



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 24, October 1977

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1977) Tapol bulletin no, 24, October 1977. Tapol bulletin (24).
pp. 1-12. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

Note that access to this version may require subscription.

Downloaded from VU Research Repository <https://vuir.vu.edu.au/26394/>



British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

TAPOL Bulletin No. 24,

October 1977

KILLINGS AND ARRESTS IN IRIAN JAVA

REPORTS OF brutal reprisals against Papuans living in the interior of Irian Jaya (formerly West New Guinea) have been received from foreign sources connected with projects operating in the region. These confirm numerous reports (see TAPOL Bulletin No. 22, June 1977) about increasing unrest in the territory.

These sources state: "There has been a steady build-up of police and army (now 200-300 strong) into the area and all the Maro villages have been burnt and any native who is seen is shot dead on the spot."

After describing how the copper-slurry carrying pipeline of the US company, Freeport Sulphur is repeatedly being cut by local inhabitants, the writer says: "The Indonesian approach is to shoot anything that moves . . . and burn anything standing. Both villages which have grown up around Tembaga Pura have been burnt while Wal which is a long-standing village about a mile (away) gets mortars shot at it from within the safety of the fence . . . Maybe all these are succeeding in doing is infuriating the Natives who of course cannot come out in the open to fight as they have only a possible total of 10 guns, so the pipe gets cut every other night."

The writer refers to a plan by the Indonesian military to use about 100 Asmat tribesmen, dressed in military uniforms but armed only with knives, spears, bows and arrows "who are to be sent in to scout out the Maros, kill what they can and lead the Indonesians to the scene. It could well work as the troublesome Maros will be facing Asmat tribesmen in the jungle, where they have been safe up till now. So far, about 20 Maros are dead (no-one knows whether they were 'shit-stirrers' or not) but no Indonesians get killed. It has got to a stage where if a white guy sees any natives around he keeps his mouth shut — they want nothing to do with this lop-sided war."

'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'.

The writer, whose sympathies clearly lie with the Indonesian administration, also reports the arrest of workers from Biak:

"Another sensible thing the military did was raid the barracks where about 500-600 single Indonesian men live. This was at 2.00 am this morning and they arrested approximately 30 Biakians who would be 'shit-stirrers'. They had a list which was put together over the last year by the resident police here."

WOUNDED TAPOL DIES AFTER BEING DRAGGED BEHIND JEEP

A number of students have been arrested in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Irian Jaya.

According to the Australian journalist, Denis Reinhardt, writing in the Canberra weekly Nation Review (7 September 1977), three of the students were arrested for attending a meeting of the Free Papua Movement (OPM) in April this year, while another three were arrested a month later for participating in a demonstration of protest against Indonesia's national elections.

Denis Reinhardt who wrote a long report on the current flare-up of fighting between the separatist movement and Indonesian troops described an incident in which an OPM leader named Jeret Wayoi who had been arrested and wounded during a shooting incident in a restaurant died after being dragged behind an army jeep which was going to the military hospital.

The Australian journalist also refers to the court trial of five freedom fighters in Jayapura (see TAPOL Bulletin No 22, June 1977). He says that one of the accused, an OPM leader named Anton Tewa featured in a celebrated incident outside Jayapura's police headquarters. The trial had been advertised as being public but "it closed shortly after commencement when crowds noisily supported comments Tewa made. Tewa was asked by the judge to state what made him act rebelliously, to which he replied, holding up strands of his black curly hair: 'Something you wouldn't understand.'"

FORCED LABOUR IN EAST KALIMANTAN

The following report has just reached us about the location of camps and treatment of tapols in the province of East Kalimantan. The report covers the situation up to the middle of 1977.

It confirms the widespread use of tapol labour on military projects.

There are well over 1,000 tapols in the province. Most are concentrated in the provincial capital, Balikpapan where there are four camps:

Sumberredjo Camp, the main camp. About 600 tapols.

Dam Tunas Remaja Camp. About 100 tapols.

Ambu Rawang Camp. About 200 tapols.

Pelongkung Camp. About 50 tapols. This is a transit camp for people under investigation.

Another camp is situated in Samarinda, the second most important town of the province, about one hundred miles to the north of Balikpapan. About 100 tapols are being held here.

Other camps are situated in the northern town of Tarakan and in the sub-districts (*kabupaten*) of Bero (Tanjung Rejeb), Tenggara (Kutai) and Tanah Grogot. In fact, tapols are being held at practically every Kodim.*

In addition, about 60 tapols have been tried and are serving sentences; three of these have died. There are also some tapols being 'looked after' (*dititipkan*) at the regular jail in Balikpapan.

