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British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No 5

June 1974

MASSIVE TRANSFERS OF POLITICAL PRISONERS

Several thousand political prisoners have been transferred from a number of prisons in Jakarta and other parts of Java to workcamps in Central Java where, it is believed, they are being used as forced labour on construction sites.

These moves which took place in April and May involve several hundred *tapols* in Salemba Prison, Jakarta, and a large number in various prisons of East and Central Java. Most reports indicate that the transferred prisoners are now in detention on Nusakambangan, a prison island just off the south coast of Central Java or in Cilacap, a harbour town just a few miles away. There are reports that this new influx of unpaid labour will be used on construction sites in Central Java. The deep sea harbour of Cilacap is now a centre of rapid growth, with a large number of foreign investment projects planned for the area. According to one report, some of the transferred *tapols* are to be used on the construction of a cement plant being built in Cilacap with Japanese capital.

Some sources say that the government intends to remove virtually all political prisoners from the prisons in Java and to place them in workcamps where their labour can be 'dimanfaatkan' (made use of, is the Indonesian euphemism) on development projects.

A press release issued by TAPOL early in June was well reported in *The Guardian*, 12th June. A spokesman of TAPOL was interviewed on the BBC programme 'The World Tonight' and also by the Dutch daily, *Volks-*

krant. The news aroused considerable interest as well in Australia and was given coverage in a special programme on Asia by the ABC.

Harrowing reports of the transfers have also been received. Families of prisoners were not informed beforehand of the transfer and only learned about it when they came to the prisons bringing food for their relative inside. If the prisoner in question was included in the transfer, the visiting wife was simply told: 'He's not here. Take your food home again'. No news was given about what had happened. It was not till several weeks later that some families were informed that their prisoner had been transferred. One wife whose husband has been in detention since October 1965 without trial, was told callously, 'Don't worry. This is the best thing that could have happened. This will bring his solution nearer'.

'Solution' is the word the Indonesian military frequently use when they talk about the *tapols*. On 21st March 1973, President Suharto told the People's Deliberative Assembly: 'The Indonesian Government is trying hard to solve the problem of political detainees and to free them. In this relation the Government has to consider three problems: the safety of the state and nation, the legal settlement of the political detainees and a reasonable treatment of the detainees in accordance with the principles of the Panca Sila'. The recent transfers reveal what kind of a solution Suharto had in mind.

EDITORIAL

The British Government still refuses to recognise the need for a review of policy toward Indonesia despite statements by the Foreign Secretary about the need to be less accommodating toward repressive governments and some positive action recently on Chile and the Soviet Union.

It comes as a shock to many to hear David Ennals talking so glibly about the Queen's 'successful State Visit to Indonesia' while Mr Wilson made a point of informing the Soviet Government that the Bolshoi Ballet's visit to London would be more acceptable if the Panovs were permitted to leave the Soviet Union. Nor can we understand the Foreign Office contention that a review of Britain's aid programme to Indonesia would not help the detainees.

What help do the detainees receive from Britain's aid programmes? Their cause would surely be better served if the British Government were to make it quite clear to the Indonesian Government that it cannot go on pumping aid into a country which continues so flagrantly to flaunt public concern in Britain about the political prisoners and continued widespread political repression. It is one thing for the Foreign Office to inform the Indonesian authorities of the concern in Britain for the plight of their political prisoners. It is quite another thing for this concern to be translated into an active re-examination of policies, which the Indonesian Government could not possibly ignore.

What benefit did the detainees reap from the Queen's 9-day visit which the Indonesian Ambassador to London described as 'confirmation of the views of the British people and Government of the domestic and foreign policies of the Indonesian Government?' Why should the restrictions placed upon two well-known Soviet ballet dancers have been sufficient cause to place the Bolshoi Ballet's visit to London in jeopardy, whereas the prolonged detention without trial and systematic torture of tens of thousands of workers, peasants, writers, artists, women, teachers, doctors, lawyers, trade unionists and a host of others did not, as far as the

Foreign Office is concerned, cast any cloud over the 'success' of the Queen's visit to Indonesia?

