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**British Campaign for the**

**Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners**

TAPOL Bulletin No. 26

February 1978

## REPORT ON FORCED LABOUR

TAPOL has just published a 25 page report entitled: *Treatment of Indonesian Political Prisoners: Forced Labour and Transmigration*, which is based on a wide assortment of material that has been compiled over the past five years.

One chapter deals with labour conditions on Buru Island. The recent visit of a group of foreign and Indonesian journalists to Buru provided a great deal of new and detailed information that supported past allegations about the situation there.

The paper also analyses some confidential KOPKAMTIB documents from 1968, 1971 and 1974 which define government policy for the treatment of political prisoners. These documents sanction the use of prisoner labour and outline a compulsory transmigration program. The final chapter is devoted to an assessment of the current release and transmigration program, utilising data that has become available since the December 1977 releases. The present policy is discussed within the context of the original government plans to resettle tapols away from their homes, stating that trans-

migration is apparently designed to continue the isolation of detainees from society.

This forced labour/transmigration report is a significant contribution to the campaign for the release of Indonesian political prisoners. It is the first attempt to carefully document the exploitation of tapols, and it has been published at a time when the ILO will be focusing its attention once again on the Indonesian violations of Convention 29 of the ILO Charter on forced labour. Readers are urged to buy this report and circulate it to trade unionists, as it will help to bring pressure to bear on the Indonesian authorities.

Copies of the report are available from TAPOL, price £1.00 plus postage. If you need the report for any reason but cannot afford this price, please let us know.

'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 the prisoners are 'criminals'.

### EDITORIAL

As information becomes available about the announced release of 10,000 political prisoners in December 1977, a number of facts have emerged:

\*\*\*\* The military regime has at last been forced to acknowledge that it needs to improve its international image, and this is being done by initiating the present policy towards the tens of thousands of victims of its repressive and inhumane policies. In other words, the campaign against human rights violations in Indonesia is beginning to have an effect.

\*\*\*\* Some of the prisoners being allowed home have been granted full freedom without the objectionable restrictions of home detention. But most of them are sick or elderly — the tragic victims of more than twelve years of harsh and brutal treatment.

\*\*\*\* A large number are not returning home at all, but are going to so-called transmigration centres where they will become victims of the system of forced labour which has typified Indonesia's treatment of its political prisoners right from the start. They will continue to live in isolation, little better off than they were in prison. As TAPOL has concluded in its special report on forced labour and transmigration published this month, "transmigration cannot be construed as release."

\*\*\*\* The authorities claim that tapols will be allowed to decide voluntarily whether to go to such places. But how can such a decision be voluntary when a person is still in the acutely vulnerable position of a prisoner without rights? For the choice to be really free, tapols require a period of

genuine freedom away from the pressures of prison life and harassment by the authorities.

\*\*\*\* It is now clear that Indonesia has no intention of fulfilling its pledge to release all B-category tapols by the end of 1979. New classifications have been introduced and a class of "diehards" (the K-category) established which is said to include 30-40 percent of the prisoners. K-category tapols will not be released.

\*\*\*\* The government's efforts to improve its international image have in one major respect backfired. The visit to Buru by a number of foreign journalists produced a series of damning articles which document in great detail the past and present brutalities of life on the island, and the appalling facts of forced labour and exploitation being perpetrated under the guise of "rehabilitation" and "transmigration". Some of these articles are reproduced in a supplement to this issue.

\*\*\*\* The government's plans relate only to the 31,555 tapols acknowledged before December 1977 and the 19,791 remaining after 10,000 had been "released" (yet another example of the numbers game!). The actual number of tapols is far higher than this. Adnan Buyung Nasution, the distinguished human rights lawyer, believes that the figure is at least twice as high as the number officially acknowledged. TAPOL believes that the figure should now be less than 100,000, but probably not much.

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The campaign for the immediate release of all Indonesian political prisoners must continue. We call upon all our readers and supporters to work for the attainment of this objective.

# CRACKDOWN ON DISSENT

\* 158 Arrests \* Seven Newspapers Banned \* All Student Councils Closed Down

In a major crackdown on dissent, the Army's Security Command, KOPKAMTIB has closed down seven newspapers, including the largest-circulation papers, Kompas, Sinar Harapan and Merdeka. A total of 158 persons, mostly students, have been arrested. Student Councils in all universities throughout the country have been closed down and all forms of student activities banned.

The crackdown follows several months of growing criticism from students and others. Criticism has been directed at a number of social and economic issues, notably the growing impoverishment of people especially in the countryside, the serious food crisis in some parts of the country, the widening gap between rich and poor, and the prevalence of corruption in the uppermost echelons of government. These criticisms have been formulated within the context of a growing opposition to the forthcoming re-election of General Suharto as President at the March Session of the newly-constituted People's Assembly.

On the issue of the presidential election, the movement initially directed its criticism at the fact that Suharto would be the sole candidate. At some stages, possible alternative candidates were named, but the main point appears to have been to expose the undemocratic nature of the election. Then, increasingly, criticism was directed at Suharto himself, particularly with the adoption of a Students Charter in Bandung on 28th November accusing Suharto of violating the Constitution and the Panca Sila.