* Kodim: Each Regional Military Command, equivalent in area to a province (Indonesia consists of 27 provinces) is sub-divided into District Military Commands known as Kodim. The report here means that tapols are also held at the various Kodim headquarters.

Most of the tapols who were arrested in Tanah Grogot are illiterate Dayaks — men, women as well as children. They were all arrested for being sympathisers of the peasants union banned in 1965, the BTI. They have been classified as B category tapols; some of them have been transferred to Sumberredjo.

Forced Labour in Forestry and Building Sites

Local authorities have been "making good use of" (*dimanfaatkan*) the tapols by "giving them an opportunity to work" on building projects, says the report. These include military housing projects where all tapols employed are paid Rp. 300 a day (they actually receive only Rp. 250) regardless of whether the work done is unskilled or highly skilled technical work. On the free labour market, unskilled workers would be getting at least Rp. 800 a day.

About 200 tapols at Sumberredjo Camp have been put to work in this way. They are employed by the Engineering Section (*zeni*) of the Army which operates a 'construction command'.

The Ambu Rawang Camp where 200 tapols are being held is known as a 'Restah' (*resettlement tahanan* or prisoner resettlement project). It is located in a forestry area, and the tapols are employed to fell trees for sleepers supplied under a contract concluded between the local military authorities and the state railway company (PNKA), and for a contract concluded with a Taiwanese timber company.

Use of tapol labour has become so profitable to local military authorities that some military functionaries are trying hard to get their own 'allocation' of tapols.

In January 1977, there was news that an International Red Cross team would be visiting East Kalimantan so all tapols who speak foreign languages were removed from the camps, but the visit did not materialise.

INDONESIAN EMBASSY ISSUES DENIAL

A letter written by a tapol and given publicity by the Dutch and Australian press, the London *Times* and the International Commission of Jurists (published also in *TAPOL Bulletin* No 21, April 1977) has been described by the Indonesian Embassy in Holland as "presenting a false picture" of the Indonesian Government's policies regarding the prisoners. (*Antara News Agency*, 9 August 1977)

"The Indonesian Government is presently implementing a progressive policy to improve conditions in those centres and (is) considering the implementation of every humanitarian step in these improvement schemes," the statement says. It denies that schemes to improve the conditions in those centres were connected to a visit by a Red Cross team.

As our readers will recall the letter, whose authenticity has been confirmed, described among other things the elaborate preparations made to deceive the Red Cross about actual conditions in Salemba and Jalan Budi Utomo prisons. Furthermore the fact that such preparations were indeed made has been confirmed by many sources and is yet again referred to in the report received from East Kalimantan and published in this issue.

PACIFIC RESEARCH, published by the Pacific Studies Centre, appears every two months.

The journal regularly publishes articles on the Indonesian economy and the activities of multinationals, and is essential reading for anyone wishing to follow current developments in Indonesia.

Individual subscriptions: \$6.00 for 12 issues (2 years) with adjustments for air mail and institutional subscriptions. Also available on microfilm.

Write to: Pacific Studies Centre, 867 W. Dana Street, No. 204, Mountain View, California 94041.

UN to discuss Indonesia

THE UN Subcommittee on the Protection of Minorities and the Prevention of Discrimination decided at its annual meeting in August-September this year to forward a complaint about human rights violations in Indonesia to the UN Commission on Human Rights for consideration at its next meeting in February 1978.

The Guardian of London (5 September 1977) reports that complaints against six countries were accepted for submission to the UN Human Rights Commission. The other five countries are: Chile, Ethiopia, Paraguay, Uganda and Uruguay. The paper estimates that the resolutions taken will be "all the more effective for the size of the majorities which in each case were significantly larger than last year. Only two members opposed the resolution on Ethiopia, one on Uganda, two on Chile and two on Indonesia". One of those voting against criticism of Indonesia was Thailand.

No information is available on which organisation submitted the complaint against Indonesia. A previous complaint submitted by Amnesty International in 1975 was dropped because no government represented on the Human Rights Commission was willing to take the initiative to press the case.

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.

INDONESIA'S RELEASE PLAN

A Policy of Deceit

ON 1st December 1976, a public ceremony took place in Jakarta at which 319 tapols¹ were formally released. At the ceremony, an announcement was also made by Admiral Sudomo, Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB² that altogether 2,500 had been released in 1976 following the release in 1975 of 1,309, and that "another phased release"³ scheme had been drawn up according to which 10,000 tapols would be released in 1977, another 10,000 in 1978 and "the rest" in 1979⁴. Admiral Sudomo made it quite clear that he was referring to Category B tapols, the ones who have always been described in official KOPKAMTIB documents as "those regarding whom there are strong indications that they played a role (in the G30S/PKI)"⁵ but there is not sufficient evidence to make any charge and who are considered as being a danger to security if they return to society" and who must therefore "remain in detention"⁶.

