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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 12

OCTOBER, 1975

East Timor: Indonesian takeover means bloodshed and terror

An Indonesian takeover of 'Portuguese' East Timor would bring bloodshed and terror to the country, as did the military takeover in Indonesia in 1965.

This is the essence of the various statements and activities of TAPOL in the last few months. In a letter to the British Government at the end of August, TAPOL urged it to work for an international initiative that would safeguard the right to self-determination of the Timorese people, and recalled the massacres and repression that had followed in the wake of military rule in Indonesia. TAPOL also expressed strong condemnation of Indonesia's intentions to impose by force its own brand of 'law and order' on the Timorese people.

The fears expressed by TAPOL at a time when fighting was still raging between the leftwing Fretilin and the conservative UDT (Timor Democratic Union) are all the more valid now, when it is quite clear that Fretilin has gained control over virtually the whole country and is generally acknowledged as the party with the widest support among the people.

As we go to press, the news media is reporting new fighting between Fretilin forces and Indonesian troops that have penetrated across the border from Indonesian Timor. At the same time a fleet of more than thirty Indonesian submarines and other warships is stationing around the Dili Harbour and Portuguese Timor coasts, imposing a virtual blockade on the territory.

These acts of aggression have clearly been planned over a long period of time, as is abundantly clear from statements made by a number of Indonesian spokesmen, including the Foreign Minister, Adam Malik, the Minister of Defence, General Panggabean, and General Ali Mortopo, President Suharto's chief political aide who, according to some circles, already informally if not formally bears the title, 'Project Officer for the Acquisition of Portuguese Timor'.

Indonesia's aggressive intentions have clearly been intensified in view of the overwhelming position of Fretilin, under whose control the country will certainly pursue politics that are unacceptable to Indonesia. The very strength of Fretilin makes it all more clear that Indonesian rule would bring about massive slaughters and repression, for they would regard it as their duty to destroy the party in the same way as they have sought to annihilate the leftwing in Indonesia.

TAPOL will continue to do all it can to alert world opinion to the seriousness of this situation and to monitor as far as is possible developments in Timor, in particular in the event of an Indonesian takeover.

Sukarno's Widow Writes to Pres. Ford

His Excellency
President Gerald Ford
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President,

As the widow of the late President Sukarno and being the only member of the family living overseas, I address myself to you, feeling deeply alarmed and disturbed by numerous and persistent reports in the international press. For instance, the C.I.A. is said to have spied on my husband: manufactured a fake film in order to slander the good name and honour of Sukarno; prepared an assassination attempt against him, and conspired to oust him from power and to estrange him from the Indonesian people by accusing him of collaborating with international communism in betrayal of Indonesian independence, which of course was totally absurd.

My husband repeatedly informed me that he was fully aware of these immoral, illegal, subversive, anti-Indonesian activities against his beloved Indonesia, his people and against him personally.

I would like to request from you, as well as from the responsible Congressional Committees in the United States a full explanation about these reports and reprehensible practices as carried out by an official United States Government Agency in the name of several American Presidents and Governments.

(cont'd on page 6)

Category C defined..... at last!

Note to Readers

The following item seeks to present as briefly and comprehensibly as possible a recent Presidential Decree and its accompanying Implementary Regulation about the handling of persons of the C category. This has not been easy to do and we apologise if the following is less clear than we would like it to be.

These decisions will affect the lives of many tens of thousands of people and need therefore to be understood. Unfortunately, however, we must warn our readers that, having gone to the trouble of trying to understand these decisions, we should not assume that the stipulations will be implemented. As will be seen, so much is left to interpretation and personal judgment that a wide margin of variation must be allowed for from place to place and from department to department.

Nearly two years after the current purge of government departments and state enterprises was launched and after tens of thousands of so-called C Category people have been dismissed, a Presidential Decree, No. 28, has been issued defining the C Category classification. The Decree, issued on 25th June, 1975, specifies that there are three sub-groups to this category: the first, C1, will be subject to dishonourable dismissal while the other two, C2 and C3, may incur less-forbidding punishment, namely 'administrative measures' the nature of which is not described as well as 'supervision' and 'guidance' until such time as they have become 'good citizens'.

The Decree makes it clear that the C Category classification is applicable not only to persons who are or have been in detention, but also to persons who have never been in detention and who, if they still work in the State sector, are the objects of the current purge.