It has been clear for some time that the Armed Forces themselves were split on the issue of Suharto's candidacy, and this may be one of the reasons why the crackdown did not come earlier. On 15 December, the Armed Forces leadership, after what appears to have been a heated two-day conference, issued a statement warning against the dangers of the current unrest and warning disruptive elements to halt their activities or face drastic action by the military. Shortly afterwards, the Military Commander of the East Java Army Division, publicly said of the movement against Suharto: "I acknowledge that seniors in the Armed Forces support this (movement) and I have them on our blacklist." He also admitted that these moves were underway in a number of towns in Java.

In mid-January, two Army officers did actually speak at student rallies in Bandung and Jakarta. Lieutenant-General Dharsano, one-time Commander of the West Java Division and now Secretary-General of ASEAN spoke in Bandung of "people's anxieties" about "deviations in the New Order". And at Universitas Indonesia in Jakarta, Lieutenant-General Kemal Idris\* (now retired) who took over the command of the Strategic Army Corps (KOSTRAD) from Suharto in 1965, said: "The aspirations of the New Order are not being implemented. Some of my own contemporaries are responsible for this." (Tempo, 21 January 1978)

Reports that some senior officers have been arrested have been vigorously denied by the Government. Specifically mentioned in these denials have been Lieutenant-General Surono, Deputy Commander of the Armed Forces, (named in some rumours to be a contender for the presidency), Major-General Alamsyah, Deputy-Chairman of the Supreme Advisory Council,

and Ali Sadikin, a non-active general from the Marine Corps, until recently Governor of Jakarta, whose name was publicly floated as a possible candidate for the presidential election.

The Indonesian Government has informed other ASEAN member countries of its intention to withdraw Lieut. General Dharsano as ASEAN Secretary-General, though according to the Far Eastern Economic Review (3 February 1978) the other ASEAN governments have not yet agreed to this.

## The Arrests

Up to 27 January, the Government had acknowledged the arrest of 158 persons, of whom 143 are students and the others "outside agitators". Some persons formerly held in connection with the January 1974 Malari incident are said to be among the latter. On 2 February, there were reports of another 40 arrests, all students, in Bandung. These arrests took place after students at four universities in the West Java capital had engaged in a "study strike" on the campus. The fact that such action took place after the military crackdown suggests that the movement is determined to press ahead despite the repression.

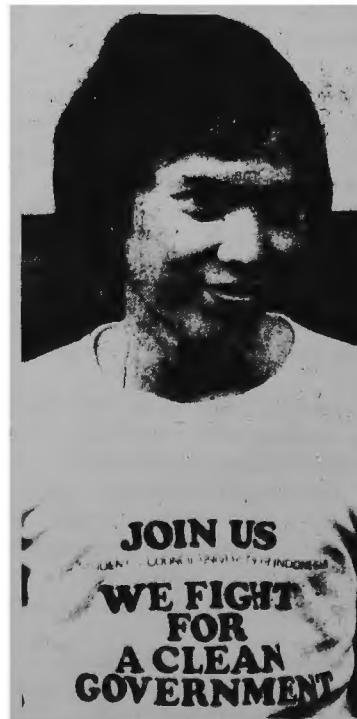
Prior to the crackdown in late January, a number of arrests had been reported, during earlier actions by students, and during one demonstration in Surabaya, East Java, six students are reported to have been injured in scuffles with the military.

## The Press Ban

The seven newspapers that have been banned are: the Catholic daily, Kompas, the Protestant daily, Sinar Harapan, the official organ of the Moslem Party, Pelita, the nationalist daily, Merdeka and its English-language counterpart, Indonesian Times and two other Jakarta dailies Pos Sore and Sinar Pagi.

Admiral Sudomo has refused to say how long the bans will continue. They are stated to have been imposed "in order to preserve public calm and prevent the dissemination of news that could mislead the public". He went on: "The measure is

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Lukman Hakim, Chairman of the Student Council of the University of Indonesia, Jakarta on a demonstration in November. Arrested in the crackdown.

## Stop Press

The ban on six of the papers was lifted on 5 February. Sinar Pagi is still banned. But on 7 February, the West Java Military Command imposed a ban on three student publications in the provincial capital of Bandung. Reuter also reported that the number of persons under arrest was now 240.

\* This is the Army officer who appears in the Amnesty International film, *More Than A Million Years*, saying (in early 1966): "As long as there is one Communist left in Indonesia I think we shall have military operations against that one Communist."

# East Timor Report

"The barbarities, the cruelties, the theft, the firing squads without any justification, are now part of everyday life in Timor. The insecurity is total and the terror of being arrested is our daily bread. I'm on the list of persona non grata - any day they might make me disappear. Fretilin troops who surrender are shot dead: for them there are no jails. The genocide will be soon...." So reads a section of a letter, written by a Catholic priest, which was smuggled out of East Timor and taken to Portugal by two Dominican nuns. This letter is one of two eye-witness reports of conditions in East Timor which have recently reached the West. The second is an account by a French journalist. Both verify the allegations which have been made about Indonesian human rights violations in the former Portuguese colony which is fighting for its independence.

The priest's letter states that the war being waged by the Indonesians has been intensified, and that "hundreds of people" are dying everyday: "Fretilin goes on fighting despite the famine, sickness, death and the crisis in leadership that happened in the last couple of months." According to the missionary, the Indonesians are using warships, helicopters, airplanes, armoured cars and tanks in their military operations. Because of the number of dead, "the bodies are food for the vultures."