Admiral Sudomo also announced that all remaining A Category tapols (those defined as awaiting trial) would be tried by the end of 1978. He repeated the assertion made on many occasions in the past that all Category C tapols had already been released. Thus the announcement was intended to create the impression that by 1979, the tapol problem would be completely resolved with everyone either tried or released.

By contrast with releases made on previous occasions which have usually been kept secret, the 1st December ceremony was televised and given major coverage in the media with foreign journalists present. Even more unusual, it was attended by ambassadors or senior diplomatic representatives from a number of countries including the USA, Great Britain, Japan, West Germany, the Netherlands and several ASEAN countries. Clearly it was intended to have an impact in countries where protest against human rights abuse in Indonesia has been most vociferous.

Since December 1976, Indonesia has been referred to on a number of occasions as a country where a final solution to the human rights problem is now in sight. Government spokesmen abroad, particularly in countries like the USA and the UK where governments have been criticised for continuing aid programmes to Indonesia, have also sought to show that there is a gradual improvement in the situation in Indonesia and that any further action should be left to them. The facts of the situation have been difficult to piece together because of the lack of concrete information that can be carefully checked. But information that has gradually become available has revealed a very different state of affairs, as the following comprehensive survey shows.



The word 'release' is being used to cover two broad types of situation. A small number of tapols are being let out of prison and allowed to return home⁷, though most are not being uncondi-

tionally released and encounter long-term and serious restrictions to their freedom. The vast majority are being subjected to transfer from prisons to labour camps, euphemistically described as transmigration centres. Let us examine these two solutions separately.



Those let out of prison

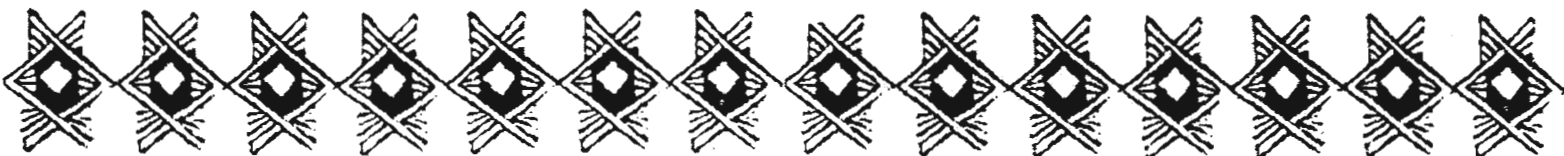
It is quite impossible to check the reliability of government claims that 1,309 tapols were released in 1975 and another 2,500 in 1976. Certainly some are known to have left prison and returned home, according to information that has trickled out concerning some individuals and concerning events in some of the prisons and camps. But the government has never supplied lists of names of those released nor has it given breakdowns of releases from the respective places of detention; the numbers given have only referred to five enormous regions. And it could well be that the figures given for releases in 1975 and 1976 also include tapols who have been transferred to labour camps, as such transfers are certainly known to have taken place.

Neither is it possible to check the government's claim that those released are all in the B Category. Despite repeated government assertions that all C Category tapols were released by 1971, it is known that many C's were not released but were re-classified into the B Category. Moreover, we now know that some of those released last year were issued with release documents that described them as being in the C Category; there is no way of knowing how many persons this applies to.

Moreover, the tapols being allowed home are subjected to severe restrictions, which is all part of the system of "selective and phased release" to which the authorities consistently refer. "Selective" concerns some as yet unclear method of testing people's ideological and "mental" suitability for release, about which more will be said. "Phased" means that tapols are not granted unconditional release but are placed under house arrest (in some cases lasting years), then under town arrest, and only subsequently granted full release status.

The best indication of the flagrantly deceptive nature of the releases announced with so much flourish in December 1976 comes from the picture that has gradually emerged of the ceremony at which the 319 tapols in Jakarta appeared publicly before the carefully picked audience of diplomatic and press representatives:

* To make sure that nothing went wrong, a rehearsal of the ceremony was held on the previous Saturday.



* Many⁸ of the 319 tapols were not coming straight from the several prisons in Jakarta but had already spent many months and in some cases years at home. These included people in the several phases described above, and also some who had been living at home with izin bermalam dirumah (permit to spend the night at home).⁹

* Those who were coming straight from the prisons were also subjected to the phased programme. In fact, when they appeared at the ceremony, they did not yet know what their future status would be. Documents were not issued till afterwards, when all those concerned were taken in trucks to Guntur, where the Jakarta Regional Interrogation Team (Teperda) has its headquarters. Indeed, one tapol present at the ceremony, when asked by an Indonesian journalist when he thought he would meet his family, replied: "I really don't know. First, I must go back to Guntur." (Kompas, 3rd December, 1976) The significance of this remark was not clear until information reached us recently about what actually happened after the press and diplomats had left to cable the good news to the world.

