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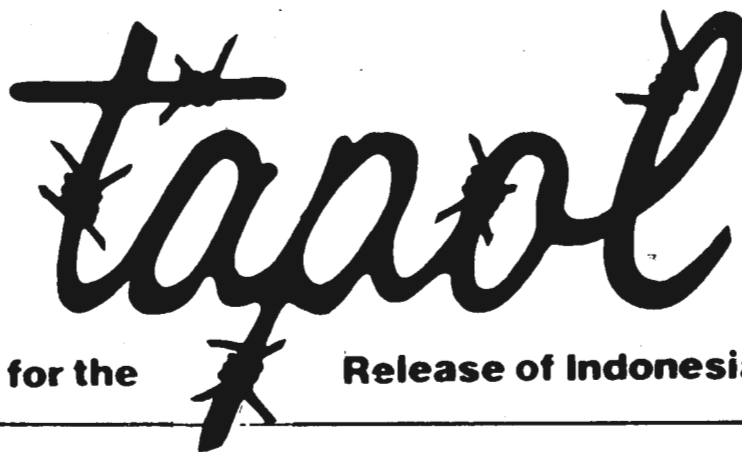
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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

TAPOL Bulletin No. 22

June, 1977

THE TAPOLS AND TIMOR

TAPOL EDITORIAL

"ABUSES of human rights, wherever they may occur, are the legitimate subject of international concern. The dignity of man stands on values which transcend national frontiers . . . In Britain, we will take our stand on human rights in every corner of the globe . . . We will not discriminate." So said Dr David Owen, the British Foreign Secretary, recently; echoing President Carter's many pronouncements on the subject.

Yet in the past few months both governments have maintained or even increased their already substantial programme of aid for Indonesia. They have both chosen to ignore the growing evidence of mass murder, torture and political detentions in East Timor, despite mounting pressure from within Parliamentary and Congressional circles. How much then do these pronouncements really mean?

It appears further that the Indonesian authorities are using their much publicised but spurious release programme (see General Murdani's statement, page 3) to distract attention from the developments in East Timor. It obviously suits the western governments to appear to be distracted.

A statement made recently by Congressman Lester Woolf, chairman of the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the US House of Representatives tends to confirm this. Announcing the publication of a report on a Congressional visit to Indonesia during which extensive talks were held with President Suharto and other senior military officials he said: "Despite remaining reservations on the human rights issues of political prisoners, and the incorporation of East Timor with US arms in 1975-76,

I recommend that because of progress on the political prisoner issue, there is no justification for efforts to cut needed aid or security assistance to Indonesia."

In Britain, Mrs Judith Hart, the Minister for Overseas Development, told Parliament on 16th May that the British Government made a further commitment of capital aid to Indonesia at this year's IGGI meeting. She added: "However, we expressed our deep concern about human rights position in Indonesia and our hope that the release of political prisoners will be speeded up." Is that all? How can the Indonesians be expected to take the concern seriously if the support continues? And why was the question of East Timor not raised?

We are glad to note that the members of parliament who tabled a motion in April raised both the tapol and the Timor questions. Concern for human rights in Indonesia must include concern for the horrendous violations in human rights in East Timor in the wake of the Indonesian invasion.

tapol song on cassette

A SONG composed by a tapol is now available on cassette. The recording, made by a pop group in Jakarta was received a few weeks ago.

The words of the song (the Indonesian and an English translation) were published in TAPOL Bulletin No. 18. The English translation was made before we knew the melody, and is therefore unsuitable as a lyric.

Information sent to us by a tapol in a prison in Central Java states that the song very quickly became popular in the prisons despite attempts by the authorities to prevent it from spreading. It has also become popular outside the prisons: the fact that a pop group has arranged and recorded it is proof of that.

The cassette will shortly be available for sale at a price of about £1.00 plus postage. We shall announce the exact price in our next issue. Please let us know if you are interested in placing an order; we would like to know the degree of interest in this.

'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'.

Subversion Trial in Irian Jaya

SENTENCES of eight year's imprisonment were passed against five persons found guilty of 'rebellion' at a trial which ended on 9th March this year in Jayapura, the provincial capital of Irian Jaya (Tempo, 11th June, 1977).

