timorese Women's Popular Organisation, was among the 59 people shot dead by Indonesian troops on 8th December on the wharfside of Dili harbour.

Information about the impending executions in Dili has come from Radio Maubere, the Fretilin-controlled radio in East Timor which relays regular news bulletins to receiving stations in Australia.

## ATROCITY REPORTS AGAIN CONFIRMED

A WESTERN journalist, Richard Carleton, the first to be allowed into Indonesian-occupied parts of East Timor since the

Indonesian invasion, has confirmed reports received from several other sources of atrocities committed by Indonesian troops.

His report appeared in The Observer, London on 31st July, 1977.

One person whom he interviewed in secret in Dili, the capital of East Timor, told him the following about a killing at the Dili wharfside during the first days after Indonesian troops landed in Dili on 7 December, 1975: "I saw at least 150 people lined up on the wharf and shot. It took about 40 minutes. As each shot was fired a body fell into the water and they all eventually floated out to sea." (A similar incident was lined up on the wharf and shot. It took about 40 minutes. As each shot was fired a body fell into the water and they all eventually floated out to sea." (A similar incident was described by Mr James Dunn, former Australian diplomat, who interviewed Timorese refugees in Lisbon.)

Richard Carleton also reported on the surveillance to which he himself was subjected during his short trip: "Everywhere the Indonesians took me they had three guards always within earshot and two concentric circles of 'civil defence' troops surrounding me. They claimed that this was not to restrict my movements but rather to protect me."

Mr Carleton asked specifically to go to Balibo, a tiny settlement on the border between East and West Timor, where five Australian and British journalists were killed by Indonesian troops in October 1975. His request was met, but his satisfaction was short-lived: "For my television cameras, I tried to re-create the events surrounding their deaths. Apparently my presentation was too graphic for the authorities. We were flown out with the excuse that the blue skies looked threatening."

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## Congressional Hearings Continue

A SENIOR spokesman of the US State Department publicly admitted in testimony before a Congressional Subcommittee that the East Timor people had not been able to exercise their right to self-determination because of Indonesia's integration of the territory. He said:

"An important factor to be considered . . . is our commitment under Articles 55 and 56 of the UN Charter to promote respect for human rights, including the right of self-determination. However, the question remains what we are required to do if this right is not observed as we might wish in a situation in which we believe that efforts by us to change the situation would be futile and injurious to other national interests of the USA."

This statement was contained in written testimony presented by Mr George Aldrich, Deputy Legal Advisor of the US Department of State, to the Congressional Subcommittee on International Organisations during the second of two hearings held in June and July this year.

Speaking of the meeting of a so-called People's Council in Dili, the capital of East Timor, on 31st May 1976 at which a petition asking Indonesia to integrate East Timor was unanimously adopted (the Indonesian Government base their assertion that East Timor freely chose integration on the decision taken at this meeting), Mr Aldrich said that the US Government had been informed by Indonesia that the 28

delegates to the Council were "tribal chiefs and other traditional leaders selected through meetings of local leaders" or "representatives from Dili said to have been chosen by direct elections". But he added, most significantly: "We actually know very little about the selection process for these delegates although the process itself took place at a time of military occupation by Indonesia during which considerable fighting was still going on."

When pressed by the Subcommittee chairman, Congressman Donald Fraser to say whether the US Government would raise the issue of East Timor's right of self-determination at the UN General Assembly this year, Mr Aldrich said that to do so would be inconsistent with the present position of the US, but went on: "Our view is that annexation has occurred but that does not wipe away the right of self-determination of the people. As a legal theory, the right of self-determination cannot be extinguished."

Mr Fraser summed up his views regarding Mr Aldrich's testimony by declaring: "I find the degree of US complicity in this whole affair quite disturbing. And I am deeply disappointed that this Administration has assumed the same position taken by the Ford Administration."\*

Another lawyer testifying at the same hearing, Mr Leonard Meeker who was a former legal advisor to the State Department, was more frank about the farcical nature of the People's

Council meeting of 31st May 1976. "It may be assumed that the appointments . . . to the Council were controlled by the Indonesian occupation authorities," he said. "No popular vote was ever taken. Instead, Indonesian-controlled nominees were sent to a People's Representative Council and there voted for incorporation into Indonesia."

It now remains to be seen whether forces in the US Congress and other pressure groups in the US can press the US Government to support moves reportedly underway at the UN for the adoption of a resolution at this year's General Assembly calling for a UN-supervised referendum open to the international press and observers. The conditions would be a ceasefire and equal representation of Indonesian and Fretilin forces.

Meanwhile, to return to Mr Aldrich's testimony, having blandly disposed of the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination in order to uphold "US national interests", he asserted that the US Government was now "urging Indonesia to institute a humane administration in East Timor and to accept

an impartial inspection of its administration by the International Committee of the Red Cross."

On this, we would ask two questions: What has been done by the USA to halt the atrocities that have been committed against the people of East Timor, to stop the torture, imprisonment and intimidation of people wherever Indonesian troops are in occupation? And second, how would the Red Cross be likely to respond to a request to undertake an inspection in view of the difficulties they encountered during their last mission to Indonesia to visit places of detention and their statement that future visits to Indonesia could only be continued "on condition that these difficulties are overcome" (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 22, page 1).

\* This quotation and the one in the previous paragraph are taken from an unofficial summary of the hearing; the earlier quotes are from written testimony.

Student Affairs:

## A YEAR'S SENTENCE FOR CRITICISING THE GOVERNMENT

Four students who drew up a one-page montage of words cut out of newspapers to compose sentences mildly critical of the government spent more than a year in detention before being tried and found guilty. They were charged with slander and ridicule of the government and of the President and his family.

The students, all from the Jayabaya University, a private university in Jakarta, went on trial before the State Court in Jakarta in May-June this year. They were found guilty and sentenced to one year's imprisonment with deduction for time served, which meant their immediate release.

### Restrictions on students to continue

"If any students don't agree, they can get out!" was the frank response of Indonesia's Minister of Education, Major-General Sjarif Thayeb to a decision by the Student Council of Medan University to reject the statutes recently adopted by the university. (Tempo, 6 August 1977)

Universities throughout the country, state as well as private, are being compelled to adopt statutes, which must have the approval of the Minister, for the overall regulation of university life including student activities. The statutes are being imposed in place of the ministerial regulation known as SK 028 which was introduced in January 1974, soon after the student demonstration held in that month. SK 028 has been the cause of much dissatisfaction within the student movement because of the tight restrictions it places upon all forms of student activity.

When in March this year, the Education Minister announced that SK 028 would be withdrawn, this announcement was seen at the time as an attempt to reduce discontent among students during the period of the general elections, held on 2 May this year. But it was already clear then that the Minister was planning alternative methods of controlling student activity, to come into force when SK 028 was to be formally withdrawn, on 1st July.

With the exception of two higher educational institutes, all universities have now formally adopted statutes, after obtaining ministerial approval. The two remaining institutes are the University of Indonesia (Jakarta) and the Bandung Institute of Technology. As far as the UI is concerned, the Rector, Professor Mahar Mardjono refuses to be rushed in this matter. "This affects the whole life span of a university and must be drafted

The leaflet they had produced was entitled, "Announcement" and contained such sentences as: "The people's welfare is in danger." "The Government is not stopping leakages of State funds." "Certain Government leaders are enjoying the fruits of development." The incident occurred at the time information was coming to light about the collapse of the State oil company, Pertamina as a result of corruption and mis-management. (Sources: Peter Monkton, Australian Broadcasting Corporation reporter in Jakarta on the ABC A.M. Programme, 26th May; Tempo, 11 June 1977.)

with care. Of the 58 articles, only two are concerned with students," he said. "They are very general. Let's hope the government will not object."

"Are these statutes really intended to be the replacement for the much-hated SK 028?" asks Tempo, reflecting questions being raised within the university community.

"For the umpteenth time I declare that these statutes are not meant to replace SK 028," said Minister Sjarif Thayeb. Yet, for those institutes that have failed to produce satisfactory statutes, SK 028 will remain in force." And for as long as ten years, if necessary!" said the Minister.

### Student Code of Ethics Fails

Meanwhile, attempts to enforce a 'code of ethics' on student councils throughout the country have failed so far. A seminar held in Padang, West Sumatra under the supervision of the Ministry of Education, was convened to draw up the code but ended without producing anything (Tempo, 23 July 1977).

Student Councils from all universities had been invited to the seminar, but some refused to attend including the Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology; the Student Council of Gaja Mada University (Jogjakarta) made it known that it rejected the idea of establishing such a code.

PACIFIC RESEARCH, published by the Pacific Studies Centre, appears every two months.

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# WORLD BANK TO AID INDONESIA

INDONESIA is scheduled to obtain a total of \$634 million in credit from the World Bank for the forthcoming financial year which runs from 1978-79. This is higher than credits supplied to Indonesia in any previous year and is five-and-a-half times higher than the amount supplied annually to Indonesia by the Bank in the years 1971-1973. In fact the Bank did not provide any credits to Indonesia until 1969; it strongly disapproved of the policies of the former president, Sukarno and with-held loans in the same way as loans were with-held from President Allende's regime in Chile.

The figures on mounting aid to Indonesia are published in a report prepared by the Washington-based Center for International Policy, based upon confidential World Bank working papers. The Center is a research project financed by the Fund for Peace which is sponsoring an analysis of human rights issues; it is headed by Donald L Ranard, formerly a US State Department official.

The report analyses World Bank credits to repressive governments and shows a direct correlation between the establishment of repressive regimes and a sharp upswing in World Bank support. It points out, for example, that Bank loans to newly-repressive countries will rise more than twice as fast as loans to other countries.

In another report, entitled "Human Rights and the US Foreign Assistance Program", the Center picks out US military aid to Indonesia for special condemnation. It points out that despite President Carter's announcement of a new arms policy on 19th May this year when he vowed to reduce the level of new weapons aid, the Carter Administration has proposed to extend \$40 million in military sales credit to Indonesia next year, a 73 percent increase for that item over the current year and the largest amount ever proposed for a South East Asian country. The increase would give the military regime a total of \$82.6 million in US credits to spend on arms when unexpended credits from previous years are included, the report points out.

In an introduction to the Report, the Center's chairman complains strongly that in its presentation of human rights abuse in Indonesia, the State Department has totally ignored the gross human rights violations perpetrated by Indonesia in East Timor. State Department annual reporting on human rights in countries receiving US aid "are too incomplete and inadequate for Congress and the public to make informed decisions," the Report declares.

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