* Many of those allowed home following the ceremony are still today suffering the restrictions of house arrest. They may leave home only once a week to report to the military, they are deprived of the opportunity of seeking employment and can receive few guests, if any.

* Relatives are required to stand surety for the 'good conduct' of tapols at home. If there is no-one to do this (in some cases, church bodies have provided surety instead of relatives), a tapol may discover that he cannot in fact leave the prison. This could well be the reason why the tapol questioned by Kompas was not yet sure what would happen. He may have been one of the many who have lost all contact with their families and could only hope to re-establish contact after regaining full freedom of movement, a possibility which the phased release system would deny him.

A further word about 'selectivity'. The authorities speak frequently about a system of santiaji or 'de-indoctrination' which includes such subjects as religious instruction, instruction on the Pancasila¹⁰ and on development programmes. Whether it is on the basis of a tapol's performance at such courses that his or her suitability for release is determined is not clear.

Information has been received recently about psycho-tests that are being carried out in the prisons. The actual content of these tests is not yet clear, but the tests are designed to further classify B Category tapols into four categories: L₀ (very soft), L₁ (soft) and L₂ (rather soft) or K (hard).¹¹ The first three classifications appear to make a tapol eligible for transfer to a camp, while the K's must remain in the prisons and undergo further de-indoctrination.

According to some sources, most of those allowed home are either the more elderly and sick or tapols whose families have agreed to pay large bribes of military officers. Bribes as high as one million rupiahs (over £1,000) are known to have been paid in some cases. Others have paid less; the rate has tended to fall in order to extort money from less wealthy families.

'Transmigration' and 'Re-settlement'

When promising the release of all B Category tapols by the end of 1979, the Chief-of-Staff of KOPKAMTIB, made it clear that for the vast majority if not all, 'release' would mean transfer to labour camps on the remote island of Buru or to other camps now in the process of being set up.

In the words of Admiral Sudomo: "... the government plans to establish transmigration centres in Sumatra, Kalimantan,

Sulawesi and other places. For those who come from Java which is densely populated will be transmigrated to the island of Buru and other islands."¹² As for the reason for "transmigrating" the "released" tapols, Admiral Sudomo had this to say: "There must be sufficient employment opportunities for them since unemployment would create fertile ground for all kinds of acts contrary to law and this in itself would pose a threat to the national security, particularly to law and order."

Transmigration is a policy, pursued since Dutch colonial days, of promoting the resettlement of people from densely populated parts of Java and Bali to the less-densely populated islands of the country. The term, normally applied to voluntary re-settlement, has for many years already been spuriously applied to KOPKAMTIB's policy of shifting large numbers of tapols forcibly to labour camps, most notably to the one set up on the island of Buru in 1969.

The 'release-through-transmigration' scheme presented to the world by KOPKAMTIB on 1st December 1976 is actually nothing new. All that is new is that KOPKAMTIB has now labelled the transfer process "release". The prison labour camp set up on Buru Island in 1969 where some 16,500 tapols are now being held has always been referred to in official documents as a "re-settlement" or "transmigration" centre. The stated reasons for the scheme have been the same since the start: the unsuitability of B Category tapols for release (for security reasons), the need to "make good use of" them (pemanfaatan) for productive purposes, and the argument that transfer away from densely populated areas where employment opportunities are scarce is necessary in the case of Java.

The very terminology used by Admiral Sudomo in his press statement on 1st December 1976 is unmistakably based on the terminology used in a KOPKAMTIB document signed as long ago as 16th October, 1968 by the then Deputy-Commander of KOPKAMTIB, General Panggabean. This document, entitled Implementation Guidelines on Policy for Settling (Penyelesaian) the G30S/PKI Detainees (Pelak-002/KOPKAM/10/1968) established three alternative solutions for the detainee problem: court trials for those in Category A, continued detention for those in Category B and eventual release for those not classified as either A or B (the C Category). Regarding the 'utilisation' of detainee labour (Category B tapols), the document made a distinction between Java and the rest of Indonesia (referred to as diluar Java) and included the following implementary provisions:

"(a) Keeping in mind the condition of the detainees, the density of population, restricted employment opportunities and other social factors in the island of Java, in principle the policy of making use of the detainees shall be implemented by means of transmigration out of Java within the framework of both regional and national development. For transmigration, priority will be given to Central Java and Jakarta. In West and East Java, while awaiting implementation of the solution, they may be made use of in their respective regions. (b) The utilisation of detainees in places other than Java shall in principle be carried out by means of local transmigration."