The accusation was based on the charge that the five persons were members of the Papua Independence Movement, and that they had signed a statement in December, 1974 which called for the unification of the Papuan people inhabiting the entire island of Papua New Guinea, from Samaria on the eastern tip, to Sorong over 1,000 miles away on the western tip of the island. The statement which was entitled the 'Yapen-Waropen People's Statement' called for "100% independence, outside the Republic of Indonesia". (At present, the eastern half of Papua is an independent country, Papua New Guinea; the western half is a province of Indonesia, known as Irian Jaya.)

The five accused have been in detention since February 1975. The full text of the statement regarding which the charges were made has not been made available to the public, Tempo reports.

Actually, six persons had been signatories of the statement which was issued in Serui. One of the signatories, named as Y.Ch. Merino, is said to have committed suicide on 14th February, 1975.

Unrest in Irian Jaya

Meanwhile, persistent reports of unrest in Irian Jaya have been appearing in the international press. The disturbances started with attacks on local police stations in Arso, 45 kilometres south of Jayapura, and Paget, 100 km. further to the south-west. A number of officials are reported to have been killed.

Two weeks later, more serious incidents occurred in the

remote Baliem Valley, deep in the mountainous backbone of the province. A series of attacks were made by Dani tribesmen during the last two weeks of April. They succeeded in capturing weapons from the posts under attack. According to Australian reporter, David Jenkins, writing in the Canberra Times, (28.5.1977), after completing their attacks, the tribesmen dug trenches across nearby airstrips to prevent troop reinforcements from being flown in. Aircraft of the Merpati Nusantara Airlines were also damaged during an attack by Dani tribesmen armed with sticks and stones.

A large number of Papuans have fled across the border to Papua New Guinea (PNG), and the Indonesian military authorities are now trying hard to compel the PNG Government to return these refugees in accordance with a border agreement concluded between Indonesia and the PNG two years ago which aimed at preventing political opponents of the Indonesian regime from seeking refuge in the PNG.

Although a PNG Government spokesman stated at a press conference on 1st June that the refugees were now willing to return to Indonesia voluntarily, a representative of the UN High Commission for refugees, Mr. Tom Unwin, who visited a refugee camp at Suki in PNG contradicted this statement by declaring in Port Moresby that the refugees were "adamant in not wishing to return home". They told him they had fled because they feared persecution from the Indonesian authorities after it was discovered that they had voted for the PDI (Indonesian Democratic Party), not the GOLKAR at the general elections on 2nd May. The secret ballot had been violated, they said, and lists of those not voting GOLKAR had been drawn up.

RECOMMENDED READING

Justus M. van der Kroef: "Indonesia's Political Prisoners", in Pacific Affairs, Winter 1976-1977.

This article deals with many aspects of the Indonesian Government's policy towards and treatment of the tapols. The writer who is professor of political science at Bridgeport University, Connecticut and is well-known in academic circles for his more conservative and anti-communist views, has amassed a wealth of detail culled mainly from the Indonesian press to reveal the arbitrary and illegal methods employed in arresting, classifying and determining the fate of the tapols.

He deals at great length with the confusion of official statements over numbers, the vagueness of the definitions contained in various official decrees about classification according to so-called culpability, the attempts to camouflage detention for political purposes by indulging in a word game over 'tapol' and 'prison', the slow rate of trials ("After 1969", he says, "the delay almost certainly became a matter of deliberate policy.") and the problem of clearance certificates.

Reading this article, one realises again that abundant material is available for anyone who wants to know the truth which the Indonesian military authorities try so desperately to hide. It only shows too how ludicrous was the attempt by the US State Department in its report to Congress on human rights in Indonesia to show that human rights reporting is unreliable by insinuating that "Amnesty International appears to have relied heavily on TAPOL both for its estimates on numbers and for its examples of mistreatment of political prisoners". Dr. van der Kroef who does indeed receive TAPOL Bulletins

regularly (as do many academics specialising in Indonesian affairs) in fact builds up his case with very little reference to this bulletin as a source. Yet the familiarity of Professor van der Kroef's material will be striking to regular readers of TAPOL Bulletin.

