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British Campaign for the Defence

of Political Prisoners and Human Rights in Indonesia

TAPOL Bulletin No 47

September 1981

EAST TIMOR

NEW OFFENSIVE, MASS ARRESTS

Recent reports, received separately in the past month, from Church sources in Jakarta and in Timor, speak of a rapidly worsening situation in East Timor, of mass arrests, and of fears that a new famine may soon occur. One source estimates that there are now 60,000 imprisoned on the island of Atauro, more than 10% of the surviving population.

These documents reached TAPOL only a few days after it had received a copy of an official report submitted in June this year to President Suharto by the East Timor "provincial" assembly (DPRD), drawing attention to widespread abuses by members of the Indonesian Armed Forces. The latter document graphically confirms information received over the past few years from the victims themselves about conditions in East Timor under Indonesian occupation. Coming as it does from the very people chosen by the Indonesians to become members of the "East Timor Regional Representative People's Assembly", it is a partricularly significant indictment. We produce on pages 5-8 the text in full, together with a reproduction of the covering letter, to assure readers of the authenticity of this document.

The New Offensive Against Fretilin

As for the Church reports, they provide the following information:

A special operation, Operasi Keamanan (Security Operation) has been under way for some months.*) Virtually the entire male population from the ages of 15 to 50 according to one report, and even including children down to the age of 9 and men up to 60, according to the other, have been pressed into service by the Army to participate in "pagar betis" operations against Fretilin guerrillas throughout the country. In such operations, soldiers and civilians move across areas as a "fence of legs" to "flush out"

*This now confirms earlier reports (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 45, May 1981) that the large-scale military exercises held over East Timor in March this year were the precursor to a new offensive aimed to "wipe out" Fretilin. resistance fighters. The Army's strategy is to drive all Fretilin guerrillas and their families from the western and eastern parts of the country into a central region around Manatuto, there to be rounded up and destroyed. Some Fretilin guerrillas and their families have been arrested though many are said, in one report, to have "sneaked through the fence of legs". There have been casualties on both sides though no figures are given.

Mass Arrests

One of the reports states: "All relatives of the Fretilin are presently (being) rounded up by the military. By trucks and by boats they are transported to Atauro and two (other) small islands." The other report speaks of "constant imprisonments of people, who are deported to Atauro. In Atauro, there are now about 60,000 people." (Elsewhere Atauro island is now being referred to as "East Timor's Buru island".)

One of the reports says that there are new fears of widespread famine. The Timorese men pressed into these operations are poorly fed, and many return home very ill, some only to die from malnutrition. With the commencement of the rainy season and planting in September and October, villages are deprived of many people who would normally work on the land. Now that the International Red Cross and the Catholic Services have halted their food and medical programmes in East Timor, the danger of a new famine and widespread disease has become very real.

In this issue

Papuan Refugees Handed Back to Indonesia page 2 Pramoedya, Ishak and 4 Students Arrested page 4 Report of the East Timor Regional
Assembly
Apologies to readers for the delay in producing this issue. Our next issue will appear in November

WEST PAPUA

PAPUAN REFUGEES HANDED BACK TO INDONESIA

Three political refugees from West Papua (West Irian) who have been living in Papua New Guinea for ten years as permissive residents were flown back to West Irian on 27th July, and handed over to the Indonesian authorities. The three men are: Bob Kubia, a teacher, Fred Pieger, a businessman, and Willie Jebleb, a health worker.

There have been strong protests against this inhuman act in PNG. Adam Amod, premier of the West Sepik province where the men were living, accused the PNG government of acting in "complete absence of humane treatment". The deportation, he said, violated the PNG constitution which protects human rights. Tony Bais, a member of the PNG Parliament, said the men were being "sent to their deaths". Leaders of the 2,000-strong West Papuan community in PNG have expressed grave concern at this apparent change in the government's policy towards refugees from West Papua. Previously, the deportation of refugees already granted permissive residence rarely happened, and when it did happen, the persons were sent to third countries, not to Indonesia. (*Times*, PNG, 31 July - 6 August, 1981)

(Although this may be true, there are several known cases of refugees, possibly people without permissive residence, being returned to Indonesia. In one instance, the pilot who flew the people back said afterwards that as he left the airfield to return home, he heard shots ringing out.)

Attempting to re-assure critics of their actions towards these three men, a PNG spokesperson said the Indonesian authorities had promised that the men "would come to no harm". A representative of the Indonesian embassy in Port Moresby actually told the press: "We are religious people. Killing is a sin for us.

TAPOL Protests to UN High Commissioner for Refugees

On 25th August, TAPOL wrote to Mr Poul Hartling, UN High Commissioner for Re^cugees, expressing concern at the PNG government's return of these three refugees to Indonesia. It asked what the UN body was doing to protect the interests of West Papuan refugees in PNG and whether any formal protest had been made to the PNG government. The letter also said-

TAPOL feels that your Office should be doing everything in its power to convince countries in the region, including PNG and Vanuatu, to offer asylum to refugees from West Papua. We mention Vanuatu specifically because it now appears that the Vanuatu government has succumbed to pressures from PNG to stop giving asylum to these refugees.

Six More Papuan Refugees Face Possible Deportation to Indonesia

News has been received that another six Papuan refugees in Papua New Guinea now face the threat of deportation to Indonesia. The six men: Freddy Waromy, Amos Marokopou, Jotam Depametou, Jason Seferai, Darius Wambukomo and Melkias Tomkau, were put on trial in Port Moresby on 1st October on charges of "helping the guerrillas in West Irian". If found guilty, they are likely to be stripped of the permissive residence status they have been granted and ordered to leave the country. In view of what has happened to others treated in this way, the likelihood is that they will be immediately returned to Indonesia. It is understood that all the men have been in PNG for some years, and in some cases have families and firm roots there already.

In an attempt to prevent their deportation to Indonesia, Lord Avebury, chairperson of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group in London, sent a cable to Sir Julius Chan, PNG Prime Minister, on 2nd October, urging that the men be allowed to remain in PNG or given the chance to seek asylum in a third country. A similar cable was also sent to the PNG Prime Minister by a group of Dutch members of Parliament from the Pacific Socialist Party.

POLITICAL PRISONERS IN WEST IRIAN

A list of the names of 69 political prisoners being held by the Army in Jayapura, the capital of West Irian province, has been received by TAPOL. Three of the prisoners, Martin Tabu, Dirk Girjapon and Silas Giay are under detention at KODAM, the headquarters of the XVIIth/ Cendrawasih Divisional Command. All the others are being held at POMDAM, the headquarters of the Military Police.

