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Massacres and Torture in East Timor

Reports that 60,000 people were killed within weeks of the Indonesian invasion have already been referred to in earlier issues of TAPOL Bulletin. The latest information is that priests in Dili, when asked about that figure, replied that it was more likely 100,000, which is one-sixth of the total population of the country.

Information about the treatment of the local population is not easy to obtain. Fretilin sources within the country send out regular reports by radio which are monitored in Australia but with the country tightly sealed off from contact with the outside world, it has been difficult to obtain independent verification of these Fretilin reports. Recently however, two sources have become available. Although neither has any political affinity with Fretilin, they both broadly confirm the Fretilin reports. These sources are:

1. A report compiled by priests who visited East Timor with a relief team from Indonesia. The report was smuggled out of Indonesia to Europe, then sent to the Australian Catholic Commission of Peace which passed a copy on to the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs. The document has been widely published in the Australian press.

2. Interviews of refugees from East Timor now in Lisbon, by James Dunn, formerly Australia's Consul in Dili.

The following information is based on the interviews made by James Dunn, unless otherwise stated.

Camps and Prisons

Atauro Island. This island, lying a few miles due north of Dili, is now used entirely as a place of detention.

Balide and Taibesse Prisons, Dili. These are the two known places of detention in the capital of East Timor.

Pante-Makassar. This camp is located in Oecussi, the East Timor enclave on the north coast of West Timor.

'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'.

Ermera. A camp has been reported in this small town which lies to the south-west of Dili. *(continued p.7)*

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Four Prisoners Killed

Four prisoners were killed and eighteen injured at a detention centre located at the Jakarta Metropolitan Police Headquarters on 9th February.

According to a Reuter report from Jakarta, there had been unrest in the detention centre since the previous day when 'rioting' had broken out among the 380 prisoners there.

"Police armed with carbines and pistols later sealed off the building and gunfire was heard over the sound of the wailing sirens of fire engines called in to put out a fire started by the prisoners," reported Reuter.

The news agency reports the Indonesian authorities as saying that the incident was sparked off by a "riot planned by a six-man group headed by a prisoner named Bambang" who had been detained previously for alleged involvement in the 1965 events, and had recently been re-arrested "on criminal charges."

TAPOL Cables UN Human Rights Commission

On 12th February, TAPOL cabled the Chairman of the UN Human Rights Commission which was just commencing its 1977 Session in Geneva, urging the Commission to initiate an investigation into this incident. It also wrote to the British and US representatives on the Commission requesting their support for this initiative.

Reports have appeared in the press of efforts by the US representative on the Commission, Mr Allard K. Lowenstein, to press the Commission to take immediate action regarding the arrest of dissidents in the Soviet Union.

It is also understood that a number of reforms of the Commission's procedures are under consideration. Human rights groups in the USA have, according to the New York Times, pressed the US Government to press for changes making it possible for the Commission to react immediately to abuses rather than having to rely on the time-consuming procedures that have rendered the Commission so ineffective up to the present.

Foreign Aid to Indonesia

US FOREIGN AID AND HUMAN RIGHTS

Twelve major human rights pressure groups in the US called upon President Jimmy Carter just a few days prior to his inauguration as President to cut off US security assistance to Indonesia and to four other countries on the grounds that they engage 'in a consistent pattern of gross violation of human rights'. The other countries are Argentina, Haiti, Iran and the Philippines.

The organisations include a number of church groups as well as political associations, such as: Friends Committee on National Legislation (Quakers), the Jesuit Office of Social Ministries and Americans for Democratic Action.

The twelve organisations also sharply challenged recent reports by the US State Department on the human rights situation in these countries and urged President Carter to ensure that in future, more and better information be made available to the public. They said that increases in aid to these repressive governments have undercut the diplomatic advice which the State Department claims it has given to these governments on the human rights question.

The State Department report referred to is a document submitted on 31st December last to the House of Representatives Committee of Representatives, pursuant to Section 502(b) of the Foreign Assistance Act which denies aid to countries in gross violation of human rights unless such aid will directly benefit the needy people of that country.

