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British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

TAPOL Bulletin No 30

October 1978

Starvation Camps in East Timor

Many thousands of East Timorese are being held in camps under extremely grim conditions. The camps, euphemistically called 'relief centres', have been set up in areas which are now under Indonesian control, but which have been devastated in bombing attacks. In these areas food gardens have been destroyed either by bombing or by the use of defoliants. The appalling conditions in the camps have been described in the press coverage of a recent visit of eleven foreign ambassadors and journalists to East Timor. The description of the camps as 'relief centres' is a cynical attempt of the Indonesian administration to hide the fact that the inmates of the camps are either captives, or have been driven there by starvation. In fact the camps perform a function rather like the 'fortified villages' of the war in Vietnam, in isolating the civilian population from Fretilin-held areas.

On September 6th and 7th the delegation of ambassadors and journalists visited selected areas of East Timor. The ambassadors, who were escorted by Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Dr Mochtar Kusumaatmadja, all represented countries which have given either de facto or de jure recognition to Indonesia's claim to East Timor. The party visited Dili, Bacau, Maliana and Remexio, and were flown everywhere by army helicopter, even to Remexio, which is only fifteen kilometres from Dili. This tends to confirm reports that road transport is not considered safe by Indonesian officials.

The ambassadors' visit coincides with a concerted effort by Indonesia to have the East Timor issue removed from the agenda of the 33rd general session of the United Nations General Assembly in November, and their visit has been interpreted as further endorsing Indonesia's claims to East Timor. However, although they avoided blaming the Indonesian government, several of the ambassadors made strong statements about the appalling conditions and great suffering in camps at Remexio and Maliana, which the Indonesian government describes as 'relief centres'. The Canadian ambassador, Mr Glen Shortcliff, said that the people in the camps are in 'a desperate situation... they are starving in many cases; they are desperately ill; they need help in terms of immediate relief - food, clothing, basic medical care'. (Australian Broadcasting Commission radio news and 'News from Asia', September 10th, 1978). Cholera

was reported in the Remexio camp, and malaria, tuberculosis and advanced malnutrition were found to be common.

Four of the ambassadors (from Australia, Canada, Japan and the United States) have called for the urgent implementation of an international relief operation. Unfortunately any request for relief must come from Indonesia, and the Foreign Minister has said that aid would only be accepted from donor countries which 'acknowledged Indonesia's sovereignty' (Sydney Morning Herald, September 11th, 1978). Indonesia refuses to admit the International Red Cross to East Timor, on the grounds that it can handle the situation itself. Although this has been proved to be manifestly untrue, the ambassadors did not criticise Indonesia for withholding aid by placing political conditions on humanitarian assistance.

Any aid Indonesia accepts is channelled through the Indonesian administration of East Timor. There have been several reports that much of the aid accepted to date, including \$250,000 from Australia, has stopped far short of the needy, and has remained in

Action!

This issue of TAPOL Bulletin features the news coming from East Timor - the incarceration of whole populations into 'relief camps' and the desperate circumstances in which they now live.

While appealing, as we did in our last issue, for a continuing campaign to release all political prisoners in Indonesia and for the restoration of their full civil rights, we also urge our readers to work for the following:

1. To press for the International Red Cross to be given unlimited access to all parts of East Timor so that it can undertake urgently needed humanitarian relief.
2. To oppose all military sales to Indonesia on the grounds of its human rights record in Indonesia, and in East Timor and other parts, such as West Irian, where military operations are being waged.

'Tapol' is an Indonesian contraction for 'tahanan politik' meaning political prisoner. It is still widely used although it was banned in 1974 because the military authorities said that all prisoners are 'criminals'.

the pockets of administrators. The Australian Senator Carrick has claimed that Indonesia has enough supplies of food and medicine to help the people in the camps, and that the problem is one of 'distribution' (Canberra Times, 13th September, 1978). Certainly the heartrending condition of the people in the camps testifies to the fact that they receive no significant aid. However, perhaps in order to impress the visitors, an Indonesian Red Cross truck arrived while they were in Remexio. As people rushed to receive food and clothes they were beaten by Indonesian guardsmen with sticks and stones

NO WARPLANES FOR INDONESIA

HAWK SALE DOUBLED?

The campaign to prevent the sale of Hawk ground attack/trainer aircraft to Indonesia has been intensified following news that the number of planes to be sold has now increased from eight to sixteen. The new deal has not yet been announced in the press, but TAPOL has been reliably informed of the increase, and official confirmation is being sought.

If the sale has been doubled, it will bring its value to £50 million, and this makes a mockery of the statement of the Minister of Overseas Development, Ms Judith Hart, in the House of Commons on July 31st that Indonesia's aid debt would be cancelled. The debt, which according to a letter to TAPOL from the Minister, amounts to £38 million, was cancelled on the grounds that Indonesia is one of the poorest countries in the world. While this may apply to the vast majority of Indonesia's people, the cancellation obviously does not guarantee that the financial benefits will be used by the generals for their people.

The recent escalated bombing in West Irian, which involved personnel and bombing infringements of Papua New Guinea's border, and the bleak reports of starvation and suffering in East Timor, caused by Indonesian offensives, make it imperative, by any humanitarian standard, to stop this sale.



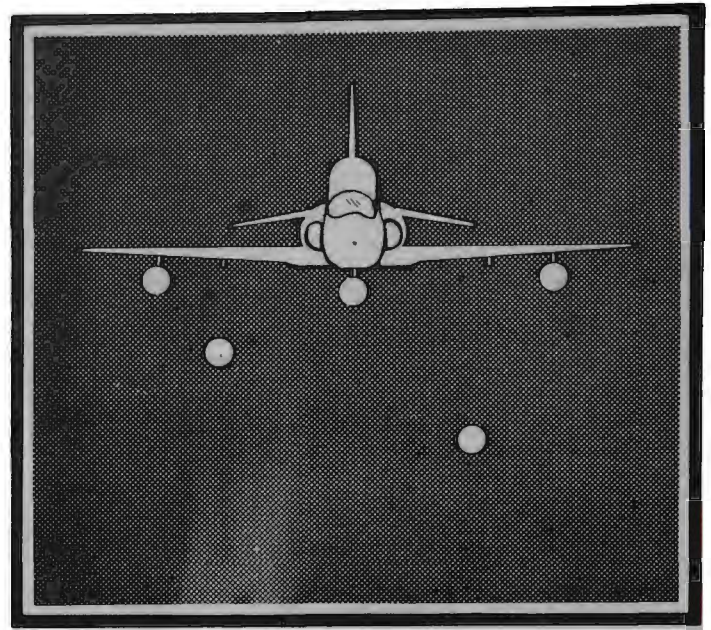
Continued from page 1

until they formed queues. Even so, there were only enough supplies for half of them (Richard Gill, *Sunday Telegraph* [Australian], 18th September, 1978).

Fretilin broadcasts from East Timor have consistently claimed that the inmates of the 'relief camps' have been captured, or starved into surrender. This character of the 'relief centres' begins to come clear in a report from the journalist Warwick Beutler (*Australian Broadcasting Commission*, 'News from Asia', September 10th, 1978). He reported that the ambassadors were told in Maliana that 36,000 people 'have had to be cared for' in the Maliana camp. It was claimed that about half of these had been 'returned' to their villages after they had been 'rehabilitated', and that the remainder were still receiving 'instruction'. Altogether there are fourteen of these camps in towns and villages outside Dili and Bacau, and it is officially estimated that they hold more than 20,000 people. Beutler's report indicates that there are 18,000 people in the Maliana camp alone, and if this is correct, 20,000 would seem to be a very low estimate.

The ambassadors' visit has spotlighted another aspect of the numbers game which has become such a familiar issue in the case of Indonesian political prisoners. Official estimates of the people who have 'come down from the mountains' vary from 80,000 to 125,000. Indonesia claims that all these people have been driven from their homes by Fretilin intimidation, but this assertion conflicts with another Indonesian claim that Fretilin number no more than 200.