Martin Tabu was arrested on 19th April, 1980 after being tricked into going to Jayapura in the belief that he would be taking part in negotiations with Indonesian military officers. He was tried some time last year and sentenced to 30 years' imprisonment. His conditions under detention are described as being atrocious. He is kept all alone in a specially built undeground cell, and under the guard of 4 selected soldiers. He is allowed out of his cell only for short periods each day. From refugee Papuan sources overseas, TAPOL has been informed that someone from Papua New Guinea who had a chance recently to visit Tabu, found him in very bad shape and bleeding from the head.

Dirk Girjapon and Silas Giay were arrested in March this year in connection with a petition submitted to the Governor of West Irian (see item below)

Of the 66 prisoners being held at POMDAM, 44 have been under detention without trial for more than two years already. They were all arrested in June, July and August, 1979. Eighteen others were arrested in 1980, most of them during August, and the remaining four were arrested in 1981.

PETITION ORGANISERS ARRESTED

Dirk Girjapon and Silas Giay, now under detention in KODAM, West Irian, were arrested for their role in organising a petition in March 1981 in support of the struggle for West Irian's independence from Indonesia. The petition, which was formally submitted to the Governor of West Irian, Drs. Busiri Suryowinoto, was signed by no fewer than 50 members of the "1945 (Veterans) Generation", people who were involved in Indonesia's own struggle for national independence in 1945 and subsequent years. It is very significant that people with this background should now be taking a stand against Indonesia's



'Guilt is being a Papuan' John Hamadi, West Papuan refugee (right) with Gabriel Ramoi, President of the Students Representative Council of the University of P.N.G.

sovereignty over West Irian.

The petition, the text of which is in TAPOL's possession consists of three points:

1) A protest against the way in which the 'Act of Free Choice' of 1969 was held, not in conformity with the principle of 'one person-one-vote" laid down by the 1962 New York Agreement, even though, when Indonesian subsequently held general elections in West Irian in 1971 and 1977, the 'one-person-one-vote' principle was used. (In 1969, the Indonesian government argued that the "oneperson-one-vote" system was "unworkable" in West Irian because of the "immaturity" of the electorate. – Ed.)

2) support for the independence struggle now being waged by the people of West Papua (West Irian).

3) an appeal to the Indonesian government not to lose face and for the sake of preserving its good name and that of the Indonesian people, to grant independence to the people of West Papua.

The day after the petition was handed over to the Governor, Dirk Girjapon and Silas Giay were arrested, beaten up and placed under detention. It is also reported that shortly afterwards, other signatories of the petition were being rounded up and arrested.

PNG STUDENT LEADER CHARGED FOR HELPING PAPUAN REFUGEE

Gabriel Ramoi, chairperson of the Students' Representative Council of the University of PNG, has been formally charged at the district court in Boroko for 'harbouring' John Hamadi, the political refugee from West Papua who evaded attempts by the PNG government and the UN represtative to force him to leave for Sweden. (See TAPOL Bulletin, No 46, July 1981).

John Hamadi remained in hiding for several days after being declared an illegal immigrant and, according to another student leader, has now crossed the border back to West Papua, to join forces with the Melanesian Socialist Party wing of the Free-Papua Movement. (Times, PNG 24-30 July 1981)

John Hamadi: 'Guilt is Being a Papuan'

John Hamadi first became actively interested in politics in 1969 at the time of the "act of free choice", under which West Papuan tribal leaders, under heavy pressure from the Indonesian authorities, "unanimously" decided to become part of the Indonesian republic. He was 18 years old at the time.

During the political demonstrations and upheavals that occurred then, he says that the Indonesian army used tanks and firearms against innocent bystanders. "Some people had to swim out to sea in the harbour when the Indonesians started to open fire on us." He and some friends were arrested and beaten up by soldiers who warned them not to have anything to do with the demonstrations or face imprisonment or death.

During the years he studied languages at the Cendrawasih university, from 1973 to 1977, he steered clear of politics, but after graduating and becoming an employee at the university's language laboratory, he was frequently threatened with anonymous notes. "At times, I would enter the laboratory to find my desk ransacked or a frightening anonymous note waiting for me."

He became involved in the Free-Papua Movement though did not serve in its military wing, the Papua National Army. In late October, 1978 he decided, together with three others, to leave West Papua. They left by canoe from his village of Tobati and landed on a PNG beach, between Wutung and Muschu. He was immediately granted political asylum and lived for several years in a refugee camp, until it was closed down and he was required to leave PNG because he was regarded as a "security risk".

PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER, JOSOEF ISHAK AND 4 STUDENTS ARRESTED

Pramoedya Ananta Toer, the outstanding writer and extapol whose two Buru novels were banned by the Indonesian Attorney-General in May this year, was re-arrested in Jakarta by the military authorities on 4th October. He was arrested together with Joesoef Ishak, a director of Hasta Mitra Publishing, the company which published the two books in August and November last year, and four students one of whom is Joeseof's son. The students' names are: Rafendi, Widi, Alex and Verdi.

News of their arrest was received by cable from Jakarta on Tuesday, 6th October.

For several days prior to that, reports had been received that Pramoedya was under continual interrogation by senior KOPKAMTIB officers. At that time, he was apparently not under arrest but was required to appear every day for further questioning. These interrogations commenced on 25th September, the day after Pramoedya had delivered a lecture on "The Attitude and Role of Intellectuals in Indonesia" at the Social Sciences Faculty of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. The lecture-meeting had been organised by the Student Senate.

After Pramoedya gave his lecture but while the meeting was still in progress, he was given a hand-written note signed by someone from the office of the university Rector, Drs Mahar Mardjono, ordering him and the other speaker, Immanuel Subangun, to leave the hall immediately as the meeting had not been granted the necessary permission.

The four students under arrest are being held responsible for organising the lecture-meeting. They had been threatened with expulsion before being arrested, and that threat may already have been carried out. Alex is in his third year. The other three are in the final stages of preparing their dissertations for graduation this year. They are all students of society.

Lecture Meeting Banned

The lecture had been planned weeks beforehand but no public announcement was made till the day before. Prior to that, news of the event had been passed round by word of mouth. Nevertheless, the hall was packed to capacity, with many students sitting on the floor. Three hours before the lecture was due to begin, a ban was issued by the university Rector. After heated discussions with staff of the Faculty, the students went ahead with the lecture.