For those wishing to study the problem as presented by an academic whose political motives could not by any stretch of the imagination be impugned, we strongly recommend Professor van der Kroef's article. It also provides a number of quotes and sources which we have overlooked or been unaware of and has thus added to our own knowledge of the situation.

As an example, we reproduce below one rather lengthy quote from Dr. van der Kroef's article taken from a report by two Dutch physicians, A. Veldkamp and P. van Dijk who undertook five months' research into conditions of the tapols in Indonesia. The report, entitled: "The Forgotten Prisoners of Indonesia", was published in the Dutch newspaper, De Volkskrant on 12th January, 1974:

"Of the 90,000 prisoners (one in 1,200 Indonesians is in prison) there is certainly a large number that got into prison because of administrative errors or because of complaints of neighbours or 'friends'. In West Java we encountered the case of a young man of 24 who had been set free. After eight years' imprisonment it appeared that not he but his brother should have been arrested. This came to light during a prison insurrection. . . . Youths are in prison because their father was not at home when the military came. Older ones have been detained for years because they happened to be playing on the soccer team of a trade union. A woman in Celebes is in detention because she, as chairperson of a sewing circle, had once been invited by the women's section of some organised labourers."

THE ADMIRAL FIGHTS BACK...

INDONESIA's ambassador to Britain, Admiral Sudomo, recently launched an attack on TAPOL, particularly on one of its members, Carmel Budiardjo. In an interview with the Indonesian news agency Antara on 5th March, he declared that statements made by a member of the British parliamentary delegation which visited Indonesia in October last year (which he quoted incidentally from TAPOL Bulletin, No. 20, February 1977, without accrediting us) had proven that "the cunning efforts of Carmel Budiardjo have failed".

"TAPOL uses the pretext of campaigning to release the G30S/PKI prisoners as a cover for activities to discredit the Indonesian government," said the Admiral. "They use cheap propaganda in a bi-monthly bulletin . . . also organise negative lectures and film shows . . ." etc, etc.

But in quoting the words of one of the members of the British parliamentary delegation, the Conservative member, Mr. Winterton who said he "supports the position of the Indonesian Government in relation to the prisoners", the Admiral forgot to tell Antara that both Labour Party members of the delegation had told the Indonesian press that the views expressed by Conservative Party MPs, Glyn (head of the delegation) and Winterton were their own personal views and not the official views of the delegation. Neither of the Labour MPs had been asked for comments by the press in Jakarta. (See TAPOL Bulletin, No. 20, February, 1977, p. 3)

31 MPs Think Otherwise

It must have been a heavy blow for Admiral Sudomo to note that one month after his statement to Antara, an Early Day Motion appeared on the Order Paper of Parliament, sponsored by six MPs: three Labour Party members, two Conservative Party members and one member of Plaid Cymru (Welsh Nationalists).

The motion reads as follows:

"That this House, concerned over reports of massacres by Indonesian troops in East Timor, and at the continued detention of political prisoners without trial by the Indonesian Government, calls upon Her Majesty's Government to press for an independent inquiry into the situation in East Timor, and to review its policy on aid to Indonesia before the meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia on 5th and 6th April in Holland."

In addition to the six sponsoring MPs, 25 others supported the motion.

A large dossier was promptly sent to the sponsors by the Admiral (sets of these are now in TAPOL's hands) explaining the Indonesian Government's point of view. Much of this material has already been reported and commented on in past issues of TAPOL Bulletin.

The Admiral and the British Press

In his Antara interview, the Admiral had spoken as if Carmel Budiardjo and the communist daily, Morning Star were alone in Britain in being concerned about Indonesia's political prisoners.

Well, we wonder what happened to the Admiral's adrenalin level when he woke up on 18th May to see an article in the London Times reporting across three columns the dissatisfaction expressed by the International Red Cross over their visit to Indonesia earlier this year. Under a banner headline, "Red Cross Mission was deceived over Indonesian prison conditions, smuggled letter claims", the paper also dealt at length with the letter exposing the deceptions used against the Red Cross which TAPOL published in its last issue.

Next move yours, Admiral . . .

Releases:

Two official explanations

The following report was carried by Agence-France Press from Hong Kong on April 10, 1977:

Jakarta, April 10.

