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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

Bulletin No. 21

April, 1977

RED CROSS REPORT

The current issue of the International Review of the Red Cross contains the following statement:

"An ICRC mission consisting of four delegates, two of them doctors, was in Indonesia from 25 January to 18 February to visit seven places of detention selected by the Indonesian authorities. The centres visited were Salemba, Nirbaya, Ambarrawa, Plantungan, Koblen, Sukamulia and Tandikat.

In accordance with custom, the ICRC communicated the observations of its delegates only to the Indonesian Government. In submitting its report the ICRC drew the attention of the authorities to the fact that its delegates' findings could not be regarded as an indication of the real conditions of detention in Indonesia for two reasons: the limited number of places visited and the difficulties encountered during the visit.

ICRC will continue its visits to places of detention in Indonesia on condition that these difficulties are overcome".

This statement marks a considerable departure from the usual form of reports issued by the ICRC; normally these consist of a bald statement that a mission consisting of a stated number of persons visited the country concerned on a certain date, and visited certain prisons. It appears from the statement that the mission encountered so many problems in carrying out its task in Indonesia that it does not regard that task as completed, and will not be prepared to return to complete it unless it has assurances that similar difficulties will not occur on a future visit.

The difficulties are not specified in the statement but clearly the mission was hampered by the fact that many of the people they wished to visit were transferred to

'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'.

another prison before their visit (*see Letter From a Tapol, p.5, this issue*) and only brought back after the mission had visited their prison. It appears also that the mission were only allowed access to certain parts of even those prisons they were allowed to visit.

* * *

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL STATEMENT FOR TAPOL BULLETIN

The Indonesian Ambassador to the UK, Admiral Ricardo Subono, was reported as having made a statement to the Jakarta newspaper, Kompas, on 24th February, 1977. It reported:

"Amnesty International undertakes a campaign for the freedom of political prisoners throughout the world. But especially with regard to Indonesia, the organisation fully understands the (situation) faced by the Government here with regard to the tapol question. This was stated by the Indonesian Ambassador in Britain, Admiral Subono.

"The release of category B G30S prisoners was greeted with pleasure not only by Amnesty International but also by the British public and Government," he said."

TAPOL asked the Secretary-General of Amnesty International, Mr Martin Ennals, for his comments and Mr. Ennals said:

"Amnesty International has made clear to the Ambassador and to the Indonesian Government that, while we welcomed the announcement that 2,500 Category B prisoners were released on 1st December 1976, it has been and remains the view of Amnesty International that all the remaining tens of thousands of untried political prisoners held in Indonesia should be released immediately and unconditionally.

"Regarding the Indonesian Government's programme to release prisoners announced on 1st December 1976, Amnesty International finds unacceptable the further delay involved in the release of untried political prisoners and furthermore, we have been and remain totally opposed to the so-called "transmigration" programme which entails the forced transportation of untried prisoners to penal colonies, and which is merely a euphemism for imprisonment."

President Carter, Human Rights and Indonesia

Since his inauguration, President Carter has kept up a steady stream of statements reaffirming his total commitment to human rights. He has been most specific in his concern for dissidents in the Soviet Union, and has reduced the level of military assistance to Argentina and Ethiopia for human rights reasons.

But how far has this commitment been manifested in the case of Indonesia? So far, apart from the US State Department's recent decision to grant Carmel Budiardjo a visa for a speaking tour in the USA (denied to her last December), there has been precious little to show.

The Carter Administration's request for military aid to Indonesia during 1978 is 40 percent higher than the amount granted in 1977, rising from 41 million to 58.1 million US dollars. The largest increase occurs in the item entitled Foreign Military Sales Financing, up from 23.1 million dollars in 1977 to 40 million dollars in 1978.

The Congressional Presentation for 1978 Military Aid Appropriations is now accompanied by a second volume which is entitled Human Rights Section. This Section contains a report on Indonesia. There is nothing to distinguish this report, submitted by the new Administration, from that made by the State Department last year and published on 31st December (see TAPOL Bulletin No.20, February 1977). While admitting that Emergency Powers exist, permitting the detention without trial of political suspects for an indefinite period of time, the report contains such remarks as:

"...The Indonesian Government does not practice unlawful killings, and liberty and security of the person are generally observed."

"Torture, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment are not used by the Government as an instrument of policy nor officially tolerated by the Government."

"Except for the outlawing of the Communist Party, there are no unusual limitations on freedom of association."

In the paragraph headed 'Other Human Rights Reporting', the State Department report gives pride of place to TAPOL but concentrates almost entirely on the political background of one of its members. Having sought in this way to discredit TAPOL, it then proceeds to discredit Amnesty International too by claiming that 'Amnesty appears to have relied heavily on information provided by TAPOL both for its estimates of numbers and for its examples of mistreatment of political prisoners.

A statement contained in a submission by Robert Oakley, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs to a congressional hearing in Washington on 17th March sums up the Administration's attitude on the relationship

between aid and human rights in the case of Indonesia. He said:

"We...believe that continued US security and economic assistance at the requested levels enhance stability and further economic progress, thereby creating a more favourable climate for the observance of human rights."

East Timor

The recent disclosures about the killings and atrocities perpetrated by Indonesian troops in East Timor could however have an impact on the US aid programme, especially its military assistance. In fact, during the hearing referred to above, Robert Oakley astonished members of the committees before which he was testifying by revealing for the first time that the Ford Administration had suspended new military supplies to Indonesia for the first six months after the invasion of East Timor. The fact that this was not revealed at the time is presumably due to the fear in the State Department that this could unleash far more concern in the USA over events in East Timor.

Indonesia's violent reaction to the congressional hearing on East Timor held in Washington on 23rd March at which Mr James Dunn testified, is to be explained mainly by its apprehension of the impact this could have at a time when new military appropriations are under consideration in the US Congress.

CONGRESSIONAL HEARING ON ATROCITIES IN TIMOR

Mr James Dunn, at one time Australia's Consul-General in Dili, the capital of East Timor, testified before two US Congress committees on 23rd March to present evidence of widespread killings and atrocities committed by Indonesian troops since their invasion of the country in December, 1975.

Mr Dunn had been invited to testify following nationwide concern in Australia aroused by the publication of his report on the situation in East Timor since the invasion, based on interviews of East Timorese refugees in Lisbon (see TAPOL Bulletin, No. 20, February 1977, page 1).

Prior to Mr Dunn's appearance at the Washington hearing, the Indonesian Government had responded angrily to the news that the hearing would take place, demanding that the Australian Government should prevent Mr Dunn from going to Washington for that purpose. Foreign Minister Adam Malik had even threatened the Australian Ambassador with massive demonstrations "against Australia's past policies against the blacks" if Mr Dunn testified.