Only the day before, posters were put up on campus announcing the lecture. Soon afterwards, the Student Senate was warned by letter from the Faculty leadership that all speakers on campus must have the prior consent of the Rector. Then came a second letter, from the Rector himself, stating that "the discussion to which Pramoedya Ananta Toer has been invited is not allowed. If the discussion goes ahead, measures will be taken against the chairperson of the Senate."

28 LEADING WRITERS FROM 14 COUNTRIES PROTEST AGAINST BAN OF PRAM'S WORKS

The following letter to the press has been signed by 28 world-famous writers from 14 countries:

In the past few years, tens of thousands of men and women detained without trial in Indonesia for political reasons have been allowed to leave the prisons and camps where they were held for many years. But release has not meant freedom. The Indonesian government has continued to discriminate against them in many ways, including limitations on their freedom to write.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer has for many years been acknowledged as one of Indonesia's most distinguished contemporary writers. Because of international condemnation of his prolonged incarceration, he was allowed to write during the last few years of his 14-year long detention.

His first two books to appear following his release, Bumi Manusia (This World of Ours) and Anak Semua Bangsa (Child of all Nations), were published last year and were an unqualified success. Both had been written while the author was being held at the labour camp on Buru island. They were given enthusiastic press reviews and tens of thousands of copies were sold within a few months. Both books have now been banned, and the Indonesian government apparently intends to prevent publication of all Pramoedya's other works written while he was on Buru.

We strongly protest against this ban and call upon the Indonesian government to revoke it without delay. The Indonesian government should also abandon its policy of discrimination against all released political prisoners and allow them to live as free men and women.

Signed by: Chinua Achebe (Nigeria) Stanislav Baránczak (Czechoslovakia) John Berger (Britain) Gerrit Bergers (Netherlands) Gerard Chaliand (France) Margaretha Ferguson (Netherlands) Eduardo Galeano (Uruguay) Gunter Grass (Germany) Germaine Greer (Australia) Rendra (Indonesia) Vladimir Maximov (USSR) Wole Soyinka (Nigeria) Harry Mulisch (Netherlands, Alan Sillitoe (Britain) Willem Nagel (Netherlands, Josef Škvorecký (Czechoslovakia) Edna O'Brien (Britain) Julian Stryjkowski (Poland) Juan C. Onetti (Uruguay) John Updike (USA) Mario Vargai-Llosa (Peru) Jan Vladislav (Czechoslavakia) Theun de Vries (Netherlands) Per Wastberg (Sweden) Arnold Wesker (Britain) Patrick White (Australia) Jan Wolkers (Netherlands)

(The London Times held on to the letter for a week and refused to say whether or when it would be published. It has now been submitted to *Le Monde, The Guardian* (London) and other world newspapers instead.)

Judith Wright (Australia)

REPORT OF THE EAST TIMOR FIRST LEVEL REGIONAL PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE RE-PUBLIC OF INDONESIA ON QUESTIONS CON-NECTED WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF GOVERNMENT IN EAST TIMOR

I. Introduction

1. The People of East Timor have expressed their innermost, immeasurable feelings of joy, and throughout the centuries this People will be for ever indebted and grateful for the achievement of Integration of East Timor into the fold of the Motherland, the great Republic of Indonesia. It is for this reason that we wish to take an active part and enjoy together with other fraternal provinces, through National Development, all the fruits of peace, freedom and justice, in accordance with the Panca Sila and the 1945 Constitution.

The Integration of East Timor is the consequence of the desire that exploded within the breasts of the sons and daughters of the region of East Timor, which was accepted at the right moment by the President of the Republic of Indonesia, Bapak Suharto, on 17th July, 1976. Even so, some individuals who have come to this Province have introduced behaviour that can only be described as being the behaviour of conquerors towards a conquered people. With great brutality, the afore-mentioned individuals do not respect, they even ignore the customs of the People of East Timor, and make use of this opportunity to abuse the powers vested in their positions whilst displaying indisciplinary attitudes that are totally in contravention of both the policy of the Central Government as well as the aspirations of the People of East Timor.

II. Questions in the Realm of Breaches of Law and Discipline

Although five years of Integration have passed, although security has been restored by stages and in a variety of ways, although the masses of people have constantly made endless sacrifices, it is not yet possible to experience the implementation of law and discipline in this young Province of East Timor.

The Regional People's Representative Assembly of the Province of East Timor is continually, with deep sorrow, receiving verbal as well as written reports or complaints from the People about torture, maltreatment, murders and other unimaginable cases. The basic laws in this Province of East Timor are controlled by certain individuals or groups who place their personal interests above the interests of the people as a whole, even to the extent that their unlawful actions result in death for the People. But these irresponsible people or groups commit murders without due process of the laws concerning investigation. Feelings of fear are widespread among the People with the result that the living conditions of the People have worsened.

After five years of Integration, the People of East Timor do not yet enjoy the freedom that humanity needs to feel. The People of East Timor see their living conditions as a dangerous threat to their own beings. If not (sic), the evidence we shall produce in this Report will prove that this is true.

- 1. In the District of Lospalos, some people were murdered by Battalion 745 because they practised black magic.
- 2. In the District of Viqueque, tens of inhabitants were murdered after being tortured by having their sex organs slashed because they did not obey orders serving the interests of certain individuals or groups and also because of black magic practices.
- 3. In the District of Likisa, tens of people were murdered by *Kodim* (Sub-District Military Command, *Tr.*) after having being tortured with electricity and other forms of burning, without adequate reason.
- 4. In the District of Kovalima, tens of inhabitants were murdered by Battalion 745 after being accused of practising black magic.

These murders and acts of torture committed by these irresponsible persons or groups have resulted in a situation of instability throughout the region of East Timor where there have been many reactions, fears and a variety of other feelings. Yet Integration which took place five years ago should have brought the results that the People of East Timor really want to enjoy.

Furthermore, in a situation where there are no legal restraints and no discipline, problems relating to matters of morality occur, such as for instance in Dili where several women in a prison were tortured with electricity and burnt with cigarettes by some elements of the Armed Forces who also inflicted immoral sexual acts upon them.

In addition, among officials working for the Regional Government there is (*terhadap* is presumably a misprint for *terdapat*, Tr.) an Insinyur (the title for a qualified engineer, also abbreviated to Ir, Tr.) by the name of Azis Hasyim, a person with considerable influence in Regional Government, who describes himself as being a mandated person (*utusan*) inseparably connected with the Development aspect in East Timor.