The Indonesian Security Command has confirmed plans to release the bulk of political prisoners after this year's May 2 elections. Security Commander Admiral Sudomo said in a written statement to 50 re-education officials that "category-B prisoners", against whom there is insufficient evidence of subversion and involvement in the abortive 1965 Communist coup, would all be released. Category-B prisoners now number 27,132. A total of 1,309 had already been set free last year. Not included in the release plan are 1,821 prisoners who have been tried or are about to be tried and 2,401 prisoners still under investigation. Ten thousand are to be freed this year, the same number in 1978 and the remainder in 1979.

Special to the Asian Wall Street Journal
Jakarta, 18th April, 1977:

A senior Indonesian military official vigorously defended the country's imprisonment of nearly 30,000 political detainees before a visiting U.S. congressional delegation here last week, a delegation source said.

Maj. Gen. Bunny Murdani, senior intelligence officer in the Defense Ministry, told members of the Congressional sub-committee on Asian and Pacific Affairs that Indonesia had "no political prisoners," according to the source. Gen. Murdani was quoted as saying the detainees all had "committed a crime or were in one way or another connected with a crime."

Sources reported Gen. Murdani as saying that since 1969 Indonesia has detained 483,889 persons at one time or another. They couldn't specify whether the figure included those detained for criminal as well as political offenses.

Sources said Gen. Murdani has promised to release all political detainees by the end of 1979 "if all goes according to plan and if the budget allows." The budget reference indicates the possibility that new centers for ex-detainees are planned, sources said.

INDONESIA'S HUMAN RIGHTS

"I am so angry," Adnan Buyung Nasution exclaims as soon as I am introduced and we sit down. "If you could have seen what I witnessed yesterday! The homes of people — levelled to the ground — and the people themselves loaded in trucks and carted away like garbage. And for what? For a golf course!" The civil rights lawyer, head of Jakarta's Legal Aid Institute, talks in a series of small apoplectic explosions. "When you think of what a small percentage of people will ever use that golf course!"

The Guardian, London, 1 July, 1977.

JAKARTA: Seventeen people were injured in a clash with troops during a demonstration in the Jakarta suburb of Pondok Pinang over the enforced demolition of homes built without permission.

"Yes," Haji Prinsen chuckles good-humouredly, "even among the elite only a small proportion of them play golf." The contrast between the two friends, colleagues in the fight for human rights in Indonesia, is striking. Buyung Nasution is a well-dressed lawyer, with a lion's man of pepper-and-salt hair framing his handsome dark face. Haji Prinsen looks like a Nordic sailor. He was once a young Dutch draftee sent out to fight Holland's war of reconquest against the Indonesian independence movement. He soon deserted to the Indonesian side, became a citizen in 1950, and has served his adopted country in parliament and in prison under successive regimes. He has a perpetual smile and an imperturbable cheeriness that make the grim narrative of his life experiences sound like a little joke.

Both men and many of their co-workers and friends — 46 people in all — were among Indonesia's most recent generation of political prisoners, nicknamed "Malari." These people were rounded up after the January 1974 demonstrations against Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka's visit to Indonesia. In the Malari incident, orderly student demonstrations were followed by rioting and burning of Japanese cars and stores selling Japanese goods. It is widely assumed in Jakarta that the riots were not a spontaneous outgrowth of the student demonstrations, but were organized by certain authorities in order to discredit the original demonstrators and to provide a pretext for the imprisonment of the intellectual leadership of the protest movement. All of the Malari prisoners have now been released, some only a few months ago.

"Everyone in these courts is corrupt. The judge is corrupt. The lawyers are corrupt. The witnesses are paid to lie..."

Buyung Nasution has not yet discharged all his anger. He explains that in court that morning a man who has carried out some illegal business because forced to do so by his superior was being made the scapegoat for the business so that his boss, the real culprit, could get off scot-free. "Everyone in these courts is corrupt. The judge is corrupt, the lawyers are corrupt, the witnesses are paid to lie. I got angry at this man

* Cheryl Payer, author of *The Debt Trap*, Penguin Books (1974), visited Indonesia in February, 1977.

in court today and called him a liar. His testimony was contradicted by everyone else. But the judge accepted it! I am so angry I haven't been able to do my other work this morning."