In 1968 KOPKAMTIB had no qualms about describing the policy as one of "making use of the detainees . . . by means of transmigration out of Java". In 1976 they found it necessary to replace the word detainee while keeping everything else the same.

Already news is being received of mass transfers of tapols from East and Central Java to Buru, some direct from prisons and some from another labour camp, intended apparently for transit purposes, on the prison island of Nusakambangan, an island off the south coast of Central Java. About 2,500 are



known to have been transferred in June or July this year, bringing the total in Buru up to about 16,500. It must be presumed that these transferred tapols are to be included among the 10,000 whose release is due to be announced this year.

As this article was being printed, news was received of a statement made on 6 September by Foreign Minister Adam Malik in which he spoke of "the recent release of 10,000 former members of the Indonesian Communist Party" (Antara News Agency, 6 September, 1977). There has not yet been an announcement by KOPKAMTIB about implementation of the 1977 schedule of the release programme but it can be expected to come soon. In 1975 and 1976, the announcements were made in the month of December but it may be speeded up this year to reduce the impact of a complaint against Indonesia accepted by the UN Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and the Protection of Minorities in the first week of September this year for formal consideration by the UN Human Rights Commission.

'Release' on Buru

The releases scheduled to take place over the 3-year period from 1977-1979 add up to more than 20,000 people; how many more is not clear as no figure for the numbers to be released in 1979 has been given. When announcing this schedule, Admiral Sudomo said that B Category tapols numbered 27,132 in all, including those already on Buru (which by that time amounted to over 13,000). How does the scheme apply to those already on Buru for they are clearly included in the overall figures used by Sudomo for the scheduled releases?

KOPKAMTIB has drawn up a "phased" settlement or 'restoration to society' of tapols already in Buru, applicable presumably also to those to be transferred there in the course of the next few years. The "phased" settlement for Buru tapols differs drastically from the "phased" release applicable to those allowed home straight from prison. There is no question of immediate or even ultimate return home, as all those transferred to Buru will never be allowed to leave the island. There are in all four phases.

Tapols on Buru are held in 18 separate units with a system of rigid segregation between the units. The four phases are as follows:

Phase 1. Access to another unit will be permitted (presumably the neighbouring one).

Phase 2. The tapol will be permitted to leave his unit and offic

his produce for sale to the non-tapol community on the island. (The way in which this is arranged is not known)

Phase 3. The tapol will be permitted to stay outside the labour camp though he will still be a prisoner in status.

Phase 4. Prisoner status will be lifted as well, but the person will not be permitted to leave the island.

No tapol on Buru has yet advanced beyond phase 2. Even if phase 4 is ever reached by any tapol, it should be borne in mind that the whole island has, since its selection as the location for Indonesia's largest prison camp, been turned into a heavily guarded fortress, inaccessible except by means of military transport. No-one should be deceived into believing that a tapol who has reached the fourth phase is in any sense a free man.

Other labour camps

Little has been heard about the establishment of prison camps on¹³ other of the main islands, notably Sumatra, Kalimantan and Sulawesi which will accommodate "released" tapols on these islands. KOPKAMTIB have on several occasions mentioned "budgetary considerations" as being the reason for delays in setting up camps for tapols in other islands.

News of one camp in Kalimantan appeared in an Indonesian newspaper which described it as a "mini-Buru". In one or two¹⁴ places, there have been reports of the establishment of *puslaja* or 'work training centres' where tapols are said to be receiving 'mental' and physical training to equip them for eventual release. These training courses are supposed to last for six months, but as far as is known this time-limit is not actually kept. Certainly, women tapols who were transferred to a labour camp in Plantungan, Central Java in 1971 were all told they were being sent there for six months training which would lead to an eventual *penyelesaian* or 'solution'. Almost all of them are still there.

Impact of Human Rights Campaign

There is no doubt that increased international concern over human rights and the intensification of campaigning activities regarding Indonesia have played a significant part in compelling the Indonesian authorities to announce their release plans. The initial move in this direction was taken in October 1976, when it was first announced that Category B tapols would be released, just before a senior military officer, General Ali Murtopo, made a visit to the USA and Washington where Congress was debating human rights amendments to economic and military aid bills. Soon afterwards, an amendment to restrict aid to Indonesia for reasons which included concern over human rights abuse was debated in a congressional committee. Though the motion was lost, its impact was certainly felt in Jakarta.

