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British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

TAPOL Bulletin No 21 28

June 1978

EDITORIAL

Bartering human rights

From the *New York Times* of 14 May 1978,

Summarising US Vice President Walter Mondale's visit to Indonesia:

"Jakarta has been seeking authority to purchase a squadron of A-4 ground-attack bombers to augment its antiquated air force. The request has been held up on procedural grounds and was flatly opposed by human rights advocates in the State Department who felt that Jakarta should be compelled to release some of Indonesia's 20,000 political prisoners. Rather than make a final decision in advance, Mr. Carter asked Mr. Mondale to take soundings on the ground on both the plane request and the Suharto Government's attitude on human rights.

Once there, the Vice-President found that the planes were indeed important to the Indonesians and with a little gentle prodding they could be induced to accelerate the release of political detainees. Some hurried phone calls back to Washington and a few hours later, the Vice-President was given the discretionary authority to grant the plane request if he felt adequate progress could be obtained on human rights. More talks with the Indonesians persuaded him that this was the case. Shortly before he left, he announced the plane sale."

This incident provides a perfect example of the crudeness with which the Western powers are pursuing their "human rights" policy in Indonesia. General Suharto's "attitude on human rights" is being judged solely on the basis of his willingness to accelerate prisoner releases. However, the issues involved in Indonesia are much more complex, particularly where weapons sales are concerned.

Since the beginning of the year the United States and Britain have considerably stepped up their arms sales to the Indonesian military. In February the State Department announced the sale of 16 sophisticated F-5 fighters. On 4 April British-Aerospace reported that it had concluded negotiations to sell 8 Hawk ground-attack planes. Then, in May the Americans agreed to sell the 16 A-4 bombers and to licence an M-16 rifle manufacturing factory in Indonesia.

Any protests about these deals have been answered with blithe assurances that human rights in Indonesia are improving. In fact, this is far from the truth: Peaceful student demonstrators have been brutally attacked on university campuses and a number killed. Their leaders have been arrested. The last semblance of press freedom has been snuffed out. W.S. Rendra has been detained. And the war in East Timor continues after two and a half years. These are not indications that the Suharto regime is acquiring greater respect for freedom and democracy.

It is certainly just that the tapols are receiving the attention of the American President after all these years, but in reality they have simply become pawns in cynical government bargaining over weapons of death. Warplanes have been bartered for political

prisoners without any concern for the bleak future that many of them face in resettlement camp. Indonesia's embattled democratic opposition has been forgotten. East Timor is ignored. One would think that Western leaders could not be so naive when it comes to human rights, unless they want to be.



Sculpture by tapol in Salemba prison

'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'.

Yap on the Rule of Law

The following extracts and quotations are taken from an article by Henry Kamm which appeared in the New York Times on 16 April 1978:

"There are values in life more valuable than life itself," the small and frail lawyer said, quoting Gandhi. Mr Yap Thiam Hien is a member of the International Commission of Jurists and a hero to students and other opponents of the Suharto Government whose opinions he expresses.

Questions of human rights in Indonesia start closer to the bottom than the conventional view of rights in Western countries, such as the right to express divergent political opinions, Mr Yap said. The crux of the issue is the rule of law.

"It is the problem of poverty, to which is always attached the problem of illiteracy and law-unconsciousness. This is a question for, say, one-half of the people of Indonesia. I don't think I exaggerate that illiteracy or half-literacy affects about fifty percent of the population. These people will always be victims of people who have better educational, social and economic positions and who hold the power of law enforcement. For ages, these people have been subject to all kinds of extortion and oppression from their own chiefs in feudal times and now from the new feudalism.

"Guess how many practising lawyers there are in Indonesia. There are 500." (Indonesia has a population of 135 million.) About 2,000 trained lawyers serve as judges and 10,000 work for the prosecutor-general. Asked to explain the discrepancy, he replies: "As a prosecutor or a magistrate you have more access to the public pocket."

Summoned before Admiral Sudomo following eleven months in prison in 1974 (no charges were filed), Mr Yap was cautioned to stick to his profession and not meddle in politics. He used the occasion to urge the Admiral to release the other political prisoners who had been held with him. Most of them, about 150, had been caught in the round-up of tens of thousands of suspected communists following the attempted coup in September 1965.

"There was no justification for holding them, I told him, because only one or two were real communists and some others had never been interrogated." Arguing his case that there can be no human rights without the rule of law, Mr Yap cited such deficiencies in Indonesian legislation as an absence of habeas corpus or the right to bail, the unlimited right of courts to hold prisoners without charges or trial, and the lack of right to counsel except in capital cases. Most common-law defendants are tried without counsel, he said.

Mr Yap said that to institute the rule of law with a Parliament heavily controlled by the Suharto Government would require raising the political consciousness of the people, "but you won't get the freedom to do that. We're in a vicious circle. That's why some

student groups say talking doesn't help any more. They tell me, 'We respect your idea of non-violence, but we see as a last resort only action, any kind of action.'

"We have a situation where the Government is not inclined to tolerate dissent, at least not open. All human rights derive from this. Freedom is stated in the Constitution, but in the implementation they demand 'responsible freedom' and of course they reserve the right to say whether it's 'responsible' or not."

* * * * *

NEW KOPKAMTIB LEADERSHIP

Lieutenant-General Yoga Sugama, chief of BAKIN, the Intelligence Coordination Unit, has been appointed Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB. He will hold the two posts concurrently. This is the first time that the top executive posts in BAKIN, the main intelligence collecting agency, and KOPKAMTIB, the main security operational body, have been held by the same person.

KOPKAMTIB's former Chief-of-Staff, Admiral Sudomo, now holds the position of Commander of KOPKAMTIB concurrently with the position of Deputy-Commander of the Armed Forces.

Lieutenant-General Daryatmo who was appointed in March this year to succeed Sudomo as KOPKAMTIB Chief-of-Staff held the position for little more than a month. He has now been appointed concurrently Chairman of Parliament and Chairman of the People's Assembly. (He was not actually a member of either body but a presidential appointment, announced a few days previously, soon took care of that.)

The post of Deputy-Chief of BAKIN, made vacant by the appointment of General Ali Murtopo as Minister of Information in Suharto's new Cabinet, has now been occupied by Major-General Benny Murdani who will also be holding this post concurrently with his other position as Assistant for Intelligence Affairs at the Department of Defence and Security (Hankam). He has been Hankam Intelligence Assistant since January 1974 when he was recalled from Seoul, S. Korea, where he was Indonesia's Military Attache, to occupy the post.

Military Role Grows Even Greater

There are now more Army generals in charge of key ministerial posts than ever before. Ten of the twenty ministers with portfolio are Army officers by comparison with five in the previous cabinet. This is probably an indication of the narrowing basis of support for General Suharto who was elected to a third term of office as President in March. The number of generals now required to occupy ministerial posts probably also accounts for the growing tendency for senior positions to be held concurrently.