The Australian politician, Mr Michael Hodgeman, has claimed that between 30,000 and 40,000 people in East Timor have died



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from starvation as a result of Indonesian use of defoliants (*The Guardian*, 14th September, 1978). Again the ambassadors reported (Australian Broadcasting Commission, News, September 9th, 1978) that in one camp alone, 500 Timorese were dying every month. If this figure is extended to the other thirteen camps, the death toll reaches horrifying proportions. Apart from the terrible conditions of starvation and disease in the camps, other reports from East Timor (*East Timor News*, No 42, September 21st, 1978) indicate that Indonesian guards who are often short of food themselves, have been forcing the camp population to grow crops. The harvest of this forced cultivation does not appear to have benefitted the East Timorese inmates of the camps.

The conditions endured by the East Timorese in a continuing state of war, signify an urgent need for the return of the International Red Cross, which can supply medical attention, food aid, inspection of prisoners, and can attempt to trace missing persons. Channelling assistance through this body is the only way that it can reach the needy East Timorese. It is vital that maximum international pressure be put on the Indonesian government to allow the International Red Cross full access to perform these functions in East Timor. In addition, at a time when Indonesia is desperately trying to present a favourable human rights image in order to get aid and arms, it is important that all governments which purport to be concerned with human rights should be informed of the true nature of Indonesia's policy in East Timor, and should be pressured to stop arms sales to Indonesia, as these will only compound the appalling conditions which we have described.

More Tapols Released

KOPKAMTIB's Commander, Admiral Sudomo, announced on 26 September the release on the following day of 1,324 tapols. The main release ceremony would take place in Semarang, Central Java, he said.

Most of the releases would reportedly be from Central Java with a total of 446. The number scheduled for release in East Java is 111. Much smaller numbers are due for release from other regions of the country.

The September releases are the second to occur this year. The first stage reportedly included 4,186 tapols in May and July. Originally it had been announced that this second stage would occur in October. The change of plan was clearly intended to impress the Dutch Minister for Overseas Development, De Koning, who paid a two-week visit to Indonesia in September.

Official Figure for Buru Inexplicably Falls by 652

In his statement on 26 September, Admiral Sudomo made it quite clear that there would be no tapols released from the Buru Island prison camp at this stage. "They will only be released in the next stage", he declared. (The next stage is due to take place in December.)

Yet despite this, the official figure for Buru prisoners is now given as 9,500 (*Kompas*, 26 September, 1978, and *London Times*, 28 September, 1978), although it stood at 10,152 at the end of last December, immediately after 1,501 prisoners had been released from the island. No explanation has been given as to why the figure has fallen by 652, or what has happened to these people.

* Clearance Certificates Still Required

Reports from contacts in various parts of Indonesia still stress that released prisoners are encountering insuperable problems in finding jobs. Contrary to repeated declarations by top KOPKAMTIB officials, in particular Admiral Sudomo, that 'certificates of non-involvement in the G30S/PKI' are no longer required, the need to submit such certificates is still very widespread.

One contact explained that when local military officials are asked why they still insist that clearance certificates are required despite KOPKAMTIB statements to the contrary, they reply that such statements have only appeared in the press. Since, however, they have received no new official instructions on the matter, they must continue to operate in accordance with existing instructions.

Another contact on a brief visit to Indonesia was surprised to see clearance certificate application forms still on sale in a shop in Central Java. When the shopkeeper was asked why he still displayed these forms on his counter although the government had announced that they were no longer required, he replied that his customers still came and bought them.

These certificates require considerable financial outlay in stamp money and bribes and they must be renewed every six months. For a released prisoner who might theoretically be able to bribe his or her way into obtaining such a document, the financial burdens often exceed any income that may eventually be earned.

Indoctrination Continues After Release

We have also learned that in some parts of the country, released prisoners who have been home for many months without any requirement to report, are now being required to attend weekly indoctrination courses. They are also being required to sign further pledges and undertakings despite the fact that they had to sign a twelve-point loyalty oath as the condition for their release.

Pension Rights Withdrawn

Another problem being faced especially by the many elderly persons who have been released is that they are being denied their pension rights. For such people who, because of age, cannot

possibly expect to be gainfully employed any more, this is a very serious problem indeed.

Apart from job-related pension schemes, there is a strong tradition in Indonesia of granting pensions to persons who played an active role at some stage in the country's long history of struggle for independence. Such pension rights are normally inviolable but many released tapols have failed to secure payment. In one case that has come to our notice, a prisoner whose family had continued to receive the pension during his incarceration has now been informed that the pension will be stopped.

Tapols Die Just Before Release

The desperately tragic circumstances of many of the tapols who are now being released has been highlighted by the news that three of the 748 prisoners who were scheduled for release from the prison island of Nusakambangan (off the south coast of Central Java) died just prior to their release. Another tragic case has been reported by *Kompas* on September 18 (see box). This story about a tapol in Salemba, who committed suicide just before he was to be released, adds to the moving picture of men and women who face enormous problems after being forcibly separated from their families for so many years.

A PRISONER HANGS HIMSELF

Translation

Kompas (Jakarta) Monday September 18.

At two o'clock on Saturday morning, Sudarto (age 58), a G30S/PKI detainee from the village of Bunamati, Solo, was found dead after he had hung himself. The discovery was made at Salemba special prison, jalan Percetakan Negara (Central Jakarta), only several days before his release was due.

Why the released was determined to kill himself is still under investigation. But it is thought that it was because he was depressed about problems at home which had arisen through his absence.

The deceased had been imprisoned for thirteen years on charges of involvement in G30S/PKI. It is not known where his body is buried. On Saturday it was brought back by prison guards after a post-mortem examination at the Institute of Criminology of the University of Indonesia.

According to information Sudarto had been receiving treatment at the prison clinic for almost six months. It was discovered that he was not in his room after midnight, and when a nurse looked for him, Darto was found dead, hanging by a piece of cloth from a tree in the yard. A short while before, he had been seen chatting with his friends. At the time there were about ten prisoners being treated there.

A Former Lurah (Village Head)

The deceased, Sudarto, was once a village head in the Kabupaten of Sukarjo in Central Java. Because he had been a PKI activist, he was detained and imprisoned immediately after the outbreak of G30S/PKI, and was classified as a B-category prisoner. According to a decision which had been taken, he was to have regained his freedom on 27th of September, following the release of other PKI prisoners before him.

According to one official, Sudarto recently suffered a kind of mental breakdown. The illness was caused by family problems which had arisen since he was detained. The kind of problems Sudarto faced have not been described, but it is known that he had several children and grandchildren, who recently visited him at the prison at the time of the Lebaran Festival.

Abuse of Psychology

The governing body of the Dutch University at Nijmegen has initiated a special committee to investigate charges that Dutch psychologists wittingly or unwittingly aided the Indonesian Command for the Restoration of Order and Security (KOPKAMTIB) in the drafting of questionnaires designed to test the political affiliations of Indonesian political prisoners.

The charges have appeared recently in various Dutch university newspapers and have been summarised in the latest issue of *Feiten en Meningen*, the Newsletter of the Dutch Indonesia Committee. According to these reports, Dutch academic contacts and aid projects for Indonesian universities have been, and may still be, creating environments conducive to their use by Indonesian military authorities for a wide range of activities against political prisoners, student protestors, and other opponents of the Suharto regime.

Specifically, the case involves Indonesian psychologists Dr Fuad Hassan and Mrs Sadli both on the faculty of the University of Indonesia at Jakarta, and Dutch psychologists Prof Dr F J Monks, A H Boon van Ostade, and J Jaspers, the latter now teaching at Oxford University in England. The papers allege that Hassan and Sadli both received university training in Holland even though it was known to their Dutch faculty advisors that they worked closely with the Indonesian intelligence services. It appears that the two may even have been involved in psychological research on prisoners at the Buru island camp; and that Prof Jaspers aided another army-related psychologist, Sarlito Wiriawan, in getting his research approved at the University of Leiden even though it had been stopped at Nijmegen by various of the scientific staff who found it objectionable. Sarlito's data apparently has to do with the identification of student types most likely to oppose the government's policies, and he was in need of Nijmegen's — or Leiden's — computer for the processing of his information.