TAPOL calls upon its sympathisers in Britain to urge the British Government to reconsider its policy toward Indonesia.

BRITISH LABOUR GOVERNMENT STRENGTHENS TIES WITH SUHARTO REGIME

Replying to a parliamentary question on 22nd May by Richard C Mitchell, Labour MP for Southampton, David Ennals, Minister at the Foreign Office, stated:

'It is the policy of Her Majesty's Government to strengthen the present close and friendly relations with Indonesia, including our economic relations, following the successful State Visit in March; and particularly in the context of Indonesia's standing with Commonwealth Governments in the area and its role in the United Nations and other international organisations'.

Earlier in May, TAPOL received a reply from the Foreign Office to letters it had sent to the Foreign Secretary and the Minister for Overseas Development urging the Government to undertake a review of its policy towards Indonesia. The letter reads:

'In deciding whether or not to maintain aid programmes to particular developing countries, Her Majesty's Government have to consider in each case the effects of this decision on the people in each individual country. In the case of Indonesia, we do not consider that the suspension of our existing aid programme, or the other actions you propose, would do anything to improve their lot. Nor do we think that it will help the detainees there.

As far as the problem of political detainees is concerned, I am able to assure you that the Indonesian authorities are well aware of the concern shown in this country for their plight'.

The letter is signed by Lord Goronwy-Roberts, Under Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs.

BRITISH MPs DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER INDONESIA

A number of British Members of Parliament have responded with interest and concern to an appeal by TAPOL regarding the problem of political imprisonment in Indonesia. The matter was discussed at a meeting in the House of Commons on 11th June jointly convened by Labour MP Paul Rose and Conservative MP David Knox.

Many MPs who had indicated their intention to come to the meeting were unable to attend because of an emergency session held at the same hour to discuss a Commons debate that evening on the EEC, but Labour MP Andrew Faulds assured the meeting that a number of MPs are very worried and are wanting to raise the problem in any way possible.

CAMPAIGN NEWS

EX-TAPOL TOURS AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

Carmel Budiardjo, an English woman who spent three years in detention as a political prisoner in Jakarta, and whose husband is still under detention, spent five weeks earlier this year touring Australia and New Zealand to speak about political imprisonment in Indonesia.

She first spent three days in New Zealand addressing meetings and groups in Auckland, Christchurch and Wellington. She was interviewed on the national television news and by several national newspapers. During her brief stay in Auckland, she was able to meet the Labour MP, Mike Moore.

Her tour of Australia commenced in Brisbane where she met groups of trade union leaders, women's leaders and addressed several students' meetings. Here too the press and television gave her good coverage.

In Sydney, New South Wales, she attended a weekend conference on the theme 'Australia and South East Asia' at which she delivered a long paper on political repression in Indonesia. The conference was attended by a wide cross-section of Australians, with good representation from the trade union movement, students' councils, women's organisations, academics, Christian groups and bodies involved in third world problems and relief. The main resolution of the Conference which decided to give priority in Australia to the question of that country's relations with Indonesia was published in the last TAPOL Bulletin.

From Sydney, Carmel Budiardjo went to Canberra where she also had a busy programme of meetings, press and television interviews and discussions with groups interested in Indonesia and human rights in general. On two occasions, she was received by Senators and members of the House of Representatives and addressed them about her own experiences in prison and about the current situation of political imprisonment in Indonesia. She was also received by a senior official of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other senior officials of the Australian government.

The five days she spent in Melbourne were filled with meetings and interviews by the press. Particularly memorable were the meeting at Monash University where she addressed a packed lecture hall of more than 500 students and the reception given by leaders of the trade union movement of Victoria for her and for two other foreign speakers who had been invited to attend the conference in Sydney, *Mike Morrow*, well-known American journalist and *Prof Ernst Utrecht*, Indonesian expert on international law now living in exile. Here, as in other meetings with Australian trade union leaders, she spoke of the tradition of solidarity between the Australian and Indonesian trade union movements that had been cemented in the seamen's and dockers' boycott of Dutch ships returning to Indonesia in 1946. Australian trade unionists are keenly aware of the need to speak up and act in support of the many thousands of Indonesian trade unionists who are now behind bars in Indonesia.

In Melbourne, she was able to meet Mr Bob Hawke, Chairman of the Australian Council of Trade Unions and had a short talk with Mr Jim Cairns, then Minister for Industry and Trade, who occupies the position of Deputy Prime Minister in the new Australian Government. She appeared on several TV programmes, and on a radio programme together with an Indonesian working in Melbourne, who tried to defend the Indonesian Government's position vis-a-vis the political prisoners.

In Adelaide, South Australia, she had another round of meetings and talks, and from there went on to Perth in Western Australia. Here too she met a good cross-section of people. She spent one day at the harbour of Fremantle where she spoke to a meeting of wharfies and went onboard a ship docking at the harbour to address seamen working on several ships in the harbour.

INDONESIA NAMED AS HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATOR IN A US CONGRESS REPORT

Indonesia has been included by a sub-committee of the Committee of Foreign Affairs of the US House of Representatives in a list of countries which 'practice torture and unabashedly violate almost every human rights guarantee pronounced by the world community'. The report, published on 27th March, 1974, states: 'Our relations with the present Governments of South Vietnam, Spain, Portugal, the Soviet Union, Brazil, Indonesia, Greece, the Philippines and Chile exemplify how we have disregarded human rights for the sake of other assumed interests'.

The Sub-Committee on International Organisations and Movements,

chaired by Congressman Donald M Fraser, issued the report entitled 'Human Rights in the World Community: A Call for US Leadership'. It urges that human rights be given a high priority in US foreign policy and makes a number of recommendations.

One chapter confirms reports that Indonesia is included among the countries regarding which a complaint is now before the UN Human Rights Commission. The complaint concerns 'political detention in Indonesia'. The Report reveals that 'in March 1974, the Commission failed to decide whether any of the cases required a thorough study or an investigation. Instead it appointed a working group to meet immediately prior to the next session (in 1975) to decide what action should be taken on these cases . . .'

The decision to postpone consideration, which was criticised by some delegates, reveals that as at present constituted, the UN machinery for the consideration of complaints about human rights violations is extremely fragile and as yet far too ineffective to help people suffering these abuses. Some commentators who have followed the deliberations at the UN have remarked that more concern is shown to protect the sensitivities of the governments attacked in the various communications than to protect their victims.

AUSTRALIA TRAINS INDONESIAN ARMY INTELLIGENCE OFFICERS

Australian Minister of Defence, Lance Barnard, has called for a full report into charges that Indonesian interrogators are being trained at the Australian Army intelligence centre in Woodside, S Australia. This follows disclosures made by Carmel Budiardjo after her visit to Adelaide when she told the Australian press in Perth that she had learned with dismay that groups of Indonesian intelligence officers were being trained at Woodside.

She had pointed out that Indonesian intelligence officers were responsible for interrogating Indonesia's political prisoners and that it was abhorrent to her that these officers were getting training in Australia, whether or not this included training in the techniques of torture widely practised by Indonesian army officers during interrogation.

Mr Barnard is reported to have said in Canberra that there is nothing unusual about foreign officers being trained in Australian army establishments. 'We do have a scheme whereby army personnel from Indonesia and Malaysia are trained in basic army techniques. Some people have been trained in normal intelligence processes, but interrogation is another matter. While I am not aware of any such training practices being carried out at Woodside, I will be looking very closely at the centre's role in the intelligence training of foreign officers'.

Shortly after her return to London, Mrs Budiardjo was interviewed by Australian Broadcasting Corporation about this for a programme on torture in Indonesia and Singapore on the weekly feature entitled 'Four Corners'.

NEW INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR TO HOLLAND WAS 'BRAINS BEHIND THE TORTURE'

General Sutopo Juwono, former head of *Bakin* the Co-ordination Board of Intelligence Services, was received by Queen Juliana as the new ambassador to Holland on 3rd May.