All the evidence available to us suggests that the decision to carry out a major public relations event on 1st December 1976 was a last minute decision, prompted by two developments in November of that year. One was the election of Jimmy Carter as US President after an election campaign in which he had made many references to human rights abuses. The other was a request transmitted to the US Ambassador in Jakarta by the State Department that he submit a report on human rights in Indonesia in conformity with the new provisions of US foreign aid legislation. The very first series of State Department human rights reports submitted to US Congress dealt with six countries including Indonesia. The reports, published on 31st December 1976, included a update letter from the State Department, dated 15th December stating that "On December 1, 1976, the Indonesian Government released approximately 2,500 (political) prisoners and permitted them to return to their homes" and also referring to the three-year

release plan. Admiral Sudomo's announcement of 1st December had come in time to further modify a report that did little anyway to expose the realities of human rights abuse in Indonesia.

There were other events during 1976 which had a bearing on the Indonesian Government's decision to go ahead with a major face-saving announcement. The ILO met in June to discuss the use of tapols as forced labour. A decision to blacklist Indonesia for non-compliance with ILO Convention No. 29 was only averted by an official Indonesian statement promising large-scale



releases. There was growing public debate in the Netherlands over the continuance of aid to Indonesia in view of human rights abuse which compelled the Dutch Government to promise an "evaluation note" on the aid programme and its effect of human rights progress. There was growing condemnation of Indonesia for its invasion and annexation of East Timor. Regarding the latter point, an attitude of apparent leniency towards the tapols was clearly expected to take the heat off Indonesia during a period when two Security Council resolutions were adopted calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and the General Assembly also adopted a resolution insisting that the people of East Timor be given the chance to exercise their right to self-determination.

Certainly the strength of campaigning against human rights in Indonesia intensified during the year, with hearings on the subject at the US Congress, a major Amnesty International campaign on the Buru labour camp and increasing interest in the problem by a growing number of British MPs.

1. tapol: contraction of tahanan politik meaning political prisoner.

One hundred thousand political prisoners
held for more than ten years without trial

more than a million years

A film which portrays for the first time
the true facts of political imprisonment in INDONESIA

Narrated by ALBERT FINNEY

Have you seen it yet?

If not, contact your local or national Amnesty Section.
If there is no copy in your country, write to the German
Section of Amnesty International for information on how to
get one. Address: Venusbergweg 48, 5300 Bonn, Germany.

2. KOPKAMTIB: Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, in charge of the tapol question.
3. Admiral Sudomo's Press Statement on 1st December 1976. Taken from the English translation distributed by the Indonesian Embassy in London.
4. The same time pattern for releases was also mentioned by President Suharto in his independence day speech, on 16th August 1977.
5. G30S/PKI: abbreviation for the 30th September 1965 Movement/Indonesian Communist Party.
6. Quoted from a document issued in 1968. See below.
7. The wordiness of this sentence is deliberate. The Indonesian authorities use so many expressions that could, but generally do not, mean actual release, that an attempt has been made here to make it quite clear what we are referring to.
8. One source, a recently-released tapol, said that less than half of the 319 people were coming from the prisons. Another, a tapol who wrote a long letter to the International Red Cross, gave a figure of only 120. (See TAPOL Bulletin, No. 21.)
9. These permits, known as IBR were issued by officers without formal approval of higher authorities. It is believed that the practice has been discontinued in the past year.
10. Pancasila: the five principles claimed as Indonesia's state ideology: Belief in One God, Democracy, Nationalism, Humanitarianism and Social Justice.
11. L stands for lunak meaning soft; k stands for keras meaning hard.
12. These quotations are taken un-corrected from the English translation issued by the Indonesian Embassy in London.
13. For information on conditions at the Buru prison labour camp, see: The Prisoners of Buru, by Dom Moraes, published in Asia Magazine 5th March, 1972, and Daily Telegraph Magazine, 24th March 1972. Also, Amnesty International duplicated report, "Political Imprisonment on Buru Island, May 1976. Also, TAPOL's Background and Information Pamphlet No. 1, The Prison State (1976) pages 6-7.
14. This camp is being set up near the village of Pararabak, S. Barito, Central Kalimantan. Tapols sent there must first undergo a 'psycho-test'. See TAPOL Bulletin, No. 22, June 1977, page 8.

tapol

**British Campaign for the
Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners**

TAPOL, 103 TILEHURST ROAD, WANDSWORTH COMMON, LONDON SW18.

STUDENTS WORRIED ABOUT ARRESTS

"FREEDOM OF expression is still restricted and for the ordinary people, the law is not properly implemented," said Lukman Hakim, Chairman of the Student Council of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta after his inauguration in May this year. (*Merdeka*, 2 May, 1977). "We are increasingly troubled by waves of arrests, news of which soon disappears after the arrests have been made."