In discussing the situation in occupied areas of East Timor the letter states: "The sabotage and the lies are spread out. Oppression is a reality. Integration is not the expression of the will of the people. The people controlled by the Indonesians are like meek sheep that you take to the abattoir.... Against force there is no resistance. Freedom is a word without meaning. The liberation that they announced means slavery... Anti-communism is an Islamic slogan that means 'iconoclasm'... The reform of customs means the creation of cabarets and brothels. Commerce is just exploitation and the black market is normal... All correspondence is opened."

Continued from page 2

temporary, awaiting further developments about whether or not Publishing Permits should be withdrawn." (*Tempo*, 28 January 1978)

*Kompas* had a circulation of 260,000, the highest in the country. *Sinar Harapan* had a circulation of 176,000. *Pelita's* circulation was 100,000, and *Pos Sore* had a circulation of 80,000. Other circulations were: *Merdeka* (40,000), *Indonesia Times* (35,000) and *Sinar Pagi* (20,000). As the *Far Eastern Economic Review* reporter, David Jenkins, puts it: "More than 65% of the newspaper circulation in Jakarta had been wiped out. All that remained was a clutch of tame, pro-Government publications and one or two unimpressive 'boulevard' papers." (3 February 1978)

According to Australian reporter, Hamish MacDonald, "action is also being taken against provincial newspapers but no details have yet emerged". (*Australian Financial Review*, 23 January 1978) He also reported that a *Kompas* journalist in Banjarmasin, S. Kalimantan has been arrested, the first known arrest of a journalist. (*Sydney Morning Herald*, 24 January 1978)

## Protests At Bannings

The International Press Institute has protested against the closure of Indonesian newspapers. In a cable to President Suharto on 25 January, it described this as "a crude attempt to influence public response to the presidential election".

The British National Union of Journalists in a letter to the Indonesian Embassy on 26th January protested about the press

The letter ends with an appeal for help: "The world ignores us and it is a pity. We are on the way to genocide... All the able-bodied youth of Timor is in the bush. The Indonesians only control villages within a radius of one or two kilometers. Ask justice-loving people to save Timor... I am very tired and I have not the serenity to give you a more detailed picture of the reality of Timor in the past two years. We all here are very tired..."

## French Journalist Reports

In September 1977, Denis Reichle, a correspondent for *Paris-Match*, managed to enter East Timor from the western half of the island, and spent six days in the mountain hideout of a Fretilin guerrilla group. According to UPI report dated 7 October, he states that the Indonesians are "systematically wiping out" the populations of villages known or suspected to be Fretilin villages, estimating that "at least 70,000 to 80,000 East Timorese have been killed" since early 1976. Those he saw who have fled to the hills all appeared to be near starvation. The Indonesians are destroying fields in the low-lying areas of the island in order to deny supplies of food to the guerrillas and their supporters.

Reichle stated that Catholic missionaries, led by the Bishop of Atambua (West Timor), are the only people trying to stop the "systematic killing off of East Timorese." He said that the Bishop had been unsuccessfully attempting to get an interview with President Suharto since early summer 1977. Reichle also told the story of a German priest in East Timor who has been driven insane by the constant killings in the area under his jurisdiction.

After returning to West Timor, Reichle was seized by Indonesian soldiers after he photographed West Timorese celebrating around a military truck carrying "at least 60 or 70 bodies." He was interrogated, his camera was smashed, his film destroyed and he was deported.

bans and expressed concern about the "harsh and unacceptable treatment of students and others who do not conform to your government's illiberal style". It added: "Among British journalists, Indonesia is now increasingly ranked with the most repressive of the totalitarian dictatorships in the communist and non-communist world." See Stop Press on Page 2

## US HUMAN RIGHTS OFFICIAL IN JAKARTA

Patricia Derian, United States Assistant Secretary of State for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, made a January visit to Indonesia during which she met with President Suharto and other officials, as well as human rights lawyer, Buyung Nasution. Ms. Derian stated that the U.S. considered the recent release of 10,000 detainees to be a "step forward", but she indicated that Washington would welcome more. During her stay, which included a visit to Jakarta's Salemba Prison and a meeting with former prisoners in addition to discussions with Admiral Sudomo of KOPKAMTIB, the Assistant Secretary of State refrained from criticizing Indonesia's human rights record, but did express the Carter administration's commitment to the right of detainees to due process under law.

In a final statement Ms. Derian mentioned that she had been informed of plans to "possibly accelerate" the release of detainees, offering no further details. She also stated that she had been saddened by the experience of seeing detainees in Salemba. In addition, Ms. Derian praised the "vigor" of the Indonesian free press. Within a week of her departure seven independent newspapers had been banned.

# Release and Transmigration

The following is a survey of the major aspects of the release and transmigration implemented in December 1977. Many difficulties have been encountered in drawing up this survey: information is sparse from the regions where most of the release/transmigration moves are reported to have taken place (Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi); statements by officials have been contradictory; precise information about the circumstances of individual tapols who have left prison is inadequate. Therefore, while presenting this survey, TAPOL recognises the need to continue its efforts to monitor events carefully.