At a more general level, students and faculty are charging that the Indonesian military has been attempting to utilise Dutch scientific aid programs for four main purposes, all of them related to social control:

- The refinement of 'psywar' type testing procedures to segregate political prisoners into categories according to their continued commitment or non commitment to leftist ideas.
- Studies in 'transmigration' social psychology, by which is meant making the prisoners more accepting of the permanent social banishment which the government has been trying to sell to international opinion as 'prisoner releases'.
- Studies in the psychology of 'village development' which is also related to the transmigration camps.
- Studies on the types of students who do and do not engage in anti-government protest.

The results of the Nijmegen investigation will not be known for several months, but already the disclosures of abuse of scientific and educational aid from Holland by the Indonesian military has led some Dutch faculty to join students in questioning whether such aid should even continue at this time.

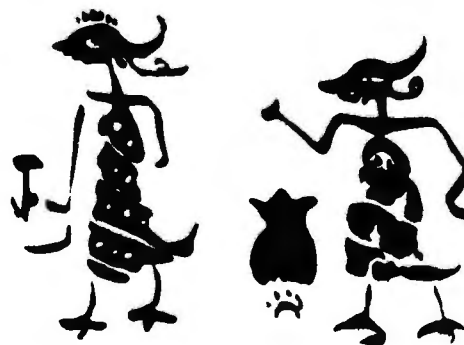
(Summarised from *Feiten en Meningen*, Vol 5, No 1-2, July, 1978, pp 5-10.

TRIAL OF DR AIDIT

Dr Tanti Aidit, the wife of the former chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), the late D N Aidit, is to be tried in the West/South Jakarta District Court. *Kompas* (16th August) reports that she will be tried for subversion, in connection with her activities after the G30S/PKI affair in 1965. It is stated that only two days before the G30S/PKI, Mrs Aidit returned from North Korea where she had been studying acupuncture for the previous twelve months. After the G30S/PKI was crushed, it is alleged that she left her home in Jakarta, and moved to Kebayoran Baru and then Kebayoran Lama. She then went to Surakarta in Central Java, and



Glasgow's Lord Provost holding a painting by the imprisoned Indonesian artist, Tatang Gunar. The painting was presented to him by a representative of TAPOL during an Indonesian Week held in Glasgow in October this year. The events included an exhibition of works by Tatang Gunar and Hendra Gunawan, both prisoners in Kebun Waru Prison, Bandung. Hendra was released in July this year. Both were arrested in 1965.



finally into hiding in Semarang. Before she was arrested on 19 December 1966, she is said to have been in touch with several PKI activists, and that she tried to obtain funds and medicine for the PKI. She is additionally charged with having received the illegal PKI publication *Mira*.

After nearly twelve years in prison, Dr Aidit is to be prosecuted by Mr Anton Suyoto from the Jakarta Public Prosecutor's Office. Mr Adnan Buyung Nasution from the Legal Aid Bureau has stated that Mrs Mudigdo, Dr Aidit's mother has requested legal aid for her daughter. Although Mr Nasution did not say which lawyers would be appointed to assist Dr Aidit, TAPOL has been informed that she will be defended by three women lawyers.

SUKARNO'S WIDOW SPEAKS OUT

The late President Sukarno's widow, Ratna Sari Dewi, who now lives in Paris, went to Indonesia last month to visit her husband's grave at Biltar, East Java. At a press conference in Jakarta, she criticised the government and made statements concerning the 1965 coup.

Now the Suharto government is treating Sukarno like a national hero, and has been rebuilding his grave in an attempt to rehabilitate his image. These moves were strongly criticised by Dewi, who said that the rebuilding of the grave was politically motivated, and that this had denied the wish of Sukarno to be buried in a simple grave under a tree. She said that the government's decision to turn her former home into a military museum was an insult both to herself and Sukarno. There was no need, she said, for the government to do these things, for Sukarno was well-known internationally in his own right.

Dewi also accused the CIA and a former Japanese Prime Minister, Eisaku Sato, of being involved in the coup which resulted in the overthrow of her husband. She claimed that Mr Sato had given six million US dollars to a group of generals who wished to oust Sukarno.

Dewi denied that Sukarno had been involved in the coup. "It was in effect a showdown within the army between those wanting to oust him and those wishing to defend him. It was masterminded by the right-wing Council of Generals." She added that General Yani (who was killed on the night of the coup) had known who was involved in the coup plot.

Answering a journalist's question, Dewi said that Sukarno did not die of illness, but of despair after he had been overthrown by Suharto. She claimed that the story that he had been taken to the military hospital in a coma was untrue and said that he had been taken to hospital against his will while he was still conscious.



Mrs Ratna Sari Dewi Sukarno

ALL UNION LEADERS NEED OFFICIAL APPROVAL

All persons who become functionaries of trade unions must first obtain clearance from the authorities. This was acknowledged by the head of the Labour Relations 'Guidance' Division in East Java, Dr Oetoyo Hadikusumo (Kompas, 5 June, 1978).

He justified this requirement by saying that such people would be required to play a role and that 'Pancasila' labour relations could not be assured if there was any doubt as to the Pancasila qualities of union leaders.

He also admitted that so far, there were only 1,356 trade union organisations in East Java, a very small number by comparison with the number of enterprises in the province, a total of 7,389.

The reasons why so few trade unions have been set up, he said were: "psychological objections" to trade unions on the part of company managements, the "unfavourable" economic and social situation, and a "lack of understanding and of trade union cadres".

20-YEAR SENTENCE

A former captain was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment by the Jakarta/Banten Military Tribunal for having 'engaged in rebellion aimed at overthrowing the lawful government in collaboration with armed gangs under the guidance of the PKI'. Captain Mohamad Algadri, who was sentenced on 9th September, has been under detention since May 1967. In passing sentence, the tribunal stipulated that the defendant would be allowed deduction of sentence for the term already served.

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Opposition is the window
Through which we see one another.
Without opposition there is frustration;
Without opposition you are estranged from us;
Without opposition you see only the false images
Of your own distorting glass;
Without opposition you are locked
In the lonely cycle of masturbation.

from 'The Right to Oppose'

W.S. Rendra

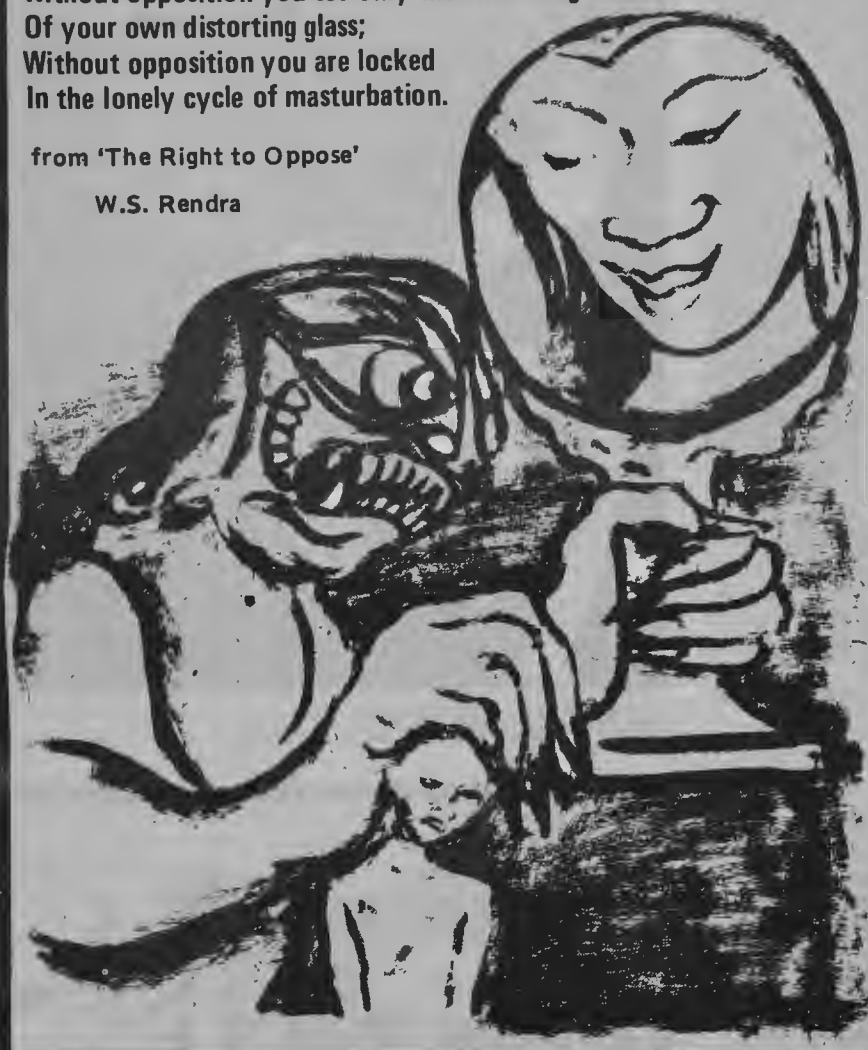


Illustration by George Knowlton

RENDRA TO BE TRIED UNDER ARCHAIC LAW

Although the poet and actor Rendra has been released from prison, (initially 'on leave' for Lebaran festival, but now under 'town arrest'), he will, according to official pronouncements, be charged with 'spreading hatred' (*hatzaai*), under a law which dates back to the colonial period, when the Dutch inserted the *hatzaai* articles into the Criminal Code at the time of the independence struggle. If he is convicted, Rendra faces up to seven years imprisonment.