The Three Sub-Categories

The Presidential Decree defines the three Sub-Categories of C as follows:

C1 Category: those whose antecedents go back to the 'Madiun event' and who, after the G.30.S/PKI coup inclined in their deeds and words towards favouring the G.30.S/PKI remnants and did not categorically oppose them even though they were able to do so.

C2 Category: those who were ordinary members of the banned mass organisations that were oriented towards or under the protection of, the PKI.

C3 Category: those who were sympathetic towards the G.30.S/PKI movement in their attitudes, actions or writings, but did not play a physically-active role in it:

The Decree recognises that persons in the C Category may already be in detention in which case those who are government employees would be suspended pending the definition of their category and their release.

State employees classified as C1 shall be dishonourably dismissed. Those classified as C2 and C3 shall be subjected to 'administrative measures' in accordance with the severity of their 'involvement'. The nature of these administrative mea-

asures, the Decree states, shall be determined in further regulations to be issued by the Minister for Defence in the case of employees of the Armed Forces, and by the Head of the State Personnel Administration in the case of civilian employees.

Regarding those of C2 and C3 categories who continue in State employment, they will be 'given guidance' and placed under special supervision so that they can become good citizens and 'if they show good results, they may continue in their employment'. If they behave in ways that threaten state security and order, action will be taken against them.

The Decree places the further regulation and implementation of this affair in the hands of the *Kopkamtib* (Army Security Command).

All Category C Tapols Should Be Released

On 25th August, the Chief of Staff of *Kopkamtib* issued an Implementary Regulation relating to Presidential Decree No. 28/1975. This specifies in the first place that all persons under detention who have been classified as C Category should be released, and further that persons thought to have been involved in the G.30.S/PKI but regarding whom no evidence of involvement has been forthcoming, should be declared to be 'not involved'. Such statements would be issued by the Commander of *Kopkamtib* or the Executive Officer of Regional *Kopkamtibs*.

All government employees who have been classified as Category C1 must, according to this Implementary Regulation, be dishonourably dismissed. Those thus classified prior to the enactment of this Decision and whose services are deemed to be 'visually important' may however be retained but only with the special permission of the Commander of *Kopkamtib*.

Definition of a 'Good Citizen'

The Regulation also explains what is meant by a person who has been able to improve and thus become a 'good citizen'. Such a person should no longer have connection whatsoever, either direct or indirect, with leaders of former (now banned) mass organisations, should not utter remarks or adopt attitudes that might lessen his or her loyalty to *Panca Sila* and the 1945 Constitution, and should always display good discipline and a strong sense of responsibility towards the tasks entrusted to him or her.

In the case of the people who prior to the Decree and Implementary Regulation were temporarily suspended, or honourably or dishonourably dismissed for involvement in the G.30.S/PKI but regarding whom no evidence of such involvement is forthcoming and who therefore cannot be classified, those who have already been dismissed may, if their services are still required by the department in question, be re-employed. If their services are not required, they should be dismissed with all the rights to which they are entitled according to the regulations in force.

(cont'd on page 7)

AINI REFUSES TO APPEAL AGAINST SENTENCE

Moh. Aini Chalid, the student leader from Jogjakarta who was sentenced in August to four years imprisonment for alleged involvement in the events of 15th January 1974, has refrained from exercising his right to appeal against sentence.

Sabre-Rattling General Lets off Steam

'The G.30.S/PKI remnants are the source of all our troubles' declared Major-General Yasir Hadibroto, Commander of the Central Java Diponegoro Division of the Indonesian Army. 'And yet there still are people who think we are just trying to blacken the PKI, who blur the issue when a government official issues a release about the PKI'.

He said that there were four forms of disruption being attempted by PKI elements: spreading disturbing rumours, causing dissent between religious groups, carrying out robberies and other forms of terror, and distributing illegal pamphlets.

Speaking at a plenary session of the Jogjakarta Regional Assembly on 15th August, the General admitted that there had been eight million members and followers of the PKI in Indonesia, but so far action has been taken against less than a million of them. 'Whenever we arrest G.30.S/PKI remnants, we always discover that they possess certificates of non-involvement in the G.30.S/PKI. Goodness knows how they get hold of these things', he said.

He went on to describe what he considered to be the objectives of these 'G.30.S/PKI remnants': they are trying to come to life again by safeguarding their cadres, collecting funds through robberies, spreading psychological warfare, spreading rumours that cause havoc, and saving themselves. And, as the general elections come closer, they are trying to draw together all those people who are dissatisfied with the government.