\* \* \* \* \*

## Figures

KOPKAMTIB announced that 10,000 tapols would be affected by release ('direct' or 'through resettlement', see below) on 20 December. A regional breakdown has been published:

Sumatra	2,968
Kalimantan	2,177
Sulawesi	1,615
Maluku	513
Irian Jaya	24
Nusatenggara	299
Java	904
Buru	1,500

Prior to December 1977, Admiral Sudomo, KOPKAMTIB Chief-of-Staff, had announced on a number of occasions that there was a total of 31,555 (or 31,641, see Jenkins, 'Inside Suharto's Prisons', Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 October 1977), including tapols of all categories (A, B, X and Y). But the official figure given after the releases is 19,791 (see, e.g. Kompas, 21 December 1977), a figure which is also said to include all categories. No-one from KOPKAMTIB has explained why there is a difference of 11,764 and not 10,000 between the two official figures. \*

## Will All B-Category Tapols Be Released?

Since June 1976, KOPKAMTIB has pledged that all B-category tapols would be released by the end of 1979, and that all A-category tapols would be tried by that time. But this pledge no longer holds, in view of Admiral Sudomo's equally categorical remarks, particularly since November 1977 that B-category tapols who are classified as 'diehards' (the 'K' classification, see interview in Box) will not be released. In an interview with the press on 23 November 1977, he said that 30% (according to some papers, 30%-40%) were diehards, and that if these tapols remained ideologically firm, "the time schedule (for releases) will have to be prolonged" (Kompas, 24 November, 1977). According to Sinar Harapan, he stated that "those whose ideological level was still high will not be released" (Sinar Harapan, 23 November, 1977).

With regard to A-category tapols, said to number 1,821, Sudomo has indicated that their cases are being reviewed. Those regarding whom there is insufficient evidence for a trial will be re-classified to B, and then subjected to psycho-tests. If their ideological level is found to be 'high', they too will be classified as diehards. (see, e.g. Sinar Harapan, 23 November, 1977).

## Criteria for Release

Two sets of criteria have emerged from various public pronouncements. One set, listed and analysed by David Jenkins,

(FEER, 28 October, 1977) runs as follows:

1. Readjustment of mental attitude . . . from communist to Panca Sila minds.
2. The tapol has lived according to the Panca Sila in detention.
3. The tapol's family is prepared to receive him/her back.
4. Former neighbours are prepared to receive him/her back.
5. A job must be available for the tapol.

Other sources have listed the criteria as follows:

1. Ideological level.
2. Position within an organisation.
3. Behaviour during detention.
4. Physical condition/state of health.
5. Age. (see e.g. Suara Merdeka, 24 December 1977)

Both lists are said to be based on official sources.

## Sudomo: The B

The following interview with Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff

\* \* \* \* \*

Question: One of the conditions of release is ideological level. How is the ideology of a detainee determined?

Answer: We cannot read people's thoughts. By means of psycho-tests, we can measure their knowledge of ideological matters and then check this with the report of their interrogation. From this, we know and determine their classification. There are two categories. K (keras or hard) which is further divided into four groups, and L (lunak or soft) which is further divided into L-0, L-1 and L-2. Observations are taken every six months. It is estimated that the results are 60%-70% accurate.

Question: You have said that about 30% of them are classified as 'diehards'. What age group are these?

Answer: It doesn't only depend on age but also on the position in the party. The diehards are the ones classified as K.

Question: The PKI is said to have had 2 million members. How many functionaries have been arrested and how many are estimated to be still outside?

Answer: No-one knows how many functionaries there were. They were sworn in by two persons and no lists were kept. It is only through interrogation that it can be ascertained whether a person had been sworn as a functionary or not. Sometimes, they were not known publicly. It is difficult to know this because they worked in the cell system. Many functionaries are still outside and we have never discovered a list.

Question: After release, what about their rights?

Answer: Their rights will be the same as other citizens. But they won't be allowed to get jobs as state employees, to work for the Armed Forces or for companies that have been declared vital. They will have the same identity cards, only with a special code. Their voting right (as stated in the law) will be temporarily withdrawn until such time as they no longer represent a danger.

Question: We have a state based on law which bases itself on presumption of innocence. These detainees have been released without trial. Does this mean that they are innocent?

\* As we were going to press, an explanation of this discrepancy was given by Yusuf Wanandi in FEER, 10 February. We shall comment on this in our next issue.

# Transmigration 1977 : A Survey

Information received so far about tapols who have actually left prisons indicates that a high proportion of those now at home are in a very poor state of health. This applies in particular to the 1,500 prisoners who left Buru. Nearly 200 are suffering from tuberculosis and many others have chronic liver, heart and other ailments or are insane. One prisoner died just before disembarking from the ship which had brought him from Buru to Surabaya in E. Java. Others were carried off on stretchers, and a number were taken straight to hospital. According to one source, all six tapols released from Mlaten Prison in Semarang were suffering from chronic disorders including asthma, hypertension, tuberculosis, paralysis and liver complaints.

From very reliable sources, we have heard that the basic criterion determining whether a tapol goes home or goes on transmigration is health. In the words of that source, which

bases its information on explanations provided by KOPKAMTIB; "Those who fulfil the general conditions and are strong physically and mentally will be sent to resettlement areas. All those who do not meet the criteria for resettlement and all women will be returned to their respective homes."

## Psycho-tests

Information regarding these tests has been available for more than a year. Sudomo now confirms that B-category prisoners are, on the basis of these tests, now being divided into two major groups, K and L with no fewer than seven sub-groups (four for K and three for L, see boxed interview).