The new chairman also said that the Student Council was pressing for the early trial of Fahmi Basya, a UI student arrested last year on charges of terrorism. Others arrested in the past year such as Mr Sawito Kartowibowo and a number of people arrested for alleged connections with the Moslem "Holy Command"* had also not yet been charged or tried. He was concerned that people could be arrested on charges which were invented afterwards without having a chance to defend themselves.

Government-Student Dialogue Ends in Deadlock

A Government attempt to have a 'dialogue' with students on a number of campuses where criticism has become very vociferous recently has failed.

A team of seven Cabinet ministers, most of them from the economic sector, had been formed to tour the universities and

* A militant Moslem group which advocates the creation of an Islamic state.

have frank discussions with students. It was hoped that this would help quell growing discontent.

The very first 'dialogue' held at the University of Indonesia, according to David Jenkins (*Far Eastern Economic Review*, 2 September, 1977), "set the tone for what was to be a disappointing series of confrontations". Students concentrated on the use and abuse of power, unequal distribution of wealth, illegal levies, bus fares, social injustice and the Pertamina affair. In Gaja Mada University, Jogjakarta, about 1,000 students attended the meeting with the ministerial team, raising similar problems as well as asking why KOPKAMTIB had not yet been disbanded.

But the worst troubles occurred during the meeting at Pajajaran University, Bandung. After Professor Sumitro, Minister for Research, who was leading the team, had concluded his opening remarks, students rose not to ask questions but to read out a statement which said that students would not join in the discussion because it could not ensure the settlement of what the general public sensed to be the real problems. The dialogue, they said, seemed designed to silence restlessness.

The ministers walked out of the meeting and announced that no further meetings with students would be held except at the students' own request.

After reporting on these events to President Suharto, Minister Sumitro warned that the government would take 'stern measures against the students if their present waves of activities were part of a political movement'. (*The Indonesian Times*, 16 August, 1977)

SAWITO TRIAL DIFFICULTIES

MR YAP THIAM HIEN, the well-known human rights lawyer who has been appointed by Mr Sawito Wartowibowo to defend him in his forthcoming trial, has been refused access to the documents concerning the case against him, according to *Tempo* (20 August 1977).

The refusal was contained in a letter to Mr Yap from the President of the Jakarta State Court before which the trial is scheduled to take place. The President claimed that Mr Yap had breached the regulations by submitting to the court a photo-copy of his client's formal letter of appointment instead of the original.

Mr Yap said he was "flabbergasted" by the court's decision. Requests for access to documents are normally granted as a matter of course even if made verbally over the phone. He said it was highly improper for a court to doubt the word of a lawyer.



YAP THIAM HIEN SH

"Or perhaps there are other reasons for the refusal of my request which concerns a defendant's basic rights." The lawyers' association, *Peradin* is trying to intervene in the conflict and persuade the court to alter its decision. The court's president has said he would require a fresh request which would have to comply with the regulations but Mr Yap has asked the court to state what regulation was infringed by his original request and has expressed strong objections to the court's mistrust of his integrity. *Tempo*

meanwhile confirms that lawyers normally have no difficulty whatsoever in gaining access to their client's documents.

The trial of Mr Sawito who is being charged with subversion in connection with a "letter plot" was scheduled to begin in August.

Tapol-Canada

TAPOL has been launched in Canada with the appearance of its first Bulletin in August 1977. TAPOL-Canada is the third group to be set up; the others are TAPOL-UK and TAPOL-USA, set up in 1973 and 1975 respectively.

The first issue of TAPOL-Canada's Bulletin carries an article entitled: "Canada & Indonesia, the Best of Friends" which summarises Canadian business interests in Indonesia and the role of Canadian economic aid in promoting these interests. It describes the aid deal for \$200 million concluded by Prime Minister Trudeau and President Suharto in 1975 as "one of the largest foreign assistance programmes ever undertaken by Canada".

TAPOL-Canada's address is: P.O. Box 715, Peterborough, Ontario.

INDONESIAN NEWS SELECTIONS

The Bulletin of the Indonesia Action Group in Victoria, Australia.

Appears every two months, with translations of items from the Indonesian press about selected topics. For example, Issue No. 3, June 1977 deals with the May Elections and the Jayo-PNG incidents.

The stated aims of the Selections include "creating an awareness of the widespread deprivation of human rights in Indonesia".

Annual subscription: A\$6.00 overseas

Single copies: A\$1.00

Address: Indonesia Action Group, P.O. Box 137, Collingwood 3066, Australia.