There may however be other reasons, as yet not clear, why the executive leadership of KOPKAMTIB, the body in charge of political prisoners, is now in the hands of Indonesia's intelligence chief. This may be related to KOPKAMTIB's future role in a situation where more and more security affairs are placed into the hands of the civil government, which in turn is being subjected to more direct military control.

The Jakarta weekly *Tempo* (20 May, 1978) reports on the reasons for this latter trend as follows:

According to Hankam sources, during the Third Five-Year Plan which commences next April, "all key areas of activity have to be safeguarded," they said. "The heaviest responsibility inevitably rests with the Armed Forces."

A similar tendency is reflected in the current spate of appointments of provincial governors, a high percentage of whom are already Army officers. *Tempo* (6 May, 1978) quotes a Hankam source as saying that it is Hankam policy "that strategic provinces must be headed by an Armed Forces governor although no-one will say which provinces are regarded as 'strategic'".



Benny Moerdani



Yoga Sugama

More on the 1977 releases

Government spokesmen have repeatedly insisted during the past few months that all 10,000 prisoners released at the end of 1977 have been allowed home, that they have all been granted fully free status and that none have been sent to "transmigration" camps. They also insist that no pressure is being exerted upon them to go to camps. In confirmation of these claims, the Government has compiled a list of the names of the 10,000 prisoners in question. Some foreign embassies in Jakarta have seen this list but, as far as we know, no independent source has been able to check its reliability.

Information that has reached us in the past three months shows that there is a considerable discrepancy between government claims as set forth above and the circumstances in which many released prisoners find themselves. It shows also that these circumstances vary greatly from place to place. The most favourable have been reported in Jakarta. In other towns of Java they are far less favourable, and in the more remote places of Java they are even worse.

Before describing conditions, it should first be borne in mind that a distinction must be drawn between prisoners released in or back to the island of Java and those released in the other islands. Only 24% of the 10,000 were released in or back to Java (904 from prisons or camps in Java and 1,500 from Buru). Nearly 70% were released in the three islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi. When plans were being publicised during the course of 1977 about the releases at the end of that year, it was always made clear that, at this stage, there would be no transfer from Java to camps. All the 16 new transmigration camps are sited in the other island for what is described as "local transmigration".

By the nature of things, conditions on Java are more easily accessible to independent verification: communications for outsiders are easier, independent relief projects are operating more widely in Java, there are more contacts available and the presence of foreign embassies and journalists makes it necessary for the authorities to give a good impression, especially in Jakarta.

Conditions of Released Prisoners in Java

Jakarta All available information suggests that those released prisoners with homes in Jakarta have indeed returned home and have been granted fully free status. Some however are suffering from certain restraints, such as the requirement to report regularly to military offices. The Government's claim that released prisoners have been issued with normal identity cards has been proved false by a Dutch TV programme (Hier En Nu) which showed that the cards were indeed different.

Many released prisoners in Jakarta find themselves in desperate social and economic circumstances. Not only are they officially barred from obtaining employment in the state sector, the Armed Forces and in 'vital enterprises', but other companies are reluctant to take them on because they are required to report such appointments to the military authorities.

Other Parts of Java Outside Jakarta, conditions are far more restrictive, differing sharply from the claims made by the government. An ex-prisoner in Semarang released in December 1977 complains that he must have military permission to leave town. From the same area it is reported that ex-prisoners who were released earlier are suffering many more restrictions than those released last December: they must report themselves frequently, and in some places are required to perform compulsory labour and for as much as one week in every four.

From Malang (East Java) comes information that prisoners released last December have experienced very rigorous house-detention: Army officers check up on them frequently, and they are required to keep three log-books, one to record everything they do, one to record all visitors and one for the signature of the officer who checks up on them. A report has been received that prisoners released in Banyuwangi (E. Java) and Bali are still staying at their

places of detention. From other places, we have information that recently released prisoners may only leave home for medical treatment, to report themselves or to attend indoctrination courses.

Outside Java

Hardly any direct information has been received yet from any of the other islands. According to information from South Sumatra, prisoners there (released in February this year, not December 1977) are still living in their places of detention. "Release status" apparently only means that they are permitted to go in and out of the camps but may not actually leave. Those wishing to return to Java have been told that they may only do so if they have a home to go to as well as a job. Many cannot comply with these conditions.

It has come to our knowledge that nearly 200 prisoners "released" in West Kalimantan are officially described as having gone to a "resettlement" camp in Ketapang, West Kalimantan. This camp was opened up in 1975, and the prisoners concerned have most likely been inmates there for some time.

A similar situation is likely to confront the 355 prisoners who were due to be transferred to the camp recently set up in Pararapak, near Buntok in Central Kalimantan. An article published in the Jakarta daily, Sinar Harapan (21 September, 1977) which was not available when the TAPOL report on forced labour was in preparation, quotes the Army officer in charge of this project as saying that "when construction of the project has been completed, KOPKAMTIB would issue full release papers to the inmates and hand over the resettlement project to the local government." (Thus, technically, the inmates will be 'free' permanent settlers just like those now in Ketapang.)

Conclusions

If conditions on Java belie the claims now being made by the Government about the released prisoners, the gap between promise and reality must certainly be even wider elsewhere. These are the places where enforced "transmigrations" were originally planned for the 1977 releases, and the scant information that we have regarding South Sumatra and Kalimantan reveals that some at least of the camps are already being used to accommodate "released" prisoners.

Under these circumstances, it would clearly be quite wrong to accept government assurances that "all released prisoners have returned home".

**Treatment of Indonesian Political Prisoners: Forced Labour and Transmigration, published by TAPOL, February, 1978. Price £1.00 plus postage.*

Chronology

of

Human Rights Violations in Indonesia from June 1976 to May 1978.

This 28-page book was issued by TAPOL on the occasion of this year's IGGI Meeting. It details violations in all fields of human rights, from imprisonment to censorship, from the banning of films and songs to atrocities in East Timor.

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Psychotests: Foreign scientists involved?

TAPOL has reported the use of "psychotests" on B-category prisoners to determine their political viewpoints. More information about these tests has now become available. Pulitzer Prize winning journalist Henry Kamm recently visited Indonesia, met with Admiral Sudomo of KOPKAMTIB and discussed the tests. The following is an excerpt from their interview, published in the *New York Times* on 12 April:

Asked to describe the psychological test to be administered to detainees, the security chief said it took his organisation two years to develop. He said the result was a series of questions that gave a 70 to 80 per cent assurance of detecting communists.

Admiral Sudomo said the Indonesians who devised the test consulted psychologists in the United States, Britain and the Netherlands in the process but did not name any of them.

We asked CIA, 'Maybe you have some equipment to detect if he is a communist.' They don't have it.

In an article on 26 April, Mr. Kamm discussed the "psychotests" at greater length:

Explaining the testing procedure that he devised, General Sumitro (the major-general in charge of administering the psycho-tests) said five tests have been administered by a specially trained group of 200 assistants.