His institute specializes in providing legal assistance to people who are too poor to hire lawyers and bribe witnesses. He is thus in a position to see the injuries that Indonesia's "progress" has inflicted on the little people. But attempts to provide aid in this manner is a labour of Sisyphus, he admits. "The System produces these victims much faster than we can possibly aid them. It is an evil system. It must be changed. The system must be changed. Yes, you may quote me! It is absolutely essential that we change this system that is producing such poverty and misery." It is a courageous statement for his institute survives on public money and he is thus in a rather delicate position. But neither of the two men seems to fear a further period of imprisonment. Haji Prinsen declares that he welcomes the prospect:

"It's about the only positive thing I can do here," he chuckles, "going to prison."

He has told me about his program of regular sport and exercise, explaining that he is keeping fit because his next arrest could come at any time and he wants to be in good shape for it. "The interrogations are exhausting; it's necessary to have as much strength as I can."

Jimmy Carter's statements on U.S. support for human rights in countries receiving American aid have been carefully noted in countries like Indonesia — in some quarters with nervous apprehension, in others with hope. These two men, like many others I met in Indonesia, were eager to hear my views on what changes the Carter pronouncements might herald. I expressed my own pessimism . . . then my own opinion that Congressional legislation requiring cutoffs of aid to countries systematically violating human rights was a more hopeful development than Presidential pronouncements, even though enforcing it would be an uphill battle. "But I hear that this law applies only to military aid and not to economic aid," objects Buyung Nasution. I admitted that I was not up to date on the exact status of the bills, but that there certainly were people working to extend the ban to economic aid as well. "Get it passed!" the lawyer snapped. "Get it passed and make sure it is carried out!"

Buyung on the ban on economic aid to Indonesia: "Get it passed, and make sure it is carried out!"

Haji Prinsen nods. "My heart is against it — telling people who want to help that they should not — but my reason agrees." He then begins to reminisce about the founding of his organization, the Institute for Human Rights. "It was started in 1966 (shortly after the anti-communist massacres of late 1965) when it was becoming apparent that the New Order was responsible for gross violations of human rights, particularly imprisonment without trial.

"I was not exactly friends with Sukarno, you know" (in fact he was imprisoned for a number of years by Sukarno's government) "so at first I welcomed the student movements, KAMI and KAPPI, which wanted to depose Sukarno and install the military. But that honeymoon didn't last very long!"

RIGHTS LOBBY

By Cheryl Payer*

"We are concerned about not only the political prisoners, but about the ordinary prisoners. Conditions for them are deplorable! And I wish that visiting officials and journalists would take a tour of our city hospital. There they would see hunger, poverty, suffering, doctors who are worked to death and doctors who don't give a damn, people who steal medicines and resell them for profit"

Both men have found that their efforts to help the little people have caused them financial difficulties as well as prison terms. Haji Prinsen had nothing left when he emerged from his last prison term but his motorbike. He has had to scramble to earn a living with a variety of odd jobs. For a while he was the Indonesia correspondent for several Dutch newspapers but, he told me, the Indonesian and Netherlands governments conspired to put an end to that activity. Buyung

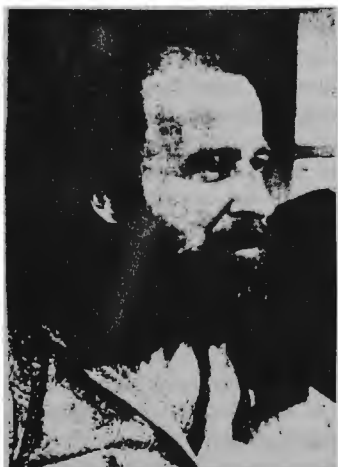
Earlier that week he had publicly protested the cruel announcement from the government that time spent in military prisons would not be counted as part of sentences to be served. This means, he pointed out, that a prisoner who had spent ten years in a military prison and was then sentenced to ten years in civil prison would in effect be incarcerated for 20 years.

As we part, the two men expressed the hope that foreign groups would continue their agitation on behalf of human rights in Indonesia. That is, they add sadly, about the only way we can get news about it into our newspapers.