An Urgent appeal for Cash

TAPOL prides itself on having greatly expanded its activities during the past year. Its contacts and information sources have increased rapidly and interest in the material it produces is growing, both in Britain and in many countries.

Needless to say, however, we operate on an extremely thin budget. We sell all our literature at cost and inevitably have to give a fair amount gratis to persons whom we could not ask for payment. We are very reluctant however to put up our prices because we know it is most important to get our material out to people who need it and who probably could not purchase it if prices were higher.

But operating in this way, especially in times of inflation, creates serious financial problems. (This Bulletin comes to you at new and higher postal rates, the third increase within a year!)

We could not contemplate going out of operation for financial reasons, but our supporters should know that our activities are seriously threatened by a shortage of cash.

WE URGENTLY NEED DONATIONS TO KEEP US GOING AND TO KEEP US GROWING UNTIL SUCH TIME AS ALL TAPOLS HAVE BEEN RELEASED. PLEASE GIVE GENEROUSLY.

Send your donations to TAPOL, 103 Tilehurst Road, Wandsworth Common, London, S.W.18. Cheques from abroad should be endorsed on the reverse side with the words:

'As made payable to on the front'.

Warnings About East Timor

The General also warned that there were Communist bases in Peking, Eastern Europe and Portuguese Timor. When the G.30.S/PKI occurred in 1965, there were 400 Communists abroad. They were all given asylum in East Germany, Moscow, and received training in Peking for nine years. Now some of them are trying to make their way back into Indonesia through Portuguese Timor. He also warned that brochures distributed through East European embassies were serving the same interests as the 'G.30.S/PKI remnants'. Our youngsters who take to drugs are often approached to become foreign agents working in collaboration with these elements.

"There were 8 million members and followers of the PKI, but so far action has been taken against less than a million."

He also gave a list of social problems that frequently create disorders: disturbances among *becak* drivers, land disputes, unemployment problems, the demolition of people's homes and unregistered kiosks, drop-outs, traffic problems and over-acting (sic) by government employees. These sources of social unrest could be tackled by ensuring a smooth supply of basic essentials to the people, and above all by standing firmly by the MPR 1971 decision regarding the dissolution of the PKI and the prohibition of Marxist-Leninist teachings in Indonesia.

A CITIZEN WANTS TO KNOW

I would like the authorities to explain exactly when and for what purpose certificates of non-involvement in the G.30.S are required. At present, they are frequently requested by government officials and private concerns when applying for a job, enrolling at a school or taking entrance examination for a high school. According to President Suharto in his book *The Smiling General*, the G.30.S/PKI is the event on the night of 30th September 1965 when the PKI murdered some generals of the Indonesian Army and waged a coup against the State. Former President Sukarno referred to this event as *Gestok* (1st October event). My questions are:

1. Is each and every inhabitant in this country required to have a certificate of non-involvement in the G.30.S/PKI? Are Indonesian citizens abroad also required to have such a certificate?
2. When is such a certificate required? Is it required when applying for a job, enrolling at a high school, making a journey or staying somewhere else?
3. Are people who were 8 years old on 30th September 1965, and now are 18 years old, required to possess such certificates?
4. Certificates issued by the police are valid for only 2 or 3 months. If the validity of a certificate expires, is it necessary to obtain another one?
5. Should not the name of the certificate, Non-Involvement in the G.30.S/PKI, be altered to, for instance, free from the PKI or its influences?

I am raising these questions, because I do not understand the regulations.

Mohammad Sjaaf
Tanah-Tinggi II/32, Jakarta

* This letter appeared
in *Kompas*, 28 July 1975

"This inhumanity cannot be allowed"

Mr. Chairman and respected Members of the Court,

The experiences of the accused, Asep Suryaman, are not unique; what has happened to other *tapols* is similar and in many cases worse.

Shortly, we Indonesians will be celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of our country's independence. At that time, all Indonesians, moved by a variety of emotions, will celebrate their liberation from colonialism and its many forms of subjugation. At that time, the Government and people of Indonesia throughout the country and throughout the world wherever our embassies happen to be will celebrate this anniversary. In mosques, temples and churches, they will give thanks to our Gracious Lord for the blessing of independence. But at the same time, countless tens of thousands of fellow Indonesians are still languishing in countless prisons and detention camps where they have been held since their arrest in October 1965 or after.