One Dutch newspaper, the *Nieuw Rotterdam Courant*, was quick to point out that Gen Juwono was the brains behind much of the terror waged against political prisoners. His name has in particular been associated with the notorious *Kalong* operations in Jakarta and West Java, responsible for some of the worst torture practiced in Indonesia.

His appointment follows the recent Cabinet reshuffle in Indonesia after the January 15th riots when Suharto was apparently misinformed as to the part played by Sumitro, and the armed forces in the students demonstrations against the visit to Indonesia of Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka. Thus the transfer of General Juwono from head of military intelligence to an ambassador may reflect the President's dissatisfaction with Juwono's intelligence work. But the ambassadorship in Holland is a prestigious post and one of the key procurement centres for the Indonesian state and military establishment.

WEST BERLIN TEACH-IN ON TAPOLS

West Berlin Amnesty International held a teach-in about Indonesian *tapols* on 21st June. *Tari Hibbitt*, whose father is imprisoned in Jakarta and who herself experienced detention when she was 15 years old, told the meeting of her personal experiences and of the torture she had seen inflicted on her friends and others together with her in detention. She spoke also of the general conditions of prisoners and of the problems of detainees' families.

Professor Ernst Utrecht, well-known Indonesian lawyer now living in exile, spoke of the economic situation in Indonesia. (In April, Prof Utrecht was ordered to leave Malaysia only a few weeks after taking up a university appointment there as professor of international law. The expulsion order came as a result of pressure by the Indonesian Government on the Malaysian Government, on a threat that Indonesian teachers in Malaysia would be withdrawn if Utrecht was not ordered to leave the country).

Dr Hans Schwenger, Chairman of the German Union of Writers, also addressed the meeting, urging support not only for writers and other intellectuals but for the thousands of workers and peasants and other ordinary folk in detention. *Pastor Reese*, chaplain for students in West

Berlin, also spoke of the need to arouse support for the cause of Indonesia's *tapols*.

Some Indonesians present attempted to undermine the platform by asserting that it was unnecessary to pressurise the German and other governments and that it was enough to send letters to the Indonesian authorities. Tari said in reply that since coming to Europe, she and her family had written repeatedly to Indonesian authorities and had never received a single reply.

IGGI COUNTRIES TO FURTHER INCREASE AID TO INDONESIA

The May meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia held in Amsterdam decided to further increase aid to Indonesia from \$876 million last year to \$913 million in the 1974/75 financial year. This amount exceeds the \$850 million actually requested by the Indonesian Government.

Some circles in the aid-giving countries have suggested that Indonesia's rapidly expanding earnings from its oil exports means that economic aid should be reduced. General Ibnu Sutowo, President-Director of the giant state oil corporation, Pertamina, says Indonesia's oil earnings will enable the country to repay its foreign debts in two years instead of a period reaching to the end of this century, as has heretofore been assumed. But the IGGI governments have taken a completely different stand. IGGI Chairman, Jan Pronk, Dutch Minister for Overseas Aid and Development, said that despite increased income from oil, Indonesia still needs large investments, income per capita was very low, the population increase very rapid and the rate of unemployment very high. There was no reason to believe, he said, that the bonanza from oil would be sufficient to pay for the country's development requirements. It would be 'disastrous', he claimed for any radical adjustments to be made in aid commitments because Indonesia's financial resources would probably not be adequate to finance future programmes.

The IGGI's decision to increase aid may well be calculated to boost the position of Indonesia's technocrats who are being hard-pressed by powerful groups in the Army that see the oil boom as a source of increased strength for their own control of the economy. There are strong rumours of a Cabinet reshuffle that would greatly reduce the role of the technocrats.

At the May IGGI meeting, the EEC and Austria attended for the first time as full members.

NEWS FROM INDONESIA

SECURITY TROOPS HOLD 'READINESS' EXERCISES

In Jakarta:

Troops of the Jakarta Military Command held 'readiness' exercises in April this year. Eleven thousand troops were deployed in the exercises which lasted a whole day. The troops consisted of two main elements, those in charge of 'maintaining security and order', and those described as 'fighting elements', the troops ready to take action if the security troops were no longer in control of the situation.

One of the main points of the exercise was to cope with 'a mass of demonstrators supported by armed elements'. This makes it clear that the exercises were prompted by the experiences of January this year when students organised mass demonstrations in protest against the visit to Indonesia of the Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka.

The April exercises are the second in a series; the third were due to take place some time late in May.

In East and Central Java:

Large-scale manoeuvres by combined troops of the Armed Forces were held for six days in East and Central Java in 6 *kabupaten* (the administrative unit below the province)—Magetan, Ngawi, Madiun, Blora, Sragen, and Purwodadi. The manoeuvres were aimed at testing domestic security operations, according to a speech by General Panggabean, Minister for Defence and Commander of the Armed Forces. He said the main purpose was to help 'step up efforts to smash remnants of the armed bands operating in West Kalimantan . . . and to intensify the task of smashing hidden cells of the PKI/30 September Movement in general'. Many thousand land and air troops were involved in the operations.

JANUARY DEMONSTRATORS UNDER ARREST FACE SUBVERSION CHARGES

The cases of 42 persons detained following the 15th January events this year (the anti-Tanaka demonstrations) have, according to Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff of *Kopkamtib*, speaking to the press on 20th April, been handed over to the Prosecutor General's Office because, he said, the cases were connected with 'subversion'.

It would be incorrect however to think that these are the only persons still in detention in connection with the January events. According to reports from Jakarta, arrests are still being made and include some Army officers. Furthermore, on 10th April, a spokesman of the Jakarta Prosecutor's Office, Singgih, told the press that the Office had been handed the cases of 30 persons arrested in connection with the 15th January events. Whether these are included among the cases referred to by Sudomo or are in addition to them is not clear.

The 42 cases mentioned by Sudomo almost certainly do not include eleven cases that have been reported from Ujung Pandang in South Sula-

wesi. These cases were handed over to the Ujung Pandang Prosecutor's Office by the Provincial Military Command in South Sulawesi who explained that the cases were being submitted in accordance with the instructions of the Commander of *Kopkamtib*. The cases are connected with the 15th January incident and 'events that occurred in Ujung Pandang recently'.

They arise from a 'Charter of Indonesian Citizens' and the creation of an organisation, probably separatist in nature, which is called the South Sulawesi Youth, one of whose leaders is reported as having expressed dissatisfaction with the results of the general elections and implementation of the Development Plan. Their activities appear to have consisted of 'holding meetings to discuss the situation at the Centre and in the regions' and of trying to 'support the activities of students in Jakarta and elsewhere'. Three of the persons now awaiting trial in Ujung Pandang are journalists, one of whom published an article which is regarded as having 'aroused the emotions of the masses'. One of the journalists is said to have been planning to 'make contact with some people in Java in order to arouse negative emotions among the general public'. Incidentally, the paper for which two of these journalists worked, *Pos Indonesia*, is among those already banned.

MILITARY CONTROL OF THE PRESS TIGHTENS

Altogether twelve dailies and weeklies are now irrevocably prohibited in Indonesia. Until early April, two of the papers, *Pedoman* and the weekly *Expres*, were hoping they would be allowed to reappear as only their printing permits and not their publishing permits had been withdrawn. On 9th April following a meeting of the newly-formed 'Political and Stabilisation Council', it was announced that the two permits had also been revoked.

Already in February this year, the Indonesian Association of Journalists (PWI) Court of Honour publicly urged that 'press organs should not be eliminated' as this would 'create deep misgivings among the public'.

The story of the prohibition of all these newspapers and periodicals reveals the power of the military and security establishment in regulating press and the media as a whole. The PWI has repeatedly urged that the terms of the Press Law enacted in 1966 should be upheld; though repressive in that it gives the government powers to ban newspapers, does establish a procedure according to which the Ministry of Information is responsible for taking measures against the press and should act only after consultation with a Press Council on which the press would be represented.