Kompas (August 4th) has reported that Admiral Sudomo, Commander of KOPKAMTIB (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) will use the *hatzaai* articles (154, 155 and 156) of the Criminal Code against Rendra, as his poems are 'full of incitements'. A spokesperson of the Jakarta Military Command, Lieutenant-Colonel Anas Malik, has been reported by *Tempo* as saying of Rendra's work, 'Such stuff can lead to unrest and social conflicts. It gives people the wrong picture of the result of development'.

Along with the Anti-subversion laws (UU No 11/Pnps/1963),

the *hatzaai* articles have been strongly criticised by members of the legal profession in Indonesia, including Professor Oemar Seno Adji, the Head of the Supreme Court. The head of public relations for the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute has said (*Kompas*, August 8th), 'Anyone who has studied in the law faculty is told that these articles cannot belong in a free and democratic society.'

The sections under which Rendra will be charged read as follows:

Number 154

Whoever in the public expresses hate or insult to the government of the Republic of Indonesia can be jailed for seven years or fined Rp 300.

Number 155

Whoever spreads, exhibits or pastes up letters or pictures whose contents express hatred so as to circulate these contents more widely, can be jailed for six months or fined Rp 300.

Number 156

Whoever in public expresses hatred or insult to one or more classes of Indonesian inhabitants can be jailed for four years or fined Rp 300.

Polishing Indonesia's Image

The New York Times (Sunday August 6th) reports that Indonesia is paying Hill and Knowlton, the giant US public relations firm, a million dollars a year to improve its image for potential investors.

Attracting investors from the United States has become difficult in the last two years, since President Carter's emphasis on human rights has created problems for countries with repressive governments. Additionally, US aid cuts and growing protectionism have created a big demand for favourable public relations by such countries as South Africa, South Korea and Iran, as well as Indonesia. Generally the embassy of the client country in Washington will invite tenders from public relations firms. The winner, amongst other things, explains to the client the independence of the American press, and how to manipulate it. This is achieved by analysing past press coverage of the client country to establish its friends and enemies, and then, by a concerted effort, to channel 'positive' news about the country to the media and other public opinion channels. There is little doubt that an investment of as much as a million dollars would have significant potential to slant news coverage of Indonesia in the US.



A Letter from Buru

(Slightly abridged)

10th January 1978. Command Headquarters.

I would like to explain the statements I made on 18th December 1977, during an interview with Indonesian and foreign journalists, who had come to Buru to cover the release of political prisoners to Java. First I want to describe how the interview took place:

I arrived at the Command Headquarters very early in the morning, after walking the six kilometres from Unit III with a friend . . . As I arrived I went over to meet a group of Indonesian journalists who were at the Command Headquarters coffee stall. They were about to have breakfast. . . Not far off I could see the foreign journalists.

Here he describes meeting with Indonesian journalists he had known when he had worked as a journalist himself. He describes his excitement at seeing them, and being able to ask about old friends. He mentions journalists from *Antara*, *Pelita* and *Angkatan Bersenjata*, but says that he cannot remember them all as poor food and mental inactivity have dulled his memory.

As I was chatting with these Indonesian journalists, several foreign journalists began to ask me questions. They had come over to our circle, probably from curiosity at seeing us making such a noise together. . . And this is how the interview took place. . . All my answers were made openly and were written down or recorded. Some films were shot. All this was witnessed by military officers in civilian clothing, as well as by some political prisoners who were just curious.

He mentions that the foreign journalists represented UPI, AFP, Australian radio, the *Sydney Morning Herald*, and *Wall Street Journal*. NBC was represented by a correspondent who also represented *Far Eastern Economic Review* and *Time* magazine. There was someone from West German television, and from the Japanese newspaper *Asahi Shinbun*. There were also journalists from Malaysia and Singapore.

The circle of people around the interview got bigger and bigger, until there were no less than fifty people. After two hours the interview ended when I was 'led away' by a military officer in the full view of the audience. I had spoken mainly in English to make things easier for the foreign journalists, although my English is pretty rough now, as I have not used it for eight years. I answered the Indonesian journalists in English as well, and they clearly understood all my answers. . .

Next follows an account of the interview which is reproduced below. The questions asked by the Indonesian journalists make an interesting contrast with those asked by the foreign journalists.

The Indonesian journalist from *Surabaya Pos* (also representing *Tempo*) asked:

WHAT HAVE YOU LEARNT DURING YOUR TIME HERE?

Very much. I have had plenty of opportunity to think things over. I have carried out self-correction, and also corrected things outside my person. Human beings can make mistakes, but they must also correct these mistakes. Further, I have found a new love for human beings, deeper than anything I ever knew before. The



Buru prisoners attending early morning roll-call. (From *Kompas*, 4 January 1978)

Prophet once wrote in his Hadits: 'He who does not love human beings will not be loved by the Almighty God'. We Moslems are obliged to follow the good example set by the Prophet, with goodness and morality. Did he not say: 'I was sent here to uphold noble character'?

WHAT WORK DO YOU DO HERE BESIDES TILLING THE SOIL?

I am the imam and the preacher in my unit. I also give lessons in the Tauhid.

DO ALL MOSLEMS PERFORM THEIR COMPULSORY PRAYER DUTIES?

No. We cannot always do this, as we must complete our work quota. We have to work very hard in order to have enough to eat. Sometimes the Unit Commander just cancels the Friday prayers. We also have to do a lot of extra work, which we call corvee, and these things have to be done regardless of time.

IS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO SAY YOUR PRAYERS WHILE YOU ARE WORKING HARD OR ENGAGED IN THIS CORVEE?

It is difficult for you to imagine what the situation here is like. It is not like outside.

A foreign journalist (he thinks from UPI) asked:
WHEN DID YOU COME HERE AND HOW ARE THINGS HERE FOR YOU?

I came here in September 1969 with five hundred friends to the area which is now Unit III. We were the first group to arrive here, and Unit III is the oldest unit. I would like to invite you to our unit. You would see many interesting things. We found the area in a virgin state, full of *alang-alang* (imperata grass), marsh and jungle. We had none of the implements we needed, and so in the first weeks we had to open up a road, and a clearing for living quarters. This we did with our bare hands. Many of us were injured and became sick, for we had never worked with *alang-alang*, which is triangular shaped grass, with edges as sharp as razor blades. Our barracks were constructed from bamboo sticks.

WHY DID ALL THIS HAPPEN?

Maybe because the government had not made proper plans.

HOW ARE YOU TREATED?

We had a very difficult life indeed. We had to work very hard in order to eat (I did not tell them how friends had eaten snakes, rats and grasshoppers). In 1971-72 we had a very brutal Unit Commander, First Lieut. Sujoso Hadiswajo. He took everything that we produced. He took the boards that we had sawn, the rice, the sweet potatoes, the tapioca, and even the eggs laid by our chickens. I did not like that man. It is very unfortunate that the government should send such unsuitable people here. A Unit Commander should give guidance and protection. This fellow Sujoso is now dead.

HOW DID HE DIE?