First came a basic intelligence test. Two others were tests not especially devised for Indonesia, including an American test, the Edwards Personal Preference Schedule. Its application to Indonesia's political prisoners, the general said, was to test the firmness of their convictions and motivation and their capacity to influence others.

"It shows us if they are good fighters," General Sumitro said. "If their score is high, that's bad for us."

The other test on political attitudes, was designed by Hans Jurgen Eysenck, the British psychologist. The degree of intensity with which Communist sentiments were held was scored on a scale ranging from "tough-minded" to "tenderness".

The two final tests were "thematic differentiation" tests especially devised for Indonesian conditions. General Sumitro declined to disclose what questions were asked.

He said the test scores were fed into a computer and supplemented with interrogation files and observations recorded about prisoners during their detention. This determined a classification into one of four classes, ranging from "diehard", through "not so hard", an even lower degree and, finally, category "zero".

EYSENCK DISAPPROVES

TAPOL contacted Professor Eysenck in reference to the use of his test for political purposes. His reply reads as follows:

"I was not aware of the particular use of my tests which was mentioned in the newspaper clippings you sent me, and I was never consulted about their use. I would think it most unlikely that the test involved, which is one of social attitudes applicable only in Western countries, would give any sensible results even remotely applicable to the problem in question.

"I strongly disapprove of people being deprived of their liberty on purely political grounds, and I deprecate the use of my tests in this connection."

Admiral Sudomo's admission that Dutch psychologists had been consulted during the process of preparing the two "thematic differentiation" tests has caused a furor in the Netherlands. The newspaper *De Volkskrant* reported on 24 April that the catholic University of Nijmegen had collaborated with Indonesian psychologists at universities in Jakarta and Bandung during the compiling of the questionnaires. The Dutch university denies that it was directly involved in the "psycho-tests", but it concedes that a government sponsored cooperative project with the Indonesians may have been of some assistance. The Indonesians who participated in the formulation of the tests included Dr. Fuad Hassan, Mrs. Sadli, the wife of the former government minister Mohamed Sadli, and a Dr. Marat who is at the University of Bandung and who is also the chief of security forces in West Java.

continued on page 12

A story of ex-tapols from Buru

"... for Mr Tatang and Mr Sukatma, freedom has meant only another round of tribulations. Like many newly released prisoners here, they have been greeted not by rejoicing but by suspicion resulting from government rhetoric that for years sought to justify their detention."

Thus wrote Barry Newman (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 May 1978) shortly after US Vice-President Walter Mondale's visit to Indonesia during which he had assured President Suharto of America's "favourable reaction" to the December 1977 releases.

Barry Newman's report graphically describes the enormous problems faced by prisoners returning home after more than 12 years in prison without trial, which for many has meant long years of total separation from their families too.

"When he arrived at his tiny home in one of Jakarta's cramped villages, [Mr Tatang] discovered that his wife had long ago married someone else. Today, he sits with his friend Sukatma in an airless room at the Council of Churches seeking a few cents for bus fares. Mr Tatang is 46 years old, Mr Sukatma is 60."

Both were arrested in late 1965. "Like all the others, [they] were thought to have Communist connections. 'We were members of a labour union,' Mr Tatang says. 'It was supposed to be a front, I didn't know. To me it was just a union.' They were fired, and shortly afterward they were arrested. 'They told me I was implicated in the coup,' Mr Tatang says. 'They never told me what they thought I did.'"

Barry Newman reports that the two men spent three years in a prison in Jakarta and were then transported to Buru. "That was the

last either man saw of his family. Then for eight years, the two former clerks became subsistence farmers. 'There was enough food,' says Mr Tatang, 'but it was spiritually hurtful. My thoughts were always in Java.'"

Mr Tatang was given no money on his release, writes Barry Newman. He doesn't have a job and his chances of finding one are slim. His confinement has left him with "bad lungs" and turns away every few minutes to cough convulsively.

"When they were healthy, the two were able to work on the fields on Buru and grow rice. If they were healthy again and could keep their freedom, neither would object at this point to going back. 'It is better,' says Mr Sukatma, 'than being destitute in Jakarta.'"

Mr Sukatma now lives with his wife and 16-year old daughter. His wife takes in laundry and in a good month can earn the equivalent of \$25. "With another mouth to feed, of course, things are more difficult. 'It's hard for someone who was never a prisoner to find work,' he says, 'let alone someone like me'. A relative tried to get him a position at a bus company but he was rejected. He tried for a job in the Jakarta city government and was rejected again. He is too old and 'people are afraid.'"

Mr Tatang, reports Barry Newman, "hasn't gathered the will to search for work. 'I'm sick. My arms hurt.' " ... His aim is to open a cigarette stand ... but that requires \$250 and no-one is offering to supply it.

"There are men in my village who were never arrested," Tatang says "They have homes, They have pots and pans. Some of them have pensions. My life could have been stable. I could have had a pension too."

1978 Crackdown....

STUDENTS KILLED

A number of students are known to have been killed during the attacks launched by troops against universities during the month of February this year. According to one source, two students were killed on the campus of Gaja Mada university (Jogjakarta) during the second of two armed attacks against the campus. One was a medical student from North Sumatra, the other a student from Solo. On the same occasion, eleven students who had been wounded were taken to the military hospital by ambulances.

This same source reports further: "The troops who laid into those Jogja students on 25 and 27 February" . . . (had recently come) back from East Timor. (There was) a lot of shooting. Kampong people were frightened, saying it was like 1965, you couldn't tell who would be next. On the first day of the shooting, 200-300 students had been listening to speeches in front of the office of the student publication, *Gelanggang Mahasiswa* — some students from UI (Jakarta's state university) and IAIN (School for Islamic Studies) were there as well as Gajah Mada students. At least four were seriously injured as a result of the shooting and clobbering. And two days later the behaviour was still rougher."

A Japanese free-lance journalist on a three-week trip to Indonesia, happened to be in Jogjakarta on the day of the first incident. He had heard that a meeting was in progress on the Gajah Mada campus, so he took a taxi and drove there. During this drive, he saw numerous armoured vehicles converging on the campus. He alighted from the taxi on arrival but was forced by troops to leave his camera behind. As he entered the campus, he saw the students, some 2,00 of them, being forced to disperse. He heard many shots though did not actually see any of the wounded in the melee. From information he was subsequently able to collect, he believes

that at least one student was killed in Jogjakarta, that twelve were killed during a similar assault in Surabaya and that one was killed in Bandung.