Not surprisingly, the threats were ineffective and the hearings proceeded according to plan.

Congressman Fraser's Opening Remarks

Opening the hearing, Representative Don Fraser, chairman of the House Sub-Committee on International Organisations, (cont'd p.11)

Tempo: KOPKAMTIB DETENTION ILLEGAL?

The following article appeared in Tempo, the Jakarta weekly, on 12th March 1977:

* * * *

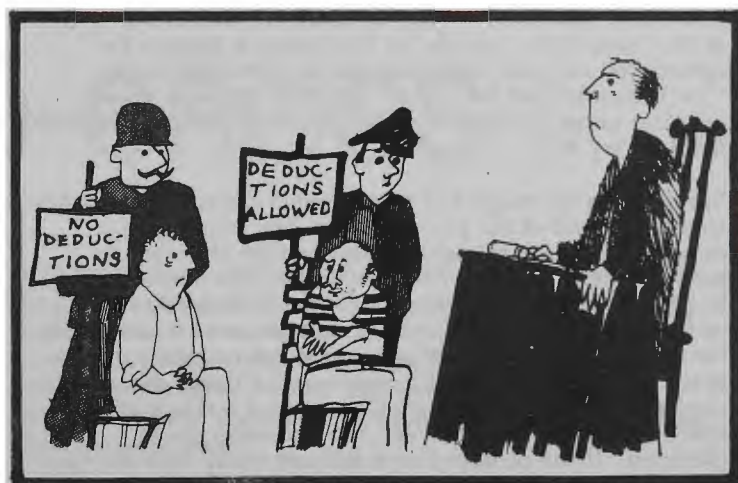
Suddenly, two weeks ago, the Supreme Court broke silence and spoke out about: the marriage law, about complaints against those in authority and about detention without trial. The latter is the most controversial of the three.

In Circular No.2, this supreme judicial body of the land calls upon judges not to reckon the period of detention by KOPKAMTIB/Laksuda*) as part of provisional detention deductible from the total sentence passed. Take for example the case of a man whom we shall call Codet who is detained for ten years without trial by KOPKAMTIB. After ten years he is tried in court and sentenced to thirteen years, "with time in detention deducted". As things have been understood up to the present, Codet would only have to spend another three years in prison. But following the Supreme Court's Circular of 25th February, this would apparently no longer be the case. Codet would have to return to prison for the full thirteen years. Detention by KOPKAMTIB would not be deducted.

Is KOPKAMTIB detention, then, not legal? The Circular which deals specifically with the (provisional) detention of G30S/PKI prisoners does not say this. Signed by the Chairman of the Supreme Court, Mr Oemar Seno Adji, it states that there are two kinds of detention. The first is detention that can be reckoned in a criminal sentence, described as judicial or repressive detention. This is regulated in the Criminal Code (KUPH) and the Revised Regulations (RIB). The second is detention "for security and order which is not judicial or repressive provisional detention." Powers for this are exercised exclusively by the KOPKAMTIB/Laksuda specifically in respect of G30S/PKI cases. The legal basis for this is MPR Decision No.X/MPR/1973 in conjunction with Presidential Decision No.9, 1974.

The Supreme Court recognises that judges are entitled to take into account the period of KOPKAMTIB detention. In the case of our hypothetical Codet, a judge who upholds justice would feel that Codet should only be expected to serve another three years. Nonetheless, the Circular states that "as the question is still problematic and its validity still needs to be tested at the appeal stage by the Supreme Court, judges are requested not to follow this interpretation". Thus the legal nature of KOPKAMTIB detention still appears to be problematic. But if a stipulation regarding the validity of this interpretation is to be issued by the Supreme Court in the form of an appeal decision, why go to all the trouble of issuing this Circular. There is no court decision in Indonesia that is not subject to review by the Supreme Court.

Whatever the legal problem surrounding detention, for the accused person who is detained, especially when this goes on for years at a stretch, this is an abnormal period for his or her liberty. All forms of detention, as Adnan Buyung Nasution has said, should be seen as part of the process leading to a trial. KOPKAMTIB Commander, Admiral Sudomo told Tempo last week: "In fact detention by a public prosecutor and detention by KOPKAMTIB are exactly the same; in both the case will come before the courts." But Sudomo also said that KOPKAMTIB or Laksuda would not interfere with the process. Then he returned to the original reason for detaining G30S/PKI people, saying: "If they were released, who can



Reproduced from Tempo, 12 March 1977

guarantee? That would be chaos, wouldn't it? This is the basic question."

One Jakarta judge who asked us not to mention his name said that he could not understand the Supreme Court's circular. I am as anti-PKI as anyone," he said, "but as a human being I think the treatment of these people is not correct." A judge should not feel bound by a circular because a circular only makes suggestions and requests. This judge feels however that the circular in question implies a command. It will restrict a judge's freedom to act according to his own convictions, a primary factor in passing sentence.

For a long time, it has been felt that there are various kinds of detention. If judges are requested to differentiate between them, this could well lead to the recognition of Hansip detention, of Forest Police detention and many others, as Buyung has said.**) The law would not look favourably upon such practices, and legal experts could well describe this as "problematic." But it is the ordinary citizen who feels the consequences. If the basic principle of justice is adhered to, that where any reasonable doubt exists the accused person must be given the benefit of that doubt, the suffering caused by deprivation of freedom would not be so lightly imposed.

*) KOPKAMTIB is the Special Security Command of the Army. Laksuda is the acronym for regional executive officers of this Command, who are the self-same people as the regional military commanders.

**) Hansip is the Civil Defence Corps which on occasion takes persons into custody. The Forest Police have powers to regulate forests.

* * *

HONESTY IS DANGEROUS

Under the above headline, Tempo (26th March) reports that a leaflet issued by the Catholic Church in its current Lent campaign has been banned in Flores. The theme of the campaign and of the leaflet is honesty. (In the light of numerous revelations of corruption recently in Indonesia, the theme certainly has a topicality).

Flores lies in the Nusatenggara group of islands to the east of Java; the majority of inhabitants are Catholics.

(cont'd p.12)

DETENTION WITHOUT TRIAL

The application of the law is proceeding satisfactorily in Indonesia, said the Attorney-General, Ali Said in a speech at the Lions Club, Jakarta, on 5th January, though he agreed that excesses infringing human rights did occur. "Such mistakes are inevitable," he said, "because those wielding power are ordinary human beings." (Sinar Harapan, 6th January 1977)

Speaking on the subject of basic human rights, the Attorney-General described the powers of a public attorney in detaining a person thought to have broken the law. A public attorney is empowered to detain a person in order to prevent him from committing some undesirable thing or from disappearing. However, such powers are only valid for twenty days. If investigations are not complete within that time, prolongation of a maximum of thirty days can be requested from the Attorney-General and if this is still insufficient, another thirty-day prolongation can be obtained. If the prosecution is still not ready with the case, further prolongations must be arranged through the courts. At the most, another thirty days can be granted but the judge must know about the documents relating to the case under investigation.