The test appears to consist of no fewer than 400 questions, all of which must be answered in the tapol's own words. From one source, we have learnt that a typical question is: "What will you do if you find that you do not agree with the government's policy?" An article in Kompas, written by Sindhunata who went to Buru in December, reported some of the questions that one tapol was required to answer: Do you agree with nationalism or internationalism? Do you agree with foreign capital or (being) self-supporting? Do you like to read newspapers that report about crime or about mountain expeditions? Which do you prefer, kissing women or eating in a restaurant? (Kompas, 5 January, 1978).

## Types of Release

Official documents have explained that the 10,000 tapols scheduled to leave the prisons in December 1977 would be subject to two forms of treatment. These were defined in a document submitted by the Indonesian Embassy in Washington to the US State Department in November 1977 (no date) as 'direct release' and 'release through resettlement'.

'Direct release' applies to those tapols who return home. The Embassy document explains that they will be subject to a 'parole system': home detention for the first six months, town detention for the next six months, then full freedom. This has indeed been the case for tapols released in December 1976 and earlier. (See, "The Release Plan: a Policy of Deceit" in TAPOL Bulletin No. 23, October 1977)

In the case of some December 1977 releases, however, it has been officially stated that the home-detention rule will not apply and they will not be required to report regularly to the local military authorities. This has been publicly stated in the case of tapols returning home from Buru, and from contacts in Jakarta, we have heard that some prisoners released from prisons in the capital were told prior to their release that they too would obtain full freedom immediately. Information from contacts in Jakarta suggests that at least some of these prisoners are not confined to their homes, but there have been press reports from E. Java stating that Buru tapols returning to the province are being required to report regularly to the authorities.

'Direct release' at this stage, appears to be the method applicable to all tapols leaving places of detention in Java and Buru. In fact, a careful study of all the information available suggests that a distinction must be drawn between Java and Buru on the one hand and the rest of the country on the other.

Although Java accounts for the largest number of tapols according to the official figures (between 6,000 and 6,500) the number scheduled for release in December 1977 was only 900, less than 10% of the total of 10,000. From statistics obtained in the last two months, the number actually released appears to be much less than that. It would appear that arrangements for the transmigration of tapols from Java have been put off until a later stage. As has been stated above, the ill-health

## K's and The L's

A staff of KOPKAMTIB, appeared in Tempo, 24 December, 1977:

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Answer: It is not correct to say that they are innocent. They were directly or indirectly involved in the PKI rebellion. This matter must be seen from the angle of their role in that rebellion. The only thing is, (their guilt) cannot be proven in a court (sic, including bracket) but if released, they could endanger security and order. Thus, this isn't a question of presumption of innocence. It is a question of security. Who can guarantee that they will not engage in activities that would disturb security and order?

Question: What about the 'revenge-seeking generation'?

Answer: This is indeed a question requiring our attention. There are two contradictory possibilities. Children can hate their father because of the suffering the family experiences as a result of his detention. But there are also children and families who feel revengeful towards the government. We must consider this, case by case. But our policy is clear: we differentiate between persons whose fathers were PKI members and their families. They are free like anyone else.

Question: Who pays for the G.30.S/PKI detainees?

Answer: KOPKAMTIB. What is the cost? Let us say that the cost of their food per day is Rp. 100. Count, then, how many detainees there are. If there now remain 20,000, the daily costs are thus around Rp. 2 million. And the cost for the upkeep of the inrehab\* is about Rp. 500 million a year.

Question: After release, who is in charge of these ex-prisoners?

Answer: No longer KOPKAMTIB. The regional governments are in charge, they (the prisoners) are to be involved in labour-intensive (projects) and the like so that they have some employment. Guidance within the community to receive them back is also the affair of the regional government.

Question: There are reports of businesses refusing to employ former PKI prisoners. What about this?

Answer: This is not permissible. They must help. If things like this happen, report it to the regional government or to the regional military command.

\* Inrehab: rehabilitation installations, the name now used for prisons and camps where tapols are held.

## BUYUNG NASUTION ON TAPOLS, THE COURTS AND OTHER MATTERS

While in the Netherlands in December 1977, the Indonesian human rights lawyer Adnan Buyung Nasution gave an interview to Peter Schumacher of the Dutch daily, NRC. The interview appeared in the paper on 1st December. Most of the following excerpts have been taken from the English transcript of that interview. The last two sections are from other sources.

### On Tapols:

"Any efforts from friends wherever they are, including Amnesty International, any attention and assistance to the political prisoners, are welcome. Whenever I'm asked about this support from other countries, I always say: we need it. As a man who has been in prison together with these people, I know how they feel. It is important to them to feel that they are not alone, that they are not forgotten. Yes, I'm quite sure the people on Buru Island know in one way or another that there is pressure from abroad. It doesn't matter to me whether they are communists or not. As human beings it's important to know that other people care. Because of that, I always say: go on, continue, don't hesitate. I know that many people in Indonesia including the authorities say that support should not be given because it would be embarrassing and counter-productive. That opinion is false and misleading.