CIVILIANS ARRESTED

The government's crackdown on its civilian critics has continued. During April and May a number of people were arrested, the most notable being W.S. Rendra, the poet and playwright (see the article in this bulletin). Also included in the detentions were Bung Tomo, a hero of the independence struggle against the Dutch, Dr Ismail Suny, the Professor of Constitutional Law who was detained in early January for telling a student gathering that a certain general (read Suharto) held savings of 330 million dollars in a Jakarta bank, and Mahbub Djunaedi, Moslem politician and former president of the Indonesian Journalists Association. In addition, Mr Sjafaruddin Prawiranegara, Sumarsono, the former editor-in-chief of the banned newspaper *Abadi*, Hardi Arifin, GPI treasurer, and Sholeh Iskander, Hardi's father-in-law, chairman of Yayasan Pesantren Pertanian Darul Falen and an adviser to a Dutch relief organisation, were arrested. Two teachers at Darul Faleh, Ir. Supriyadi and Ir. Sutisna were detained in Bogor.

A significant arrest was that of Haji C.J. Princen, the human rights activist. Mr Princen was arrested after a visit to the Netherlands during which he described the government crackdown to members of the Dutch Parliament. He has been detained on two previous occasions, once by President Sukarno and once by Suharto in connection with the Malari Affair.

Admiral Sudomo of KOPKAMTIB stated on 14 April that two hundred people were still in detention, and that sixty would be tried. Three cases have already been handed over to the courts.

....Letter from Jogjakarta

Dear.

... The most terrible things happened here in Jogjakarta. On two occasions, the Army handled students in an unusually brutal manner. As you can well imagine, we were powerless against bayonets, fire-arms and panzers. The military began to use their bayonets and to shoot at random. Just imagine 2,000 students fleeing in complete disorder — some crawling away on their bellies, some screaming hysterically as they fled, some falling to the ground. It was like a battle, like the Vietnam war.

The whole thing began on 25 February when an open meeting was convened to discuss the present situation and the corrupt state apparatus. Students came to this meeting in droves, there were thousands of them. Then the Army arrived. They closed all roads leading to the campus so that no-one could get in or out. With the university grounds completely surrounded, they then proceeded to break up the meeting by force. They closed in on the encircled students with their weapons: stabbing with their bayonets, firing their rifles at random, kicking students and throwing them to the ground. I think the soldiers shot downwards intentionally as there were bullet-holes just half a metre from the ground and some students were wounded in the legs and thighs.

On 27 February, the students gathered together again to hold a remembrance ceremony for those who had been wounded and shot. On this day too, the Army behaved with ferocious brutality. Anyone who happened to be on the campus faced the danger of being picked up and thrown into one of the waiting Army trucks. The military had brought huge equipment right into the faculty premises. They were determined to remove every single student from

the buildings. They made no attempt to talk first with the students so as to persuade them to leave the buildings voluntarily. They forced their way into the buildings and shot at anyone they came across. There was a terrible onslaught. Students were attacked by panzers and tanks. On that day, the guns spoke.

On 28 February, the Rector closed down the University. Those students who had been arrested were very roughly treated by the military. It is incredible to think that the military claim to be the defenders of the Panca Sila. Some of the students were forced to do thirty push-ups while sustaining blows on their hands and feet. One of my friends said that he was violently tortured. One soldier was particularly vicious. He asked one of the students: "What colour is your blood, red or brown?" When the student replied, "Red", the soldier struck him on the head, making him bleed. Then he said, "Yes, you're right, it's red." He scooped up some of the blood and smeared it onto the head of another student.

Often, students were asked to say where they came from. Those from places other than Java were especially brutally treated.

There are many more stories circulating about the brutalities perpetrated by the military. Many students were arrested and the arrests are still continuing. The newspapers do not dare to report anything about student actions any more. All student newspapers have been banned. We get news now only from illegal leaflets and pamphlets. According to these reports, two students were killed during the demonstrations held on the Gajah Mada campus; twenty-five were wounded and some hundreds were arrested.

Jogjakarta, 16 March, 1978

Rendra arrested

Poet, Playwright, Director, Actor

W.S. Rendra, one of Indonesia's most outstanding artists, was arrested in Jakarta on 1st May. His arrest came three days after a poetry reading at which he recited 15 of his own poems under the title, *Pamphlet*. Despite attempts to disrupt the performance by unknown assailants who threw teargas bombs into the auditorium, Rendra continued with his readings to the enthusiastic response of an audience of more than 2,500 which filled Jakarta's Ismael Marzuki Art Centre (TIM) open-air theatre to overflowing.

A spokesman for the Jakarta Military Command which arrested Rendra made it clear that the poetry reading and the general content of Rendra's work were the reasons for his arrest. "Such stuff can lead to unrest and social conflicts. It gives people the wrong picture of the results of development," said Lieutenant-Colonel Anas Malik, Public Relations Officer of the Jakarta Military Command. (*Tempo*, 13 May 1978) Admiral Sudomo, Commander-in-Chief of Indonesia's all-powerful security command, KOPKAMTIB, commenting on the arrest, described Rendra's poems as being "full of incitements".

The Jakarta weekly *Tempo* also reports that Rendra was asked by his military interrogators: "Why did you continue with the programme even though people had thrown (teargas bombs)?" Rendra replied: "Because I felt that I was within the law. They are the ones who should be arrested."

Years of Harassment

Rendra has been one of Indonesia's most popular poets and playwrights for a number of years. He also directs his own Theatre Workshop in Jogjakarta, Central Java. Many of his productions have been banned by the military authorities there, the best known being a play entitled *Mastodan dan Burung-Burung Kondor* which depicted oppression in a fictitious South American country. Others banned have included a rendering in Indonesian setting of *Oedipus Rex*.

Faced with the heavy hand of local military censorship in Jogjakarta, Rendra has been compelled to stage most of his plays at the Ismael Marzuki Art Centre (TIM) in Jakarta.

Rendra was one of 14 intellectuals and artists who signed a statement on 24 January this year protesting against the arrest of students and the closure of seven newspapers four days earlier. The seven papers were only allowed to resume publication two weeks later after accepting a number of restrictions. These included a ban on publishing any statements by a number of personalities, among whom was Rendra.

Warning to Jakarta's Art Centre

Rendra's arrest is also clearly intended to be a warning to the Jakarta Arts Centre, (TIM). Said the Jakarta Military Command spokesman: "It (Rendra's arrest) is also intended to make the TIM management realise that the Centre is not like Hyde Park, a place where people can attack others. . . . Don't try to use art as a means of opposition to the government." (*Tempo*, 6 May 1978).

TIM was opened in 1968 and has been supported by a subsidy from the Jakarta Municipal Government. During the term of office of Jakarta's former governor, Ali Sadikin, TIM enjoyed considerable freedom of expression and became a centre for much creative activity and debate in many areas of culture. Ali Sadikin became a very popular figure, quite independent of the Army (he was himself of the Naval Marine Corps). He was replaced as Jakarta's governor in 1977.

Film Banned

Soon after Rendra's arrest, the Jakarta Military Command announced a ban on the showing of a new film entitled *The Young in Love* in the capital. The ban came as a complete surprise to the film's director, Syuman Djaya who had already made cuts in the film at the

request of the Board of Censors and had received a Board certificate for its distribution.