I heard that he suddenly fell ill after he had returned to Jakarta. I am sure that you know that Indonesian people believe in the law of Karma.

DID THEY BEAT YOU?

Yes, in the years 1970-72.

HAVE YOU PERSONALLY BEEN BEATEN?

Not one of us escaped beating or punishment.

Another foreign journalist asked:
HAVE ANY OF YOUR FRIENDS COMMITTED SUICIDE?

Oh yes, there was a student named Kayun. He was about 26 years old. It happened during the time of First-Lieut Sujoso. Kayun was suffering from jaundice, and he remained in the barracks because he could not work. Sujoso abused him and kicked him. Kayun got up and went to work. Next day Kayun was found lying on the floor of the hut, with blood pouring from his ears, eyes, nose and mouth. His face had turned blue as a result of drinking the insecticide, Enderine. The bottle lay beside him.

HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT STAYING HERE?

It is very hard, this place is worse than a prison.

The journalist from Pelita asked:

WHY DO YOU SAY THIS PLACE IS WORSE THAN A PRISON?

That is very easy to answer. If I were tried and sentenced to a term of imprisonment in Cipinang, my food would be supplied by

the government. At specified times I would be able to meet my family. I would know when I would be released. In this place I must provide my own food, I must work very, very hard, and I don't know when I shall be released. My fate is far worse than that of the corrupters and murderers.



A barrack for prisoners suffering from tuberculosis in Buru's Unit R. This unit, together with Units S and T, was set up in 1976. These three units are described as being far better than other units. (*De Telegraaf*, 17 December, 1977)

A foreign journalist asked:
WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THIS PLACE?

The soil here is very inhospitable: it asks a great deal and gives very little. In the rainy season there is too much rain, and there are floods almost every year. In the hot season it becomes very hot, up to 36° celcius in the day, but it is very cold at night, sometimes as low as 11-13° celcius. Even with all the hard work, the rice fields only yield about two tons of hulled rice per hectare, and this is called a good harvest. But frequently the harvest fails because of many pests such as the brown grasshopper (*wereng*), and other problems. . . According to my figures, the best harvest was in 1975, and then gross per capita income from the rice fields was only Rp 55.50, which is only enough to buy one kilo of rice. So you see it is not profitable to use the land here for rice production.

The next question came from a foreign journalist:
WHAT IS YOUR FOOD RATION?

Now it is only 120 grams of rice a day each, and we make up the deficiency by mixing maize with rice. . . Even if we were to get a kilo of rice a day, we would have to eat it with boiled vegetables which we grow ourselves— if there are any. If not we have to force the rice down our throats with *kang kung* (a swamp weed), or just young bamboo shoots. There is very little variation in our food. . . The only spices are chili and salt, which we have to buy ourselves. . .

A foreign journalist asked:
IS IT TRUE THAT YOUR RICE OUTPUT HAS TO BE DIVIDED AS FOLLOWS; A THIRD FOR YOU TO EAT, A THIRD TO BUY FERTILISER AND INSECTICIDE, AND A THIRD FOR THE OFFICIALS?

No, that is not right. After deductions for the cost of fertiliser and insecticide we obtain from Command Headquarters, the rest is for our own consumption. If there is any surplus, which is rarely the case, we sell this to Command Headquarters, which takes one third of proceeds of the sale for the officials. Sometimes we have to sell rice which is not surplus in order to buy things we need and the Command Headquarters takes a third of the proceedings from this. . .

A foreign journalist asked in a low voice:
IS IT TRUE THAT YOU HAVE TO PROVIDE THE OFFICERS

WITH MONEY?

Yes that is true (I whispered my answer).

The Surabaya Pos journalist asked:
DO YOU REGRET YOUR PAST ACTIVITIES?

What do you mean by regretting my past activities?
THAT YOU COLLABORATED WITH THE PKI AND WERE SENT
HERE AS A RESULT.

Why do you see me only as someone who helped the PKI? My newspaper *Bintang Timur* also helped other parties.
HAVE YOU WRITTEN ANYTHING ABOUT YOUR EXPERIENCES HERE?

No. All my time is spent working very hard in order to fill my stomach.

A foreign journalist asked:
HAVE YOU RECEIVED ANY INDOCTRINATION, IN ORDER
TO CHANGE YOUR WAY OF THINKING?

Yes. We get *Pancasila* indoctrination, and also about the 1945 constitution. *Not so useful*. I already have it in my head. (I have written this in English deliberately as this statement had a number of consequences). I am a defender of *Pancasila*. . .



Prisoners on *corvee* to Buru Command Headquarters. They have pulled this cartload of 'tribute' from their own unit, several miles away. (*Kompas*, 5 January, 1978)

Another foreign journalist asked:
DO YOU GET NEWS HERE ABOUT EVENTS IN THE OUTSIDE
WORLD?

Buru island is completely isolated. I have not heard anything about the world outside.

There was a pause in the questions so I used this opportunity to say something:

Why do we discuss the past? It is very grim and I hate to think about it. Let us talk of the problems of today and tomorrow.

A foreign journalist asked:
WHAT DO YOU MEAN?

Today some of us will return to Java, but the majority will remain behind on this island. We don't know when we will be released. There are many people here who are ill, who are elderly, and many young fellows who will stay behind. I know one young man whose name is Asmuni. He was arrested when he was only fourteen years old. Possibly there are others like Asmuni in other units. Asmuni entered prison with his father, because he loved his father very much and did not want to be separated from him. He did not go to prison because he was a communist. Unfortunately he was separated from his father regardless of his wishes, and was finally brought here to Buru. His father was a peasant, and a member of BTI (peasants' union). He was released many years ago, but this un-

fortunate fellow, Asmuni, is still here in Unit III. . .

An Indonesian journalist said:
THE SETTLEMENT OF YOUR CASES WILL BE HANDLED IN
STAGES.

Must we wait for the last stage for nothing? Our past experiences have taught us to be very cynical indeed. Many of those who are going to leave now are wondering where they will be taken. They don't believe they will be taken back to Java. They were never officially told beforehand about their release. We live in complete uncertainty. Before, officials told us to stop thinking about going back to Java, because we would stay here forever, and die on Buru. Now we are being told to wait. . . Can you imagine how it feels for somebody who is not included. . . Waiting is the most horrible thing in our lives, it is the waiting that tortures us, it is the waiting that has killed us. I consider that every postponement of our release is killing men by time. Freedom cannot wait. . .

A German television journalist asked:
WHY WERE YOU ARRESTED?

I was suspected by the government of being involved in what they refer to as G30S/PKI.

HAVE YOU BEEN CHARGED?

I have been detained without any charge or trial. I have been held unlawfully.

Following a few more questions from other journalists I was 'led away' by the Deputy Commander of the Satgas Battalion, Wolf Pattimura, in the presence of the journalists. . .

While I was being led away by two officials, the journalist from the Surabaya Pos ran up to me. . . and asked:
IS RELIGION POPULAR HERE OR IS IT JUST BASED ON
DOGMATISM AND REASON?

I teach a combination of the two.
WHAT ABOUT THE OTHER RELIGIONS, FOR EXAMPLE PRO-
TESTANTISM AND CATHOLICISM?

To be honest I would like to criticise Moslem religious leaders in the outside world. The Protestants and Catholics take good care of their followers, and always treat us well. They have helped in many ways with contributions of medicine. They have given us spectacles, hundreds of pairs, for anyone who needs them. The contributions of medicine and spectacles have mainly come from the Catholic Church. The Moslems do not take care of their followers, despite the words of the Prophet. . . All we have received in my unit is a few dozen prayer books.



A prisoner's family photographed by a Japanese television crew during a visit to Buru in December, 1977. At the last minute two prisoners were excluded from the group of prisoners released because those who have families with them are not being allowed to leave the island.

After speaking to the journalist for a few minutes about religion, I was taken away by the battalion Commander. As I was led away, I wondered whether those journalists realised that this was an insult to the profession of journalism; that journalists could be considered as people who could cause trouble to those whom they interviewed! I felt sure that they knew this, but would they have the courage to raise it? Would the Indonesian Journalists' Association have the courage to protest about this? I don't know what the journalists who saw this did afterwards. One of the foreign journalists, the man from the NBC, tried to extricate me, but my fellow prisoners discouraged him. They said: "Don't try to help This is nothing unusual for us. After you have gone home, we shall have to face all kinds of trouble. Please don't worry about us."