"We have been working for the tapols for many years, together with Mr Yap and others, and we know what we're doing. We do it on our own, and not because of Amnesty. We do it quite separately. This doesn't mean that we don't like Amnesty. They are our friends. But we work separately, and if things happen together, it's pure coincidence. This is important for us in Indonesia. If we worked under foreign influence, it might discredit us. I have told Amnesty people about this. Please understand us. This is why Mr Yap and I have refused to open an Amnesty chapter in Indonesia. I have attended two Amnesty conferences, and Admiral Sudomo knows this.

"Everytime I meet people like Admiral Sudomo, Interior Minister Machmud, the Attorney General and the Minister of Justice, I raise the question of the tapols. I speak frankly and openly to these people and I find that they understand these problems but they just cannot move. A man like Suharto has to take the first step, but I can't reach Suharto because he doesn't like me. I once accused him of failing to keep his promises about the New Order...."

### On Foreign Aid

".... Any public opinion raised about this represents pressure on the Indonesian Government. I don't see anything wrong with that, and I really appreciate it. Please go on. My advice, if any, would be: to persuade all those governments having relations with Indonesia to stop aid if it is being used for bad purposes, if it is being used systematically to violate human rights. Stop it. I have no hesitation about this. One thing is certain: all the aid we have been given has not been used effectively. If one looks at the results of development, they are very meagre. If Holland were to stop aid tomorrow, I'm sure people would understand. But it would be better if a number of countries did it collectively."

### On the Legal Aid Bureau:

"... Its biggest achievement is to have introduced the idea of legal assistance to poor people and to fight for their rights and interests. The authorities don't interrupt our work though this doesn't mean they like us. They haven't said so but that's my impression. The reason (they don't like us), in my view, is that they think the people will become too daring, too critical, which might threaten stability and order.

"Our Bureau is limited in personnel and money and so we can't help everyone.... We see it as very important to

broaden the consciousness of the people, to educate them, to give them the knowledge, the courage and the means to fight.

"At the moment, the Bureau has about 15 lawyers working, including the Board of Directors. I'm the chairman, and we have consultants like Mr Yap and Mr Princen. We have obtained funds from different sources. About 75 percent comes as a subsidy from local government (very controversial indeed!) and the rest from donations, corporations, private individuals and public charity. We work for our clients completely free of charge.

"The Bureau wanted to branch out but it was banned in 1974.\* The only thing we do (for the regions) but still in Jakarta is to give courses for young lawyers from the regions. These may be people who will start branches later on.

### On East Timor

"... People have asked me a lot of questions about this, especially when I was in Australia. The problem is this: I don't know the situation. In Indonesia, people hear little or nothing at all about the situation in East Timor. It's a kind of secret war. I believe Timor should never have been Indonesia's national claim. What Sukarno did with West Irian - to claim it with the support of the people - was never the case with Timor.

"I look at this Timor question from two angles. First, the principle of self-determination; I agree with that. Then there's the point of strategic importance or self-defence. But this doesn't mean we should crush other people."

### On Courts of Law:

"... It is quite erroneous to have military courts in a country that professes to be a state based on law. Members of the Armed Forces are like other members of society, and if they commit crimes, they should be tried before ordinary law courts like other citizens. Military courts can only be justified in times of war."

"Our laws are taken over from the Law Code of colonial days. But if we properly implemented these laws, that would be a good thing! Take for instance, the question of detention by the police. This should be limited to twenty days. A prosecutor's permission must be obtained for detention longer than that, up to 30 days. After that, a judge must grant permission. But this is not heeded. Many are held quite arbitrarily. This is a gross infringement of human rights. Ideally, persons should not be held for more than 48 hours (without charge)." (Speaking at a Youth Vow Day commemoration in Bandung, 28 October, 1977. Kompas, 29 October, 1977.)

### On Judges:

"... Not a few friends who are judges come to me bewailing the fact that behind the grandeur of their black gowns, they weep to themselves because they are forced to pass verdicts that conflict with their understanding of justice and truth. We must admit that in the field of law enforcement we are going backwards not forward. In some respects, the retrogression is so serious that it is undermining the public's confidence in the attainment of a state based on the law.

"The facts are, and this applies in particular to major cases concerned with the interests or policies of those in power, that judges are 'fixed' (digarap) beforehand and given directions regarding their verdicts. In short, the principle of equality before the law and a fair trial do not yet apply for many people in positions of power." (Lecture at the Ismael Marzuki Centre, Jakarta on 24 October, 1977. Kompas, 26 October 1977)

\* The ban affected the Bureau's expansion to other towns, not its operations in Jakarta.

# Pramudya Ananta Toer

Pramudya Ananta Toer, the outstanding Indonesian novelist, has been under detention without trial since 1965. He has been held at the Buru prison camp since 1969.

Many of the foreign journalists who visited Buru in December spoke with Pramudya and quote him in their reports.

The Newsweek report (9 January 1978) quotes him as saying: "This place should be burnt down. The Government has deprived me of my rights for twelve years, and for this I am very bitter."

The following is an interview of Pramudya by a journalist from the Jakarta weekly, Tempo 31st December, 1977.