The *tapols* too will celebrate Independence Day; they will do this spontaneously, without the encouragement of their prison chiefs or camp commanders. They will organise their modest celebrations without in any way condemning the Government or the State apparatus responsible for their imprisonment. At these celebrations, they will read the Independence Proclamation as well as verses from the Koran and the Bible. They will do it solemnly, movingly, saying a prayer too for the well-being of the nation and the state, praying that they may be blessed with God's truth and justice, with His mercy and His love, praying that they will run the country wisely and take it forward to a just, peaceful, quiet and prosperous life. And they will pray too for the safety and protection of their loved ones from whom they have been separated for so many years — their loved ones left without protection or care. For in so many cases, whole families have been split up and the members scattered so far from each other that they don't know where their closest relatives are or whether they are alive or dead, free or in prison.

The *tapols* are treated like the dregs of society, deprived of the most elementary rights enjoyed by all other citizens, like mere objects that can be moved from one place to another, put out 'on loan' to another authority or interrogation, to give evidence or to meet the personal needs of some official; and they are not even told why they are put out 'on loan' or where they are being taken. They have no power and no voice, no right to complain or protest against their interminable imprisonment, against torture, insult, hunger or disease. They have no power and no voice in the face of this abuse against their dignity and person.

Many of them have become automatons, going to sleep, getting up and taking their meals like persons without any spirit, for they are not permitted to read newspapers, magazines, or books except religious literature, nor are they allowed to write to their loved ones.

They live a sterile life, devoid of all hope and full of anxieties for their loved ones because often they don't know where they are and have no contact with them. Such a life leads them to break down under the strain. Some have become insane, others have committed suicide, some have tried to rebel against their predicament with horrifying consequences.



Mr. Yap Thiam Hien

'We are like leaves on a tree, just waiting to fall to earth and become one with it,' said one *tapol*. 'Help us to get our freedom back, to rejoin our unprotected families. Help us at the very least to be brought to trial so that this soul destroying uncertainty can end. Whatever they want, we are ready to sign, so long as we can be released. Please, Mr. Yap, now that you are free, do not forget those of us who are still in captivity.'

"The Tapols are treated like the dregs of society"

Mr. Chairman, how can we forget our fellow Indonesians who, together with their families, have been plunged into this terrible depth of suffering? How can our Government, our people, our religious and party leaders go on living happily and contentedly with their families, how can they tolerate this suffering of fellow citizens that has gone on for nearly ten years, for one third of the period our people have been living in independence?

owed to go on like a cancer"

In an outspoken defence plea before the Jakarta State Court on 14th August, Mr. Yap Thiam Hien, chief defence counsel, declared that it was quite incorrect to regard the PKI as a banned party because the laws used to proclaim this ban were illegal. He also criticised the court on numerous matters of procedure and rejected the accusations made by the Prosecution as unsubstantiated and loosely-worded.

Asep Suryaman speaking in his own defence told the court that neither he nor the PKI were guilty of the events of 1st October 1965; these were the responsibility of Lieut. Colonel Untung. He said that he had indeed subsequently been involved in armed activities, but this was in self-defence against the white terror waged to kill communists.

In his speech pronouncing sentence, the chairman of the court, T.M. Abdullah, warned the defence counsel that they were breaching the 'code of ethics' by declaring that the ban against PKI was illegal. This was an extremely dangerous thing to say, he said, as it meant 'giving encouragement to the PKI and their sympathisers'.

We publish herewith the full text of the concluding remarks of Mr. Yap Thiam Hien's defence plea. The earlier part of the speech is not available. This is, to our knowledge, the first time anyone in Indonesia has spoken out so boldly about the plight of the *tapols*. The speech was given only very scant reporting in the Indonesian press.

This suffering whose only end is the grave, this intolerable situation goes completely against all sacrifices made during the struggle for independence. It is a flagrant violation of the *Panca Sila** to which we have pledged ourselves. It is totally against the objectives of development and the morals and laws of the state, and contrary to those principles and rules which Indonesia acknowledged again and endorsed when we rejoined the United Nations, the principles and rules stipulated in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* and the *STANDARD MINIMUM RULES FOR THE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS*. This injustice, this inhumanity cannot be allowed to go on like a cancer destroying the very fabric of our lives and our efforts at construction.