Rendra plays the leading role in the film which describes the conflict between a young man and his disciplinarian father. The film commences with shots of Rendra (playing himself) reciting poetry in a university campus. This must clearly be the reason why the film was banned for public showing although a Jakarta Military Command spokesman said that the ban had been imposed because "the film accommodates communist revolutionary theory and ideas of contradiction which are banned in Indonesia".



POETRY BY W.S. RENDRA

From *The Right to Oppose*

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 *Pamphlet*

I have written this pamphlet because
The voice of public opinion has become shrouded in cobwebs.
Men speak in riddles
And rumour has assumed the guise of truth.
If critics are allowed to speak
Only through official channels,
Life will lose its savour –
Like vegetables without salt.
I have written a pamphlet because
Pamphlets are not taboo for poets.
I want to speak through messenger pigeons;
I want to use my hands as semaphors;
I want to use the smoke signals of the Indians.
I can see no reason to remain silent –
To do nothing.

PRAYER OF THE HUNGRY

Hunger is a smooth black crow
Millions of crows
like a black cloud.
Oh God!

How terrifying the crows are.
And hunger is black crow.
Continually terrifying.
Hunger is rebellion.
Is the mysterious force
moving the murder's knife
in the hands of the poor.
Hunger is the coral rocks
beneath the sleeping face of the sea.
Is tears of deceit
Is the betrayal of honor.
A strong young man crying
to see his own hands
lay honor down
because of hunger.
Hunger is a devil.
Hunger is a devil offering dictatorship.
Oh God!

Hunger is black hands
putting handfuls of alum
into the stomachs of the poor.
Oh God!
We kneel.
Our eyes are your eyes.
This is your mouth.
This is your heart.
And this is your stomach.
Your stomach hungers, Oh God.
Your stomach chews alum
and broken glass.
Oh God!
How nice a plate of rice
a bowl of soup and a cup of coffee would be
Oh God!
Hunger is a crow.
Millions of black crows
like a black cloud
blotting out my view
of your heaven.

W.S. Rendra
Indonesia

International campaign for Rendra's release

A group of distinguished artists and scholars have made a public appeal to the Indonesian Government for the immediate release of W.S. Rendra. The appeal is made in a letter published in *The Times*, London, on 10 June, 1978 and is signed by Sir Richard Attenborough and John Schlesinger, foremost British film directors, Arnold Wesker, the playwright, Janet Suzman, one of Britain's leading actresses, David Caute, the poet, and Ruth McVey, a leading scholar in Indonesian studies.

The Letter states:

"Indonesia, a country that has been holding tens of thousands of political prisoners without trial for over 12½ years, is at it again. We have heard with dismay of the arrest recently of one of the country's foremost poets and playwrights, Mr W.S. Rendra. This artist is as yet little known in the outside world but he has become popular in his own country."

After describing the ways in which Rendra has been harassed and the circumstances of his arrest, the letter concludes with the following appeal: "May we, through your columns, urge the Indonesian Government to release Mr Rendra without delay and to end its policy of repressing human rights."

British Writer's Appeal

The well-known British writer, Stan Barstow, has also made an appeal for Rendra's release. In a letter addressed to President Suharto, he writes:

"As an English writer, I was privileged to take part in a seminar with Rendra, and other overseas visitors, in Melbourne, Australia in October 1972. Reading again now the work Rendra read to his appreciative audience on that occasion confirms the opinion I formed then: that he is a most distinguished writer whose work is infused with a deep and abiding concern for his fellow men and women – a writer whom his country should be proud to honour rather than repress."

In addition the Writers' Guild of Great Britain has sent a cable to the Indonesian Ambassador in London protesting about Rendra's arrest and calling for his immediate release.

International PEN Cables Suharto

International PEN's Congress, held in May this year, sent the following cable to President Suharto:

Delegates to the Congress of International PEN, world-wide

continued on page 12

British MPs reject warplanes deal

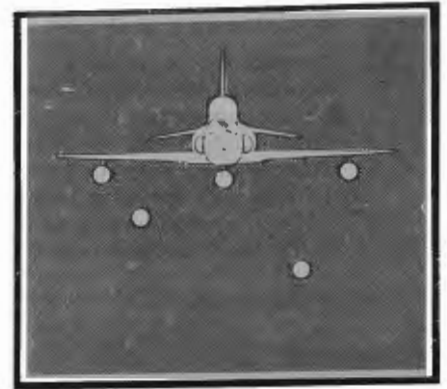
An Early Day Motion calling for the cancellation of a deal concluded in April this year by British Aerospace to sell eight Hawk ground attack/trainer aircraft has been tabled in the House of Commons. This motion is part of activities being undertaken by a number of Members of Parliament. Many have also written to the Foreign Office and Ministry of Defence expressing concern over the deal.

The Motion reads as follows:

This House calls for the cancellation of the contract signed between British Aerospace and Indonesia for the sale of eight Hawk ground attack/trainer aircraft, and urges that no export licence should be issued and that there should be a total embargo on arms sales to Indonesia, especially in view of the war of conquest that Indonesia is waging against the people of East Timor who have been denied the right of self-determination and also against the people of West Irian, and the tens of thousands of political prisoners in detention in Indonesia.

Up to the time of going to press, 23 Members of Parliament had signed the motion, with more signatures still coming in.

Hawk Campaign



The TAPOL campaign against the sale to Indonesia of British Hawk fighter-bombers continues. A number of Labour Party Constituency parties have sent emergency resolutions to the NEC of the Labour Party condemning the sale of the planes. They have called upon the Foreign Secretary to stop the deal by refusing to authorise the export licenses. Many more GMC's will be considering the issue at their June meetings. Readers who are GMC delegates should make sure that their party passes a resolution.

International Red Cross resumes Tapol visits

An International Red Cross (ICRC) mission went to Indonesia in January this year to resume visits to prisons and camps where political prisoners are held. This came after a breakdown last year when the ICRC refused to continue visits because of the unsatisfactory arrangements made for its mission in early 1977 (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 21, April 1977).

The resumption of visits follows negotiations between the Indonesian Government and the ICRC on the terms of future visits. It is apparent that Western governments, notably the US Government, were anxious to ensure that ICRC visits would resume.

According to the ICRC Review (March-April 1978), the mission had visited nine places of detention by the end of February 1978. We have heard from independent sources that it was scheduled to visit Nusakambangan prison island from 9-16 April.

As is normally the case, it is not expected that the ICRC will publish any of its findings.

ICRC Refused Access to East Timor

ICRC efforts to obtain permission to visit East Timor have however not been successful. The Red Cross had been carrying out activities in that country during 1974 and 1975 but was refused access following the Indonesian invasion in December 1975.