"But you must remember," Buyung Nasution emphasized, "that the political prisoners are not the only victims of this system. This system has created many categories of victims, and they all need help."



Buyung Nasution



Prinsen

Nasution explained that he has problems juggling his ordinary commercial law practise with his legal aid activities. "For one thing, my clients see that I am spending all my time with the poor people while they are paying me, so they get angry. Then, I refuse to take clients which will mean a conflict of interest with the poor people I represent, and that eliminates a great number of corporations. Once I had a big hotel for a client, but then its employees went on strike and came to me, so I had to stop working for the hotel."

I remark that there seems to be very little attention or concern on the part of the Indonesians I have met for the political prisoners who have been stuck in jail for more than ten years. Buyung Nasution says, "Yes, I know many people who want to make an exception for the Communists, to exclude them from our concern. I tell these people that by making an exception of any group, they are opening the door to their own loss of rights."

* * * * *

The Question of Foreign Aid

Most of the news about the country's shameful legacy of political prisoners comes in the form of stories from outside, usually speculations on how the issue will hurt Indonesia's chances for foreign aid or whether the country will be censured in international organisations. Thus, the agitation by organisations such as Amnesty International and TAPOL has a significance, aside from the question of any direct effect on the Government of Indonesia, in keeping knowledge of the situation alive in the country's own press.

* * * * *

Some of the intellectuals are beginning to wonder whether Indonesia might even do better if foreign aid were cut off, even to hope in more or less bold fashion that the matter might be decided for them by an aid cutoff from abroad, whether as punishment for human-rights violations or even by a reactionary anti-foreign sentiment in the US or elsewhere. Many of these people admit that they would not be quite brave enough to take such a decision on their own, even if they were in a position to do so. "It is easier to let six million people die through inaction than to take an action which you know will kill two people," once journalist explained to me. It was a question to which he was clearly giving a lot of serious thought.

* * * * *

The irony of Indonesia is that the country's abundant agricultural and mineral wealth is not being used to provide a decent living for the 'little people' nor is the foreign aid now more than a billion dollars annually, contributing to that end. The tragedy is that the present unequal system may persist for many years more before the necessary changes are brought about. The first step needed to bring such changes, and the only thing within the competence of citizens of the Western aid-giving countries, is the cessation of that aid which constitutes the complicity of our governments with the Indonesian military elite. My conversations in Indonesia left me in no doubt that the end of such aid would be welcomed by the most thoughtful progressive people within that country. The rest, of course, would be up to them.

Exports Up - Debts Too

by Richard Franke

THE increasing problems of overseas debts may have been a factor in the decision by the IGGI countries to reduce the amount loaned to Indonesia from \$3 billion last year to \$2.1 billion this year. (IGGI — the Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia is made up of a number of Western nations, along with the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, and the International Monetary Fund.)

These figures nonetheless reflect continuing interest by the donor nations in the export side of Indonesia's economy, in which total exports rose from \$2.55 billion in 1973 to \$6.2 billion in 1976-77. As the Indonesian newsweekly *Tempo* told its readers on April 8, 1977, "World Bank says OK".

Not all the signs are as good as the raw export figures might suggest, however. The percentage from oil and gas has increased during the same four-year period from 25% to more than 50%, thus making the Indonesian economy increasingly dependent on a single source of income. At the same time, the huge debts piling up have begun to take a heavy toll on the national economy, taking up 16% of the government budget this year. In addition, 1976-77 had been the worst year of the last five in terms of the balance-of-payments, with the government running a deficit of \$702 million.

Many of the financial difficulties can be explained by the massive effects of the Pertamina bankruptcy which one observer states "has set the Indonesian economy back as much as 5 years and is slowing the pace of national development . . . until well into the 1980's" (1).

Food Problem Not Being Solved

In the arena of basic production of life's key necessity — food — the picture is bleaker than national income statistics can indicate. Several recent reports from various sources indicate continuing severe calorie and protein deficiencies along with a widening gap between rich and poor as measured by dietary information. Using a U.N. standard for Southeast Asians as requiring a minimum of 1900 calories and 40 grams of protein per person per day, statisticians in 1969-70 derived a measure of 1,120 calories and 23 grams of protein for the 4% of the population in the "lowest" category, while nearly 43% of the entire population received less than 1400 and another 40% under 1950. Only 18% of the population received more than 2,000 calories per day on the average. The total national average was 1850 calories and 34.5 grams (2).

