



**VICTORIA UNIVERSITY**  
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

*Tapol bulletin no, 13, December 1975*

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1975) Tapol bulletin no, 13, December 1975. Tapol bulletin (13). pp. 1-10. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 13

December, 1975

# THE RELEASE PLAN:

## An Analysis

The release plan reported elsewhere in this Bulletin raises important questions for our international campaigning work.

*Firstly*, the plan itself, even presuming that the promised rate will be maintained (2,500 a year), would take 14½ years to complete assuming the Government's figure of 35,000 *tapols* to be correct, and would take 40 years to complete if the more realistic, internationally-accepted figure of 100,000 is correct. Moreover, it ignores the effect of new arrests which continue in many parts of the country.

*Secondly*, the report appeared in the press at a time when it was obviously calculated to influence international public opinion. During the past few months, campaigning on behalf of Indonesia's *tapols* has greatly intensified as part of the tenth anniversary campaign and has extended to many countries where efforts had previously been very limited or non-existent, most notably in the USA.

*Thirdly*, it was also clearly calculated to influence the US Congress and the American political scene. The strenuous endeavours being made by the Indonesian military regime to obtain greatly-increased military aid from the USA have had to take into account the greater role of the US Congress in decisions on such matters, insofar as only recently, the US House of Representatives and Senate have both written in important new amendments on the question of aid going to repressive regimes. (See special item on page 3.)

### Indochina As A Lesson

Other factors which may have influenced the military regime and made it feel that a gesture of relaxation was called-for are:

- A growing awareness among some sectors of the military hierarchy that the lesson to be drawn from the US debacle in Indochina is that harsh policies towards leftwing opposition may threaten internal political stability.
- As economic conditions now deteriorate in Indonesia following the worldwide economic recession and the serious default on debts by the state oil conglomerate, Pertamina, the need is being felt for greater economic aid from IGGI countries, where much of the criticism on human rights is being expressed.
- A report that the Soviet Union, to whom the Indonesian

military is also turning for aid, may also be linking its aid pledges to some relaxation towards the *tapols*.

The announcement of releases might well have been intended to persuade international campaigners to curb their activities. We feel that our conclusion must be quite the contrary. We now have proof that the regime is feeling acutely embarrassed by our activities and wishes to undermine our work. **While exposing the serious limitations of the release plan as announced, we must step up our activities in every way possible and make it increasingly difficult for the regime to continue with its repressive policies.**

### Appeal for Cash!

TAPOL prides itself on having greatly expanded its activities during the past year. Its contacts and its information sources have increased rapidly, while interest in the material it produces is growing, both in Britain and in many countries.

Needless to say, however, we operate on an extremely thin budget. We sell all our literature at cost and, as part of the work, inevitably have to give a fair amount gratis to persons whom we could not ask for payment. We are very reluctant to raise our prices because we know it is most important to get material out to all people who need it and who probably could not pur-

**WE URGENTLY NEED DONATIONS TO KEEP US GOING AND TO KEEP US GROWING UNTIL SUCH TIME AS ALL TAPOLS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY.**

Send your donations to TAPOL, 103 Tilehurst Road Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18. Cheques from abroad should be endorsed on the reverse side: '*As made payable to on the front*'.

chase it if prices were higher. But operating in this way, especially in times of inflation, creates serious financial problems.

We could not contemplate going out of operation for financial reasons. However, our supporters should know that our activities are seriously threatened by a shortage of cash.

# 14½ Year Release Plan For Tapols?

According to news agency reports from Jakarta on 10th October the Indonesian Government is planning to release 1965 *tapols* at a rate of 2,500 a year. The plan is reported to apply to a total of 35,000 *tapols*, of whom 27,000 are described as B category prisoners, 2,000 are described as A category prisoners (those awaiting trial or already tried), and 6,000 are described as X category or unclassified *tapols*. At this rate, it would take 14½ years to release the *tapols* to whom this plan is said to apply.

Although, as far as we know, this plan has not been formally announced by any Government authority in Jakarta, it was referred to in precisely these terms by Mr Jusuf Wanandi (formerly Liem Bian Kie), the most prominent member of the political entourage of General Ali Murtopo, at a Seminar at the Asia Society in New York during Ali Murtopo's recent visit to the USA.

It is reported further that the Government claims to have released 1,300 *tapols* during the past year.

We have so far been able to monitor a very limited number of releases. Thirty-four *tapols* were released from Jakarta prisons in August, and at the same time, an unknown number were released from the Nusakambangan Prison Island, off the south coast of Central Java. Some other releases are also reported from Semarang, Central Java.

Released *tapols* are being held under house-arrest and will only achieve the more advanced status of town arrest if they display "good behaviour" – whatever that means.

We have also been informed that some A category *tapols*, sentenced to relatively short terms of imprisonment, have now been released following the completion of their full sentence.

This inevitably creates the strange anomaly of A category *tapols* (the triable ones) gaining their release, while B category *tapols*, presumably less severe cases since they cannot be brought to trial, are still being held. One of our sources has even reported that one regional military commander raised the question of this paradox with the *Kopkamtib* in Jakarta but *Kopkamtib* was unable to give a satisfactory reply!