Michael Richardson, writing in *The Melbourne Age* (8 May, 1978), reports that "informed sources who have followed closely the negotiations between the ICRC and Indonesian authorities on this sensitive subject say Jakarta has made it clear that resumption by the ICRC of its traditional work of visiting prisoners and extending assistance to the civilian population is out of the question."

Richardson describes Indonesia's attitude as "a direct rebuff" to both the US and Australian Government which have sought the return of the ICRC to East Timor.

IGGI meeting approves more credits

The 1978 meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, held in Amsterdam in May, approved a total of no less than US \$2,500 million in credits for Indonesia for the financial year commencing on 1 April this year.

This amount exceeds the sum approved last year by 25% and, according to David Jenkins, writing in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* (9th June, 1978) "will take Indonesia's foreign debt to a whopping US \$13 billion, not including Pertamina's contingent liabilities". "As a result", he continues, "the country's debt service ratio (the proportion of foreign earnings required to repay foreign debts) which now stands at around 16%, will rise in a few years' time to almost 20%, the generally accepted 'danger' level."

The 1978 IGGI total will be supplied from the following sources:

- * IGGI member governments will provide \$850 million. The largest contribution will come from Japan (\$256 million) followed by the USA (\$186 million) and West Germany (\$123 million).
- * International agencies will provide \$800 million. \$600 million of this is from the World Bank and the rest from the Asian Development Bank
- * Countries in the Middle East and East Europe will provide a total of \$100 million.
- * The remaining \$750 million will be covered by borrowing from private banks on commercial terms.

Warplanes Through The Looking Glass

The following statement is excerpted from the 15 February 1978 testimony of Professor Benedict Anderson before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on International Organisations:

1. The major formal invasion launched by the Suharto regime took place on December 7, 1975, one day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger visited Jakarta. We have yet to see any evidence that either of them expressed any real concern at this open act of aggression, carried out, as two prominent State Department officials have confessed, essentially with American weapons — a clearcut violation of the U.S.-Indonesian bilateral arms agreement of 1958.

2. In March 1977, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Robert Oakley declared that the East Timor situation had "caused us problems and anguish for a period certainly of a year and a half now". (A year and a half dates the anguish back to October 1975, well before the overt Indonesian invasion; note that the unselfconscious use of the word "us" shows Mr. Oakley's complete identification of the Ford and Carter administrations' policies). He went on to say that:

In order to insure that the U.S. was in compliance with the applicable statutes and make good our warnings prior to December 7 about the use of U.S. military equipment, we suspended administratively the provision of additional security assistance. This suspension lasted about 6 months.

This excerpt is from an exchange between subcommittee chairman Donald Fraser and representatives of the Departments of State and Defense:

MR. OAKLEY. However there are some things which Mr. von Marbod has researched very thoroughly and we will put them in the record, some of which referred to by M. Anderson, which did go through the pipeline.

If you recall, our statement was: A policy review was initiated to insure that we are in compliance with applicable standards while reviewing the matter, although military equipment already in the pipeline continues to be delivered. And that was a quotation from General Fish about no new arms, arms which Mr. Anderson cited, and we will enter into the record these eight items of spare parts which did go in one way or another during this period.

MR. FRASER. That is, there was an agreement to sell during this period, a new agreement?

MR. OAKLEY. There were offers made, and there were acceptances. Excuse me, Erich, would you like to speak briefly to that?

Mr. VON MARBOD. That is correct, Mr. Chairman, there were transactions during that period of time, the time of the administrative suspension, or as it was referred to, and with your permission I would like to submit that for the record to clarify the issue.

MR. OAKLEY. It wasn't anything that was done deliberately; had there been a deliberate attempt to get around the freeze, that would be a different thing. But, in any event, there were some things that slipped through, and we would like to put it in the record.

MR. FRASER. Was this a matter of slipping through in violation of the policy or what?

MR. VON MARBOD. I would say this, Mr. Chairman: That the actions of the Department of Defense, of course, were all subject to the review of the Department of State. My research indicates that these transactions had been reported to the Department of State; the Department of State was aware of it. My review also indicates that there was some confusion during that period of time as to what the true situation was, and for that reason I would like to volunteer a statement for the record of the transactions that took place during that period of time.

MR. FRASER. Could you go a bit further and give us any kind of documentation as to exactly what the policy was then? General Fish had indicated there was a 6-month administrative suspension.

MR. VON MARBOD. Yes, sir, it is in the previous hearings.

MR. FRASER. I mean if there are any documents of the Department of State that would indicate precisely how the matter

Lt. Gen. Howard Fish, Director of the Defense Security Assistance Agency, told this committee on March 23, 1977 that "what we did was stop processing (military sales) . . . we stopped processing new requests (for arms). This committee subsequently learned, however, that the Indonesian government was never informed that any such suspension had taken place. If we are curious as to why the Indonesians never felt the force of the U.S. government's "anguish", the answer is quite simple. In flat contradiction to express statements by General Fish, Mr. Oakley and Assistant Secretary of State of East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Holbrooke, at least *four* separate offers of military equipment were made to the Indonesian government during the January-June 1976 "administrative suspension." This equipment consisted mainly of supplies and parts for OV-10 Broncos, Vietnam War era planes specially designed for counter-insurgency operations against adversaries without effective anti-aircraft weapons, and wholly useless for defending Indonesia against a foreign enemy. The policy of supplying the Indonesians equipment has continued without substantial change from the Ford through the present Carter administrations.

was formulated. Is it correct it was over \$1 million in spare parts that were offered and accepted during that 6-month period?

MR. VON MARBOD. That is accurate Mr. Chairman.

MR. FRASER. And it seems to have been largely for the Bronco airplane?

MR. VON MARBOD. That is correct, Mr. Chairman.

MR. OAKLEY. There were a number of things.

MR. VON MARBOD. There were a number of items, primarily administrative support items.

MR. FRASER. The impression I have is that not only were the offers and acceptances made but that so-called implementation came quite rapidly, considering how rapidly government usually functions.

MR. VON MARBOD. I don't know whether that would be a fair statement, Mr. Chairman. Again, I was not here at the time. My research is based on dates and documents that I could find in the file. Some of the documents were, in fact, in the hands of the Indonesian Government and had been offered prior to the suspension.

MR. OAKLEY. We will give you a letter for the record on that, sir, between the State Department and the Defense Department in order to clarify a point on which we inadvertently misled you last year without anyone's knowing.

MR. FRASER. I am not so concerned about being misled as to whether—

MR. OAKLEY. I am.

MR. FRASER. It goes beyond that. I know that we can be given information from time to time which people believe to be right and turns out it isn't, but I am really more concerned as to what the underlying policy really was.

MR. VON MARBOD. I find in my review, Mr. Chairman, that there were meetings, there was oral guidance given to the Department of Defense, but the best thing I can do is provide the audit trail on the actual transaction.

MR. FRASER. Can you also provide us with whatever policy directives there may have been?