The fact that the decision to withdraw the permits from *Pedoman* and *Expres* was taken at the Political and Stabilisation Council means that the Ministry of Information exercised no effective role in the press. This Council is chaired by the President, who is also Commander of the Army's Security Council *Kopkamtib*, and includes among its ten members the Minister for Defence and Security, the Secretary-General of the Defence and Security Ministry, the Chief-of-Staff of *Kopkamtib* and the head of *Bakin*, the Co-ordination Board of Intelligence Services.

Earlier this year, a short while after the January events, the *Kopkamtib* Chief-of-Staff Admiral Sudomo made quite clear the views of the Command about the press. While trying to allay widespread fears over military interference in the press by saying that 'the responsibility and main task of promoting the press is in the hands of the Information Ministry', he also stipulated that '*Kopkamtib* is responsible for the security and order section'.

'Permits for the publication of new papers will be handled by the Information Ministry. But, he went on, 'the screening of their personnel is entrusted to *Kopkamtib*.' He also said that newspapers would only be given publishing permits on condition that they conform to the following conditions: 'They must uphold the spirit of the New Order, respect for the Panca Sila ideology, refrain from inciting the public, refrain from twisting facts and refrain from carrying reports that would incite tribal, religious and social conflict. They must not disobey the national leadership'. Having said all that, Sudomo went on to give 'assurances of freedom of the press, based on constructive criticism'. (!)

Meanwhile it has been announced that over five hundred people, mainly journalists and printing technicians, have lost their jobs as a result of the banning of the 12 newspapers and journals. They are now undergoing screening to see whether they can be permitted to work for the three new newspapers that are being allowed to appear in place of the 12 banned. Journalists must now possess not only certificates of non-involvement in the 1965 coup attempt but also a clearance from involvement in the January 1974 movement.

Chinese-language papers disallowed

A Chinese-language daily in Medan, *Harian Indonesia*, has been ordered to cease publication. Here too, the decision was not taken by the Minister for Information but was based on an order issued by Lieut-Gen Widodo, Commander of the Sumatra Territorial Defence Command (Pangkowilhan I) issued to the head of the Information Division of the North Sumatra Government Administration. Only a few days beforehand, Lieut-Gen Widodo had told the North Sumatra Legislative Assembly that 'Chinese characters must no longer be used in society in order to create a homogeneous nation'.

SEVERE RESTRAINTS IMPOSED ON STUDENT ACTIVITY

Following the January demonstrations in which many students were involved, the Minister of Education and Culture, Major-General Sjarif Thajeb, issued new 'guidelines' for the running of educational institutes. The 'guidelines' reveal that the government is extremely anxious to prevent any further movements of dissent from developing among the students. In brief, the guidelines are as follows:

The leadership of universities and institutes of higher education must bear full responsibility for all activities of a political nature by students and members of the staff, and for all expression of opinion. They must ensure that all opinions publicly expressed are 'concrete, constructive, responsible and scientifically justified'. These activities include discussions, seminars, orientation weeks, initiation activities and the like. Outside guests are not allowed to attend university seminars without the consent of the head of the Institute. All students activities must be reported to and have the consent of the leadership of the Institute; this includes students meetings and roll-calls. Professional activities, such as inter-faculty exchange must have the consent of the leadership both of the faculties sending and receiving the students. Students wishing to go abroad for organisational affairs must also have such permission.

When announcing these 'guidelines', the Minister emphasised that 'every right involves a duty, every freedom a limitation'. Lectures, he said, must be 'creative, concrete and responsible'. It was the teachers' duty to encourage 'responsible student participation and development'. Making it quite clear what the purpose of these 'guidelines' was, the Minister expressed the hope that institutes of higher learning could 'avoid any repercussions of the January 15th incident'.

MORE PRO-PKI REMNANTS UNEARTHED

More than 130 civilians have been arrested in North Sumatra in yet another roundup of alleged sympathisers or former members of the PKI. Many of them were not only in government employment but still active and said to be at the root of ethnic, religious and land disputes which have occurred in North Sumatra during the last year.