The aforementioned Insinyur says that he is the trusted mandatory (*utusan*) of several officials in positions of power in Central Government. Yet, the said Ir. Azis Hasyim has pronounced publicly several sentences aimed at blackening and insulting the reputation and good name of the Governor/Head of Region of the First-Level Province of East Timor, Bapak Guilherme Maria Goncalves, the wording of which is as follows: "*The Governor is shit*. He is soon going to be replaced. Tell him that." The Regional People's Representative Assembly cannot tolerate the behaviour of Ir. Azis Hasyim, added to which are his immoral deeds which include forcing some women to have sexual relations with him, beating some women while threatening to shoot them with a pistol, as well as other unwarranted deeds.

The Regional People's Representative Assembly of the First Level Province of East Timor therefore request, Bapak President, with all due modesty, that Ir. Azis Hasyim be dismissed from all his positions and that he be transferred from East Timor as speedily as possible.

III. Problems in the Realm of the Economy

The economic situation of the People of East Timor is now passing through the most tragic phase since the beginning of the civil war in this region. After Integration however, with the setting up of the Regional Government in East Timor which set up the 27th Province of the Unitary State of the Republic of Indonesia, efforts were begun by the Regional Government, with instructions and financial assistance from the Central Government, to reconstruct all remaining vestiges of the economic riches of East Timor. Although quite a lot of financial assistance for the purposes of building up the economy has been received, the People of East Timor have not yet felt any real benefits from the results they have themselves achieved (in the production of) various agricultural products such as coffee, sandalwood, kaset (?), candlenut, timber, copra and other produce.

Peasants, owners of coffee plantations, feel that they have failed in their efforts to produce coffee because the price is very low and they are not able to go anywhere to seek favourable prices in other areas such as the town of Dili where coffee prices would comply with their interests. In East Timor, there is only one enterprise that may purchase coffee in the regions through its Representatives at a very low price per kilo. This enterprise is P. T. Denok. P. T. Denok is able to monopolise coffee, sandalwood and other produce. It was said that P. T. Denok is a Special Enterprise located in East Timor in order to absorb all the main economic products of the Province for its services to the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.

With regard to sandalwood which suffers the same fate as coffee, a further comment is necessary regarding something we find quite intolerable because of its great impact, its very high price and the absence of any conservation of this product. Sandalwood as a source of wealth of historic significance for the Region of East Timor has become extinct. In all places throughout the Region of East Timor where sandalwood has been growing, certain individuals have arrived, bringing People and forcing them to cut down the timber: dead sandalwood trees as well as young sandalwood trees have been cut down and even their roots pulled out. The timber has then been sold in Dili to P. T. Denok at a very low price even though it should fetch a high price.

The same thing is happening to other agricultural products produced by the People in their efforts to secure a livelihood in conformity with their needs. After five years of Integration and ceaseless efforts by both the Central Government and the Regional Government, the vast majority of the People are not yet able to enjoy stable living conditions.

- IV. Matters that are of a Dangerous Nature and that cause Unrest among the People and the Native Officials of East Timor, (by means of which) Certain Elements create Discord and arouse Feelings of Hatred in order to seek Benefits and Positions for Themselves or their Groups
- a. Recently the group of Captain Ir. A. Azis Hasyim and Colonel Kalangi, Secretary of the Territorial Region

DEWAN PERWAKILAN RAKY PROPINSI DASRAH TING

Nomer: <u>[O2</u> /DFRD/VII/1981. Lampiran : 1 (matu) expl. Perihal : Laporan mituasi perkembangan jalannya Pemerimtahan di Timor Timur.

Dengan hormat,

Borsama ini isinkanlah k tertentu yang secara mengeosa atas prakarsa sekelompok oraș pribadinya di atas kepentinga

Dikarenakan kesulitan di

yang sangat rumit dan sukar p tak - kontak serta tukar piku maka seringkali laporan - lam Bapak, hal mana menentukan ha tentuan yang mulia dari Pemeru masih belia ini.

Sambil mohon meef atas hig lupa kami uoapkan terima kasihi

DEWAN PERWAKILAN BAKYATA PROPINSI DAERAH TINGKAL

a.z. X . \$ 1

ANGCOTA YANG A'ERHUDA.

TEMBUSAN SURAT KEPUTUSAN INI DISAMPAIKAN D

- 1. Yth. Kotus DFR / MPR R.I. di Jakarta; 2. Yth. Bapak Monteri Dalam Negeri di Jaw
- 3. Ith. Bapak Menteri Pertahanan dan Kesu
- 4. Yth. Bapak Kepala Bakim di Jakartaj
- 5. Yth. Bapak Ketua TPP di Jakarta;
- 6. Yth. Bapak Epordinator Urusan Timor To
- 7. Yth. Bapak Dirjen Sospol di Jakarta;
- 8. Yth. Bapak Panglima Kodam XVI Udayana
- 9. Tth. Para Anggota Huspida Tk I Timor b
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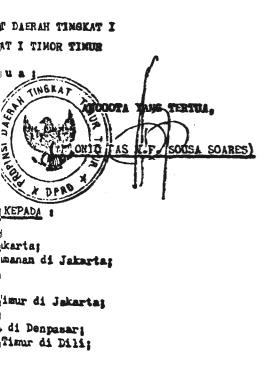
T DAERAH TINGKAT I AT I TIMOR TIMUR

> Dili; 3 Juni 1981. K e p a d a Yth. DAPAK PRESIDEN REPUBLIK INDOMESIA di - J A K A R T A -

kami mempermalumkan kopada Bapak hal-hal wakan terjadi di Eropinsi Timer Timur inig ng yang senantiana menempatkan kepentingan wan Bangsa dan Bogara.

ibidang perhubungan serta cara dan presedur pula yang menyulitkan kami mengadakan kaniran yang reguler dengan Pemerintah Pusat_f poran kami tiba dengan terlambat ke tangan ambatan bagi terlaksananya ketentuan - karintah Pusat berkaitan dengan Propinsi yang

kekurangan - kekurangan kemi, kiranya tak ih atas segenap perhatian Bapak.



(SEKWILDA) have disseminated an "issue" to the effect that the Governor of East Timor will very soon be replaced/changed.

- b. Many of the decisions taken by the SEKWILDA, and which exceed his competence as SEKWILDA, are never reported or made known to the Governor who is his superior, as a result of which they are deeply disturbing to officials who receive these decisions or are affected by them.
- c. The SEKWILDA of East Timor frequently sends to the Centre native East Timorese officials who have been influenced to make or submit Resolutions or present matters for the purpose of discrediting the Governor of East Timor, it being perfectly clear that these actions are aimed at causing discord and destroying the discipline of native East Timorese officials, whereas the opinions being expressed are opinions that represent personal interests.
- d. The SEKWILDA often belittles or ignores instructions from the Governor, and disobeys orders or summonses. He does not want to submit reports about the use of funds for the development budget and so on.
- e. In a demonstrative fashion, both during office hours and outside office hours, the SEKWILDA of East Timor frequently holds meetings or project-tenders at his own home although according to instructions from the Centre and the regulations, this is wrong and is forbidden in accordance with the rules; yet, the office facilities made available to the SEKWILDA at the office of the Governor of East Timor are more than adequate.
- f. There is close, well-coordinated collaboration between Colonel Kalangi and Captain A. Azis Hasyim for the squandering of project funds provided by the Central

Translation

Respectfully,

Permit us to bring to your attention cartain matters which, disappointingly, have occurred in this Province, on the initiative of a group of people who always place their personal interests above the interests of the Nation and State.

Because of the difficulties in communications, as well as the extremely difficult and complicated methods and procadures which make it difficult for us to have contact with, or regularly exchange ideas with, the Central Government, it often happens that our reports do not reach your hands until too late, which obstructs implementation of the high-minded provisions laid down by the Central Government regarding this Province which is still young in years.

Whilst apologising for any shortcomings on our part, we do not forget at the same time to express our gratitude for all your attention.

> FIRST-LEVEL REGIONAL PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY OF THE FIRST-LEVEL REGION/PROVINCE OF EAST TIMOR

> > On behalf of the Chairmen:

Government in the interests of development for the People of East Timor; these funds are simply used up by the aforesaid two officials. After hearing a radio broadcast by these two officials over RRI-Dili (on the regional development programme), some members of the First Level East Timor Peoples Representative Assembly made on-the-spot investigations to check the validity of these reports but were extremely disappointed to discover that they were totally fictitious even though tens of millions, or, when all added up, hundreds of millions of rupiahs are involved, including among others the fresh-water fish projects in the Second-level Districts of Monotuto, Baucau, Oiequsie, Liquica, Maliana and elsewhere which are purely imaginary projects with no evidence of anything at all. They also reported the construction of some offices for Agricultural Services which were said to have been newly built whereas all that had been done was that buildings that have been standing since Portuguese times were re-painted; the tragic thing too is that this work was done by a brother or relative of the SEK-WILDA himself, a most shameful practice here in East Timor which is still free from such filthy, irresponsible abuses. Furthermore, where are all those medicines that have been sent here for the People of East Timor by the Central Government and from abroad in such large quantities? There is a severe shortage of medicines in the hospitals of East Timor whose needs are being neglected although in the shops of Chinese merchants, medicines identical to those provided with Government assistance are available in huge quantities, in chemist shops as well as in general stores. Where have these medicines come from?

- g. In addition, Lieutenant-Colonel Syaprogi, the IRWILDA (Territorial Region Inspector) for the First-Level Region of East Timor, is not performing his duties because he is afraid that his provious misdeeds will be discovered, namely the misuse of funds provided as compensation for the homes and land of people affected by the PLN/ PLTD Project. The money was taken by the IRWILDA and the people were left with nothing. (Evidence is available at the PLN/PLTD and the First-Level East Timor Regional People's Representative Assembly in the form of receipts for money and rice intended for people who had to move, but all these were used by the IRWILDA himself.)
- h. We also request that the status of Dili as an administrative town (a municipality) be reviewed as this is clearly unlawful and only uses up budgetary funds; this structure was imposed by force without going through the proper procedures. We also request that action be taken against those responsible for falsifying or using the force of their positions towards the First-Level East Timor Regional People's Representative Assembly as a legislative institution so that Decision No. 4 was born which makes the Chairman of that body powerless (all of which is the work of the SEKWILDA, Colonel Kalangi and his group). All of this has been done in order to arouse feelings of dissatisfaction and unrest among the

People of East Timor and among native East Timorese officials, and to create splits, in the interests and for the personal power of individuals who seek private gain.

V. Conclusion

This is the Report we wish to submit to you in the hope that you will be gracious enough to rectify these distortions which can lead to unrest and anxieties among the people and native officials of East Timor who have only just emerged from the fears that resulted from past disturbances. And we should in the first place explain to you that it is our purpose in submitting this Report to help create a good name and respect for the Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) in the eyes of the People of East Timor.

It is deeply to be regretted if, as a result of the indisciplinary deeds of certain elements and personally-motivated groups, there developed among the People prejudices towards and fears of the good name of our beloved ABRI. We are convinced that this Report will be an Input from the People of East Timor for you and for the leaders of ABRI in the interest of upholding the fine, high ideals of ABRI against the damage being caused by a mere handful of individuals.

For the people of East Timor, the present Governor, Bapak Guilherme Maria Goncalves, is a symbol of their pride and of their independence from colonialism. It is very sad indeed if this symbol of pride for our community is being shrugged aside and undermined by elements who ought in fact to be helping him in conformity with that which has been laid down and stipulated by the Central Government, namely that the ABRI support teams on duty in East Timor have the task of helping, guiding, teaching and directing the People of East Timor and the native East Timorese officials in their work if, in the course of their duties, they encounter any difficulties in all fields of activity connected with the transition from the practices and administrative structures of colonialism to the system of our State, our beloved Republic of Indonesia. It should not be the reverse which is what is happening in East Timor at the present time.

Should there be any errors or anything inappropriate in the way of presentation, we ask for your forgiveness because we are submitting this to you in order to remove feelings of unrest and fear among the people of East Timor who still need guidance and direction from you. We are convinced that the Central Government still have thousands of other qualified personnel and technocrats who are dedicated to the cause of developing East Timor which you succeeded in liberating. With great pride, many sons, volunteers/members of ABRI made whatever sacrifices were necessary and even sacrificed their lives on the battlefield in order to liberate us, the People of East Timor, from Portuguese colonialism, and so it is fitting that the people of East Timor should not be prepared for East Timor to become a place where certain individuals/elements can damage the People of East Timor.

That is all. Thank you, and Freedom together with Indonesia.

SUWARDININGSIH: SERVING A LIFE SENTENCE

Suwardiningsih was elected a member of the Central Committee of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI) at the Party's Sixth Congress in 1964. She was the only woman full member of the CC.

After the military took power in late 1965, she escaped arrest and left Jakarta for South Sumatra where she did underground work until her arrest in 1967. She was tried by the Palembang District Court in 1968 and given a life sentence. She is now being held at a prison in Palembang.

Born in Kudus, Central Java, in 1926 she became active in the youth organisation **Pesindo** (later **Pemuda Rakjat**) in 1946 and took part in guerrilla activities during the first clashes with the Dutch colonial army, organising food supplies near Semarang. She later led Pesindo's women's section and became a full-time organiser. In September 1948, at the time of the Madiun affair, she was arrested and held for three months. She rejoined the guerrillas to fight in the second clash with the Dutch, immediately after her release. Arrested again, this time by

A CALL FOR THE POSTPONEMENT OF THE GENERAL ELECTIONS

A Petition calling for the revision of the laws governing the general elections, the political parties and GOLKAR, and the composition of the legislative institutions, was submitted to the leadership of Indonesia's People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) at the end of August.

The Petition which bears a total of 360 signatures states that the current laws on these matters are in contravention of the 1945 Constitution. It calls upon the MPR to convene a special session to amend these laws, and to instruct its Mandatory (that is to say, President Suharto) not to hold the general elections (scheduled for May 1982) until this has been done.

A request for a meeting with the MPR made by the Committee set up to present the Petition was turned down by the MPR leadership on the grounds that the Committee "is not an organisational structure within the community".

The 360 signatories include many of the people who signed the Petition-of-50 drawn up in 1980, which reacted strongly to the speeches delivered earlier that year by President Suharto (see **TAPOL Bulletin** No. 40, July 1980). The composition of signatories this time is broader in scope, including a larger number of non-Muslims-Catholics, Protestants, student leaders and other activists-as well as people from places other than Jakarta, including Bandung, Solo, Jogjakarta, Surabaya and Pekalongan. The number of signatories is symbolically compared to the 360 elected members of Parliament (which has a total of 460 members) and the MPR (which has a total of 920 members); all the rest are directly or indirectly appointed by the President.

Although copies of the Petition-of-360 were widely distributed to the press and other mass media, no reports of it have appeared in Indonesia. Once again, it is clear that the authorities have censored the event by instructing the media not to publish anything. the Dutch, she spent time in several prisons in 1949, ending up in Kalisosok Prison, Surabaya.

After Pesindo's transformation into Pemuda Rakjat, she became active in the PKI in Bojonegoro. In 1951, when the entire Bojonegoro leadership was arrested in the "August razzia", she took over control of the Bojonegoro committee. Three years later, she became secretary of the PKI's section committee in Tuban, the first woman to occupy such a senior position. She was elected to Parliament as a PKI candidate in 1955.

Very little news has been received about her since her arrest, and nothing is known about her present state of health. Attempts by an Amnesty International group to investigate the details of her case have failed to produce any results. Anyone having any information about Suwardiningsih should please send it to TAPOL, for use by women's groups who are planning to undertake a campaign on behalf of all the tried women political prisoners still being held.

AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT RECALLS PRAM'S TRANSLATOR

The Australian Government has recalled Max Lane from his post as Second Secretary at the Australian Embassy in Jakarta because he has been translating the works of Pramoedya. Max Lane is an Indonesian language and literature scholar and has also translated several works by the Indonesian poet and dramatist, Renda. He started work at the Embassy in April last year and was recalled this September. His translation of **Bumi Manusia** is now with publishers in Britain and he is working on the translation of the other three books in the quartet of novels about the early period of Indonesia's nationalist movement.

A group of twenty Indonesian writers, including Rendra, have protested to the Australian Embassy in Jakarta about Max Lane's recall.

Stop Press

JOESOEF STILL IN DETENTION

According to the latest news from Jakarta, Joesoef Ishak is still under detention, and is being held at the Military Police headquarters in Jalan Gunter, Jakarta. The four students have been allowed home.

Pramoedya was held for a couple of days, then allowed home but required to report daily "for interrogation". He is therefore virtually a detainee with the 'privilege' of being allowed home at night. In addition, Hasyim Rachmad, the other Director of Hasta Mitra is now being required to report "for interrogation". All three men, now suffering intense harassment, are ex-tapols.

PEN International have cabled President Suharto protesting on Pramoedya's behalf.

The New Procedural Code: A COUNTRY BUMPKIN'S DEBATE

A "country bumpkin's debate" is how the Minister of Justice, Ali Said, described the concerns of lawyers wishing to safeguard Rule of Law in the recent dispute about the new Procedural Code (HAP). The new Code has finally been agreed upon in a special parliamentary commission, and was scheduled for ratification by Parliament in the last week of September.

Ali Said's dismissive remark reveals much about the nature of New Order justice. The HAP has been used by the Suharto regime for purposes of 'legitimation'. Yet, it is a double-edged sword. The new Code is presented by the regime as a nationalist alternative to the repressive, 130 -year-old Procedural Code (HIR) which the Suharto regime has used till now as 'guidelines" for its own repressive purposes. However, the regime must ensure that the 'changes' included in the new Code will remain changes on paper only.

During the two-year battle over the HAP, a number of Rule of Law advocates in legal circles and in parliament attempted to ensure that it would provide lawyers' two basic and real improvements. First, lawyers insisted upon defence lawyers' right to witness and listen to police or prosecution interrogation of suspects and witnesses. In many cases, 'interrogation' is a euphemism for torture, particularly in cases connected with 'State security'. At 'interrogation' statements are often used in court when 'for technical reasons' the witness is 'unable' to appear.

The former Justice Minister, Mudjono, agreed at one stage to incoporate the lawyers' demands regarding the right to witness and listen to interrogations. But after Ali Said took over as Justice Minister, the revised draft included only the right to witness. It was the uproar that followed this back-tracking that prompted Ali Said's "country bumpkin" remark. Now, the final draft includes both witness and listen to, but the word "may" has been substituted for "has the right to", rendering the 'concession' virtually meaningless. Furthermore, the lawyers' role in this matter is defined as 'passive' which can only mean that they will have no right to protest against anything they may have been allowed to witness or listen to. And even these watered-down 'safeguards' are specifically denied to persons held on charges connected with 'security'.

The other main areas of controversy was the rationalisation of institutional procedures and practices, strongly defended by the Rule of Law lobby. This would have required that 'special' laws such as the anti-subversion laws, and 'special' practices for investigating 'special' cases (such as high-level corruption) would be subject to normal legal safeguards. Arrest and detention without trial would have to be a thing of the past. On this matter the government's victory has been total, without even a whisper of "concession". "Special" laws will remain in force and KOPKAMTIB will continue to have powers of arrest and detention according to its own procedures. A transitional clause speaks about repealing these 'special' laws " as soon as possible", but then, KOPKAMTIB was set up for a "transitional" period . . . 16 years ago! One area where Rule of Law would appear to have scored some success is that concerning pre-trial detention. Time limits have now been stipulated: a maximum of 60 days for the investigation of a case before charges are preferred, and a maximum of 460 days up to a final court verdict and sentence. There are also provisions regarding the right to sue for damages in cases of wrongful arrest, or detention in excess of the permissible periods. (The former Code made no provision at all for compensation.) It remains to be seen however whether these safeguards will work in practice, and here too, it goes without saying, 'State security' cases are excluded.

Side by side with this new Code, there remain in force numerous unconstitutional Presidential Decrees and Decisions which give the regime the repressive powers it needs. There are various 'legal' ways of paralysing a law that does not suit the government. For example, Law 14/1970 was introduced to protect the Judiciary. The Law was ratified but the implementary regulations were never passed. Further, the Law can be overridden particular by Law 19/1964 which allows the President to intervene at will in the affairs of the Judiciary. Another Law, No. 176/1960, in effect delegates all significant lawmaking powers to the executive.

Reactions to the New Code

Some lawyers are reported by **Tempo** to have described the final draft of the Code as representing 'a fantastic advance'. Buyung Nasution, Director of the Foundation of Legal Aid Institutes, spoke of it far more cautiously as being of "less than number one quality" and of suffering from "a few blemishes". Unfortunately, it could be added, the blemishes affect precisely the most crucial aspects of the Code over which battles have raged, by all accounts, for more than two years. Lawyers may feel they have made some progress, but the victims, the ones who will come face to face with law enforcement agents will be in the best position to judge just how far short the new Code comes from the objectives some lawyers set themselves when the battle first began.

Sources: Tempo, 8 August and 26 September, 1981. Far Eastern Economic Review, 21st August 1981.

NEW FEATURES

Spotlight on A Prisoner Starting this issue, we shall be featuring a political prisoner in each number. Our information is bound to be incomplete. Readers with additional information are urged to share it with us so that work for these prisoners can be more effective.

Letters Column We would like to invite our many readers to send us comments and criticisms. We always feel gratified by your subscription renewals. We'd be even happier to know what you think about our Bulletin or to have you alert us to issues we have failed to report. So please start writing. Our Letters Column will begin in November.

LBH DIRECTOR PROTESTS TO KOPKAMTIB

The Director of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute, T. Mulya Lubis, has vigorously protested against a group of army officers from *Laksusda*, (regional executive officer of KOPKAMTIB) Bandung, who broke into a "breaking-the-fast" gathering on 26th July. (It is a tradition, during the Ramadhan fasting month, for people to gather together for the evening meal to break the day's fast.)

In a letter to Admiral Sudomo, Commander of KOPKAMTIB, the text of which was released to the press, Lubis said that six army officers had burst in on this gathering which he himself was attending. The men had no warrant or written instruction, and when challenged to produce an official document, they took out their pistols and held them threateningly. "As far as I know," wrote Lubis, "there is no prohibition on gatherings held to break the fast together." (*Pelita*, 29th July 1981)

"Juridically, it can be proven that no crime was being committed, nor was anything happening that could be qualified as being 'caught in the act' which would allow officers to act without written orders."

Lubis called for firm measures against the military officers in question. Only a few days beforehand, he pointed out, the Commander of KOPKAMTIB told the press that the situation "has never been as peaceful and stable as now". The irony was that officers in Bandung had shown that they had no confidence in KOPKAMTIB's talk of "stability".

With their pistols still being held up, the officers then ordered Lubis and two others, Heri Achmadi, a former student leader, and Komaruddin, the host of the gathering, into a waiting vehicle and drove them to Laksusda headquarters for questioning. They were held there for more than three hours; Heri Archmadi was slapped and thrown into a cell.

"Although we were robbed of our freedom for only three hours, it was a bitter experience for which there can be no legal justification," said Lubis.

Lubis Meets Sudomo

A few days after sending this letter, Lubis was received by Admiral Sudomo. He told the press afterwards that "the problem has now been settled. Admiral Sudomo has expressed his regrets over the incident and said that action will be taken against the officers in question." Lubis also said he discussed other matters with the KOPKAMTIB Commander, including the question of human rights.

Lubis Prohibited From Lecturing

A lecture which Mulya Lubis which was to have delivered in August at the Faculty of Social Sciences of University of Indonesia, the university where he graduated, had to be abandoned at short notice notice after the Dean of the Faculty informed the organising committee that the lecture had been banned. Lubis had been invited to give a lecture on the implementation of basic human rights. The lecture was arranged by a student 'orientation' committee to help familiarise new students with life on campus.

The Case of Mesu: When a Rapist is not a Rapist

On 5th March this year, in the grounds of the Pasuruan District Court, East Java, a young woman, Mesu, stabbed and killed a prisoner who had raped her. He had just been on trial - but not for rape. Mesu said later that she had been determined to kill the man, Salidi, because the court had not punished him nor even recognised that she had been wronged. Now Mesu is to be tried for murder.

Interrogated by the police, Mesu said that Salidi had raped her several times in her home. Each time he had threatened her with a knife. Mesu, the second wife of Saman, lived alone in her house and had not dared to tell Saman about Salidi's violations because of his threats. In any case, her charge would have been difficult to prove as several neighbours testified that Salidi must have been slandered because he was a devout Muslim . . . Mesu insisted however that he always raped her after evening prayers.

On 16th December last year, Salidi had been caught red-handed by Sanan on an unexpected visit to Mesu's home. The two men fought and Sanan was badly wounded. The medical expenses were so great that Sanan sold Mesu's house to pay them.

Then Salidi was tried, but the charge was not rape. It was assault . . . of Sanan. It was Sanan who was treated throughout the trial as the plaintiff. The rapes were ignored. Mesu then decided to seek justice in her own way.