I was held at the Command Post for about one hour and then I was allowed to pray. I was given food, and kept near the Headquarters. I was isolated from the others for about five hours and was not allowed to return to my Unit until 5 o'clock in the afternoon. The isolation was to prevent me from meeting the journalists again, as they had gone to visit Unit R, in the same direction as my Unit.

On my way back, at Unit II, I met the NBC journalist again. He interviewed me:

WHAT IS YOUR DEFINITION OF HUMAN RIGHTS?

Human rights for me means freedom itself, including the recognition of the right of a person to choose where he lives, to choose his work and to choose his beliefs.

ARE YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS BEING ABUSED?

Yes.

CAN YOU GIVE ANY PROOF?

Yes. I have not enjoyed the things I mentioned just now.

ARE YOU WORKING HERE ON THE BASIS OF FORCED LABOUR?

Do you mean forced labour? (I wanted the question to be quite clear).

YES.

I'm sorry I cannot answer your question now. (But I looked straight at the camera and nodded my answer).

YOU ARE HERE WITH ELEVEN THOUSAND OTHER CO-PRISONERS. IN YOUR OPINION HAS THERE BEEN ANY FORM OF REHABILITATION?

Unfortunately I have not seen any rehabilitation for us. All we can do is to ensure our own survival, physically and mentally.

Twelve days later I was called and interrogated. As I write this, I am still waiting for another interrogation by the Camp Commander. I have signed the interrogation report. I had no difficulty in answering the questions, as I am very familiar with all I said, and repeated clearly the statements I had made during the interview on 18th December 1977. There was one question that really surprised me. It was:

IS IT TRUE THAT YOU SAID THAT THE INDOCTRINATION ABOUT PANCASILA AND THE 1945 CONSTITUTION WAS A LOT OF NONSENSE, THAT IT WAS DECEITFUL AND USELESS?

I never said such a thing. May God Almighty bear witness to my statement.

ARE YOU PREPARED TO BE CONFRONTED BY WITNESSES, OR A TAPE RECORDING OF YOUR VOICE?

Yes I am ready. I would particularly like to hear the tape recording.

I have thought about all this a lot. I had answered the journalist in English, and eventually guessed that my statement 'not useful' had been misheard as 'nonsenseful', and 'teaching' as 'cheating'. This, I think gave them concern.

The interrogator was trying to find a political motive in my statements. I answered by saying that everything I had said was intended to help correct the government, that it had been inspired by my sense of responsibility to the nation and people of Indonesia, to humanitarianism and the law.

I don't know what will happen to me in the future—whether I shall become a martyr on this island. I just hope for the protection of the law. . . I still remember the proverb; 'Don't be stimulated by praise; don't be silenced by fear.'



Prisoners line up at Namlea harbour, awaiting transport back to Java.....and to freedom.

Excerpts from the 1978 STUDENT WHITE BOOK

Editor's Note

The Buku Putih (White Book) is the single most important document to come out of the political disturbances in Indonesia early in 1978. Although it is formally a statement only of the Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology (BIT), it represents the sentiments of the student movement as a whole. It is also important as an indication of the changes in the student movement during the past seven years. When it first began to stir in 1970, the student movement was concerned primarily with government corruption. Its tone was moralistic and almost apolitical. By 1974, student issues included economic nationalism. Only in 1978 did Suharto himself become the target of attack. More significantly, the current student movement has subjected the entire structure of Western-inspired and Western-oriented economic policy to a systematic critique, the first in 12 years of military rule.

Buku Putih is audacious and at the same time sober and serious. Even as its critical analysis of government policy is competent, sophisticated and closely argued, its use of Indonesian colloquialisms make a popularly accessible document. Its attack on Suharto and his technocrats is devastating, because it addresses them in familiar, almost impertinent, terms. To capture both aspects of the document in a limited space, we have chosen to arrange our excerpts not in the order they appear but according to the main themes of the document as we see them. The realities which are the subject of Buku Putih are explained in the article in this issue of the Southeast Asia Chronicle by Benedict Anderson. The entire document may be read in the April, 1978 issue of Indonesia, whose translation we are using.

—J.R.



The cover of the 1978 "Student White Book," published by the Student Council of the Bandung Institute of Technology

1. Suharto

The students of the BIT declare that they do not trust and do not want Suharto to be President of the Republic of Indonesia again.

The style of a national leadership that has concentrated all power in its own hands has crippled the official constitutional political forces . . . this centralization of political power is done simply to safeguard its own continuation.

In addition, the life style of the family of Mr. President Suharto has had a great sociocultural impact on the majority of our people. His [Suharto's] nepotism towards his children and younger siblings has been copied by many government officials of all ranks, such as Governors, Bupati, village headmen, and so forth. The fact that the family of President Suharto has become vastly wealthy since he became Head of State some years ago (see. e.g., Tapos, Mangadeg) has given the impression to lower officials that they too have the right to act like their President. In this way, the wealth of Mr. President Suharto has exerted great influence on the development of a culture of corruption in Indonesia!

2. Technocrats

According to Buku Putih, Indonesia's problems derive not just from administrative errors but from essentially incorrect policies. Hence, Indonesia's technocrats are also subjected to much irreverent criticism.

From a series of discussions and analyses carried out by the authors of this paper, we have reached a very startling conclusion: Namely, the designers of our present development, Bappenas and the Departments of the government, are in fact *aware* and *do realize* that there are defects and errors in the present development strategy. But why do they remain silent? Why do they remain mute although their policy errors have made millions of people suffer? Perhaps they remain silent because they are intellectual prostitutes who do not have scientific integrity! Or do they belong to the group who enjoy the "fruits of development" precisely because of their policy errors??

3. Wives of Officials

One section of Buku Putih targets the wives of officials, known as "Ibu," as a source and cause of official corruption.

Dear Ibu . . . in talking about the role of women in development we often also talk about women's emancipation. Emancipation, however, does not mean that the wife *must take part in her husband's official functions or that she must exploit her husband's position*. It does not mean that the wife must take part in determining her husband's policy in matters concerning his office or that she should *make use of the facilities and perquisites to which her husband is entitled*. We feel, too, that there are many other matters related to character and behavior that can have a negative effect on the activities of her husband.

We say this because in fact we have the impression and we observe that there are many of you, Ibu, who have *gone astray in playing your roles*, many who have misunderstood the meaning of women's emancipation.

4. Development Policy

In establishing "development policy" we have swallowed hook, line, and sinker the data and analyses made by foreigners, even though they obviously have interests of their own. To determine the number of people who are below the poverty line, we use the data and analyses of the World Bank. To measure the success of development, we employ foreign measures of growth, such as GNP, GDP, per capita income, and so forth. . .

A great campaign to stupidify the people is taking place today. The people are being swamped with vague terminology or terminology made vague on purpose. When people are

starving, they are said "not to have enough to eat" or "possibly may not have enough to eat," etc. Criticism is answered by being termed "a danger to stability" or "evidently being exploited," and so forth. . .

In measuring *the success of established policies*, Tuan Wijoyo and his friends use several statistics, such as *increase in GNP, GDP, per capita income, the rate of inflation*, etc. Using these figures, the Policy-Makers claim that . . . [only] *3 out of 10 Indonesians live below the poverty line*. This is amazing progress. There is also the criterion which determines that a per capita income of over \$US 75.00 per annum is above the poverty line.

Take the case of a poverty-stricken, unemployed vagrant. He picks up cigarette butts; he scrounges for his daily food in the garbage-cans of restaurants; he sleeps under a bridge or under the eaves of shops; he wears whatever he can find. He makes Rp. 300 a day. In a month, that amounts to Rp. 9,000, and in a year to Rp. 108,000 or \$US 250. This is well above the poverty line.