A 1973 survey of 30 villages suggests that the national average may have dropped to 1528 calories in the 4-year interval though the national protein average came out to 42.8 grams. Even more striking were the findings from 8 villages in Central Java, one of the most heavily-populated regions of Indonesia. Of these 8 villages, the percentage of families having a "sub-standard level of nutrition" ranged from 19% in the best village to 78% in the worst. Four of the six remaining villages had percentages far closer to the worst village than to the best. In all 8 villages, families spent more than $\frac{1}{2}$ their incomes on food, with one village reporting 94% of family income spent for food (3). A national average suggested by another recent study indicates that 55% of the rural population of Indonesia receive barely 1,300 calories and 25 grams of protein per day while the urban population does slightly less well (4).

Chronic Malnutrition

The outcome of these statistics is shown in the various measures of malnutrition. The 30-village study mentioned above indicates that 30% of the population suffers from moderate to severe "protein-calorie-malnutrition" (which has a medical definition) while a 1969 survey found that the percentage of pregnant women suffering from anemia ranged from a low of 46% on Bali to a high of 92% in Bandungan. Percentages for non-pregnant women and for men were lower but nonetheless very high, with the lowest figure in the study being 16% for Balinese men in one region (5).

As a final comment on the food statistics, the 30-village study reveals that 74% of the families studied were deficient in calories and 51% received both too few calories and too little protein (6).

Growing Inequality

What are the reasons for this continuing problem of food insufficiency despite such massive loans and foreign aid programs for Indonesia? One Indonesian politician, Drs. T. A. M. Simatupang, recently suggested a partial answer:

It is not the agricultural workers who receive the fruits of the development programs and the new technologies. Rather it is the landlords and the enterprises. (7)

The inability of the poor to benefit from the food production programs is thus related to the political and economic inequality which exists and continues to be supported by a government in Jakarta that remains hostile to land reform, peasant organizations, agricultural workers' unions, and other forms of association that might give the poor a way to derive some of the potential benefits of development aid. And it is here that the prison system enters the picture: the threat of detention hangs over those who would attempt to build just such organizations as are needed to bring these benefits of development to the majority of Indonesia's citizens.

Aid Vs. Equality?

Finally, we must return to the problem of the massive aid and the high degree of export orientation of the economy. With so much money coming into the country, a peculiar problem is developing. As one observer has suggested, "

"the increase of domestic food supply . . . may not keep up with the increase in . . . income, a circumstance which may prove most disadvantageous to the person in the lower income brackets if, as would seem probable, food prices increase faster than other costs of living." (8)

Going far into debt, producing a lot of oil and gas, and spreading "development" money into the economy may be a boon to the small upper and middle classes of Indonesia, but it may also be exacerbating wealth differences and pricing the poor right out of the food market.

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Aid-to-Indonesia News

MILITARY AID

UNITED STATES Despite President Carter's much-publicised condemnation of human rights abuse, Indonesia's share of the US annual military aid budget increased from \$41 million last year to \$58.1 million in the current fiscal budget. Of this amount, \$40 million is for foreign military sales credit, \$15 million for military grant and \$3.1 million for personnel training. A move in the US Senate to eliminate the grant item was defeated following pressure from the State Department which urged that the grant be retained since there were plans to abandon such grants starting next year anyway and changes need not be made before that.

Steps appear however to be being taken to make up for the planned elimination of military grant aid next year. On the one hand, as Hamish McDonald reports in the Australian National Times, (30th May-4th June, 1977): "Under a quiet understanding worked out between Jakarta and Washington during the past two years, the cutting of US defence giveaways will be more than counterbalanced by increased allocations to Indonesia of concessional credit for purchases of US hardware."

On the other hand, many other western countries are very eager to become new suppliers for a rapidly growing market provided by the Indonesian military establishment. This was indicated by General Panggabean, Indonesia's Defence Minister who said in a statement on 23rd May about the possible US grant cutback, that "several countries had offered their arms to Indonesia, including Britain."