To be honest, we must admit that the Government has tried to do quite a lot to alleviate the situation. We should wholeheartedly respect and welcome these efforts. But while not overlooking the very real problems and obstacles that obstruct these efforts, it must be said that they are nothing more than a tiny drop in this vast ocean of hardship and suffering. And the efforts being made to bring about improvements are proceeding so slowly that there is every justification to fear that many *tapols* who may be released will no longer be in a position to enjoy their freedom.

This utterly arbitrary treatment of the *tapols* is not merely a

violation of man-made laws; it is first and foremost a gross infringement of the Commandments of God who bids us love one another, who exhorts us to be merciful towards each other.

It is internationally-accepted practice to pardon and release prisoners on a country's national day. May the merciful God soften the hard hearts of our State Leadership and people on this thirtieth anniversary of our Independence, moving them to end this situation which is undignified both in human terms as well as for the state. May they grant freedom and restore to normal life all those *tapols* who are clearly not guilty and against whom there is no evidence for a charge in court, and speedily bring to trial all those against whom there is sufficient proof of guilt. This would earn the Blessing of God and we could then enter our thirty-first year of our Independence with a sense of relief, with heads held high, looking boldly forward to a life of peace, tranquility, freedom and happiness.

Mr. Chairman and respected Members of Court:

My own deep beliefs convince me that human integrity and respect, and dignity, freedom and basic human rights are values that far exceed even the noblest things in human and social life. And the source of these values is the Creator of Life, who is also the source of all Law and Justice, the source of freedom and basic human rights.

(Mr. Yap concluded his address with quotations from Psalm 72)

13th August, 1975

**Panca Sila*: The Five Principles of the Indonesian State: Belief in One God, Humanitarianism, Nationalism, Democracy, and Social Justice.

Source: *Trouw* (Amsterdam), 13 September 1975

Facts on Asep's Defence

We have learnt that the appointment of Mr. Yap as defence counsel for Asep Suryaman was a result of determined insistence by the defendant in face of obstructions by the court.

Initially, the defendant submitted the names of three persons whom he wished as defence counsel; Mr. S. Tasrif, Chairman of *Peradin*, the Indonesian Bar Association, Professor Ernst Utrecht, now living as a political exile in Holland, and Mr. Yap. Mr. Tasrif informed the court that he was too busy to take on the case. Prof. Utrecht was obviously not able to take up the case.

As for Mr. Yap, he had initially been requested to act as defence counsel for Aini Chalid and so he wrote to the court explaining that this appointment made it impossible for him to meet Asep's request. However, Aini subsequently made it known that he did not wish to be defended in court, and Mr. Yap therefore wrote a second letter to the court informing them that he would, after all, be able to take the brief.

When the trial first opened in Jakarta on 26th August, the Presiding Judge informed the defendant of Mr. Yap's first letter which had rejected the case, and then stated that the

r activities for enth anniversary

is aiming in particular to ensure publicity
the *tapols* during October. Plans are afoot
of the TAPOL drama, *Ten Long Years*,
companies, probably in Manchester,
stle, Leicester and also London. TAPOL
number of organisations urging them to
activities and to give publicity to the *tapol*
membership, through their journals.
The British Section of Amnesty International
resolution at its Annual Council earlier
special emphasis to Indonesia in activities
Conscience Week in Britain (12th-19th
of AI groups, including those in Oxted,
dual, Croydon, Golders Green, Bury St.
bridge, will be holding meetings on Indones-
can TAPOL. Other groups have announced
new forms of publicity activity.

PARLIAMENTARY LOBBY

ed in the last issue of the Bulletin, a Par-
lobby is being organised in November at
pressing for British Government action on
l be presented to Members of Parliament
stituents.

letter has been prepared. Full instructions
on a detachable slip. We can supply
any copies of this letter as you need, so
or ways of circulating it to friends or dis-
meetings.

letters we can deliver to Parliament and
to whom they are addressed, the more
be this Lobby for *Tapols*, so please really
this a success.

copies (free-of-charge) IMMEDIATELY.



Asep Suryaman, a former PKI leader alleged to have taken part in the abortive coup attempt, who received a death sentence on 28th August in the Central Jakarta State Court at the end of a trial that lasted several weeks. It was as his defence counsel that Mr. Yap Thiam Hien made his extremely significant speech (printed on pages 4 and 5) questioning the entire system of political imprisonment in Indonesia.

TAPOL CAMPAIGN AIDS

TAPOL can supply you with the following:

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|--|--|
| 1. Speakers for your meetings (UK only) | |
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SET B-£1.75 postage
BOTH SETS-£3.25 |
| 9. 'Ten Long Years' drama script | 50p |

ts of the severity of the purge continue to be
tact has informed TAPOL that in the post
e, approximately 200 people have been dis-
rta, 200 in Semarang and 300 in Surabaya.
lose all their pension rights, and many are
years away from retirement. (Some
are commenting that one of the reasons for
t enables the Government to avoid having to
many thousands of people!) People dismissed
of course not entitled to 'certificates of non-
therefore find it virtually impossible to ob-
employment.

Information on Prisons

Several reports have been received recently bringing up to date our information about places of detention, particularly in East Java. Some of the places mentioned here were not previously known abroad. The information comes from *tapols* now being held in Jakarta who spent some time in detention in East Java. They point out that the figures given are based on estimates obtained from fellow *tapols* and should be regarded as very reliable though the figures may not be precise, especially in view of the fact that *tapols* are frequently moved from one place to another.

Surabaya

Kalisosok Prison: About 2,000 *tapols*. Overcrowding is serious and malnutrition has caused a number of deaths.

Koblen: A detention centre with about 1,000 *tapols*.

Wonodjolo: A detention centre with about 500 *tapols*.

Garrison Command Post in Jalan Undaan holds about 70 *tapols*.

SKODAM 8 in Jalan Ketapang Raya holds about 50 *tapols*.

KOREM (regimental staff) HQ holds about 20 *tapols*.

NEMPLAK (military police) holds about 40 *tapols*.

The three town **KODIMs** (district military commands) each hold about 50 *tapols*.

General

It is estimated that, in addition to the publicly-acknowledged places of detention, there are a large number of 'illegal' detention centres, places not even acknowledged by the authorities and whose existence is kept secret. The whereabouts of such places are very difficult to ascertain, but in many cases, people living in the vicinity are well aware of their existence. From information passed out by *tapols*, we learn that there are on an average 100 *tapols* being detained in such places in each *kabupaten*, probably not throughout the country but certainly throughout Java. Bearing in mind that there are about 100 *kabupatens* in Java alone, this would account for about 10,000 *tapols*.

East Kalimantan

Meanwhile, from the Jakarta daily, *Kompas* (23.8.1975), we learn that there are a total of 2,760 C Category *tapols* in East Kalimantan, 1,183 of whom are said to be now on 'special training courses for their rehabilitation'. No figure is given for A and B Category *tapols*. These categories normally outnumber the C Category *tapols*. Note too that this press report contradicts previous official statements that all C Category *tapols* have been released.

Tapols Used as Interrogators

A particularly invidious system of using *tapols* as interrogators is very widespread in Indonesia. Persons so used are granted "home leave" (known in Indonesian as *izin bersetubuhan* (intercourse permits) as a privilege in exchange for interrogation and torturing their colleagues. They also receive fees ranging from Rp 2,500 to Rp 10,000 per day for interrogations. In addition to this, those on 'outside duties' get extra remuneration and hotel expenses paid.

Such a reward system acts as a great incentive for inventing non-existing conspiracies.

News of Releases

As we go to press, reports are being received of some quite significant releases. Late in August 34 *tapols* were released from Salemba Prison in Jakarta, including a number of journalists. Satya Graha and J. Sitompul were among them. More recently, the elderly chairman of the Baperki, Siauw Giok Tjhan, was also released. For many years there has been great concern about Mr Siauw's health. There are also reports, as yet unconfirmed, that some *tapols* held in Nusakambangan have been released, and that some *tapols* in Cipinang Prison where convicted *tapols* are held, have been released at the conclusion of their sentence.

These reports are a good sign that international pressure is having some effect, and that activities around the tenth anniversary are being taken into account among Indonesia's military rulers.

Both in 1958 and in 1965, the C.I.A. directly interfered in the internal affairs of Indonesia. In 1958, this monstrous action led to civil war. In 1965, it led to the ultimate takeover by a pro-American military regime, while hundreds of thousands of innocent people and loyal citizens were massacred in the name of this insane crusade against international communism. Still today, ten years later, many tens of thousands of true patriots and Sukarnoists are locked up in jails and concentration camps, being denied the simplest and most elementary human rights. American companies and aggressive foreign interests are indiscriminately plundering the natural riches of Indonesia to the advantage of the few and the disadvantage of the millions of unemployed and impoverished masses.