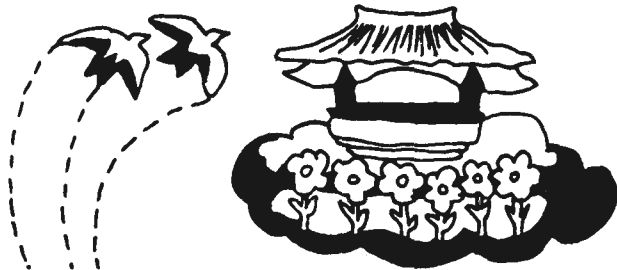
Is this the way to measure the success of a policy? In that case, the more vagrants we have, the more prosperous our country. Long live Pak Wijoyo!!!!

5. Credit

In criticizing other aspects of the government's economic policy, Buku Putih focuses on the imbalance in benefits from this policy. Throughout the document the charge is repeated that foreigners are making more and more money while Indonesians are becoming poorer and poorer.

Most government credit falls into the hands of non-natives. Most of those who embezzle these credits are also non-natives. Of the Rp. 200,000,000,000 Bank Bumi Daya credits that disappeared, most again was taken by non-natives. But it is the people who have to suffer the burden of it all. The people bear the consequences, but the non-natives enjoy the fruits. In fact, it is their per capita income that has increased many times over. Not the people's.

Ten years ago the Astra group, the Panin group, the Central Asia Bank, Liem Soei Liong and other *cukong*² were nothing to what they are now. But the people of Krawang still starve. The government proudly aggregates the incomes of those *cukong* with the incomes of the people of Krawang, Boyolali, and Gunung Kidul³ and then averages them. Next the government loudly proclaims that "per capita income has skyrocketed." Is this not manipulation?? The people of Krawang, who have been reduced to eating water-hyacinths, have become the victims of a manipulation of the numbers that the government always worships. The people of Krawang have become the victims of statistics. It is said that in 1967 per capita income was \$US 80, while by 1977 it had increased to \$US 130. But the fact remains that Krawang, which always used to be a rich rice granary where people never suffered hunger, has today declined into a famine area, where people are reduced to eating water-hyacinths! Do you know, friends, what water-hyacinths are? Water-hyacinths are feed for pigs.



8. Popular Participation, Popular Control

(Perhaps the single most important theme in this document is its appeal to populism.

6. Agriculture

A similar anti-foreign tone pervades Buku Putih's discussion of agricultural policy. Apart from castigating the government for abandoning land reform, Buku Putih also points to the failure of the government's rice production program. This year, Indonesia will import 2.4 million tons of rice, more than any other country in the world.

... the price of the imported rice is Rp. 100 per kilogram more expensive than domestic rice. This means that the Indonesian government is *feeding* (subsidizing) farmers from South Korea, Japan, Australia, etc. at a rate of Rp. 100 per kilo. Well, well, Mr. Thoyib Hadiwijaya, Mr. Bustanul Arifin,⁴ and you gentlemen in Bappenas, how come you actually help to increase agricultural production in other countries?? Isn't there something funny here?? Did you get your palms greased, maybe?? It's not only that you are unable to increase domestic production, but ... hey! you're actually helping to increase someone else's agricultural production. You'll pay for it some day, friends!!!!

7. Employment and the Industrial Sector

Over the past eight years, the industrial sector has only been able to absorb 1.2 million people. This is an absorption rate of only 12.5 percent of available manpower. This proves that the present policy in the field of industry *will never be able* to absorb the increases in the labor force. The picture becomes worse if we also take into account the loss of job opportunities in national companies that have had to close down because of the influx of foreign capital. The only local raw material used by the Indo Milk Company, for instance, is water. The milk concentrate itself is imported from Australia. While the job market has not expanded, the side effects are wrecking the life of the nation.

The Government's industrial policy should have been geared towards the development of industry designed to support agriculture, because agriculture is the [main] source of income for 60 percent of the Indonesian people. Yet what we now see is the rapid growth of consumer-oriented industries, such as the motorcycle and car industries, not of agriculture-supporting industries.

The defects that we see today are caused by the *National Leadership* and by the "System of Government" that it has created. Improper mechanisms for the management of the state, which in turn have given birth to erroneous and uncontrolled policies and programs, have bred restlessness in society.

The *innermost voice of the little people*, who live under the oppression and repression of the "elite" forces, never reaches the ears of the government. In turn, the government has never opened its heart to the pure and honest "*voice of the common people's heart*." Thus a system in which the *city people* exploit the *villagers*, the *rich* oppress the *poor*, *private cars* elbow *city buses* out into the slow lanes, *wealthy idiots* kick aside *poor bright people*, *non-native businessmen* kill off *native businessmen*, etc., goes on and on, and the oppressed have no way of stopping it. There aren't even any *complaints* about it in Parliament any more.

The prevailing situation is such that "the top people" solely direct their eyes and ears further up. They all scramble to enjoy the *luxuries* that are indeed *freely "provided"* by the *liberal economic system practices* by the government!! These errors could develop to such a disastrous point because *control* functions have not operated as they should. State Institutions have in fact been "*fixed*" so as not to interfere with the build-up of "executive power." For the sake of stability in economic development, the whole system and all the activities of the Highest State Institutions have been "*harmonized*" with the tastes of the executive.

9. The Parliament

Up till now, Parliament is not an institution capable of channelling the aspirations of the people, nor is it an effective institution for control. Parliament is simply a spectator to all the irregularities that are taking place within the executive! There have been many incidents, shameful to our nation and state, which have demanded active intervention by the people's representatives, but they have done absolutely nothing.

The reason, of course, is that Parliament has been "*fixed*" by the national executive leadership to become *so paralyzed*! Even at the time when the official *list of parliamentary candidates* from the Political Parties and from Golkar was being drawn up for the General Election, the individuals listed were picked by the Government. People thought to have *too much courage, integrity, and principle* were considered *dangerous* and were scratched off the list. Those who remained on the list of candidates "*blessed*" by the government consisted of people who were either *weak* or, at best *moderates*, ready to swing to the right or to the left; but the *majority*, of course, were *weak*.

10. The Political Parties

In reality, the present official political forces, namely the Political Parties and Golkar, are not genuine political forces. It is true that they are classified *administratively* as official political groupings, but real political power lies in the hands of the *Government*. The Political Parties and Golkar have to follow the will of this government, whether they like it or not. If they are obstinate, the government will immediately interfere and manipulate them to ensure that they no longer pose a threat to the government.

In addition, the parties are not allowed to operate in the villages, yet the villages are where 80 percent of Indonesia's inhabitants live!! If the parties are not allowed to operate in the villages, this means that *only 20 percent* of the inhabitants of Indonesia will have their aspirations represented.

11. Elections

(Parliamentary Elections were held in 1977)

... Consider the General Elections, for instance: the *Election Commission* was formed and appointed, not by Parliament, but by the *Government*, though in fact the Government, through Golkar, was also a participant in the General Elections. Excesses, naturally, were unavoidable. Excesses such as referee Amir Machmud "joining in the game," followed by *lurah* [village headmen] and *camat* [subdistrict officers], all for the sake of securing victory for Golkar. But little people in the villages were pressured, and not just pressured, but even persecuted, with threats of being kidnapped—especially in crucial areas such as West Java, Central Java, and East Java. . .

Could the little people in the villages, who were pressured and persecuted during the elections, ask for help from the people's representatives in Parliament??? . . . The simple answer is: *No!* Parliament's Committee II, in charge of dealing with the problem of excesses during the General Elections, could never meet to discuss all these incidents because there was never a quorum, since the Golkar members *never attended* . . .

While its critique of the present system is thoroughgoing and its goals quite explicit (remove Suharto and replace current development strategy), Buku Putih does not offer any alternatives. Nor does the student movement as a whole. The Indonesian student movement is relatively new, and it may be partly out of a sense of self-preservation that its leaders do not criticize the central role of the military in creating the conditions they describe so eloquently. The mainstream of the movement also remains explicitly anti-communist. But it would be foolhardy to predict its future development. As government repression intensifies, as it did in the early months of 1978, the movement will have to develop new sources of political strength if it is to survive. Its longterm choice would appear to lie between finding powerful sponsors within the military establishment and developing a positive political program which will appeal to the peasants and workers who make up the overwhelming majority of the Indonesian population. □

Footnotes

1. Widjojo Nitisastro is Indonesia's top economic planner.
2. *Cukong* is a term for wealthy Chinese business partners of key Indonesian generals and politicians.
3. Boyolali and Gunung Kidul, in Central Java, are among the poorest areas in the country.
4. Hadiwijaya is the Minister of Agriculture. Arifin is the head of the powerful state food distribution agency BULOG.