Politieke gevangenen? Welnee, slechts een paar criminele elementen!"  
(Overgenomen uit Het Parool van 23-9-75)

*Het Parool* (Amsterdam), 23rd September 1975

**"Political prisoners? No, just some criminal elements!"**

During its October 1975 campaign, the Dutch Section of Amnesty International announced that Amnesty International now believes 100,000 is a more accurate estimate of the number of *tapols*.

## BUYUNG NASUTION AND OTHER 1974 TAPOLS RELEASED

Buyung Nasution, well-known human rights lawyer and Chairman of the Legal Aid Bureau, who was arrested in January 1974, following the student demonstrations against the visit to Indonesia of Japanese then-Prime Minister, Tanaka, has been released after spending nearly two years in detention without trial. Together with him, eleven student leaders also arrested in January 1974 or soon afterwards, were released. Another of the 1974 *tapols*, Professor Sarbini Sumawinata, is now under house arrest, having been allowed home because of ill-health.

Several of the 1974 *tapols* were interviewed by the *Indonesian Times* (10th October 1975) immediately after their release and were quoted as saying that they had been treated far less harshly than the *tapols* held in connection with the 1965 events.

Jopie Lasut: Voicing his concern with the fate of the *tapols* held without trial since 1965, he said: "The government must take action to put them to trial as soon as possible. This national tragedy must be brought to an end as soon as possible. After all, they are our relatives and citizens of this nation".

Yudil Harry: "The rule of law must prevail, whether we are engaged with investigating G.30.S or Malari detainees. Good intention must always accompany every law legalised by the government. And the government should know better".

Remy Lemeima: "We were held imprisoned for almost 2

years without trial. The government should take law and order more seriously".

Eko Djatmiko: "It seems that we must learn a great deal more about democracy and political rule".

Buyung Nasution, interviewed by *Tempo* in its 18th October issue said that his two years' detention had made him more mature. "I am now more quickly able to appreciate the problems of detained people. Just think of those who have been for 7 or 10 years in detention without trial whereas their guilt has not been established. A completely different approach is needed, a broader, deeper and more human approach".

Buyung Nasution who has resumed his work as Chairman of the Jakarta Legal Aid Bureau, continued to function during his detention and hopes shortly to publish a book, entitled: *Experience of Detention from the Legal Point of View*. He completed three-quarters of the text while in detention.

One of the student leaders released, Theo Sambuaga, told *Tempo*: "I was treated reasonably well, and never beaten as I imagined might happen. But I could not close my ears to the sufferings of the prisoners who have been there for a long time." He said that they were treated very badly and frequently told him of their complaints. "I would like to make an appeal that these acts of violence be prevented".

# Tapol-U.S.A. demonstrates

General Ali Murtopo, a senior ranking member of President Suharto's repressive regime and one of the President's key political aides, was greeted in New York on 23rd October by a spirited demonstration of 50 persons, organised by the newly-formed TAPOL—USA and supported by Youth Against War and Fascism.

The demonstration took place outside the Asia Society while the General with his entourage of Generals, Ministers and political advisers was speaking to a special meeting of the Society. (See photo, page 8)

The demonstrators chanted, "Set the Political Prisoners Free", "Stop US Aid for Repression", "Indonesia, Hands Off Timor" and other slogans.

General Ali Murtopo was in the USA on the invitation of the Council on Foreign Relations, an elite group of US business people who have a great influence on US foreign policy. In several cities during his US tour, the General met with CFR groups. While in Washington, he attended a meeting and a series of seminars at Georgetown University. The whole tour was a thinly-veiled public relations drive for the current Indonesian leadership, which is seeking increased economic and 'security' assistance from the USA.

In New York, while TAPOL demonstrated outside the Asia Society, some of its members inside raised several questions about human rights in Indonesia. One of the speakers in General Ali Murtopo's team, Dr. Suhud, observed that South East Asian countries are "feeling the effects" of Vietnam. There is a need, he said, to accelerate development programmes due to the possible "threat" from the North. Indonesia would try to strengthen its economic and social structure through substantial development programmes rather than carry on a massive military expansion, but with Indonesia's scattered geography, infiltrations and subversive movements could upset these development plans. Through social aid programmes, the government hopes to build up the confidence, "national resilience and self-reliance" of the people, but Dr. Suhud felt that the USA still has an important role in Southeast Asian countries by assisting social and economic development and serving them as a "military umbrella"!

## Justice 'Very Cumbersome'

During question time, TAPOL supporters in the audience asked about the political prisoners and were told by another member of the team, Jusuf Wanandi (formerly Liem Kian Bie), that "political prisoner" was not actually the correct term to use. Describing the various categories of prisoners, he said that only 800 of the 2,000 A category prisoners had been tried. "Unfortunately our judicial system is not adept and it is not easy to quicken the process. It is very cumbersome to have to provide justice for so many people," he said.

He reiterated that the B prisoners were those "known to have been members of the Indonesian Communist Party or its affiliate 'front' organisations" but "we have no legal charge or evidence against them to bring them to trial". He attempted to explain their continuing detention by saying that Indonesia is still fighting for its existence. In 1965, the PKI had had a membership of 3½ million and its youth organisation another 3 million plus 21 million in other affiliate organisations. There were probably still a few million PKI members left in Indonesian society today, he said. Under such circumstances, priority must be given to national survival not human rights.