The Attorney-General compared conditions in a state based on the rule of law according to the Panca Sila with legal concepts in the western states and the socialist legality of socialist countries. The western concept places the stress on protecting the rights of the individual while socialist legality stresses the interests of society. But according to Indonesia's 1945 Constitution, both these interests have equal weight.

Indonesia as a state based upon a constitution is governed within the limits stipulated by the Constitution which defines the powers of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary while at the same time guaranteeing the rights of the citizen. Indonesia as a state of law based upon its Constitution must hold the law supreme above all else.

With regard to the protection of basic human rights in Indonesia, the Attorney-General recalled the articles in the 1945 Constitution which safeguard the rights of the citizen, religion, education and social welfare.

On the question of legal safeguards, the Attorney-General stressed that all persons are deemed innocent as long as a court has not passed a verdict of guilty. A person accused before a court is thus assured that his legality is protected and is given the broadest possible opportunity to defend himself; no pressures may be exerted during investigations.

General Ali Said also described the process prior to a person being charged. A person can be charged for committing an offence but the prosecutor must be in possession of sufficient evidence. Preparatory detention for investigation is not something that stands in isolation; this is the preliminary process intended to assist the prosecutor. If there is not sufficient reason to suspect a person and not enough evidence, the person must be freed.

Amnesty International

General Ali Said went on to say that there can be no meeting point between the outlook of the Indonesian Government and that of Amnesty International. "For this reason, we shall not deal with them."

In his opinion, the propaganda spread by Amnesty lacks objectivity. As an example, he mentioned that with regard to the G30S/PKI prisoners, they were disseminating

photographs made in 1969. Clearly, he said, they were using out-of-date photographs.

The Attorney-General invited people to compare reports from Amnesty International with that made by the International Red Cross which had made its own evaluation of (the conditions of) prisoners on the island of Buru.

Nonetheless, he said, the Indonesian Government is willing to deal with foreign ambassadors who present memoranda or appeals from Amnesty International. "But it is quite out of the question for us to deal directly with Amnesty International."

* * *

MALIK: ABUSES DO NOT CONFLICT WITH LAW

"It's not true", said Foreign Minister Adam Malik. "We do not abuse human rights. These so-called abuses are not in conflict with the law," he said, while adding that "anyhow, what we do in Indonesia is our own affair."

"According to our laws, the Government can detain a person for so many days or so many months or so much time."

These remarks, reported in *Tempo*, on 15th January, were made in response to the report on human rights abuses in Indonesia and five other countries issued on 31st December last by the US State Department (see *TAPOL Bulletin No. 20*, February 1977, page 2).

The story in *Tempo* continues as follows:

"Malik tried to convince (us) that there is a difference in norms and legal practice between the USA and Indonesia. 'If the US laws only permit detention for a few hours, that's their affair,' he said. 'The USA should not try to apply their norms and laws to Indonesia.'

As Foreign Minister, Adam Malik can be expected to reject such a report from foreign sources. Nonetheless, there are some who feel that this rejection needs correcting. H. J. C. Princen, Chairman of the Human Rights Institute, described Adam Malik's rejection as totally unfounded.

'It is quite wrong to say that the affairs dealt with by the US State Department are the internal affair of Indonesia. All members of the United Nations have agreed not to abuse human rights. Indonesia is not only a member of the United Nations, it is also a signatory of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. And if it is true that the law in Indonesia permits the detention of a person for an indefinite period of time, then,' says Princen, who now works as a lawyer, 'the law itself represents an abuse of human rights. The existence of a law is no guarantee that human rights are not abused.' "

State Department Report Causes Sigh of Relief in Jakarta

In fact, the Indonesian Government was much relieved by the contents of the section in the State Department's report dealing with Indonesia. This is clear from remarks made by US Ambassador to Indonesia, David Newsom, at a seminar in Washington held by the Centre for Strategic and International Studies on 16th February, according to an off-the-record account made available to TAPOL.

Initially, Newsom said, the Indonesian authorities picked up the news from an agency report which said that Indonesia had been black-listed by the State Department, "and this nearly nearly destroyed everything," he said. "Then I showed them the report, told them it was a statutory requirement for all countries and that it was a factual report. After reading it, they seemed relieved." The Ambassador added "The whole issue of human rights is extremely sensitive with the Government there."

A TAPOL WRITES TO THE RED CROSS

Jakarta, 1st January 1977

Addressed to:
Observers from
The International Red Cross,
Institute of Basic Human Rights.

Respectfully,
On the occasion of the end of 1976 and as we enter into this new year, 1977, we political prisoners (tapols) would like first of all to wish you, observers from the International Red Cross, our greetings and a HAPPY NEW YEAR. May 1977 be a bright year for justice, for the strengthening of basic human rights throughout the world, and may you be successful in dealing with these problems, for the cause of humanity.

This letter is intended to welcome you on the occasion of your visit of inspection to concentration camps for G30S political prisoners prison in Jalan Budi Utomo, Jakarta¹⁾. We heard news of your coming and all preparations were made for your visit in October 1976, and up to now the preparations have been held ready for that purpose.

As for the visit of the International Red Cross team to this tapol detention camp in Jalan Budi Utomo, we the tapols here have been longing for this visit and we would be very happy indeed to have you here because this would give us the chance to meet face to face with representatives of the International Red Cross and to tell you everything about ourselves. This would make it possible for you to get an objective picture of the condition of tapols in general. But we have just heard that you will not be visiting this prison. In fact, this place is being used to hide away some tapols from other prisons (Salemba Prison, the Nirbaya Prison) because it is feared that these people would have the courage to reveal all the secrets of the inhuman arbitrary treatment meted out to tapols.

“...this place is being used to hide away 26 tapols from Salemba...”

Altogether 26 persons were moved from Salemba Prison (see list attached)²⁾ most of them taken from Block N (the heavily isolated block where prisoners are kept in their cells for 24 hours a day and not permitted to take the fresh air). Two others have been prepared for transfer from the Nirbaya Prison: former Prime Minister/Foreign Minister Dr. Subandrio, and former Air Marshall Omar Dhani.

Preparations for the Red Cross Visit

I should like to describe for you the busy activities undertaken by the authorities at all levels of administration in preparation for your visit. Such is their fear that they are

striving hard to conceal the bestiality of those in power in flagrant violation of the basic human rights jointly agreed upon by the Human Rights Commission of the U.N., the Economic and Social Council, and the U.N. General Assembly and drawn up in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The following preparations have been made here for your visit:

1. Pillows, camp beds, plates and mugs have been given to the tapols who previously did not have these things
2. The chief of the Military Police carried out an inspection
3. The tapols were brought together and told not to say anything that could prove harmful to them (in other words, keep their mouths closed)
4. A loud-speaker relaying music and other things was installed
5. The whole place was cleaned up.

At Salemba Prison for political prisoners, the following things were done, according to the tapols who were transferred here:

1. The tapols were given camp beds, pillows, food pans etc
2. All tapols were told by the authorities: if an International Red Cross observation team comes they should not speak about things they had experienced, they should only talk about things as they are now
3. Recreational equipment was brought in: two television sets, a loud-speaker and cassettes, sports equipment and other games
4. The isolation block, Block N, was emptied and the occupants were transferred to Budi Utomo camp (as I mentioned above)
5. Things were cleaned up and repaired.

These preparations were made for the International Red Cross visitors, to ensure that they will not get any impression or evidence of the abuse of human rights. Yet, in actual fact, the situation is not like this at all, and in order to show this, I shall present below a description of the inhuman and arbitrary treatment perpetrated by the Suharto regime in clear violation of basic human rights. Even worse, the Suharto regime is acting in violation of its own philosophy, the Panca Sila, and the laws in force as laid down in the 1945 Constitution and other laws of the land.

In this connection, the Suharto regime has come under the careful scrutiny of various official international organisations (Amnesty International, the International Jurists, the International Red Cross), of western countries and of socialist countries and recently even the US Congress which has come out in condemnation of the abuse of human rights. But the Suharto regime stubbornly continues to perpetrate these violations, while at the same time issuing quite irrational denials, such as the confused statement made by the Foreign Minister Adam Malik on 8th January, 1977 when he said:

“It’s not true! We do not abuse human rights!” and
“The abuse of human rights in Indonesia is in fact in

A TAPOL'S LETTER (cont'd)

accord with and not in conflict with the laws in force. What we do here is our own internal affair."

Besides this denial by Adam Malik, there was also a denial by President Suharto who said in reply to a question from the Australian Prime Minister that "there are no political prisoners in Indonesia. There are only criminals, murderers, thieves and rapists who are G30S/PKI 3) people," he said.

Besides this denial by Adam Malik, there was also a denial by President Suharto who said in reply to a question from the Australian Prime Minister that "there are no political prisoners in Indonesia. There are only criminals, murderers, thieves and rapists who are G30S/PKI 3) people," he said. He also said that all C category prisoners had been released, and that the B category prisoners would be released.

Then there was the denial made by Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB, Admiral Sudomo, who accused Amnesty International of being very much under the influence of communists.

There has been very strong reaction from people here at home, from the press, the official mass media, and from various sectors of the community: Moslems, Christians, adherents of spiritual beliefs (*kebatinan*), students and other persons all of whom have demanded that 'the law, justice and democracy' be upheld. The culmination of all this comes in the various incidents that have occurred: the January Affair (1974), the Sawito Affair (1976), the bombings in West Sumatra and North Sumatra, the letters sent to President Suharto from North Sumatra and many others. These incidents are clearly the forerunner of other incidents that could well happen in the future on a much greater scale, because there is such a widespread feeling here in Indonesia that 'there is no legal integrity, that democracy is suppressed and there is no justice.'

"... there is no justice ..."

The basic reason for all this is that there is a form of military government and the majority of key posts are held by military personnel, from the lowest to the highest levels. The second reason is that corruption has become part of the culture of Indonesia, from top to bottom. The third reason is that power is abused with the backing of the gun.

As a result of all this, violations of the law and of human rights occur because the entire government apparatus is directed not towards serving the people in accordance with the philosophy of the 1945 Constitution but towards commercialisation with everyone trying to enrich themselves. It's not surprising that they will resort to every means to hang on to power with complete disregard for basic human rights and the law.

The official denials coming from the Government are so confused because they are incapable of giving any plausible explanations. This is because all the facts are well known here at home as well as internationally so that no politician here or abroad could accept these denials. They are sensational and emotional and full of revenge and hatred. They forget that they face not merely the question of communists but many other aspects that are closely related to society.

One thing they forget is that the lower echelons of the state apparatus do not heed regulations made by their superiors; they quite recklessly infringe regulations and laws, for example Law No. 14, 1970 on the Basic Powers of the Judiciary. Local authorities infringe the law and even though this is reported, no action is taken, which means that the central government exerts no control. As control from higher officials is so weak, law infringements occur everywhere. As a result, the Legal Aid Bureau is being inundated with cases of legal infringements committed by people in government.

Foreign Minister Adam Malik said in his denial: according to the law in Indonesia, the government can provisionally detain people 'for a few days, or for a few months or for any time.' This denial ignores articles in Law No. 14, 1970 such as:

Article 7. *No-one may be arrested, detained, searched or subjected to confiscation without a written order of the lawful authority and in ways stipulated by law.*

Article 8. *Any person under suspicion, arrested, detained, charged and/or brought before a court shall be deemed to be innocent until there is a verdict by the court finding him guilty with the backing of the law.*

Article 9.

1. *Anyone arrested, detained or tried without reason as provided for in the laws or as a result of mistaken identity or erroneous application of the law shall be entitled to claim damages and rehabilitation.*

2. *Officials who deliberately commit the things specified in paragraph (1) above shall be liable to punishment.*

3. *The ways for claiming compensation, rehabilitation and the regulation of compensation shall be stipulated by the law.*

From the above clarifications, it is clear that officials are infringing the law because they arrest people without sufficient reason, and detain them in excess of the period of time stipulated by law.⁴⁾ Those detained on the basis of *indikasi*⁵⁾ are being held in violation of the law and without any evidence. An additional suffering for the political prisoners is that their families undergo great psychological stress because they fear all the time that their loved ones are being treated inhumanely. Some of them have been suffering or languishing in prison for well over ten years without investigation or verdict. Therefore, the officials responsible ought to be charged under paragraph 2, Article 9, Chapter 1 of the Law No. 14, 1970.

"... not the 'rule of law' but the 'law of the rulers' ..."

If the powers of the Judiciary were consistently and responsibly implemented in accordance with the 'rule of law' in order to uphold justice on the basis of Belief in One God, steps would certainly be taken in accordance with paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 of Article 4 Chapter 1 of the Law No. 14, 1970 and paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 5 of this Law. All interference in the affairs of the courts by forces outside the Judiciary are forbidden except in matters regulated by the law. The courts try people without discrimination. As long as the stipulations in the Law are not enforced, the

Judiciary is quite clearly not based upon integrity of the Law and is implementing the 'law of the rulers'.

One conclusion is that the government's denials in fact confirm the charge made in the report of the US State Department, namely that Indonesia is one of six countries that abuse human rights. And that is indeed the case.

Before beginning a presentation of all these violations of the law, I should like to make the following suggestions to the respected members of the International Red Cross Observation Team:

1. Any interviews you have with tapols should be done with each person separately because the authorities have intelligence people who have been recruited from the traitors among the tapols.
2. If an interpreter is needed, bring your own; do not use anyone provided by the government.
3. Look for key persons who could give you important and objective information, for example Mr Gumulyo SH, a person who up to now (after ten years) still has no process-verbale⁶) (he defended Lieutenant-Colonel Untung⁷) and Karim D.P., formerly chairman of the journalists' association, PWI, that is to say if they have not been transferred.
4. Go and see the Bukitduri Women's Prison, Nirbaya Prison (near Taman Mini), Tangerang Prison and the Jalan Budi Utomo Prison.
5. Clarification: suggestions 1 and 2 are made to ensure that information given by the tapols is not overheard by the authorities, because if the information is considered to have been helpful to the International Red Cross, steps would certainly be taken against those tapols as happened in Tangerang on a previous occasion.

These are my suggestions and I should not forget to offer you my apologies and convey my gratitude.

Everything I am going to tell you I have experienced myself, or I have heard about or I have come to know about from tapols that have come here from the regions.

The food we have been supplied with right from the start and up to the present has not undergone any fundamental change from the point of view of nutrition and caloric value; only minor changes have occurred.

In Jakarta, tapols get a food ration worth Rp. 45, with possibly a few extra rupiahs. This is (a) for buying rice plus food to go with it, (b) for medicine, and (c) for cleaning and toilet goods. This just shows how appalling our food is, especially now when the price of food has soared as high as it has in Jakarta.

I will now give a chronological account of the food given to tapols in Salemba:

a) From October 1965 up to 1966, the food for the tapols was sent from POMDAM (Jakarta Military Police). Two packets of rice a day, each about 8 desertspoonsful, plus vegetables. Mostly, the food arrived very late. The midday meal came about 5 or 6 pm, and the evening meal came around 11 pm. Malnutrition began to afflict the tapols, and some came down with beri-beri.

b) From 1967 till 1969, the food situation became even worse. Each person got only 8-10 spoonsful of bulgur-wheat, and this later was replaced by about 120 grains of corn with spinach and salt, the spinach being grown by the tapols themselves. Sometimes food from families was stopped altogether. From this time, beri-beri became very

widespread. Dozens of tapols became very weak, looking like living skeletons. It was not possible to prevent a number of deaths. Every day two or three people died. I myself got beri-beri. The number of people who died of beri-beri in Salemba and Tangerang Prisons alone reached about 400. In the N block cells, 15 persons died. Then, when I was moved to the Salemba policlinic for one year, 15 persons died. These were the ones who were brought to hospital; some hanged themselves, such as Corporal Daliman in Block E, and on that particular occasion, I made a protest.

In those days, Salemba was called Rumah Tahanan Khusus (Special Prison). Then in 1974, the name was changed to Rehabilitation Installation (*Inrehab*) a name that is completely inappropriate, considering the treatment meted out to the tapols. 'Special Prison' is the correct name because the authorities do indeed treat the tapols in a special way.

“ . . . a nauseating and ridiculous show . . . ”

Even in the midst of all that suffering, the authorities were still able to put on a nauseating and ridiculous show. It was on the occasion of a visit by journalists from home and abroad (US television and photographers). Tapols who were like skeletons were hidden away in closed cells, while those with healthy bodies - mostly soldiers who had only just come to the prison - were shown playing volley-ball etc. The same tradition is still being continued at the time of your visit.

c) Our daily food ration has an average caloric value of 800-1,000 calories except on holidays when help is sent in by the churches or by the Moslem Council, or on occasions when an inspection tour is being made (!).

The average daily ration is as follows:

Twice-daily ration of 300 gr of rice	About 300 calories
A dish of <i>tempe</i> ⁸⁾	About 100 calories
Spinach and salt	About 100 calories
	<hr/>
	About 800 calories
	<hr/>

or I would round it up to 1,000 calories. The required caloric intake per day is:

3 x 500 gr of rice	About 1,000 calories
3 x nutritional dish	About 500 calories
3 x vegetables	About 500 calories
supplementary food/fruit	About 250 calories
sweetened drinks	About 250 calories
	<hr/>
	About 2,500 calories
	<hr/>

Requirement according to body energy for a body weight of 50 kilos:

To fuel metabolism for 50 kilos -	
50 x 25 calories	1,250 calories
For movement and hard work	1,250 calories
	<hr/>
	2,500 calories
	<hr/>

A TAPOL'S LETTER (cont'd)

On average then, each tapol lacks about 1,500 calories a day. A person who gets only between 800 - 1,000 caloric intake a day will certainly be afflicted by beri-beri and could die in six months.

The political prisoners in Indonesia are very 'cheap' because they have to pay for everything themselves, additional food, medicines, sweetened drinks, clothes, prison equipment such as electric lamps, cleaning utensils and material - the tapols even have to pay for repairs to the prison.

The tapols have been able to survive because:

a. They receive supplementary food and other things from their families. (Not all tapols get this kind of help, only about one in ten).

b. They make efforts to supplement their food themselves by planting vegetables, occasionally rearing chickens or making handicrafts, though official permission for this was not granted until 1975.

c. The atrocious food situation has resulted in many of the tapols catching all kinds of ailments: malnutrition, hypertension, nervous disorders, stomach trouble, diabetes, haemorrhoids, kidney-stones and other ailments. These atrocious food rations exist in all the prisons and concentration camps; in fact, in some regions the food is just thrown upon the ground for them to pick up, in others they get rice only once a day. An example is in Palembang, where tapols are held in a place on the Musi River, opposite Sungaigerang. According to some friends who were there and survived, no fewer than 15,000 tapols have died there, in Surabaya and elsewhere.

“ . . . 15,000 tapols have died . . . ”

This then is a brief description of the conditions of the tapols. If many of them are still alive and healthy, this is only thanks to the endeavours of their families who get food for them, a heavy burden for the women whose housekeeping money is very inadequate and who have to care for their children.

Treatment of the tapols during interrogation

a. About ninety percent of the tapols are subjected to torture and inhuman maltreatment, physical and mental. This is indiscriminately used on the tapols, from the lowest ranking soldiers to generals, from lowly employees to top-ranking officials, from peasants, road sweepers to the leaders of organisations and the Communist Party, from uneducated people to scholars and scientists, none are exempted from such treatment.

b. The methods of torture vary with the individual interrogator and are carried out in a cruel and sadistic way:

- using electricity, until the victim loses consciousness, making some even insane or blind.
- beating with hard objects, chairs, wooden sticks, the spiked tail of the pari fish, plastic pipes, whips, and leather whips with nails attached to the end.
- pulling out the finger-nails, crushing the hands under the legs of a table.
- tying a person's hands with a chain attached to an axle, forcing him to sit between the two wheels and dragging him along the ground; putting the person into an oil drum

and beating the drum on the outside; tying up the hands and pushing the head down a well (submerging it).

- the husband is tortured, the wife is stripped naked in front of him and then the torturer plays with her sexual organ, pulls out the pubic hair one by one or burns her with cigarettes.
- the wife of a leader of a PKI organisation in East Java was raped and the top of a bottle was pushed into her vagina, then because she still refused to submit, some cotton wool which had been soaked in paraffin was pushed into her vagina and set alight.
- the tortures have resulted in numerous injuries: concussion, blindness, getting crippled, broken bones, insanity and in some cases even death.

c. Some of these torturers have themselves been arrested by other officers and put into prisons together with the G30S tapols. These include Bonar Sipohutar, who was Commander of the Central Intelligence Camp, First Lieutenant Jimmy Luminta, an officer at Central Intelligence and a few PKI traitors who themselves became torturers, such as Burhan Komala Sakti, Anton, Kusnan, and others. After being brought into Salemba Prison, they themselves were subjected to torture, and they complained of how 'brutal and sadistic' the interrogators were. They were full of repentance for what they had done to G30S people and PKI members when they themselves were still working. The things they had done were based on instructions from their superiors: 'When interrogating G30S people, particularly PKI members, they should be beaten/tortured first, and then interrogated.'

“ . . . instructions are: beat/torture first then interrogate . . . ”

Some of these interrogators were people who had once interrogated women in the way I described above (First Lieutenant Jimmy Luminta). Then after their detention, they came face to face with those whom they had tortured, but as far as I know, there has never been a case of anyone taking revenge.

d. The classification of tapols into A, B and C is pure nonsense because all interrogations are accompanied by force and inhuman torture to compel the person under interrogation to make the confessions needed by the interrogator.

In 1969, many people classified as Category C were reclassified to Category B so that they could be sent off to Buru. Many Category C tapols were just people who had infringed a curfew, or who knew nothing whatever about the G30S. These were the so-called Category C tapols.

Category B consists mostly of people who have been compelled by torture to admit that they are PKI members and who should really be in Category C. There are some who were evicted from their land (became involved in civil cases), who became involved in commercial rivalries, or people who cannot be tried because there is no evidence against them; these are the people who have spent years in prison, some of them more than ten years.

Category A includes many people who should really be in Category B, and some even who should be in Category C. The administration is so bad that many cases are neglected for years, and there are many in Category A who still have not been tried.

Releases

In 1975, the Government announced the release of 2,000 Category B tapols in Jakarta; only 150 persons were released, in batches of 30-40 persons.

At the end of 1976, the release of 2,500 tapols was announced. It was announced that 300 had been released in Jakarta, but in fact only 120 were released from Salemba Prison, the remainder were people who had been released in 1975 or before. I know the names and faces of all those who were released, having seen them on the television. Ambassadors from friendly states were invited to watch the far from funny 'show'. This is the shameless way the authorities deceive friendly states.

“ . . . the shameless way the authorities deceive friendly states . . . ”

Those people released who had families in Jakarta were asked to pay administration costs. Low ranking soldiers and others with no means had to pay Rp. 25,000. Those slightly better off had to pay Rp. 50,000 to Rp. 100,000, and others from Rp. 200,000 to Rp. 1,000,000. The tapols are treated like mere commodities. The officers involved in this scandal are Major Situmeang of the Regional Interrogation Team (*Teperda*), Major Djody, Commander of Salemba Prison, Captain Marzuki and others. So low have they fallen in their methods of making money! These officers also indulge in activities that destroy the tapols' families. There was the case of the wife of (Naval) Corporal Bambang who was harassed by Major Djody, Salemba Prison Commander. Corporal Bambang, who is a detainee, escaped from prison and ran to report to his former commander; now he is being held in the Army Hospital and has been declared insane.

These shows of theirs are intended to serve a political purpose:

- to show the outside world that Indonesia does not violate human rights
- to comply with the demands of IGGI member states so as not to hamper the supply of economic aid
- at a time leading up to general elections, to create the impression that the government is well-intentioned and humane.

After release the tapols are still held under house arrest for at least one year and have to report every week. Some of them have even been re-arrested, Major Langlang Suana, and Major Gindo Bangko in Medan, for instance.

Attention should be paid to those held in the heavy isolation block, Block N in Salemba Prison who, for the time being, have been spirited away because of the International Red Cross visit. The 26 persons referred to in the list have been removed to Jalan Budi Utomo for 20 days, and then they will be moved back to the isolation block in Salemba.

Medical Facilities

a. Medical facilities are quite appalling. There are no medicines or equipment. Doctors rarely come. As a result many people are ill, die or become permanent invalids.

b. Most people who are acutely ill are not sent to the Army Hospital but only to the Salemba Prison Polyclinic. Only when they are critically ill are they sent to hospital and in most cases this is already too late and they die.

c. Those held in strict isolation who are locked in their

cells for 24 hours a day suffer the most terrible health conditions. Quite a number of them have died in Block N, including:

- Lieutenant Sumardi, adjutant to Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, who spat blood following torture
- Lieutenant Hasyim, who got concussion when he was being tortured
- A Palace Guard (*Cakrabirawa*) soldier, who died from injuries received while being tortured and from beri-beri
- Corporal Daliman, who hanged himself after being confined to his cell
- Tahmid, a member of the Central Council of the Oil-Workers Union who died after spitting blood following torture and after being confined to his cell
- Puja, a co-operative member who died from beri-beri and after being confined to his cell
- Ganap, just an ordinary fellow, died of beri-beri and as a result of torture and of being confined to his cell; he was a simple peasant, illiterate, and just happened to live in the vicinity of Lubang Buaya⁹)
- Major Rudhito of Army Headquarters, who got beri-beri, hypertension, diabetes, and was confined to his cell
- And many others, including four who were confined endlessly to their cells. These people were confined to their cells in Block N, and were together with me. There are still many more who are suffering from various illnesses and who are currently being detained in Jalan Budi Utomo (those whose names are on the list).