I must ask you now, Mr. President, in the name of freedom and justice, in the name of decency in relations between states and statesmen, between powerful nations and developing lands, in the name of the Indonesian people and the Sukarno family: did the United States of America commit these hideous crimes against Indonesia and against the founder of the nation? Will your government be prepared to accept responsibility for these evil practices? Over one hundred Indonesians have been brainwashed, as was the rest of the world, by the present regime's propaganda into believing that the communists carried out the insurrection. My countrymen, as well as everyone else, have the right to know the truth of the historic facts. It will be the painful duty for America now to reveal the C.I.A. involvement in Indonesia and release all information and documents relevant to who really initiated the terrifying bloodbath that led to the overthrow of the legal Government and to the inhuman treatment of my husband who was kept under house arrest for three years until his death.

Most Sincerely,

Paris, France
July 24, 1975

R.S Dewi Sukarno

(cont'd from page 2)

court had decided therefore to appoint two other lawyers, whereupon Asep Suryaman once again repeated his wish to be defended by Mr. Yap. The two other lawyers were in court at the time. One of them then got up and read out a copy of Mr. Yap's second letter to the court, thus making it clear that the Judge was not provided a full account of Mr. Yap's wishes. It was only after this that the Judge had to concede that a further approach should be made to Mr. Yap and the hearing was adjourned for this purpose.

Background Information and Glossary

WHAT IS TAPOL? This is the Indonesian word for political prisoner, it is a contraction of *tahanan politik*. Although it has been an accepted part of the Indonesian vocabulary since 1965, the military authorities recently prohibited its further use on the pretext that Indonesia 'has no political prisoners'. The British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, which adopted the word TAPOL as its name, naturally has no intention of complying with the efforts of the Indonesian authorities to deceive world opinion.

WHAT'S THE BACKGROUND? In October, 1965, following a coup attempt by a group of pro-Sukarno officers, the leadership of the Indonesian Army staged a military counter-coup which led initially to the decimation of the Indonesian leftwing movement, the slaughter of an estimated one million people and the arrest of many hundreds of thousands, and subsequently to the removal of President Sukarno from power. The Indonesian Communist Party, with about three million members and a large number of mass organisations (peasants' unions, trade unions, women's organisations, youth organisations and others) having a combined membership of many millions, were declared banned and their members liable to arrest and prolonged detention for 'indications' of being 'directly or indirectly involved' in the October 1965 coup attempt.

AND TODAY? Nearly ten years later, there are still some 100,000 political prisoners held without trial, some of them allegedly members of organisations now banned but perfectly legal prior to the Suharto takeover. Many prisoners were not even members of banned groups. At best, the *tapols* are living under unbelievably horrible conditions. At worst, they are subjected to torture, starvation and denial of medical care. The release of these prisoners is TAPOL'S main concern.

ANY QUESTIONS? If you have any questions concerning the historical background, we shall be glad to answer them.

A BRIEF GLOSSARY OF POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

G.30.S/PKI: Abbreviation of 30th September Movement/PKI, the term used to describe the coup attempt of 1965 which actually occurred on 1st October.

Surat-bebas G.30.S/PKI: Certificate of non-involvement in the 1965 coup attempt. This document is required by anyone applying for a job or for entry to a University or other educational institutes, and for numerous other occasions. This requirement effectively debars millions of people, formerly members of the banned organisations, from employment, education and many other areas of everyday activity.

Kopkamtib: Abbreviation of *Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban*, (Command for the Restoration of Security and Order), the Army Command under the direct command of General Suharto, the Indonesian President. *Kopkamtib* is in charge of political security and is directly responsible for the arrest and detention of political prisoners. According to a statement by General Panggabean, Indonesian Defence Minister, at the 1975 Armed Forces Leadership meeting (19th–22nd March 1975), *Kopkamtib*, whose Chief-of-Staff is Admiral Sudomo, now falls within the field of operations of the Department of Defence and Security, known by the abbreviation HANKAM.

Panca Sila (pronounced *pancha seela*): The Five Pillars, originally formulated by President Sukarno in 1945. These are: belief in one God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy and social justice. The military regime asserts its adherence to these Five Pillars, and proclaims that *tapols* must abandon their ideology and 'become good Panca Silaists'. One wonders why Indonesia's rulers do not start by setting a good example themselves!

Notes to Readers

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