Confounding his own figures which would suggest that nearly half the adult population in 1965 was in the PKI or PKI-dominated organisations, Jusuf Wawandi then told the Asia Society audience that "Indonesian society is anti-communist and religious". Another speaker in the General's team, Mr. Imnon Roshadi, Chairman of the Foreign Affairs and Defence Commission of the Indonesian Parliament, said that members of Indonesian communities did not want these people back. "Indonesian villages are very conservative," he said. "They have rigid norms of accepted behaviour. Should someone break these norms, they would be ousted from the village".

## 181 'C' Prisoners Left?

Some interesting news 'light' was thrown on C category prisoners by Jusuf Wawandi who said that there were now a total of 181 C category prisoners left in detention. These people, he claimed, were remaining in detention at their own request because they were "afraid to return to their villages".

# NEW RESTRICTIONS ON U.S. AID TO TERROR REGIMES

Both the US House of Representatives and the Senate have just adopted an amendment to the International Development and Food Assistance Act of 1975, imposing a ban on economic assistance to the government of any country which engages in a consistent pattern of gross violations of internationally-recognised human rights unless the President determines to the satisfaction of Congress that such assistance will directly benefit the needy in that country.

The amendment proposed in the House by Congressman Tom Harkin (D-Iowa), who helped expose the tiger cages in South Vietnam, received unexpected support in a vote of 238-164, and was then passed by a substantial majority by the Senate in the first week of November. The Senate amendment was proposed by Senators Abourezk and McGovern.

The amendment goes farther than the amendment written into the Foreign Assistance Act last year (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 10), in that it is binding legislation which takes mandatory effect, whereas the earlier amendment only expressed the 'sense of Congress'.

While under the new legislation, repressive regimes could still get US economic aid provided the President can satisfy Congress that it will go to the most needy, it does give Congress and the American people a powerful tool to demand reports on the human rights situation in certain countries.

Another interesting comparison is that the new amendment applies to economic aid whereas the former was applicable to security assistance.

# Former police chief speaks out on regime

The following is an abridged version of an interview given to Dutch television reporter, H. Hovinga, by *Police-General Hoegeng I Santoso*, several months ago:

**Hoegeng:** Nobody has ever explained why I was prematurely pensioned. Maybe it was because I declined an ambassadorial appointment.

**Interviewer:** I understand that you have never been involved in party politics. Yet you were 'ousted' for political reasons.

**H.:** Not really for political reasons, but because I was unwilling to trim my sails to the policy of the present regime.

**I.:** You were just saying that the Rule of Law should apply also, and, in particular, for the bigwigs. That means that you must have been a difficult man, because you were not prepared to explain away misdemeanours of the bigwigs.

**H.:** That's correct.

**I.:** What you are talking about is in fact corruption.

**H.:** I have always opposed corruption and I always will.

**I.:** When senior officials demand exceptional rights, this means that they are bent on corruption and want it to go unpunished. But you wanted to see legal action taken against such things.

**H.:** Correct.

**I.:** Could you be a bit more explicit.

**H.:** When I was police chief, we had many corruption cases. As police chief, I tried to push these cases through to the Attorney-General. What he does with them is his business . . . . But more often than not the cases got stuck there. That is, no accord was possible between stubborn me and the others.

**I.:** You mean the thing was hushed-up?

**H.:** Something like that.

\* \* \* \* \*

**H.:** After the new regime had come to power, I became second-in-command of the Police Force and deputy head of 'operations'. When my commander resigned on 15 May 1968, I was nominated to replace him. That was the beginning of my career as head of the Police Force.

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## Among the common people, the feeling of dissent will remain

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**I.:** Were you on good terms with President Suharto at that time?

**H.:** Yes, I was, but I soon found that President Suharto did not have the same open attitude towards me as President Sukarno had shown. It was as if there was always a barrier between us. Perhaps that was because we did not have the same hobbies. I have always loved music and making music . . . .

**I.:** You often perform on television as a singer, don't you?

**H.:** Yes, that's true. . . . . But I don't like golf. It is too expensive for me.

**I.:** Suharto likes it, doesn't he?

**H.:** Yes, most people in those circles have money. And I must say that the little money that I had -- and now I have still less -- I cannot afford to spend on golf. The equipment is very expensive, and on top of that there is the contribution to pay, the balls and drinks, and so on.

**I.:** So you have been a private citizen for four years now (since being pensioned-off on 2nd October 1971). Are you being watched?

**H.:** I am not sure. Some people say that I am.

**I.:** Could this interview possibly have unpleasant consequences for you?

**H.:** To be frank, yes, it could, for there is much gossiping nowadays about people who are in power. I don't think they will arrest me, but they might try to play nasty tricks on me.

**I.:** Can you telephone people freely?

**H.:** Yes, I can, but once I was warned to be careful when talking to friends on the phone, because my calls possibly are being taped. I don't know whether this is true. So far I have had no difficulties.

**I.:** There are some people living in your house who aren't relatives of yours.

**H.:** That's right. But I consider even my pet monkeys as my relatives, so naturally I consider those gentlemen, who are human beings, as my relatives too.