There were over 2,000 reported rape cases in Indonesia in 1980, but these would be only the tip of the iceberg. Rape is treated by the courts as a trivial offence, and judges often regard rape cases as adultery. The maximum penalty for rape under the Criminal Code is 12 years yet judges rarely pass down a sentence of over one year. Thus even if Salidi had been charged with rape, it is unlikely that he would have been punished. (Source: *Tempo* 28th March 1981)

The Case of Aty and Nona:Lesbianism on Trial

On 14th May this year, Nona, a young woman, came out of the East Jakarta Court in a state of great distress. A female judge had just sentenced her 21-year-old lover, Aty, to eight months' imprisonment. The judge had been "embarassed" because Aty is a woman and both Aty and Nona had throughout the trial insisted on their love for each other.

After attempts by the families of the two women to intervene in their friendship and to separate them, they had run away to Malang and Bali and lived together for several months. Nona told the court that she had vowed to live with Aty for the rest of her life. They were very fulfilled and happy together, and Aty had managed to support them both without difficulty.

The charge against Aty was that she had committed an indecent act with a respondent who was under age. The Continued on back page

BOOK REVIEW

Michael Kidron and Ronald Segal, The State of the World Atlas. Pan Books. London and Sydney, 1981. £5.95.

For those interested in the state of the world, this political Atlas by Kidron and Segal-committed socialists, each with a commendable record of anti-capitalist work behind him-is a must. I know of no other attempt to present detailed empirical data about causes and effects of contemporary global corporate and state power in a comparably successful, accessible form.

The trouble with the usual range of radical analyses of the political economy and experienced effects of inter-national power relations is their unavoidably *abstract* character. Consider Chomsky and Herman's The Political Economy of Human Rights. E. P. Thompson and Dan Smith's Protest and Survive or a typical piece in Monthly Review or this journal. No matter how simple, clear and jargon-free, form and content remain necessarily abstract—hence difficult to assimilate.

It's not good enough to rest content with Marx's or Chomsky's view that the radical expose of social realities requires abstract analysis. This is to abstract from the means and aims of the exercise. For whom does one write? What good is the analysis, no matter how intrinsically true or valuable, if its abstract character renders it difficult if not impossible for the non-specialist reader to digest and retain?

The form of presentation of Kidron and Segal's Atlas is an impressive effort to solve this problem. Data on Refugees and Nuclear Power and Weapons, Torture and Unemployment, Military Regimes and Women Workers, Russian Mental Hospitals and States at War in the 1970s-to select just a few subjects covered-is presented in an attractive, easy to assimilate pictorial-atlas form. The result is a magical unification of detailed abstract data and concrete, easy on the mind and eye. Furthermore, the data can be re-presented and recalled at will, by opening or turning a page, whenever necessary.

Kidron and Segal's survey of The State of the World is organised into 65 Maps or Sections. These in turn are grouped under the following 12 Rubrics: The Aggressive State, Arms and the State, Natural Resources, Economy, Government, Holds on the Mind, Business, Labour, Society, Environment, Symptoms of Crisis and Signs of Dissent. Thus, eg., under Holds on the Mind, we have "Languages of Rule" (Section-Map 33). ("A language of rule is one which is used by the governing classes, and which helps to secure their dominance.")

Each Section-Map has a key or set of key-guides, symbolising and summarising the presented data. Official data sources are provided at the bottom of each Map (though often the help and information of numerous unnamed authorities or advisors has gone into the gathering of the data in question. The data in Map 62 on resistance and victimisation in Russia is a case in point.) In addition to a Subject Index, there are Notes at the end of the book concerning each Map. Prospective tax-dodgers will find Map 37 on tax-havens ("The Islands of the Blessed") of particular interest.

Of course, for Critics-whether of the Armchair Knocker, Mean Spirited or Constructive varieties-The State of the World is a sitting duck. Some of the data is years out of date or "unavailable"-as in the case of Prisoners (Map 31), for example, for so many countries. Why is there only one (token-condescending?) Section (41) on Women (Workers)? Why nothing on other issues of sexuality apart from Abortion (Map 63)? Why is Indonesia not classified as a Military Regime (Map 28)? Why-in a radically different sense perhaps-aren't the United States and the USSR classified as Military Regimes! Why is the data on, say, Papua New Guinea or Indonesia so consistently wrong or misleading?

Given that an important aim of the authors is to explain "connections that are obscure in themselves or have been deliberately obscured" (Introduction) and that teachers and students are destined to be among the Atlas' more important readers, why have the authors not included a Map on the range of forms of Education in the Section on thought control, Holds on the Mind? (The valuable Maps 29 and 64 on ratios of soldiers to teachers and major student disruptions during the 1960s do not meet this need.)

Why is there nothing on post-WWII or contemporary Revolu-

tions or Revolutionary Movements? Why is there no attempt to capture the specificities and vicissitudes of any or all of the socalled "transitional socialist"—I would prefer to say Authoritarian or State "Socialist"—regimes, from the USSR to Kampuchea, not to mention the relations between the members of this peculiar, important set of nation states?

I would have preferred an approach which sought to bring out the distinctive, as well as the general-common, attributes of the different social systems surveyed. Much is gained but much is also lost from neglecting the first at the expense of the second. Likewise, I would have liked to have seen, in addition to the other valuable schemes of classification, regional geographical groupings: thus South East Asia, South America, the Middle East, etc. Finally, an attempt to group and classify by means of more explicit political criteria, would have been valuable.

One could go on and on. The Critic can constructively or destructively pick holes and find fault in every page, category and interpretation. Each reader will enjoy compiling her/his own list of Outrageous Sins of Omission and Commission.

This is as it should be. The real point is that Kidron and Segal's Atlas is a marvellous idea, executed with laudible success. It should -time, money, help and the State of the World permitting-be updated if possible, annually, like the Guinness Book of Records, which it deserves to rival and surpass in popularity. The State of the World Atlas should be in every home and school library-in multiple copies. Get hold of it and draw it to the attention of as many people as possible, while the world is still in a state to do something about.

Continued from page 11

case offered by Aty's defence counsel was that she was suffering from a 'psychological illness'. This argument was reinforced by her mother who promised the court: "We will continue to strive for her to be normal." She said that a doctor would treat her "with injections and, if need be, surgery to decrease the male hormones which grip her". As for Nona's mother, she told the court: "My daughter's future is shattered." It was not explained whether Nona would suffer the same medical violations as Aty.

This is the first time a lesbian has been charged and sentenced in Indonesia. The court officials, including the judges, were all women, as was the plaintiff, Nona's mother. The court treated the case as one of 'pathology'. It tells us much about attitudes towards female sexuality in this nominally Muslim society (Source: *Tempo*, 23rd May 1981.)

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