Anti-subversion Act under Attack

The well-known Indonesian human rights lawyers, Yap Thiam Hien and Adnan Buyung Nasution, have recently attacked the Anti-Subversion Law and called for its repeal.

This Law, forced through Parliament after the military takeover following the 1965 events, was originally enacted by President Sukarno as a Presidential Decree in 1963. It is the law generally used against persons on trial for political offences and has also been used increasingly against persons accused of sabotage, smuggling and other economic offences.

Yap Thiam Hien, who recently defended Sawito Kartowibono, the mystic sentenced in August to eight years imprisonment, was quoted by the weekly, *Tempo* (12 August, 1978) as saying that the Anti-Subversion Law, like the anti-corruption law, has political overtones. "It is," he said, "a peg on which to hang all kinds of charges against a political opponent, even to hang him until he is dead."

The same issue of *Tempo* quotes the Public Prosecutor's Office as saying that no fewer than 92 cases during 1977 were based on the Anti-Subversion Law. Of these, 82 had been brought to court. A total of 129 persons were involved.

Buyung Nasution: "Only Breathing is not Subversive"

Adnan Buyung Nasution, speaking in Jakarta on 26 August (*Tempo*, 12 August, 1978), said that when, in the 1960s, the draft of the anti-subversion law was first submitted to Parliament, all political parties represented in Parliament, including the Communist Party, rejected it. They felt that such a law, if enacted, would have turned Indonesia into a totalitarian state. No opinions or political programmes apart from the *Manipol* (Political Manifesto) which had been formulated by President Sukarno would have been permitted. All critics of the *Manipol* would have been seen as trying to undermine the government and could therefore be labelled 'subversive'.

After the draft had failed to get through Parliament, it was enacted in the form of a Presidential Decree (PP No. 11, 1963). It was not until after the New Order (the post-1965 period) that this Decree was ratified into Law by Parliament, possibly "slipped through", said Buyung.

The danger of the Law, he said, is that its formulation of offences is far too wide-ranging. "According to this Law, possibly the only thing people are still allowed to do is to breathe."

Whilst articles in the Criminal Code do not specify the way in which punishable offences are committed, they do stipulate that the consequences of the offence must be proven in a detailed, explicit way. For example, if the act causes injury or death, this must be proven by a medical certificate.

But in subversion cases, the prosecution always openly admits that it need not produce evidence regarding the consequences of the alleged offence. It is enough for the prosecution to say that 'it was known or should have been known' that the act would 'undermine government authority'. This leads to quite arbitrary judgements on the part of the prosecution, Buyung said.

In addition, the Anti-Subversion Law has created a separate code of procedures, covering such matters as arrest, confiscation of property, punishment and trial procedures. Moreover, although the Law was initially directed only against activities of a political nature, the Supreme Court has since broadened its scope to include activities that are not necessarily political, as long as they can be considered

as having the effect of undermining government authority. As a result, said Buyung, the very nature of the Law has become blurred. Smugglers, intellectuals, artists, even mystics, can be charged under this law.

Anti-Subversion Law and Detention Without Trial

Another problem is that this law results in uncertainty about how long a person can be held without trial. The Procedural Code stipulates that the police may hold a person for a maximum of 20 days. A public prosecutor may hold someone for at most 30 days, whereafter a judge may prolong the period of detention by 30 days upon each application, although no limit is stipulated as to how long this may continue. These provisions are very arbitrary and result in much suffering and hardship. But in the case of the Anti-Subversion Law, things are far worse. It stipulates that a person can be held for a maximum of one year without charge. If the person is lucky, he will be brought to trial or released by the end of a year, but in practice, when the one-year period lapses, the person will be re-arrested and will thus again be liable to a period of one year's detention. "This is very cruel indeed!" declared Buyung.

[Editor's Note: The vast majority of tapols are detained under special powers vested in KOPKAMTIB, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order. These regulations make no provisions whatsoever regarding length of detention without trial.]

New National Security Act Under Consideration

Indonesia's military rulers are now believed to be considering the enactment of a new National Security Act. General Panggabean, Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, said in September that the draft for such an Act was now being prepared. The new law, which will apparently also make provision for prolonged detention without charge or trial, will, Panggabean said, be aimed at "combatting all forms of subversive crimes". Presumably it will replace the 1963 Anti-Subversion Law.

We hope to report more on this in our next issue.

SUPREME COURT CHAIRMAN ADMITS THAT JUDICIARY IS NOT FREE

"Pure justice no longer exists. There are many factors that can influence the course of a trial with the result that verdicts in many cases depend upon the situation prevailing at the time the trial takes place."

This statement made by Professor Oemar Seno Adji, Chairman of the Supreme Court, at a press conference on 7th June (*Kompas*, 10 July, 1978) has, according to *Kompas*, evoked considerable response. It is regrettable, says the paper, that the Supreme Court has made no further attempt to explain what Professor Seno Adji meant, thus creating the impression that things will just be left as they are.

One response came from the Legal Aid Bureau which said in a statement that it was 'astonished' and 'deeply disturbed' by the Supreme Court chairman's remarks. While acknowledging that it was difficult anywhere in the world to preserve real justice, the Bureau said that all those concerned with upholding the law, inside and outside government, should always strive to attain this end.

TAPOL's New Address

Please note that all correspondence with TAPOL should now be addressed to our new address, as follows:

8a Treport Street,
London SW18 2BP.

Press Censorship: The Case of Topik

The press in Indonesia has once again been subjected to restrictions in reporting on leading Indonesian political figures.

Tempo (August 19th) reports that on Tuesday August 8th, the magazine **Topik** advertised in the daily, **Merdeka**, that the August issue of **Topik** (nos 14 and 15) would carry a feature article about four prominent Indonesian political figures. The four all held prominent positions in the past, and in various ways have given rise to press coverage of issues considered sensitive by the regime. **Ali Sadikin** was the former Governor of Jakarta, and was earlier this year considered as a possible successor to **Suharto** as President; **Soemitro** was once the Commander of **KOPKAMTIB**, and was dismissed after the events of January 15th, 1974; **Han Sutowo** was the Director of **Pertamina**, until the company's massive debt became known, and allegations of spectacular corruption were made; **H R Dharsono**, the Chairman of **ASEAN** nearly lost this position after he had spoken at a students' protest meeting earlier this year.

Only hours after the **Topik** advertisement had appeared the managing editor of **Topik**, **Tribuana Said**, was summoned by **Oemar Chatab**, the Director of the Ministry of Information's 'Journalist Control' Section, and was told that the advertised article could not be circulated. Shortly afterwards **Chatab's** superior, **Sukarno**, told **Tribuana** that 'it was suggested' that **Topik** nos 14 and 15 should be withdrawn from circulation. He later told a **Tempo** journalist: 'We

did not forbid it; we only proposed that publication of the issue should be withdrawn.' Although **Sukarno** had not read the article at that stage, he said that its publication would "create a bad atmosphere".

Tempo observes that before the General Session of the MPR, the Chief-of-Staff of **KOPKAMTIB**, **Sudoma**, had said that several important political figures could not be quoted by the press, except in 'non-polical' matters. After the Session there were some attempts to relax restrictions of the press, and **Sudomo** said that these restrictions would change, but how they would change depended on 'those whom it concerned'. Since then the foreign press has not been 'blackened out', except for one issue of **Newsweek** which was withdrawn some weeks ago.

In other words, says **Tempo**, press restrictions can never be forgotten. It is a matter of treading very warily, and sensing the limits of press freedom – which have never been clearly defined. Otherwise the results can be 'fatal'. Fortunately for **Topik** its advertisement did not have 'fatal' results, as the journal did not have its printing licence revoked. However financial losses were incurred because 25% of the issue had already been printed.

On the 9th and 10th of August **Topik** re-advertised in **Merdeka**, apologising to its readers for the non-appearance of issues no 14 and 15, saying that its circulation had been withdrawn 'because of one thing and another'.



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