**I.:** But what are these gentlemen doing? What is expected of them?

**H.:** Well, let us say that they are commissioned to render me 'special services' -- although I am no longer an official but only a retired police general. For instance, they are charged with receiving guests for me and taking telephone calls. Therefore, I have asked all the people at home to be polite to everyone.

**I.:** But you didn't ask for such services, did you?

**H.:** No, of course not, but they have been kind enough to provide them. So . . . . .

\* \* \* \* \*

**H.:** It seems as if some people take a pride in becoming rich overnight. . . . . And they are not even businessmen. It's a businessman's job to earn as much money as possible. But we must take a critical view of things in our immediate surroundings, especially in our armed forces -- the army, navy, airforce and police. Despite recent salary raises, it is still impossible for members of the armed forces to buy a house, a motorcar, a piece of land or to support mistresses out of their salaries. Things like this require lots of money. As many military men have all these things, we may well ask where the money comes from.

**I.:** I have been told that the gap between the rich and the poor is still growing.

**H.:** Well, I have the impression it is, especially when I travel inland. It might make people happier too if they did not feel restricted in their freedom. For happiness is not always a matter of money; it is mainly a spiritual matter. Lack of freedom is always a generally-heard complaint here.

\* \* \* \* \*

**I.:** The official explanation of the riots (in January 1974) is that they were caused by professional agitators, young people who shout and commit arson. But don't you think the real cause of the upheaval was the general discontent among the population?

**H.:** Yes, exactly.

**I.:** Do you expect another outburst?

(cont'd on page 7)

# VOTING RIGHTS FOR 'C' PRISONERS A BOON?

An Indonesian Government proposal to amend the General Elections Law\* to allow C category *ex-tapols* and other persons classified as C category to exercise their right to vote in the next general elections in 1977 has met with a mixed reaction among the two political parties in Indonesia.

During a discussion in Parliament in August when representatives of the Government party GOLKAR, and of the Armed Forces group spoke in favour of this amendment, representatives of the Moslem party, the *Partai Persatuan Pembangunan* (Development Unity Party) said while they agreed that no citizens should in principle be deprived of their right to vote, they thought it was premature to extend voting rights to C category people. The reasons? "To maintain vigilance, especially as the Government has warned of the latent danger of the PKI". And may it not be, adds the weekly, *Tempo*, reporting on the debate in its issue of 27th August, that the PPP fears that the C category people will give their votes to the Government party.

Explaining the problem more frankly, the representative of the Indonesian Democratic Party (nationalist and Christian) said: "From the humanitarian point of view, we agree that C category people be given the vote. But how will this be implemented? We can just imagine that there will be special voting booths for the C category people and that their good conduct records will be determined by the way they vote. In effect this would mean that the humanitarian principle could not be upheld".

*Tempo* also reports that representatives of the two political parties were very skeptical about government promises that that the 1977 elections would be more democratic, more just and more free than those held in 1971.

\* The election law on the basis of which the 1971 general elections took place, in addition to numerous other undemocratic aspects, denied voting rights to all those alleged to have been 'directly or indirectly involved in the 1965 events', thus disenfranchising many millions of people.

## PARLIAMENTARY GROUP MEETS PROTESTS IN HOLLAND

There were many protests in Holland against the visit of an Indonesian Parliamentary delegation in September. Some members of the Dutch Parliament refused to participate in events held to welcome the deputation. The press and other media were particularly critical of statements made by members of this delegation to the effect that "there are no political prisoners in Indonesia". One Dutch parliamentarian expressed his amazement about how Indonesia "claims that there is no difference between people convicted of such crimes as stealing and murder on the one hand and political prisoners on the other."

On the numbers question, the delegation found itself the target of much criticism and disbelief, especially as many of the major Dutch newspapers had just recently published the special press release by the Dutch Section of Amnesty International stating that Amnesty now considers there are no fewer than 100,000 political prisoners in Indonesia. When asked in one radio programme to comment on this new Amnesty figure, a member of the delegation said that there were 'only' 11,500 political prisoners. Yet, according to reports from Indonesia, even the Government says it is now planning the release of 35,000 *tapols*!

Meanwhile, in the Dutch Second Chamber, the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr Van der Stoel was asked to comment on a statement made in '*Indonesia*', the publication of the Indonesian Embassy in Holland, to the effect that the Dutch Government "fully understands" the Indonesian Government's attitude towards the political prisoners "in view of the Indonesian Government's programme of development and its need to create an atmosphere that would guarantee success to this programme". The Dutch Foreign Minister said in reply that this comment represented only the opinion of the writer. He added that the Dutch Government had frequently expressed its concern regarding political prisoners to the Indonesian Government, and that this had been done most recently to the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Adam Malik in New York in September.

### Holland Supplying Warships to Indonesia

By contrast with these expressions of protest and concern, it has been announced that officers of the Indonesian Armed Forces will be received for training in Dutch and West German state institutes, and also that a Dutch ship-building company, Rijn-Schelde-Verolme, has won a 400 million guilders contract for the construction of four corvettes for the Indonesian Navy.