GREAT BRITAIN A 15,000-ton Royal Navy Fleet Auxiliary visited Jakarta harbour early in May this year "packed to the gunnels", as the Australian Broadcasting Corporation correspondent in Jakarta reported on 10th May, "with the wares of British Government factories and sixty British firms producing assorted weaponry". Military hardware brought on the naval vessel for this sales promotion effort was also put on display at Batujajar, Bandung, and senior military officers and government officials were invited to inspect the wares.

WEST GERMANY Indonesia has obtained credit of \$100 million from the W. German government for the construction of two submarines for the Indonesian Navy. The submarines will be constructed at the Howaldtswerke Deutsche Werf and will be completed in 1980. Pax Christi in Germany has publicly condemned the deal, protesting that the Indonesian Navy is currently engaged in blockading East Timor as part of Indonesian aggression against that country. Licenced production of the W. German BO-105 helicopter and the Spanish Casa 212 light transport aircraft is already under way in Indonesia.

AUSTRALIA has agreed to give Indonesia five more Nomad fighter jet planes as part of the 1976-78 Australian military aid programme worth altogether 25 million Australian dollars. These planes are particularly valuable for maritime reconnaissance.

FRANCE entered into an agreement with Indonesia for the restoration of AMX-13 tanks, and for the supply of new tanks. During Adam Malik's visit to Paris in June last year, preparations were made for the conclusion of military sales and credit agreements and the French President has been invited to Jakarta, largely in order to promote such agreements.

ECONOMIC AID

The meeting of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) on 5-6th April this year agreed to Indonesia's request supported by the World Bank and the IMF for a total of \$2,100 million aid and credit for the coming year. This is slightly less than the £2,400 million agreed upon in 1976, but concessional and semi-concessional credit make up a much larger proportion of the total. Credit from the individual IGGI member-governments amounts to \$600 million this year by comparison with \$450 million last year. World Bank credit will rise from £517 million last year to \$600 million this year which means that Indonesia will once again obtain more World Bank credit than any other country. Altogether concessional and semi-concessional aid will total \$1,500 million by comparison with \$1,120 million agreed upon in 1976.

The UK Government committed £5.7 million at this year's IGGI meeting, equal to the amount committed at the 1976 IGGI meeting. This brings the total British aid to Indonesia since the IGGI was set up in 1966 to £54.5 million.

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New Arrests

AUSTRALIAN Broadcasting Commission, Report from Asia, May 15th, 1977: Indonesia's Security Chief Admiral Sudomo, on Thursday [May 12] disclosed that more than one thousand people had been arrested for what he called "infringements" during the recent general election. He said almost 800 of those arrested were members of a Moslem terrorist group, which the government says exists under the name of "The Holy War Command". The Moslem opposition has said that at least 700 of those arrested are members of its party. The Chief of the Security Command has also threatened action against Indonesian newspapers, if they publish what he called "inciting reports" over the issue.

The Moslem Party claimed that reprisals against its members and supporters began over a wide area of Java immediately after the polls. The Moslem newspaper, Pelita, reported two deaths, beatings and the destruction of houses, which it said had caused scores of Moslem supporters to flee their homes, some taking refuge in the party's headquarters in Jakarta.

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NEW LABOUR CAMP IN KALIMANTAN

A new labour camp for G30S/PKI political prisoners is under construction in Central Kalimantan near the village of Pararabak, in the district of South Barito. The camp is described as a "small scale Buru Island" by the Daily Kompas (20.6.1977).

The local military commander, Brigadier General Mistar Tjokrokusumo said that forty prisoners would be taken "as pioneers" to the project. These prisoners were now undergoing "training" he said, at a special centre 65 kilometres from Bandjarmasin.

All those sent to the project will first have to pass a test consisting of "a psychology test and a test of everyday attitudes". Priority will be given to "younger persons, persons in good spirits and with a sense of dedication to Panca Sila", says Kompas, quoting a military officer.

The paper also gives the following figures for tapols in Central Kalimantan: 104 'A' category; 518 'B' category, of whom 57 are now under house arrest. In addition there are two newly-arrested 'A' category tapols.



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