MR. VON MARBOD. Yes; in consultation with the Department of State, we will certainly provide that for the record; be pleased to.

MR. FRASER. It would be quite helpful. Because the more we learn about it, the more that suspension turns out to have been of no consequence. We were told, I think, Indonesians were never

Letter from a released tapol

The following is part of a letter from a former prisoner in East Java:

Dear L.

One wonders how the health situation of prisoners in East Java is. From my own experience, I can tell you that it was very bad, especially in the period immediately after the coup. However, even now there are still prisoners whose conditions are by no means good.

In the years 1966-69, in the notorious Kalisosok prison (Surabaya) alone, 758 died tragically from starvation. Those who survived picked grains of rice off the floor, grabbing them from the ants who were carrying them away. They even ate the chalk from the walls. When someone died, it often occurred that the cellmates only reported this two days later when the stench became unbearable. This happened because they wanted to get the portion of rice intended for the deceased so as to prolong their own lives for another few days.

Many others who did not die of starvation died as a result of terror. They were removed from the prisons and killed. The method used was the notorious 'bon'-system (ticket-system). A group of terrorists would announce themselves in the middle of the night to the commander of a prison, presenting 'bons' on which were written the names of prisoners who had to be surrendered. This was supposed to be for the purpose of interrogating them, but they disappeared and no-one heard of them anymore. This 'bon' system was applied in many different prisons and concentration camps during the years 1966-1969. It happened in Kalisosok (Surabaya), Ngandjuk, Wonotjolo, Malang, Batu and elsewhere. The number of victims of this system was 582 including Mr Moerachman, former mayor of Surabaya, Mr Kanapi Imam Suwarso, the *bupati* of Banyuwangi and six other *bupatis* and mayors from the *kabupatens* of Madiun and Trenggalek.

MALTREATMENT

This does not include the dozens of young men and women who, during this 'white terror' from 1965-1966, died as victims of maltreatment and torture during interrogation. In these evil doings, the official interrogators were unfortunately helped to some extent by some political prisoners who sold their honour and became collaborators with the enemy. A couple of these renegades were themselves guilty of besmearing themselves with blood in this way.

Prisoners were beaten, burnt with cigarettes, they were suspended by the feet, head down, and beaten, they were tortured with electric current, women were stripped naked, and there were some whose genitals were electrified and some whose thighs were slashed with razor-blades. And there were political prisoners who were used as targets for knife-throwing practice. Many died as a result of these tortures.

To what extent has the treatment of the tapols undergone any improvements since 1970? In Kalisosok prison and other places, regular *razzias* or searches are carried out; the cells are searched, bodies are searched. In the period from December 1973 to May 1976 alone, five such *razzias* took place, and up to this day, such things still occur. They look for weapons, papers, notes. Such things cannot of course be found because they are all forbidden contraband. But when they cannot find these things, they take whatever comes to hand, shoes, plates, cups, cutlery, saucepans, photographs, watches and even sewing equipment. During two such *razzias* in Kalisosok, over 30 containers full of possession were taken from the prisoners. In the period 1973-74, ten men died in the E Block from

malnourishment and high bloodpressure, and in the following year, another four died. This kind of thing is still quite normal.

The food situation too in prisons in East Java is still very depressing. From a friend who was recently released from a prison in a medium-sized town, I heard the following details. The daily ration is 300 grams of rice or corn, a small piece of *tempe*, a small piece of salted fish and a little *kangkung* soup. If no additional food were received from families to supplement this, the situation would be fatal.

The medical situation also leaves much to be desired. In Lowokwaru Prison, in Malang, 15 prisoners died from May 1976 till the middle of 1977, out of a total of about 600 prisoners. They died of such ailments as heart diseases, asthma and tuberculosis. There is no prison doctor. Medical examinations take place only once a week and then not by a doctor but by a nurse who has a very limited supply of medicines anyway. The chances for a sick person to be treated in a clinic or in hospital is really minimal. The prisoners therefore exist in an atmosphere of anxiety and fear, fear for the eventual appearance of symptoms of an illness or disturbances and even the fear of a sudden death.

WOMEN'S PRISON

In Malang there is also a women's prison where ten women tapols have been incarcerated since 1968. Their situation is exceptionally bad. Up to the beginning of 1977 they were completely isolated and kept locked up in their cells for 24 hours a day. Food supplies were minimal, and medical treatment even worse than for the men. They received practically no visits from their families because in most cases their husbands were suffering the same fate as they themselves, and some of them were already widows. The result is that almost all of them suffer from beri-beri or heart diseases. After they had been isolated for so long, the doors were opened a little this year but only 'occasionally'. They can now go out and get their food and drinking water themselves and perform little chores, and they can stay out of their cells for five hours a day and take the sun. But the rest of the day, they have to remain inside their cells.

Particularly tragic is the fate of the young prisoners who were only children when they were arrested. In Lowokwaru Prison in Malang, there are two youngsters, aged 16 and 17. Their names are Gunarto and Purnomo and they were captured in 1968 and they have practically grown up between bars and prison walls. Nothing is ever mentioned about their eventual release whilst it is obvious that they could have had nothing to do with the 30 Sept. Movement. There are some who are over 70, and others who were invalids when they were arrested.

RED CROSS VISIT

Visits from foreign observers such as the International Red Cross can at times have some effect. In August-Sept 1974, several prisons in East Java where tapols are also incarcerated such as Modjokerto and Malang, received visits from the International Committee of the Red Cross. The delegation was led by Drs. Russbach and Paul. On this occasion, the tapols were dictated to and prepared on how they must answer any questions. Besides this, there was a lot more messing about such as falsifying the prison menu just before the arrival of the guests, such things as Dr Russbach noticed during his visit to Modjokerto Prison.

Soon after the Red Cross visit in 1974, some prisoners in Malang were severely punished with repeated beatings and they were made to crawl for many minutes along the ground. The reason was that they had been able to speak personally with the visitors and were able to tell them about the real conditions of prison life because they were able to speak foreign languages. And after all this was for the benefit of the guests who understood no Indonesian. During his

continued from page 9

informed of it, and now we find, in fact, there were offers and acceptances and deliveries made during the 6-month period.

MR. OAKLEY. That is correct, sir, but—

MR. FRASER. Reminds me of the Cheshire cat in "Alice in Wonderland"; all we have is the grin left.

Trials

Colonel Latief

The trial of former Colonel Abdul Latief, accused of involvement in the failed "Untung Coup" of 30 September 1965, has begun in a military court in Jakarta. Latief, who has been imprisoned for nearly thirteen years while awaiting trial, has been indicted on three charges: rebelling against the lawful government of Indonesia, undertaking an armed uprising and using his position in the Armed Forces to order others to commit murder. He has denied all of the charges.

The military prosecutor's opening statement described how Latief, the late Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, other officers and leaders of the Indonesian Communist Party allegedly planned and carried out the murder of six senior army generals and the takeover of government buildings in Jakarta and other Javanese cities.