The most prominent amongst the arrested so far disclosed is a civil engineer, Ir M Sipahutar, head of the North Sumatra Public Works Department for the past 14 years, chairman of the North Sumatra Planning Board, and recently a candidate for the Governorship of the province when it was last vacant. News of his arrest was first rumoured in the press. The military called a press conference to confirm the rumours but then asked that the arrest be kept secret to avoid warning other PKI remnants.

The evidence since reported in the press about M Sipahutar includes such dangerous crimes as attempting to conceal past links with the PKI, and thus obtaining an identity card on false pretenses. One of his juniors in the department denounced him and he was described in a Jakarta newspaper published in 1963 as a 'PKI candidate'. He is also said to have been mentioned in the diaries of an arrested communist as a contributor to PKI funds. Quite why the Army had taken so long to arrest so obvious a villain was not clear but the press were told, in their confidential briefing, that until recently 'the time was not appropriate'. Reporters also learnt that not all of those arrested were members of the PKI up until 1965; they had however been influenced by it.

Pos Indonesia, the Medan daily which did so much to expose the evil doings of Ir Sipahutar, has recently been rewarded for its efforts by a banning order from Jakarta. The ban, issued on 25th April, took the paper's editor completely by surprise. 'We have never been reprimanded by the North Sumatra Military Command and we never published anything at all about the 15th January events', he told *Tempo*. Try as he may, the editor could do nothing to get the ban rescinded and now

he and all his colleagues must set about getting 'clearance certificates' in order to be able to get alternative employment.

Ex-Gerwani Members Also in Trouble

The cases of fifty-two women in Kampong Helvetia, Medan, North Sumatra, were spotlighted in March this year after it was discovered that they had been members of the now-banned leftwing women's organisation, *Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Gerwani) prior to the abortive coup in October 1965. A Medan newspaper, *Pos Utara*, in its issue of 30th March 1974, reports that they all held 'yellow identity cards' cards which may only be issued to people who are 'not involved in the coup'. The article mentions that one of the women has been arrested but does not explain what fate has befallen the other 51 women.

The newspaper report, bearing a banner headline: '52 Kampong Helvetia Inhabitants Involved in October 1965 Coup' is an example of how even today, almost nine years after the events of 1965, it is still regarded as a most serious crime to have been a member of one of the banned organisations—at a time when it was still legal. It also shows how membership of these organisations is quite shamelessly equated with being 'involved in the coup'.

The 52 women are said to have succeeded in concealing their Gerwani membership from the security forces. The village head of Kampong Helvetia also comes in for censure, for it was he who issued identity cards to these women; he is described as 'sheltering and providing employment to persons involved in the coup'.

Non-Involvement Certificate Needed to Install a Telephone

The Chief of Jakarta Metropolitan Police, Police Major-General Widodo Buddidarme, has meanwhile revealed that it is still the practice for officials to demand a 'non-involvement certificate' for such things as installing a telephone, arranging land documents and entering University. The point of his remark was to explain that, according to the regulations, 'non-involvement certificates' are no longer needed for such things, yet in fact they are still being demanded.

While on the one hand, 'non-involvement certificates' are a vicious method of keeping a check on the activities of persons regarded as being politically undesirable, they have on the other hand become an integral part of the country's bureaucracy and a source of income in a state apparatus in which corruption thrives.

COMPULSORY LAND REDISTRIBUTION LEADS TO THREATS AND ARRESTS

The Government has recently compulsorily acquired farmland in South Sumatra, West Java, and around Jakarta. The land is to be set aside for commercial and industrial use. The land owners maintained that they were paid ridiculously low compensation. In West Java, some of the land compulsorily purchased for Rp 2,000 per sq metre changed hands again within months for more than six times this price.

In some instances it proved necessary to call in the Army to help persuade the peasants to appreciate the wisdom of abiding by the compulsory purchase order. Opponents of the scheme were accused of being PKI sympathisers and trying to sabotage the Government's 5-year plan. One South Sumatran farmer is known to have been jailed for his opposition.

The Jakarta weekly *Tempo* quoted an official from the Ministry of Interior as saying that the peasants contrasted the present land policies with the land distribution programme before 1965. He wondered if the present Government's policy would find as much support with the peasants as the attempts at land redistribution then.

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