## Nusakembangan to be cleared of Tapols?

Information has been received that the island of Nusakembangan where many thousands of prisoners and *tapols* are being held, may soon be completely cleared of prisoners. The *tapols* may all be transported to Buru. Many of the *tapols* there are thought to be elderly and ailing people who were spared from being sent to Buru for reasons of age and health. Plans to speed up the industrialisation of the Cilacap harbour area are said to be the reason for the planned move, contradicting earlier reports that *tapols* on Nusakembangan would be used to quarry limestone for the Japanese-financed cement plant in the town.

From other parts of the country there are also rumours that many more *tapols* are due to be sent to Buru shortly. Meanwhile there is also information that *tapols* on the island are being used to extract gold and are being forced to work waist-deep in mangrove mud and water. One *tapol*, forced to balance on a log, was washed away into the sea, and another was so badly tortured for an alleged indisciplinary action that he committed suicide.

# 172 MP'S RECEIVE LETTERS ABOUT THE TAPOLS

A Lobby at Parliament, in which members of TAPOL together with the well-known British actress, Janet Suzman, presented letters addressed to MPs from no fewer than 172 constituencies all over the country, took place on 5th November.

The Lobby was the culmination of a campaign organised over the past few months by TAPOL to collect letters from as many people as possible urging their MPs to "raise this matter with the responsible Minister at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and to impress upon him the necessity to express public condemnation of the continued situation of the detainees". The letters cited the various facets of the increasingly closer and friendlier relations between the British and Indonesian governments which continue to flourish. Altogether, 578 letters were turned over to the MPs, and more are still coming in.

Six MPs were on hand to receive the Lobby. They were: Sydney Bidwell (Labour), Bob Edwards (Labour), David Knox (Conservative), Joan Maynard (Labour), Stan Newens (Labour) and Philip Whitehead (Labour). Others who expressed support but were unable to be present were Marcus Lipton (Labour), Paul B. Rose (Labour) and Hugh Rossi (Conservative).

We would urge all those who have not sent us a letter to write direct to their own MP and keep up the pressure on Parliament and on the British Government.



Pictured from left, after receiving hundreds of letters calling for public efforts by the British Government on behalf of the *tapols*: Stan Newens (Labour), Bob Edwards (Labour), David Knox (Conservative), Carmel Budiardjo (TAPOL), actress Janet Suzman, Philip Whitehead (Labour) and Sydney Bidwell (Labour). Joan Maynard (Labour) not shown.

## Janet Suzman and Malcolm McDowell in

## Tapol Production

The TAPOL documented portrayal of political imprisonment in Indonesia, *Ten Long Years*, was put on for a third time in London on 3rd November.

The cast of professional artists was headed by Janet Suzman and Malcolm McDowell. The producer was Pauline Melville. Others taking part were: Ben Aris, Stuart Barren, Susan Engel, Paul Freeman, Henry Hackett, Philip McGough and Anne Mitchell.

The presentation was performed at the Open Space Theatre in Tottenham Court Road, London, before a packed audience, with many people having to be turned away. Most members of the audience were completely new contacts for TAPOL who had come after seeing advance publicity in *Time Out*, *the Evening Standard*, *the Sunday Observer* and other publications, or having heard reports of the event on several radio programmes. The general impression was very favourable. The performance was regarded as a very moving and compelling way of presenting authentic documentation. Many present who had known nothing at all about the Indonesian human rights situation came away feeling they were well-informed.

The script includes a number of documents on the events of 1965 and the military policy of suppression towards any political opposition, letters smuggled out of prisons, interviews of *tapols* obtained over the years, and sketches depicting the atti-

tude of the military hierarchy. Perhaps the most moving scene of all was a rendering by Janet Suzman of a very recent statement from an ex-*tapol* now living abroad who was horribly tortured during her detention.

The production was beautifully interspersed with songs, selected with great care and understanding by the folksinger, Jack Warshaw.

*Ten Long Years*, written a year ago by Roger Hibbitt and Derek Frayne (then entitled *Nine Long Years*) has also been performed in Sweden and West Germany during Amnesty International-sponsored campaigns. A very free adaptation of the script was performed a number of times in the Netherlands during the tenth anniversary activities of the Dutch Section of Amnesty Int'l.

The Open Space and other performances proved the great value of such a presentation in explaining to completely uninformed people the nature and scale of the repression and the sufferings of the *tapols*. We would strongly recommend its use by groups or organisations wishing to take part in this work.

(cont'd from page 4)

H.: To tell you the truth, I think it will not happen again easily because military control is much too strong now. But among the common people, the feelings of dissent will remain.

\* \* \* \* \*

I.: (Speaking of H. C. Princen, arrested in January 1974) As far as I know he was Chairman of the Human Rights Institute. Has any indictment been preferred against him?

H.: I have not heard about one.

I.: Do you think he will be held long?

H.: I hope not.

I.: I am sure no official charge has been brought against him. I assume this is one of the things you, as a police general, have always protested against.

H.: That is true. In the realm of legal procedures and jurisdiction we retained many regulations from the Dutch colonial period, including the 'herziene inlandse reglement' (revised rules for native Indonesians) — our law of criminal procedure. According to these rules a native citizen who came into contact with the police could not immediately seek the assistance of legal counsel. Only after the case was brought to court was the lawyer allowed in. But this 'HIR' is only a guiding principle, which I wanted to improve. I instructed my subordinates to ensure that as soon as a person was arrested — whether European or Indonesian — he was to be allowed legal aid. In that way I wanted to force the police to become better-informed about the rights of a prisoner. After all, we must keep pace with the times. The common people are becoming more critical. . . .