For the first time in 1976, the State Department complied with Congressional requests to submit reports on the situation in six countries, including Indonesia. Initially, the report was designated as classified, but after a special request from Donald Fraser, Chairman of the Subcommittee on International Relations, one of the co-authors of the human rights legislation, the State Department agreed to de-classify the material which was therefore published on 31st December.

The report on Indonesia largely justifies the Army's brutal repression and even implies that the mass killings that occurred in 1965 were the result of 'PKI efforts to stage uprisings in rural areas' which 'precipitated a wave of civil strife and virtual anarchy in much of Indonesia.'

Totally ignoring the fact that numerous left-wing newspapers were banned from the moment the Army came to power, the State Department asserts: 'Between 1966 and 1974, the Indonesian press reportedly enjoyed a greater degree of freedom than existed almost anywhere in East Asia outside of Japan'.

The report almost completely glosses over the facts of political detention and endeavours to cast doubt on the integrity of Amnesty International information regarding Indonesia.



DUTCH LABOUR PARTY REJECTS AID TO INDONESIA

The Dutch Labour Party, at its Annual Congress in January this year, adopted a motion calling for all aid to Indonesia to be halted. The motion was carried following the submission of amendments to a more cautiously-worded resolution tabled by the Party's leadership council.

The official 'evaluation note' regarding Dutch aid to Indonesia, promised before the end of last year, has not yet appeared. But in a much-publicised debate on 13th February between the Minister for Overseas Development Aid, Drs Jan

Pronk and Professor Wertheim, chairman of the Dutch-Indonesia Committee, facts presented by Prof. Wertheim regarding Indonesia's invasion of East Timor and the atrocities committed there by Indonesian troops, were not contradicted by Minister Pronk. On the contrary, he told the meeting he had been deeply shocked by the revelations of Mr James Dunn (see page). Neither did the Minister deny Prof. Wertheim's statements regarding the abuse of human rights in Indonesia.

In fact, he told the meeting that he could not imagine that in a situation where Indonesia is committing aggression against East Timor, the Dutch Government would grant export permits for three naval vessels now under construction in Holland for the Indonesian Navy.



MOST US AID OUTSIDE CONGRESSIONAL CONTROL

About 69% of foreign aid supplied by the US Government is outside the control of the US Congress. Specifically in the case of Indonesia, only 14% of US foreign aid supplied by the US Government in 1976 was subject to Congressional control.

These are the findings of a report published in January this year by a Washington research group, the Centre for International Policy.

The report points out that only a small part of US aid funds are supplied directly, on a bilateral basis, to the recipient country. These are the four programmes known as the Agency for International Development (AID), the Peace Corps the PL-480 (which distributes agricultural surpluses) and the Military Assistance Programme (MAP).

Far larger sums are channelled through government supported agencies such as the Exim Bank and the Commodity Credit Corporation, and also the multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.

In the case of Indonesia, the report states, direct aid (subject to Congressional control) amounted to \$132.8 million in 1976 by comparison with indirect aid which amounted to \$797.2 million. It is interesting in fact to note that over the past few years, the indirect aid (not subject to Congressional control) has considerably increased while direct aid has remained fairly stable:

	1973	1974	1975	1976
Direct aid	259.7	108.1	110.7	132.8
Multilateral aid	403.8	284.1	750.3	797.2

(in millions of dollars)

This report highlights for people in other western countries the fact that figures published by governments of aid supplied to Indonesia usually tell only part of the story. Other western governments too are members of the World Bank and similar multilateral agencies and are therefore accountable for the decisions taken by these agencies.

Account must also be taken of moneys supplied by agencies such as the Exim Bank in the USA. In the UK, this would include agencies like the Export Credit Guarantee Department which uses public funds to guarantee export credit generally supplied through banks or other financial institutions.

Plantungan to Close?

Reports have been received that the Women's Detention Camp in Plantungan, Central Java is to close down, at least as a place of detention for women tapols. Currently, there are about 300 tapols at the camp, plus 40 boy detainees (being held on delinquency charges) who enjoy better facilities and living quarters than the women.

At the beginning of last December, (just prior to a visit to the camp by the Belgian Ambassador), about 100 women tapols were transferred to Bulu Prison in Semarang. From various sources, we have heard that roughly half these women have been released while the remainder are still being held in Bulu Prison; no-one seems to know what future lies in store for the latter group. Those released consist mainly of women over 55 years of age and those suffering from various illnesses including mental disorders and neurosis.

Among those transferred were the two tapol doctors at Plantungan who had been allowed to treat the prisoners. This means that there is now no doctor at the camp.

The reports we have received indicate that in both Plantungan and Bulu, the regulations regarding contact with families and the outside world have been greatly tightened up. It appears that no parcels or letters are now being received in Plantungan. At Bulu Prison, relatives are required to obtain a permit for each and every visit whether it is intended to meet the prisoner or only to take food. All this involves frustrating hassles with the military authorities and extra opportuni-

BRITISH MPs EXPLAIN

The two Labour Party MPs who visited Indonesia as members of a Parliamentary mission in October last year have informed TAPOL that the views expressed by the two Conservative members of the mission regarding political prisoners (see TAPOL Bulletin No 19, page 6) were their own personal views and did not represent the views of the mission.

The two Labour Party members of the mission were Alec Woodall and David Young. The two Conservative Party members were Dr Alan Glyn and Nicholas Winterton.

In his letter to TAPOL, Mr Woodall wrote: "May I make this point as far as the comments printed in the Indonesian newspapers. After our interview with the President, we were asked to meet the press. Dr Alan Glyn and Mr Nicholas Winterton were the only people interviewed. Neither David Young nor myself were approached for comment. We both made it clear there and then that the views expressed by Glyn and Winterton were their own personal views and not the official views of the whole delegation."

Mr Young wrote: "I should point out the people who made the statements to which you presumably refer did so as individuals. I made no statement to the media."

Mr Winterton, on the other hand, wrote as follows in his letter to TAPOL: "I feel ... that I must advise you that following my visit to Indonesia in October last year, I support the position of the present Indonesian Government in relation to the persons detained for the crimes which they committed (sic) during the abortive Communist coup in 1965. I do not think that I need remind you that the Communist endeavour to take over Indonesia by force involved the most vicious and barbaric brutality, and the slaughter of the Generals was only the tip of this iceberg. I support the present policy of the Indonesian Government and accept the assurances that have been given by General Suharto. It is not my intention, therefore, to accept your invitation to view the film*) which you are showing ... on 3rd February."

*) Amnesty's film: **More Than a Million Years.**

ties for bribes. Previously, permits were issued for a period of time.

Britain's New Aid Minister



Judith Hart is once again Minister for Overseas Development following changes in the British Government announced on 21st February.

She occupied this post until June 1975 when she was sacked after refusing to accept another ministerial post in the Government.

In an article published in *New Internationalist* in January 1976 and reproduced in TAPOL Bulletin (No. 16, June 1976) she disclosed that one issue leading to her departure from the government was her disagreement with members of the Cabinet on the question of aid to Indonesia. She had opposed continuance of aid to Indonesia because of rising oil revenues and her concern over human rights abuses, but had faced pressures from other Ministers which had eventually led to compromise.

Judith Hart is a member of the Labour Party's International Committee. She was part of a deputation which visited the Overseas Development Ministry on 8th June last, just prior to the 1976 meeting of the IGGI; the deputation made representations to the Parliamentary Under Secretary, Mr Frank Judd in view of the steady trickle of resolutions being received by the Party's National Executive Committee on the question of aid to Indonesia and the abuse of human rights.

She was also among a group of International Committee members who met the top-level Indonesian mission, led by General Ali Murtopo, which visited London last November.

During the discussion, the Indonesian team presented the official figures of tapols being held, which led Mr Ian Mikardo, chairman of the International Committee, to comment that these figures made Indonesia the world champions at detention without trial. Mrs Hart said that the only other comparisons were Uganda and Chile.

Tapol in Sulawesi Interviewed

The following interview appeared in Bulletin 2, Volume 2 of the Centre for Information on Asian Political Prisoners (CIAP), 28th June, 1976. CIAP was set up in Tokyo in 1975. The person being interviewed had recently visited Indonesia and had quite accidentally met a tapol while touring in Sulawesi.

CIAP notes that "the prisoner described in this interview is not held in one of the large prisons, but rather is one of the tens of thousands of tapols who are scattered throughout the country in small labour camps under military custody. The fact that a foreign visitor - not knowing where to look - met one of these prisoners by chance in a typical agricultural village is an indication of how widespread these small camps are. Were the prisoners in this camp ever included in the figures cited by Indonesian government officials?"

C.I.A.P. We heard that you met with a political prisoner in Indonesia. What did he have to say and what is his situation like now?

A. I saw this man on the island of Sulawesi. I came upon him in a village quite near a large town. I prefer not to mention the name of the town because I was there and also because he still lives there.

When I came upon him, he was dressed in rags, but very clean. They were cast-off clothing which the villagers had given him because the military does not provide them with any new clothing whatsoever.

He told me that he had been in prison for eight years so far and only for the last year of imprisonment had he been allowed even to write to his wife. He still had not seen her in eight years. His only crime was that he had been a member of the P.K.I. He was working for the Finance Ministry before he was arrested.

He said there were about 186 other prisoners there. The army gave them a ration of one kilo of rice per week to eat, so therefore they were dependent upon the other villagers for all the rest of their food and for their clothing. This was particularly hard because at that time the price of rice had gone up in Indonesia and the villagers themselves were particularly poor, so that was placing a burden directly upon them.

Not only that, but they were under the control of a Major in the army who received money from the central government for the upkeep of the roads and various facilities in that region. He used the tapols without giving them any money whatsoever. So, in fact, what they were doing was using slave labour -- using these people and they received no money for it whatsoever.

On top of that, whether they were Moslem or not -- whether they were atheist, Christian or whatever -- they still had to adhere to the strict Moslem religious practices. At the time I was there, it was Ramadan, which is a time when the Moslems are meant to fast during the day. Even these people -- with their meagre diet -- and even these men doing very hard physical work still had to fast during the day. And most of them were not "labourers" by profession or by "physique"; you could even say, because they are very frail ...

He did not have any idea when he would be released -- none whatsoever. They were not meant to go to town, but occasionally they could go -- about once a week. However, they were under surveillance. It was noted who they talked to. Occasionally they could listen to radio programmes, but only if the villagers had a radio. They themselves did not

have any possessions whatsoever. The villagers themselves lived in very poor conditions, but these persons lived in even poorer ones on the outskirts of the village.

C.I.A.P. So this is one of the prison islands?

A. No, it is not. This is the surprising thing. It is near quite a prosperous small-sized town in the south-eastern Sulawesi. The name of the town itself is

C.I.A.P. is a town where the prisoners are concentrated?

A. Yes.

C.I.A.P. Near this town?

A. Well, 186 of them are there and I understand there are many such places. Throughout Indonesia, they use the prisoners for physical labour.

C.I.A.P. Did he talk to you about what other people can do for him? People in other countries? Some form of concrete support?

A. Their knowledge of what happens in the outside world is very limited -- just radio broadcasts and occasional papers they can read. Really his struggle is a struggle for survival -- his own survival. His immediate aim was to get in closer contact with his wife. There is a secondary thing that happens, which is part of quite a deliberate attempt by the Suharto government to completely crush any left-wing support. It is that any of the family of the tapols, or people connected with them, are denied the possibility of going to school. Hence, they are denied any possibility of education and consequently denied any access to the higher-paying jobs or jobs with responsibility. He had two sons and neither of them were going to school

A TAPOL'S W

Confirmation that tapols on Nusakembangan have been used as forced labour has come from a tapol's wife who wrote in January 1977 to a friend abroad, giving details of her husband's experiences. The wife refuses to allow her name to be published for fear of recrimination. Her husband had been chairman of a local SOBSI-affiliated trades union and was arrested in December 1965. She writes:

"The places where he was detained were:

KODIM, Bandung, until August 1967

Kebon Waru (Bandung) until 1972

Nusakembangan, an island south of Java.

While he was in the prisons, he did not have to do forced labour. I was allowed to visit him every Sunday and on holidays, together with my children and to bring him food, only no reading material. During all the years he was detained in Bandung, I frequently sent him medicines, extra nourishment and rice. When he was in Nusakembangan I sent him rice, dry fish and meat every month, as well as clothing. According to verbal reports, he received everything except tobacco and cigarettes, though the medicines sometimes disappeared. The

Double Counting of Releases

The Numbers Game

Only about 100 of the 390 tapols who appeared at the release ceremony in Jakarta on 1st December last (TAPOL Bulletin 19, page 2) were in fact being released at the time. The others were people who had been released many months, and in some cases, more than a year previously.

The source for this information mentioned the names of ex-tapols who had been released in October 1975 but who were required to attend the ceremony to be 'released' again!

This once again casts doubts on figures announced by KOPKAMTIB regarding the numbers being released each year; quite clearly, some are being accounted for in the release figures for both 1975 and 1976.

The information from Jakarta also states that the released prisoners are required to report to the military authorities every week, and the documents they possess make it impossible for them to apply for jobs. All the talk about 'lack of job opportunities' is clearly irrelevant because the released prisoners are in fact being prevented from seeking employment.

The Word Game

In reply to a letter from TAPOL raising the whole question of the Indonesian Government's policy of "transmigrating" tapols, an official of the British Foreign Office sought to reject TAPOL's statement that "prisoners released on Java would be sent to the Buru labour camp and those released on other islands would be transferred to so-called transmigration camps to be set up on those islands."

The official wrote: "The translation I have seen of Admiral Sudomo's statement does not say that prisoners released on Java would be sent to a *labour camp* on Buru, or that other released prisoners would be transferred to transmigration camps. (His emphasis.) My understanding is that the transmigration programme was conceived some time ago as a measure of re-settlement affecting a very broad section of the Indonesian population. It does not merely apply to the released prisoners."

The British Foreign Office apparently wishes to disregard the fact that the Indonesian Government repeatedly seeks to conceal the nature of things by a cunning use of terminology. The Buru labour camp has indeed never been referred to as such by them; it is always called a "rehabilitation centre". Three years ago, in October 1974, the Indonesian authorities decided to rename prisons "rehabilitation installations" and to rename political prisoners "G30S prisoners".

Certainly the transmigration programme does not apply to political prisoners; it was indeed conceived many, many years ago, long before the military came to power. But the point at issue is that this programme is now being used to camouflage the continued detention of tapols in places to which they have been or are being forcibly transferred and which they are not permitted to leave. Furthermore, this talk of "transmigrating" tapols is nothing new. "Transmigration has consistently been used to describe the transfer of tapols to Buru since the camp there was set up in 1969.

Another example of the word game comes from a statement by a spokesman of the Indonesian Embassy in Washington, quoted by the Christian Science Monitor (24th December, 1976), replying to criticism of the Indonesian Government's release programme by David Hinkley, Indonesia coordinator for Amnesty, US Section. The paper writes: "The spokesman admitted Buru was under guard, but said the guards were more 'supervisors' than guards."

Tapols Prevented From Meeting Red Cross

A report has recently been received that a group of tapols being held at Salemba Prison were transferred to another place of detention in Jakarta just prior to a visit to the prison by an International Red Cross mission. The names of these tapols were not divulged, but the source indicated that they were most people who could speak English and who were transferred to prevent them from making contact with the Red Cross mission.

Also, in "preparation" for the mission's visit, camp-beds, blankets and other equipment were taken into the prison....!

WIFE WRITES

tobacco and cigarettes were intended for others as my husband does not smoke.

No News of Transfer

Since October 1975, I have received no news from him. The last visit I paid him was at the end of October 1975; he knew then that he would be transferred but he didn't know where.

A week ago, I received a letter from a young man who had been in prison with my husband in Bandung; he told me my husband was now in Buru. I have received no messages from my husband for nearly one and a half years. The postcard from that young man took 8 months to reach me. (She does not explain whether this person is still a prisoner).

Forced Labour

In Nusakambangan, my husband had to chop wood, but as he was too weak for this because of age and ill-health, the younger men did this work for him. The younger men do heavy work like building roads as compulsory labour. Later on, my husband got another job, cleaning the camp, gardening, sweeping, etc....."

Three Months For Insulting President

In August 1976, a small Chinese shopkeeper named Jiung was tried and found guilty in Jogjakarta of insulting President Suharto. He was sentenced to three months and ordered to pay costs.

He was found guilty because he had been quoted as having said to a group of friends in August 1972: "I could meet the President just wearing short pants. I'm an American general, I'm not afraid of anyone and I'm in a position where I could remove anyone, whether from the Armed Forces or from civilian life."

In his indictment, the prosecutor said that it was not proper to meet the President when dressed in short pants and the remark was therefore insulting.

Non-Involvement Certificates

According to Admiral Sudomo:

The Certificate of Non-Involvement in the G30S/PKI is only required for joining the Armed Forces or for entering the Civil Service and vital enterprises. For children who were under 12 years on 30th September 1965, they are no longer required. This was stated last Friday by Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB, reports Jakarta daily, Sinar Harapan on 18th December 1976.

"I have given instructions for those non-involvement certificates to be abolished," he said, adding: "Formerly, they were required for those in society who were not involved. Now they are required for involved people of category C and category B who wish to move to another place".

"If, for certain purposes such as joining the Armed Forces or becoming a civil servant, a certificate is needed, the cost is low - only Rp. 100, just to cover the cost of the paper. After all, the Police Force is not very rich," he said. "If anyone asks for more than Rp. 100, you should refuse to pay," he added with firmness.

Three days later, on 21st December, the following appeared in the Jakarta daily, Kompas:

.....

SAMARINDA EDITOR JAILED

The editor of a weekly journal, Maranti, published in Samarinda, a town in East Kalimantan, was recently ordered to serve a two-month prison sentence passed in October 1971, after his appeal against the verdict had been rejected by President Suharto, reports the Jakarta weekly, Tempo (16th October, 1976).

As a result he found himself in prison at the very time he was to have been nominated as a candidate at the forthcoming general elections by the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI).

The President's decision on his appeal was dated 26th June, 1975, but was not delivered to him until fifteen months later, in September 1976, and seems to have been timed deliberately to coincide with the formal submission of nominations.

The editor, whose name is Hiefnie Effendy, writes in strong support of the PDI in his paper which was for a period of time distributed free of charge to villages. This was stopped following a ban imposed by some local government officials. It is believed, says Tempo, that the PDI would have represented a powerful challenge in the area if Hiefnie Effendy had not been imprisoned and thus prevented from being nominated.

The sentence passed in 1971 relates to an article published in his paper which described women members of the provincial assembly as being too timid to express their opinions, as being "mere listeners and chosen only as visual decoration for the male members".

It went on: "Surely this is because the non-party women's organisations are nothing more than organisations for the wives of officials.... Yet, plenty of the lower-ranking women employees are very competent and have a high level of intelligence. But, as they do not happen to be pretty or have a lot of jewelry, they are not the ones to occupy positions of influence.

The court which sentenced Effendy ruled that this article insulted the assembly. Tempo also reports that Effendy is now being forced to relinquish his position as chairman of the local branch of the journalists' association, PWI.

We are a newly established joint-venture company manufacturing motor-vehicle component parts. At the early state of our operation we invite energetic applicants for the position of :

PERSONNEL MANAGER

The man we are looking for should be :

- Experienced in industrial relations and in supervising workers of more than 100 persons in an automotive industry.
- Indonesian citizen; graduate of a recognized university (majoring in Economics will be preferable).
- Not older than 35 years of age.
- Proficient in both written and spoken English.
- Conversant in Japanese language (will be an advantage).
- Willing to work hard.
- Passing pre-selection test.

If you are interested in the position we offer and have the above mentioned qualifications, please do not hesitate to write us in your own handwriting enclosing copies of diploma, curriculum vitae, certificate of good conducts/non-involvement in G.30.S./PKI plus 2 recent passport-sized photographs, all of which are non-returnable. Your applications, addressed to this newspaper under Advertisement No. 66905, should reach us no later than January 7, 1977.

A Burden for the Unemployed:

In a lengthy article by Muzhar Muchtar in Kompas (10th October 1976) the writer describes the sad plight of tens of thousands of unemployed in Jakarta, especially youngsters just out of school. A single vacancy may be applied for by many hundreds of people; a job vacancy announced may turn out to be fictitious when hundreds turn up, who are then offered unsavoury alternatives. In some cases, the unemployed have to bribe officials to get the job. The writer then continues: "... Another form of blackmail is what could be described as 'permitted' (halal) blackmail. Generally speaking, one condition of an application is the presentation of a certificate of non-involvement in the G30S/PKI. It isn't all that difficult to get a certificate; all you have to do is pay Rp. 1,000. But for a very poor unemployed person, that is a very heavy burden. To add to the burden, the certificate is only valid for three months. After three months, he must get a new one and pay another Rp. 1,000. Most unemployed people applying for jobs are not taken on, and very often, they don't get a chance to apply again until after three months have elapsed. This is very irksome for the unemployed."



Badges available

In black, white and yellow.
3 cm diameter.

Price: 10p plus postage.
U.S. 0.25 plus postage
DM 0.50 plus postage

Minister Bans Song

A pop song entitled *Rupiah*, written by a popular Indonesian song-writer, Haji Oka Irama, has been banned from transmission over Indonesian television by the Minister for Information, Mashuri. He explained that the ban had been imposed because the song was "improper and advocated the idolatry of money."

An article in the Jakarta daily, *Merdeka* (24th September 1976), written by Virga Belan, suggests however that the reason was quite the reverse, namely that the song shows how idolatry of money has become so conspicuous in Indonesia today. It says that the song accurately reflects the present-day situation where ideological principles of former (Sukarno) days have given way to the "consumer mentality". "Indonesian society today is becoming more individualistic, more materialistic, and the result is that the Indonesian people are not only becoming extremely corrupt but are being crucified for the sake of money, are being enslaved by money."

The writer continues: "Haji Oma Irama's song perceives money in a restricted sense but it also describes how conflicts over money result in people putting their lives at risk, shedding blood, causing rifts and seeking power.... It is not a matter of improper indoctrination (in the song) but a sincere reflection of mental attitudes within society where some people are crazy about money.... It has a direct link with such unanswered and intractable questions as corruption, embezzlement, smuggling, treachery, deceit and other things. This relates also to the rapidly disappearing national discipline, social solidarity, self-confidence and respect."

EAST TIMOR (continued from p.1)

Camps and prisons however do not proliferate as the Indonesian troops do not take many prisoners and have concentrated on eliminating opposition by cold-blooded killings.

It is also reported that villages occupied by Indonesian troops have become virtual prison camps as the villagers are not permitted to leave.

Torture Centre

The main centre for torture has been set up on the fifth (top) floor of the Hotel Tropical in Dili. "Going to the fifth floor" has become the much-feared experience in the capital.

The man in charge of torture "on the fifth floor" is Sinaga, known to be a BAKIN man. (BAKIN is the Intelligence Co-ordination Unit headed by General Yoga Sugama, of which General Ali Murtopo is Deputy Head).

Methods of torture used include burning with cigarettes, electric shocks particularly on the sex organs, and shaving the head. (These are in fact methods widely used against political prisoners in Indonesia.)

The Massacres

The following are some instances described by James Dunn, reporting on his interviews of East Timorese refugees in Lisbon:

- As Indonesian troops occupied Dili, they shot and killed a group of Chinese who had come out in their best clothes to greet the troops. Mr Dunn estimates that about 500 Chinese were shot down in the first day of fighting alone, and that within a year, some 7,000 (about half the total Chinese population) were killed.

- The day after Indonesian troops occupied Dili, they responded violently to the killing, probably by a Fretilin sniper, of an Indonesian soldier. They took 27 women to the harbour,

dragged their children away and threw them into a waiting truck, then shot the women down one by one. They took a group of 59 men to the same spot. As they shot them down one by one, a crowd which was being forced to watch, was ordered to count as the bodies fell back into the water. Those not killed immediately were riddled with machine-gun bullets as they struggled in the water.

- Shortly after occupying Dili, the entire population was rounded up and held under guard in a public square for 24 hours. When they returned to their homes, they found that their houses had been ransacked and looted by the Indonesian soldiers.

- After entering the town of Aillieu (due south of Dili), Indonesian troops shot all those over three years old who had not fled. They were being shot, it was said, because "they contained the seeds of Fretilin".

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The following reports are taken from radio messages sent out over Fretilin's radio, Radio Maubere. These reports cover a period more recent than that dealt with by the refugees interviewed by Mr Dunn.

- Napalm bombs reportedly used by Indonesian troops in border areas (reported on 22nd August 1976);

- The population in Indonesian-occupied areas are being organised into guarded camp areas, centred on villages (24th August);

- Two pregnant women and four men were burnt alive at a concentration camp in Ermera (11th October);

- Alarico Fernandes describes the torture of the civilian population of Baucau, the second largest town which is also a major airport: "The captured females are completely undressed and publicly submitted to abuses never seen before, and shot afterwards. The males, completely naked, are given electric shocks and their sex organs are burnt with alcohol and candlelight". (17th October);

- Two women who escaped from a concentration camp in Same reported that a 16-year old girl named Josepha Mastires was violently raped by a group of Indonesian soldiers, and subsequently died of a haemorrhage. (18th November)

AI FILM ON INDONESIA WINS AWARD

The Amnesty International Film about Indonesia's tapols, *MORE THAN A MILLION YEARS*, won the Special Jury Award at the 1976 Film Festival in Nyon, Switzerland, a Festival devoted to documentary shorts. The film was submitted for entry by the National Panel of Film Festivals of the British Council.

The citation for the award was as follows: "For exposing the conspiracy of silence which masks the drama of the Indonesian people."

The film was also included in a special programme of documentary films shown at the National Film Theatre in London on 10th February, to launch the Grierson Trust. This Trust is being set up in memory of John Grierson, the great British documentary film maker. The films selected for the programme were chosen because they represented "the best in the Grierson tradition".

French version

In response to many requests, a French language version of the film is now in preparation. Enquiries for purchasing French prints, as well as for English and German prints, should be addressed to the German Section of Amnesty International, Stuckenstrasse 70, 2000 Hamburg 76, West Germany.

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

RECOMMENDED READING

HAROLD CROUCH, *Generals and Business in Indonesia. Pacific Affairs* (Vancouver) Vol. 48, No. 4, Winter 1975-76, pp. 519-540.

The purpose of this article is to trace the expanding economic role of military men which has taken place in Indonesia from 1950 to 1975. In particular, the period from 1965 to 1975 is analysed.

The involvement of so many officers in economic affairs has brought about a striking change in the Army's ethos. Alongside the earlier view of the officer as "freedom fighter" and "guardian" of the state has appeared the images of manager and bureaucrat. The involvement in business has served the purposes of "unconventional" financing of the armed forces and enriching officers privately.

Following a detailed survey of the various business enterprises of military men, the author maintains that the stability of the Suharto regime has been achieved in large part through its success in limiting dissent within the officer corps. "Lacking both inspiring leadership and a compelling ideology, the regime has consolidated itself through the distribution of patronage." In this way potential dissidents have been bought off but it has also led to widespread civilian alienation from the regime. Still, the business activities have been a key element in maintaining Suharto's base of support in the armed forces.

Harold Crouch is lecturer in International Relations, University of Malaya, Kuala Lumpur.

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