East Timor Update:

INDONESIAN OFFENSIVE LAUNCHED

A NEW offensive reported to involve at least 10,000 Indonesian troops has been launched in East Timor, according to political and intelligence sources in Australia. The offensive is seen as an attempt to bring an end to the fighting in that country during the current dry season. The Indonesian Government has denied these reports but admits that "mopping up operations" are being undertaken.

Meanwhile, Fretilin fighters have been offered an amnesty if they surrender to Indonesian troops before the end of this year. The amnesty was announced by President Suharto in his Independence Day speech on 16th August. The amnesty is also said to apply to "Fretilin supporters under detention". Army Commander, General Panggabean, however refuses to say how many Fretilin supporters are being held in detention.

The Numbers Game

Neither will he give any figures for the number of people still fighting against Indonesia's annexation of the country. According to Tempo (3 September 1977) he may be reluctant to give figures because of the confusion caused by earlier figures leading to a public criticism by Mario Carracalao, leader of the now disbanded East Timor party, the UDT, who is special assistant for East Timor affairs to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry.

"When I made a speech at the UN to counteract Fretilin agitation," he said, "I gave the figure of 500 Fretilin remnants still fighting in the jungles. But on 15th June last, the official spokesman of the Indonesian Defence Ministry stated that 2,492 rebels in East Timor had returned to the fold in Los Palos and Fatu Carabau. I was made to look ridiculous abroad. I obtained my figure from the military commander in East Timor."

Fretilin President Under Arrest

FRETILIN CENTRAL COMMITTEE announced on 14th September that its president, Xavier do Amaral had been placed under arrest on 7th September and would be tried for high treason.

A two-hour statement read over Radio Maubere which was monitored in Australia stated that Xavier do Amaral and his associates had drawn up plans for the assassination of other Fretilin leaders which would be followed by an Indonesian offensive.

A number of people were named in the Fretilin statement as having associated with Xavier do Amaral, including secretaries of several Fretilin regional committees.

The statement also described the acts of indecision and nervousness displayed by Xavier do Amaral during moments of great stress, particularly on the morning of 7th December 1975, when the Indonesian invasion was launched.

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.

New rates: UK and Europe £3.00 (US\$5.50)
(6 issues) Overseas (airmail) £4.00 (US\$6.75)

Please make cheques payable to TAPOL. TAPOL account no. 40987493, National Westminster Bank, 27 Bellevue Road, London SW17.

All foreign currency cheques should be endorsed on the reverse side with the words: 'as made payable to on the front'.

Please address all correspondence and subscription enquiries to: TAPOL, 103 Tilehurst Road, Wandsworth-Common, London SW18

LITERATURE AND OTHER MATERIAL FROM TAPOL

Indonesia, the Prison State

16pp. pamphlet with photographs

10p each

Indonesia, Unions Behind Bars

16 pp. pamphlet on the detention of trade unionists and the suppression of trade unions. Foreword by Jack Jones, Chairman of the International Committee of the British T.U.C.

10p each

TAPOL badges

designed in three colours

10p each

The Bloodbath That Was

reprint of the 1967 book by Dierdre Griswold on the massacres of 1965-66

80p each

Ten Years' Military Terror in Indonesia

containing 15 articles on social, economic and political aspects of post-1965 Indonesia

£3.00 each

TAPOL Posters

in two designs

50p each

TAPOL's song on cassette. A

A song composed by a tapol, now popular inside and outside the prisons. Recorded by a pop group in Jakarta

£1.00 each

All prices are exclusive of postage. Overseas readers should make adequate provision if they want orders sent by air. Reductions will be given on bulk orders of TAPOL material.

Address your orders and enquiries to TAPOL (for address, see below).

Appeal for Support

As we announced in TAPOL Bulletin No 23, we are planning a major intensification of our campaign. This will require an increase in staff and a corresponding increase in our budget.

We are applying for support to several agencies. Readers who feel they can help personally are urged to send donations. The best form would be by Bankers Order which would provide us with a regular source of income. We therefore invite you to fill in or re-write the following form and return it to: TAPOL, 103 Tilehurst Road, Wandsworth Common, London SW18.

Bankers Order

Your Name (in block caps)

Address

This form should be sent to us and we will forward it to your bank.

Please pay to the account of TAPOL, National Westminster Bank, 27 Bellevue Road, London SW17 (Account No. 40987493) the sum of

(in words)

(amount in figures) £ on the date 197 . and every month/three months/year* on the same day until otherwise notified.

Name and address of your bank

Signature

To our non-UK readers: We are not sure whether such arrangements can be made in other countries. Alternative arrangements would of course be welcome.

*Delete as necessary