I.: But is it now really so that when someone is arrested he cannot have legal aid?

H.: According to the information I have, things are indeed deteriorating these days. The regulations I introduced when I was in office have been withdrawn. True, an agreement between the Attorney-General, the Police Chief and the Minister of Justice has been worked out allowing a prisoner to contact his lawyer, but the lawyer is not allowed to participate actively in the proceedings. In my opinion, lawyers are treated like

## BRITISH MILITARY TIES

As we have often said in past issues, there is an unmistakable pattern of ever-closer relations between Her Majesty's Government and President Suharto's military regime. There was the Queen's State Visit in March last year (the first ever to a non-Commonwealth nation), increases of economic aid until, as at present, Indonesia receives more UK aid than other non-Commonwealth country), much-expanded trade and investment, a working partnership with the massive oil conglomerate, Pertamina, and frequent joint naval exercises.

This pattern is of particular importance to the campaign for the release of the 100,000 *tapols*. Unlike some other governments, Her Majesty's Government has, until now, consistently and conspicuously refused to take substantial and public steps to pressure the Suharto regime to change the situation.

### A Busy October

The kind of military collaboration which HMG is carefully developing with the Indonesian military elite was typified by the intense British military activities in Indonesia during the month of October.

On 6th October, Admiral Sir Edward Ashmore, Chief of Staff of the British Navy, arrived for a 5-day visit as the guest of his

(cont'd on page 8)

tape-recorders; they are given permission to attend court proceedings and that is all.

I.: So, Indonesia still cannot be called a state where the rule of law prevails?

H.: In my opinion it cannot. At least, not yet.

\* \* \* \* \*

I.: Were you ever on good terms with General Sumitro?

H.: When he was head of *Kopkamtib*, we got on very well. The *Kopkamtib* has the power to instruct the police on what they should and should not do. It is a kind of 'super police force'. People in Indonesia tend to be terrified when they hear the name of *Kopkamtib*. The general feeling is that *Kopkamtib* can do whatever it likes. And that means in the first place they can arbitrarily arrest people.

I.: So are people justified in feeling afraid?

H.: Oh yes, they are.

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## A brief glossary

**G.30.S/PKI:** Abbreviation of 30th September Movement/PKI, the term used officially to describe the coup attempt of 1965 which actually occurred on 1st October.

**Surat-bebas G.30.S/PKI:** Certificate of involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. This document is required by anyone applying for a job or for entry to a University or other educational institutes, and for numerous other occasions. This requirement effectively debars millions of people, formerly members of the now-banned organisations (which then were legal), from employment, education and many other areas of everyday activity.

**Kopkamtib:** Abbreviation of *Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban* (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), the Army Command under the direct command of General Suharto, the Indonesian President. *Kopkamtib* is in charge of political security and is directly responsible for the arrest and detention of political prisoners (*tapols*). According to a statement by General Panggabean, Indonesian Defence Minister, at the 1975 Armed Forces Leadership meeting (19th-22nd March 1975), *Kopkamtib*, whose Chief-of-Staff is Admiral Sudomo, now falls within the field of operations of the Department of Defence and Security, known by the abbreviation HANKAM.

**Panca Sila:** (pronounced *pancha seela*): The Five Pillars, originally formulated by President Sukarno in 1945. These are: belief in one God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice. The military regime asserts its adherence to these Five Pillars, and proclaims that *tapols* must abandon their ideology and 'become good Panca Silaists'. One wonders why Indonesia's rulers do not start by setting a good example themselves!

That winter London's sun was strong  
and February smelt of spring.  
There  
murder was done.

The corpses choked the quiet streams  
or else like logs came floating by  
and every day more children died  
more mothers ripped in agony  
the knives were out that killing time  
Red slaughter a commanded sport  
ceaselessly for fifteen weeks.  
Did any ask it be cut short?

The plans were carefully prepared,  
the strategists — the C.I.A.  
When Untung's blunder gave excuse  
the generals closed in on their prey:



While Gen. Ali Murtopo spoke at the Asia Society in New York on 23rd October, TAPOL-USA organised a demonstration outside.

(cont'd from page 3)

## US Military Aid to Indonesia to be Doubled?

It has now been reported that the Ford Administration will be seeking Congressional approval for a military aid commitment to Indonesia of \$44.5 million, which is nearly double that supplied last year (\$23.8 million). With TAPOL-USA now in existence and a growing interest in Indonesia among peace and religious lobbyists working in Washington, it can be expected that more pressure will be brought to bear upon Congressmen and women to insist that the emerging human rights stringencies on US aid programmes be applied to Indonesia.

An increased 1976 World Bank aid commitment to Indonesia has been announced: \$570 million.