In his demurrer, Latief declared the court proceedings illegal. He claimed that since he had been expelled from the army soon after the coup was defeated he could not be tried under the jurisdiction of a military court. Latief stated that he would "wage protest", refusing to answer questions.

In addition, Latief asked that his case be postponed, giving two reasons. One was poor health. He complained of kidney and heart ailments, high blood pressure and a knee injury. The latter injury was incurred at the time of his arrest, but the other difficulties have apparently developed while he has been in prison. The second reason given in Latief's request for postponement was his desire to be represented by the Lawyer Mr Yap Thiam Hien, who has been out of the country. At present Latief is being represented by two lawyers appointed by PERADIN, the lawyers association. The request for postponement was turned down by the judges, and the trial continues.

continued from page 10

visit to Modjokerto in 1974, Dr Russbach made this brief comment: "The treatment of political prisoners in Indonesia is among the worst in the world."

The visit made by the International Red Cross to prisons at the beginning of 1977 brought about many improvements. There is today, in prisons in Surabaya and Malang at least some opportunity to read books and periodicals. Also radio and TV were made available to prisoners after rumour had got around that the International Red Cross would be making a visit to camps.

Torture still occurs. Intimidation, punishments and torture of tapols went on up to the first months of 1977. Prisoners were beaten during interrogations. One of the women prisoners was beaten because she had suggested to the camp commander that there should be some improvements made in the daily rations for her and her co-prisoners.

Maltreatment and torture is also applied during trials against political prisoners. It happens sometimes that the witnesses are beaten as well as the accused. This occurred during the trial of Sukarman in May 1977 because the answers of the witnesses and the defence plea of the accused was not to the liking of those who 'hold the rods', and because the accused sharply criticised the rulers. Immediately after that trial, the accused was intimidated in an attempt to make him withdraw his plea. Because he refused to do so, he was thrown into his cell. All his papers were confiscated, and he was then thrown into the toilet and had to be fished out again.

The fate of the sentenced people who have been moved to various prisons such as in Surabaya and Malang is still pending.

The Sawito Trial

The prosecution in the trial of Sawito Kartowibowo has asked the judge to sentence the defendant to twenty years in prison for his role in the so-called "letter plot" to remove President Suharto from office. Sawito is accused of both subversion and defamation of the President. His defense attorneys continue to face difficulties in presenting his case. Recently the judge refused a request to have Mohammad Hatta, former Vice-President and Co-Proclamator of the Republic of Indonesia, appear as a defense witness. Hatta had been a signatory of the letters critical of Suharto, along with a group of religious leaders, and had been slated to replace the President. Only Sawito has been indicted.

Railwaymen on Trial

Four railway employees are on trial on charges of subversion for allegedly committing sabotage which led to a train derailment in May 1974. The subversion charges arise from the fact that the four men, Lasimin Karijosetomo (45 years old) M. Ilyas bin Saim (39 years), Aos bin Saleh (54 years) and Aim bin Itak (56 years) were all members of the railwaymen's trade union, SBKA, banned after the military takeover in October 1965.

According to the indictment read out at the first hearing of the trial at Bogor State Court on 9 May last, the four men had attended an SBKA anniversary celebration in Jakarta in September 1965, had met together on 1st October that year, on 2nd October had declared their support for the "Revolutionary Council" and had subsequently "received instructions from D.N. Aidit", Chairman of the Indonesian Communist Party, to carry out illegal actions against the railways. They are accused of having failed to report irregularities caused by unsatisfactory construction work on part of the track and also having failed to report weaknesses in the track caused by a landslide.

All four men have rejected the charges.

Their status is still the same as prisoners who have been arrested and not yet sentenced. And then, there are two new problems for them. They are forbidden from getting into touch with any of the other prisoners. They are placed under special guard, and special measures are taken, such as special difficulties for family visits. They still remain behind lock and key almost constantly and are not allowed any recreation. It is out of the question for them to read books or magazines or to follow radio or TV programmes, things which have been permitted to the non-tried prisoners since the last International Red Cross visit. So much for the special facilities given to the tried prisoners, about which the authorities like to speak.

'Release' of prisoners

Experience has shown that what is called the 'release of prisoners' is in fact almost always the transfer of prisoners from one prison or camp to another. The thing that we notice of the real releases in East Java is that it is for those of the old stock such as myself or for people who will not live into their fifties or who suffer from chronic diseases. People 'with one foot already in the grave'. In many cases, it happens that they die soon after being released.

Against the talk of release there are these facts: new arrests are taking place all the time on the allegation that there are 'indications' that a person was 'involved in the 30 September Movement'. "An old story which remains new." This means simply that the so-called release of prisoners on a large scale is a big laugh and a lot of nonsense. The important thing is that the 'red drive', the hunt for reds and for revolutionaries in Indonesia continues.

Letter from East Timor

This excerpt is taken from a letter written in October 1977, by a Catholic priest in East Timor

"In East Timor the violence of these 'friends', the Indonesians, continues to intensify, with all sorts of dire consequences. A barbarous genocide of innocent people goes on, apparently with complete peace of conscience. The Timorese have not taken any steps to declare themselves independent from Indonesia, and they did not attack Indonesia, for Timor was not part of Indonesia. But now Timor is being wiped out by an invasion, a brutal conquest that produces heaps of dead, maimed and orphaned. Consciences are kept at peace by claiming, with or without reason, that the people of Timor are "Communists". In this conflict in which we are all involved, I hardly hear any questioning of the supposed justice of

the initial attack, or of the present continuation of the war. All I hear expressed is the regret that the Timorese are not recognised as 'Communists', and the apparent report that they are strong, courageous and prepared to die rather than give themselves up to the conquerer. Even if they were communists, they would have a right to live . . . We will have a new bishop soon in Timor. The present one cannot take it anymore. He is tired. He sees everything reduced to ashes; all the values are shattered, and Christian family life is destroyed . . . Pray, pray hard for the Timorese.

It will not be easy to write again. . ."

continued from page 4

Originally KOPKAMTIB announced that the "psychotests" were being used to determine which prisoners were still "diehards". They would then be excluded from the present release programme. However, due to international protests this stipulation was recently dropped. Instead, the tests will aid the authorities in deciding how much surveillance and supervision each prisoner will be subjected to after being released.

KOPKAMTIB is clearly using the "psychotests" in an effort to appear to be "scientific" in the handling of the tapol issue. But the tests only further abuse the prisoners' rights, as well as abusing and discrediting psychology.

continued from page 7

association of writers meeting in Stockholm, unanimously urge you to show clemency to W. S. Rendra in keeping with your government's concern for human rights. Respectfully, Mario Vargas Llosa, International President, Peter Elstob, International Secretary.

Canadian Petition

A petition for Rendra's release was signed by a number of participants to the Annual Meeting of the Canadian Society of Asian Affairs, held in May 1978.

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