- Q. There are reports that you have written novels during this period of detention. How many have you written?
- A. I have finished seven. I am now working on another one.
- Q. Since when have you been writing?
- A. Since the end of 1973
- Q. Where did you get the typewriter you are using?
- A. It was a machine that was unusable. We repaired it and then I started to use it.
- Q. It was once reported that you were going to be sent a type writer by the President. Was that true?
- A. No.
- Q. Do you get the freedom to write?
- A. In writing, I must create that freedom myself.
- Q. Are you given the time to write?
- A. Yes, I am.
- Q. While your friends are doing hard labour, are you allowed to go on writing?
- A. Yes, I am. There is a kind of division of labour. I devote myself to writing. My needs are taken care of by my friends.
- Q. After a manuscript is ready, who do you hand it over to?
- A. It is taken to Jakarta by an officer.
- Q. What are these writings of yours about?
- A. A series of novels about the period of national awakening since 1898, the uprising in Manila, the war between Russia and Japan up to the time of the establishment of the Volksraad. That consists of four volumes. This is actually an old idea of mine, from the time when I was collecting historical information of that period.
- 1) Volksraad. That consists of four volumes. This is actually an old idea of mine, from the time when I was collecting historical information of that period.
- Q. What are the main problems you face in writing these novels?
- A. My difficulty is that I cannot consult archives and documents from the National Archives. This could mean that these works are not firmly grounded. The foundations are flimsy and I could be accused of distorting history although I am actually writing novels, not history books.
- Q. What comments do those in authority make about your works? Is it true that one of your works is to be published by Ajip Rosidi (Pustaka Jaya publishers)?
- A. As far as I know, there have not been any comments from the authorities. My manuscripts, which are sent to Jakarta, only go to Bapreru (Executive Agency for the Buru Island Resettlement Camp), and none has been sent to Ajip.
- Q. When will you be able to complete these novels so that they are ready for publication?
- A. After I have been released, I shall quickly complete them.
- Q. When do you think you will be released?
- A. I don't know. But release is my right, not something I want.
- Q. What has this period of detention meant to you?
- A. This has been a period of accumulation (agregasi) to write better works.
- Q. Has this period brought about a change in the thoughts or ideas which you expressed through your earlier writings?
- A. I have increased my faith in humanity. Formerly, I was doubtful, but now I have greater faith in the future of mankind. This is because I know that the things I am now suffering need not be experienced by others after me.
- Q. Have you felt any change taking place in your beliefs, or any changes in outlook after undergoing thought-guidance in this place of detention?
- A. I was educated along traditional lines, like most Indonesians, to do good and believe in God. I think I am just the same as before. I haven't changed. While still a boy I was taught to meditate although I come from a Moslem family. And I still meditate, particularly when times are difficult.
- Q. How do you feel about your treatment during the time you have been a prisoner?
- A. I look upon this as a national process in which I have been placed in the position of a prisoner.
- Q. What about the charge that you made things easier for the PKI's policies?
- A. My accusers can think what they like. Up to now, nothing has ever been proven in a court of law.
- Q. Did you have no organisational affiliation?
- A. I was appointed onto the executive of LEKRA but I really know nothing about organisation.
- Q. So, when did LEKRA first make approaches to you?
- A. In 1956. In 1958, I was invited to a LEKRA Congress in Solo. I was asked to give an address and it turns out that I was appointed onto the executive at the end of the Congress. That happened not only in cultural affairs, because I was also invited to attend a peace conference and was appointed to the executive.
- Q. To what extent do you feel that LEKRA could express or implement your ideas?
- A. Not at all, as far as I know. I am a person who knows nothing about organisation.
- Q. You wrote the Lentera column in Bintang Timur. You used harsh language there as the person in charge yet feel that you wage a struggle for humanity. How is that?
- A. This is all because I am disappointed with the results of the revolution. When I write literary works, I face myself. When I write articles, I face the world. There's a difference. I want things better and more quickly from the world. This is probably the reason for the harsh language.
- Q. What comments have you about cultural developments today?

- A. I have heard many songs on records. I feel that we are shifting farther and farther from our own traditions. As for literature, I can't read anything.
- Q. If you are released and get the chance to be active again in cultural affairs, do you think you will use these harsh words in the articles you write?
- A. Not any more. I am getting older. I am now 52 years old. When I was arrested, I was 40. Actually, it was once my ambition that I would go back to writing literary works when I reached the age of 40.
- 1) Volksraad. An advisory Council set up by the Dutch.
  - 2) LEKRA League for People's Culture. Banned in 1965 for allegedly being a front organisation of the PKI.
  - 3) Bintang Timur. A Jakarta daily which was banned in 1965

Continued from page 5

aspect is particularly marked among tapols returning home from Javanese prisons and from Buru. It remains to be seen whether any of these tapols will find themselves under some kind of obligation to 'volunteer' for transmigration if they fail to find work within a certain period of time.

Contradictory statements have been made on the question of whether Buru returnees are required to have a job as a condition for remaining at home. On 23 November 1977, Sinar Harapan quoted Sudomo as saying of Buru tapols: "They can choose whether they want to stay, depending on circumstances. They are bound by the condition that they must have work if they want to leave." But on 19 December, Kompas quoted him as saying: "Ex-prisoners from Buru who do not find work will be allowed to remain in Java as long as someone can vouch for them. There will be no transmigration unless they want it." For further information about the attitude of Buru tapols, we refer our readers to the articles written by foreign journalists who visited the island, which are reproduced or summarised in a supplement entitled Buru, accompanying this issue.