d. There is hardly any medicine to care for the health of those in Salemba (formerly about 2,000 and now about 700 tapols), and much of what there is is misappropriated by officers. About 50 people go to the polyclinic every day for treatment, out of a total of 700. Each block is only allowed to send 5 persons to the clinic; if this were not so, there would be far more every day. There are 50 people being treated at the Polyclinic; about half of them have various kinds of ailments, and about half are suffering from beri-beri. Apart from the 700 still in Salemba, most of the others have been transported to Buru, to Nusakambangan Island, and a small number have been released. When the transportation to Buru and Nusakambangan took place, many of the tapols were paralysed and had to be carried.

e. While I was at the Salemba Polyclinic for one year 12 - 15 persons died, about one death a month. Most of them died of heart-attacks, hypertension, spitting blood etc.

f. It is very difficult for those who become critically ill to be taken to the Army Hospital because of all the bureaucracy. It is also to some extent deliberate, and many unnecessary deaths occur.

g. Medical aid from the churches is sometimes refused. Some supplementary food from the churches is received but only about 10 percent gets to the tapols; the rest is corrupted by officers.

h. Several detained doctors have been allowed to work at the Polyclinic, but they are frequently disciplined for being too good to the tapols. For example: Captain Dr. Sumerapi reported on the state of health of some of the patients and on the supply of medicines when a Jakarta Military Command inspection team came on a visit. As a result, after the visit he was tortured and confined to his cell, and he was showered with urine every morning, and later sent to Buru. The Prison Commander at that time was Major Sani Gonjo, and Lieutenant Marzuki was in charge of security.

A TAPOL'S LETTER (cont'd)

Dr. Suwarno was confined to his cell only because he had proposed that one patient be taken to the Army Hospital. Dr. Prawoto has been confined to the heavy isolation Block N because he was said to have helped people with medicine (he was among those transferred to Budi Utomo at present).

Recreation

- a. The total isolation block, N, is absolutely closed to recreation, whatever the day - including festive days of all religions and national holidays. They are closed up, without recreation for 24 hours a day. From 7 a.m. to 6 p.m. they are kept in *tiger cages* and from 6 p.m. to 7 a.m. they are kept in cells with double doors.
 - b. The free blocks are kept isolated from each other - the tapols are not allowed to go to other blocks. The difference by comparison with Block N is that from 5 a.m. to 8 p.m. the cell doors are opened and they can go out.
 - c. The only recreation available is volleyball, handball and chess. But no-one has the strength to play handball because of the poor diet.
 - d. Only religious books are allowed. There is a report that a library of books was brought in on 15th January 1977 because of the International Red Cross visit. Such are the deceptions of the authorities, though the truth can now be told.
 - e. Because the food situation is so bad the tapols are in a poor state of health, and with so little money available for their upkeep, the prison commander was compelled to permit the tapols to do handwork for sale; the proceeds are used for extra food. This started in 1975.
 - f. The tapols in Salemba Prison are subjected to mental and psychological pressures during brain-washing which is compulsory; anyone who fails to take part is punished by being confined indefinitely to the isolation block.
- The little recreation there is does little to alleviate the mental and psychological stresses under which the tapols have been held for so many years.

Arrests

- a. According to the experiences of the tapols, most arrests are made without a warrant. If the person being sought is not at home, they take the wife or child as a hostage. The Civil Defence corps (Hansip) also has powers to arrest, and the result is that many are murdered and their property is confiscated.
- b. Many army officers have seized homes, cars and other property from tapols. In the case of my own family, they were all evicted and all our property was seized. My wife and children were only allowed to take the clothes they were wearing. Our house and car were taken and the house occupied. This was our own private property. Many other tapols have suffered the same kind of thing.
- c. Arrests are often made under the most inhumane circumstances. For instance, the husband and wife are taken and have to abandon children, even small children, and in some cases babies who are still being suckled. As proof of this, you are invited to take a look at the orphanages run by the Council of Churches and other bodies. Even more

horrifying are the cases of arrests in Aceh (North Sumatra) when entire families have been hacked to pieces - from father to tiny baby. The methods used are simply ghastly; the children are instructed to take leave of their parents one by one and are then killed one by one, and finally the parents are killed. A pregnant mother was kept alive till her baby had been born. This account was told by a tapol who managed to escape. I need not go into the mass murders that occurred throughout Indonesia. All that is now a public secret.

- d. By no means are all the people arrested from the PKI or from the mass organisations; many of the arrests are quite arbitrary:
 - They are prompted by personal sentiment
 - for breaking the curfew
 - taken as a hostage
 - just dropping in to see someone or buying something at a food stall (not an acquaintance)
 - for being in people's scout group while still young
 - people who have been evicted by the government, who demand compensation and who are branded G30S/PKI
 - members of the PKI, or of mass organisations or trade unions
 - Sukarnoists, or people who formerly worked for the implementation of the Sukarno Government's programme.

All those arrested are forced to admit that they are PKI members. One defence lawyer, Gumulyo SH, who defended Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, was captured and put into prison, and has now been detained for nearly 11 years. He has consistently refused to be interrogated and therefore has no *process-verbale*.

This information is, I think, sufficient to enhance the knowledge of the Human Rights Commission through the International Red Cross.

Footnotes

- 1) *The prison is Jalan Budi Utomo is a military prison.*
- 2) *This list is in our hands but is not being published.*
- 3) *G30S/PKI - acronym for the October 1965 Affair and the Communist Party of Indonesia.*
- 4) *There are more specific regulations not quoted by the writer which limit the time a suspect may be held without charge.*
- 5) *The term used against those suspected of involvement in the G30S.*
- 6) *Interrogation report.*
- 7) *Lieutenant Colonel Untung, head of group of army officers who staged the G30S, and was tried and executed.*
- 8) *Soya bean cake.*
- 9) *Lubang Buaya is near Jakarta - the place where the G30S officers set up their headquarters.*

Readings on Elections

A comprehensive reading list on the general elections in Indonesia is available on request from TAPOL. Please send a stamped addressed envelope, if you live in the UK.

General Elections and Dirty Tricks

There is growing evidence that Army and Government officials are carrying out intimidation to ensure the overwhelming victory of the military-backed GOLKAR at the General Elections in May this year.

Besides GOLKAR, two political parties have been permitted to take part: the Development Unity Party (PPP), which is Moslem, and the Democratic Party (PDI), comprising Nationalist and Christian parties. The PPP is very strong in some parts of the country, notably East Java, and is the target of most cases of intimidation. The PDI shattered by deep splits and conflicts, is apparently considered much less of a rival by GOLKAR and the military.

The following reports of intimidation have recently been received:

'In a village of just under 2,000 people called Patuk, in the Gunung Kidul region of Central Java, Harjodiguno the headman a few weeks ago carried out his orders as an official of the Government's GOLKAR political movement.