Kill the Communists!  
Massacre their supporters!  
Oust Sukarno! Take over the government!  
Kill!  
We are approved by the foreign banks, the oil companies  
and the British and American governments.  
The Communists, caught by surprise,  
were seized and bound and hacked to death  
and to have been the friend of one  
guaranteed you your last breath  
All innocent, a million died  
the world pretended not to know.  
Can freedom flourish in this morgue?  
Can peace from murder really grow?  
Their spectres do not lie asleep,  
you hear them cry around the earth:  
Indonesia shall be free  
and our spilt blood shall bring its birth.

A. D. Clegg

(cont'd from page 7)

counterpart, Navy Chief of Staff Subiyakto. On the next day, he called on the Minister for Defence and Security and Commander of the Armed Services, General Maraden Panggabean.

A special study group from the Royal College of Defence Studies spent a week in Indonesia (10th-16th October) 'studying national resistance in ASEAN countries'.

On 22nd October, the latest joint naval exercise took place in the Java Sea north of Madura between British and Indonesian naval frigates. The exercises were said to have 'been very successful'.

## First Chilean Envoy Welcomed

It is perhaps a bitter irony that only five days after the British Navy sailed away from Jakarta, President Suharto presided over a ceremony at Merdeka Palace in accepting the credentials of the first-ever Ambassador from Chile, Navy Admiral Fernando Porta Angulo. In this connection, it may come as a surprise to some TAPOL readers that the linkage between Chile and Indonesia is far more than ceremonial or diplomatic.

Two weeks prior to the coup in September 1973, many Chileans active in the Popular Unity movement under then-President Allende received anonymous notes saying 'DJAKARTA IS APPROACHING, DJAKARTA IS APPROACHING' (sp), the very slogan which at the time was daubed in red on many walls in Santiago. Michael Townley, a former Peace Corps volunteer in Chile, recruited later by the CIA, organised and directed members of the rightwing *Patria y Libertad* (Fatherland and Liberty) organisation in the wall-painting and note-delivery work designed to generate fear and confusion in the minds of Chileans, leading up to the violent overthrow of the Allende government.

It is chilling to realise that the architects and engineers behind the terrible events of 1973 in Chile actually used as their operational model the bloody events of 1965-66 in Indonesia.

# BOOK REVIEW

**Pramoedya Ananta Toer: *A Heap of Ashes*, published by University of Queensland Press, 1975. Distributed in the U.K. by Prentice-Hall International, 66 Wood Lane End, Hemel Hempstead, Herts. Price: £1.85.**

This book contains five of Pramoedya Ananta Toer's autobiographical short stories relating events in his early childhood, the prewar nationalist movement, the 1945 Revolution and the consequent let-down. The stories are translated by Harry Aveling.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer has spent the past ten years in detention without trial as a *tapol* and has been in the Buru concentration camp since 1969. As this book so clearly shows, his writing has always been sensitive and outspoken. For most of his period in detention, Pramoedya has been denied the right to write. Recently, he was however provided facilities for writing after earlier permission to write had been withdrawn and a half-completed manuscript destroyed. A manuscript he recently completed is now reported to be in the hands of the military authorities in Jakarta who will presumably decide whether and in what form the manuscript may be published. There is however a ban on all of Pramoedya's books in Indonesia though some bookshops in various parts of the country are said to have them in stock, under the counter, because they always sell well.

\* \*

**Deirdre Griswold: *Indonesia: The Bloodbath That Was*, World View Publishers, New York, October 1974. Price \$1.00.**

This is a reprint of the book first published under the title *Indonesia: The Second Greatest Crime of the Century* in Feb. 1970. This 96-page pamphlet provides a factual account of the massacres following the October 1965 events in Jakarta that decimated the leftwing movement in Indonesia, and focuses on the role of Washington in these events, with numerous quotations from the US press and from Congressional records.

The writer was actively involved in the demonstration that took place in the UN public gallery when the delegation of the Indonesian military regime was readmitted to the UN at the General Assembly in 1967, and also in other demonstrations in New York at the time. She is now a member of TAPOL-USA.

This book is essential reading for those wishing to understand the birth of Indonesia's 'New Order'. It is obtainable from: World View Publishers, 46 West 21st Street, New York, N.Y.

This book is essential reading for those wishing to understand the birth of Indonesia's 'New Order'. It is obtainable from: World View Publishers, 46 West 21st St., New York, N.Y. 10010.

\* \*

**Denis Freney: *TIMOR: Freedom Caught Between the Powers*, Spokesman Books, Nottingham, UK, October 1975. Price 75p.**

The main text of this 68-page booklet was first published in duplicated form by the Australian Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET). It presents a documented account of developments in the Portuguese colony of East Timor, especially since the emergence of three political parties, the FRETILIN, the UDT, and the APODETI, and of the UDT coup attempt on 10-11 August 1975. It describes the roles of Portugal, Australia, the USA and Indonesia in attempting to frustrate the efforts of FRETILIN, numerically by far the strongest of the three parties, in securing a peaceful transition to full independence.

As the Indonesian military apparatus is now gearing itself for a takeover of the country by a combination of strong-arm military tactics and direct supervision over internal political developments, this booklet provides useful and up-to-date information about a situation widely ignored in the international press. It is obtainable from the publishers, at Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation, Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET, U.K. If you wish to keep up-to-date with developments in East Timor, please contact: CIET, first floor, 232 Castlereagh St., Sydney, NSW 2000, Australia.