'Release through resettlement' or transmigration is, at this stage applicable in particular to those leaving prisons in Kalimantan, Sumatra, Sulawesi and other places. KOPKAMTIB has announced that 16 new transmigration camps are being set up, of which three are in North Sumatra and three in South and East Kalimantan. Some of these camps have been identified in press reports, in particular Amborawang in E. Kalimantan and Pararapak in Central Kalimantan, both of which are already functioning. In North Sumatra, the one camp so far identified is at Sibira; preparations appear not to have gone beyond that of site selection and initial construction.

This may be the reason why the figures of prisoners 'volunteering' for transmigration have been the highest in Kalimantan. Of 421 tapols released in South and Central Kalimantan, 331 are officially reported to have 'volunteered'. (See Press Release, Indonesian Embassy in London, 21 December 1977.) This figure is surprisingly similar to a figure given by the Australian journalist, Hamish MacDonald, two months previously, when quoted the local military commander, Lieut-Col Marsigit as saying that "355 prisoners and their families would be moved to the new village (300 miles up the Barito River) while only the old and the sick would be entrusted to their homes". (Sydney Morning Herald, 3 October, 1977)

At another camp, in Pararapak, Central Kalimantan, all 426 tapols there are said to have "spontaneously and voluntarily" opted to stay at the camp during an inspection tour there by Admiral Sudomo. Why they were in the first, even before 'volunteering' is not explained. (Incidentally, 426 plus 355 does not equal the Embassy's figure of 331.)

On the other hand, of the 886 tapols released at Tanjung Kasau Prison in North Sumatra, only 20 (according to some press reports 22) 'volunteered' for transmigration. But Sinar Harapan reported (20 December 1977) that the remainder "will first return to their families to consult with their relatives on whether to remain at home or go to resettlement (camps)". Thus, it would appear that the final decision has yet to be taken. Two factors may have contributed to the low number of tapols opting to transmigrate: the widespread publicity given to the Tanjung Kasau release ceremony which was attended by 20 foreign ambassadors and many foreign journalists, and the lack of preparedness of the transmigration camps.

## COBRA

TAPOL is a member of the London-based Committee on Basic Human Rights in the ASEAN\* Alliance (COBRA). This organization acts to coordinate and support the activities of its constituent members and to channel information about the area. In addition, it researches and publicizes ASEAN-wide human rights issues, having already sponsored two conferences since its formation in March 1977.

Other groups that participate in COBRA are: FUEMSSO (Federation of United Kingdom and Eire Malaysian and Singaporean Student Organisations), the Ad Hoc Group for Democracy in Thailand, Third World First, the London Information Office of the Republic of West Papua New Guinea, the British Campaign for Independent East Timor, the International Confederation for Disarmament and Peace, the Europe Third World Research Centre, Returned Volunteers Action and the Labour Southeast Asia Group. Inquiries about COBRA or any of these member organizations may be addressed to COBRA, 6 Endsleigh St., London WC1.

\* ASEAN: The Association of South East Asian Nations. The five member-states are: Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

## Subscriptions

To cover increasing costs and our expansion plans, we have decided to raise the subscription rates for the Bulletin. This will only affect the rate in sterling; our dollar subscription rate has been maintained at an earlier exchange rate for the two currencies and will not be changed

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TAPOL campaigns for the release of Indonesian political prisoners and is a humanitarian organisation. It is not associated with any political groups, either in Indonesia or abroad, and is supported by individuals and organisations of many shades of opinion.

## STATEMENT OF INTELLECTUALS AND MEN OF THE ARTS IN INDONESIA

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We, intellectuals and men of the arts of Indonesia, having observed the latest situation in our country, such as arrests, detentions and persecutions of the student leaders, the banning of the newspapers Kompas, Sinar Harapan, Merdeka, Pelita, The Indonesian Times, Sinar Pagi, and Pos Sore, do hereby issue the following statement:

1. That according to the 1945 Constitution, this country is a state based on the rule of law and not a state based on power. Therefore determination of truth is not solely the monopoly of the authorities in power.
2. We believe that the freezing of the Students Council/Students Committee over whole Indonesia for the reason that they are mere individuals, is a wrong estimation, since the said Students Council and Students Committee are democratically elected and are therefore legal representatives of the present Young Generation of Indonesia.
3. We believe that the arrests, detentions and persecutions against some of the student leaders, simply because they have a difference in opinion with the authorities and expressed it in the fashion of the young, is an unwise and uneducative action; it has given rise to uneasiness, fear and a feeling of being in the dark of what is prevailing in the state and society in which we live.
4. It is stated in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution that the aim of independence is among other things, to educate the people. Therefore, we believe the action of banning the newspapers is in contradiction with the above aspiration, the more so as these newspapers have succeeded in reflecting the thoughts that are alive in our society.

So, therefore, we, intellectuals and men of the arts of Indonesia, do hereby urge the government to:

1. revoke the decision of freezing the Students Council and Students Committee over whole Indonesia;
2. release the student leaders who have been arrested/detained and cease the persecutions against them;
3. revoke the banning of the above mentioned newspapers.

Jakarta, 24 January 1978.

signed:

Adnan Buyung Nasution S.H., Rendra,  
Ikranagara, Abrar Siregar, Mochtar Lubis,  
Mely G. Tan, Sjuman Djaya, Taufik Abdullah,  
Satyagraha Hoerip, H.J.C. Princen,  
Abdul Rahman Saleh S.H., Prof. Dr. Ismail Sunny S.H. MCL,  
Thee Kian Wie, Dawam Raharjo.