'Officials went round the houses with a form to be filled in. Villagers had to say whether they supported GOLKAR, the PPP or the PDI. Gunung Kidul is a backward area but the people knew what to do. Of the 120 voters contacted, 102 nominated GOLKAR and 13 others gave no choice.

'The Patuk example appears to be a mild case...of a pattern of heavy persuasion and manipulation that, according to non-GOLKAR leaders, is spread throughout Indonesia.

'In South Sulawesi, the tactic has been taken further with nearly all the people declaring themselves GOLKAR to avoid trouble. Whole villages are deemed by officials - who wear both Government and GOLKAR hats - to have declared themselves 'free of political parties', thus grounds have been established for refusing party organisers any access.

'...Detailed reports have been published in the Moslem-oriented Jakarta paper, *Pelita*, of arrests and bashings in a string of towns throughout East Java. A Moslem MP, Mr. Anwar Nurris, has produced documentation of torture and beatings in Situbondo, East Java where, he said, warning shots are now a common occurrence.'

(Hamish McDonald, Australian journalist, writing in the Australian *Financial Review*, 1st March 1977)

The following are some reports that appeared in *Pelita* during January:

13th January - 11 PPP members arrested in the Pasuruan Sub-District

14th January - a PPP meeting is prohibited by police in Kediri, East Java. Government officials in the sub-district are prohibited from being candidates for the PPP.

18th January - PPP members arrested in a village in Pasuruan. Two of them were taken unconscious to Koramil, the local military office.

19th January - Villagers in Trenggalek, East Java, are forced to join GOLKAR, even though they are PPP members. They are forced to hang the GOLKAR election symbol in addition to their own party symbol. If they refuse, they are threatened with mal-treatment.

22nd January - Sa'roni, a PPP official in Cilacap, Central Java, is warned that he will be driven from his region if he refuses to relinquish his PPP membership.

24th January - A PPP official in Tulungagung, East Java is rendered unconscious twice while under arrest. He lodges an official protest.

8th March - Mintaredja, PPP Chairman, announced that the PPP is sending a delegation to East Java to investigate a shooting incident. The incident was also the subject of a protest by the PPP to KOPKAMTIB.

(Antara News Agency)

* * *

A Reuter report from Jakarta (25th February) reported that according to the Jakarta daily, *Suara Karya* (the GOLKAR paper) 358 Moslems have been arrested by the Army in East Java on charges of attempting to set up an Islamic state. They are said to belong to a group called Jihad (Holy War).

* * *

Meanwhile, In March, Mr. Dipa Alam, chairman of the Students Council of the University of Indonesia, was reported by Australian Broadcasting Corporation reporter Peter Monkton as having urged students not to vote for GOLKAR but to give their votes to either of the two parties as an expression of 'independence'. He also urged students to help monitor abuses that occur during the course of the election campaign.

Congressional Hearing on Atrocities in Timor (cont'd from p.2)

said the sub-committee would carefully examine allegations of genocide. "If large-scale killing did occur," he said, "the sub-committee will want to explore why the United States as well as other members of the international community remained silent. Was the silence out of ignorance or deliberate intent? Equally important are the implications for current US policy towards Indonesia. US military equipment has been crucial to the Indonesians in their invasion and occupation of East Timor. Is it consistent with the US national interest to assist the Indonesians militarily in their control of East Timor?"

Parliamentary Debate in Holland

The question of Indonesian atrocities in East Timor has aroused considerable concern in Holland where the press also

gave wide publicity to Mr James Dunn's report. On 3rd March, the Dutch Parliament debated several motions on the problem.

One motion tabled by the Pacifist Socialist Party called upon the Dutch Government to refuse to deliver three corvettes currently under construction in Dutch shipyards on the order of the Indonesian Navy. Another motion called on the Dutch Government to press for a UN mission of enquiry to visit the territory to investigate the reports of killing and atrocities, and to press for the sending of humanitarian aid to East Timor.

The first motion was lost on a show of hands; some of those voting against did so because they felt that a decision on delivery of the corvettes was premature as the ships would not be ready until 1978, by which time the situation might have changed. The second motion was lost with a narrow margin of two votes, with 62 in favour and 64 against.

Jehovah's Witness Banned

An order banning Jehovah's witnesses throughout Indonesia was issued by the Attorney-General, Ali Said, on 7th December last.

The order states that the teachings of this sect are in conflict with the laws of the land and that some of the attitudes and activities of members of the sect are in conflict with the policies of the Indonesian Government.

The order referred to a suggestion made by the Minister for Religious Affairs that the sect's activities should be frozen, and said that in view of this, the sect was being banned in order to preserve tranquillity, security and harmony between religions.

From the London office of Jehovah's Witnesses, we learnt that there are altogether 4,264 members of the sect in Indonesia organised in a total of 137 congregations. During the course of 1976, 585 converts were made.

* * * * *

Honesty is Dangerous (cont'd from p.3)

During the past few years, *Tempo* reports, the Catholic Church in Indonesia has developed a tradition of establishing Lent themes decided upon by the nationally-based Social-Economic Affairs Committee of the Church.

The ban in Flores was pronounced by the Bupati, the sub-district chief responsible for local government administration. *Tempo* suggests that the ban may have been prompted by a similar move taken by the military commander of Central Java several years ago who banned a public testimony issued by 42 Jogjakarta priests in early January 1974, just prior to the student demonstrations of that month. That document had commented critically on a number of social and moral questions. The ban had included not only the dissemination of the document but even reference to it in sermons.

Tempo reproduces the offending leaflet which shows a mask of piety behind which a man, spouting figures like 5 percent, 10 percent and 20 percent, is stealing from someone else. The legend reads: 'How honest am I in society'.

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

LITERATURE AVAILABLE FROM TAPOL

- Indonesia, the Prison State, a 16-page pamphlet with photographs 10p each
- Indonesia, Unions Behind Bars, a 16-page pamphlet on the detention of trade unionists and the suppression of trade unions. Foreword by Jack Jones, Chairman of the International Committee of the British T.U.C. 10p each
- TAPOL badges, designed in three colours 10p each
- Analysis of Responsibility, Defence Speech of Sudisman, General Secretary of the PKI, delivered on 21st July, 1967 *) £1.60p each
- The Bloodbath That Was, reprint of the 1967 book by Dierdre Griswold on the massacres of 1965-66 *) 80p each
- Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia, containing 15 articles on social, economic and political aspects of post-1965 Indonesia £3.00 each
- TAPOL Posters in two designs 50p each

*) Limited supplies only.

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It is more than eleven years now since the first mass arrests took place in Indonesia, but the problem is still far from solution.

TAPOL's campaign may have helped to compel the military leaders to at least speak of releases, but clearly this is not enough. A more effective campaign means that we must reach out to more people with our information.

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