\* \*

**Malcolm Caldwell, editor: *Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia*, to be published in January 1976 by Spokesman Books. Price: £2.50.**

Though the book is as yet unavailable, it is clear from the Contents that this book is a very authoritative and comprehensive volume. With thirteen contributors, all of whom are very familiar with their subject-matter, and with a map and document texts, one can only await the book with much anticipation. We will review it in our next issue. The articles include:

Michael Morrow -- 'The Politics of Southeast Asian Oil'  
Lenny Siegel -- 'Indonesian Electronics - Cheap Labour is Not Enough'

Carmel Budiardjo -- 'Repression and Political Imprisonment'  
Richard W. Franke -- 'Hunger for Profit - Ten Years of Food Production Failure'

Michael Klare -- 'Indonesia and the Nixon Doctrine'  
Oei Hong Lee -- 'The Emasculation of Political Parties'

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The Cambridge University Amnesty Group held its annual 'Cage Week' outside King's College from 1st-7th November. The Cage was maintained continuously - 24 hours daily for a week - by 'tapols' to publicise Amnesty's work for political prisoners, with the focus this year on Indonesia.

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## TRANQUILITY UNLIMITED

Critics of American foreign policy often wonder aloud about the wisdom of the thinking which forms the basis for top-level planning and decisions. A rare insight of the profundity of this wisdom was given by Richard Dudman, Washington correspondent for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, in an interview with the BBC on 24th October.

Dudman reported that he had recently gotten a telephone call from a State Department official, who proceeded to reveal that 'Indonesia probably enjoys greater domestic tranquillity now than at any time since the sixteenth century'.

TAPOL is almost overwhelmed by the depth of understanding in this observation. The tranquillity which is said to prevail in a land of 130 million people is thanks very largely to the very well-honed system of repression in force throughout the archipelago. If the policymaker were ever to set foot inside one of the hundreds of prisons in the country, we doubt that he would be able to make a very good case for 'tranquillity' Suharto-style.

# INDONESIAN TROOPS POISED TO DESTROY FRETILIN IN EAST TIMOR

With crack Indonesian troops poised on the border and as many villages in the interior were being strafed and shelled intensely by aircraft and naval artillery, Fretilin, the East Timor independence movement, declared independence on 28th November as the Democratic Republic of East Timor. Particularly in light of this important announcement, it should be noted that the Suharto Government recently held talks in Rome with the Portuguese Government. The communique released at the end of the talks spoke of 'the urgent need to restore peace and order in the territory' and 'safeguarding of the legitimate interests of Indonesia in the area'. Despite the pious hope of the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Melo Antunes on his return to Lisbon, that no power, 'least of all Indonesia', should intervene in East Timor, the strategy of the Suharto regime is now absolutely clear.

Having carved out a base area for itself inside East Timor under the guise of the 'joint forces' of Apodeti and UDT (now joined

by 2 previously unheard-of 'parties' --- *Kota* and *Trabalista* --- that have emerged from the woodwork recently supporting the annexation of East Timor into Indonesia), the military now stands fully poised for a major onslaught on the capital, Dili. If, as seems evident from its independence declaration, Fretilin does not agree to working with the other 'parties' in a provisional government under the control of a returned Portuguese administration, the Indonesian army will carry on. In other words, unless a democratically-elected government, which has already carried out significant land reform and other social measures, is prepared to disband its ill-equipped army and people's militia in the face of an Indonesian occupation, and join an administration in which it would be permanently outvoted 4-1 by parties having virtually no support and either sustained or created by the Suharto regime, the Indonesian army, navy and air force will forcibly move against Fretilin and the people of East Timor.

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## British Support Group Forming

In this situation, international pressure on the Portuguese Government and protest against Indonesian aggression upon East Timor, in blatant violation of the United Nations Charter, are extremely vital. A number of people in Britain, including some MPs, are trying to establish a committee in solidarity with Fretilin, which thus far has been recognised by at least 23 other governments, and to support the right of the people of East Timor to determine their own future free from any form of foreign interference. If you are interested in joining or supporting this, contact: John Taylor, 21 Solon Road, London, SW2.

The brutal denial of political freedom to the people of East Timor must be publicly exposed and condemned before it is too late.

## Correction

A typographical error in '*Sukarno's Widow Writes to Pres. Ford*' (see Bulletin No. 12, page 7) must be noted. The word 'million' should be inserted, to read: "Over one-hundred million Indonesians have been brainwashed . . . ."

## Notes to Readers

● We believe it is important to have TAPOL Bulletin on the shelves of libraries, research institutes and other interested bodies. We need readers' help to draw the attention of such institutes to the existence of our Bulletin. Please write us for extra copies if you require them to publicise the Bulletin.

● Many subscriptions are now falling due for renewal. Our Administration endeavours to inform all subscribers as this happens. We regret we cannot continue sending the Bulletin unless you renew your payment promptly.

● Our bank account is held with the Wandsworth Common Branch, National Westminster Bank, 27 Bellevue Road, London, SW17 7EF. Our account number is 40987493. The bank has asked that all foreign currency cheques be endorsed on the reverse side with the words: '*As made payable to on the front*'.

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TAPOL Bulletin is published by TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners.