



VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Tapol bulletin no, 11, August 1975

This is the Published version of the following publication

UNSPECIFIED (1975) Tapol bulletin no, 11, August 1975. Tapol bulletin (11).
pp. 1-8. ISSN 1356-1154

The publisher's official version can be found at

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British Campaign for the

Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 11

August, 1975

TEN LONG YEARS

This October marks the tenth anniversary of the first mass arrests in Indonesia of the massacres that killed about one-million people, and of the coming to power of a regime that rules Indonesia by means of brutal repression and persecution.

Organisations and groups in a number of countries will be holding meetings or running other activities to alert public opinion of the appalling situation that still prevails in Indonesia, and pressing for the release of Indonesia's *tapols*.

We urge all our readers to consider immediately what they individually or collectively in their respective organisations can do during October. Please turn to page 8 for further details about the things you can do and the ways in which TAPOL can help you.



THE SHOW TRIALS GRIND ON

The worldwide campaign for Indonesian political prisoners justifiably stresses the enormous number of prisoners being held without trial and the fact that the vast majority of them are not even scheduled for trial.

This should not lead anyone to think that those who have enjoyed the 'privilege' of a trial are being treated justly. Far too little has yet been done to expose the gross injustices that are being perpetrated in the many trials held since 1966. One Indonesian ambassador has recently informed a visiting deputation that about 1,500 political trials have been held since 1966.

The defendants are subjected to every kind of abuse and deprivation, and are given virtually no opportunity to prepare a case in their own defence. They are restricted in the appointment of counsel, in access to the documents of the trial, in access to witnesses who could be called in their own defence, and moreover, as many Indonesian lawyers themselves recognise, the laws being used to charge political defendants and the courts before which they are being tried are themselves not legal.

Many Indonesian lawyers know that the rights of

defendants in general are seriously jeopardised because of lack of adherence to basic principles, such as the presumption of innocence and the invalidity of self-incriminating statements. These abuses are greatly compounded when the defendant being tried is a *tapol*.

Two trials are reported in the current issue which highlight in quite different ways the total injustice of trial procedures. In the case of *Asep Suryaman*, a 1965-incident defendant, a comprehensive challenge is being made by the defendant and his team of lawyers who are resisting many practices and condemning many gross abuses. In the case of *Aini*, a 1974-incident defendant, *Aini* has refused to go along with what he describes as 'a show', a 'legal ceremony', and has preferred to register his rejection of procedures by refusing to collaborate with the court in any way.

These two important events should lead to a serious study and thorough analysis of political trials in Indonesia by human rights lawyers elsewhere something which is long overdue.

Ten Buru Tapols Found Dead

Army Alleges They Ate Human Flesh to Keep Alive

Ten escaped political prisoners from the Buru Island detention camp in the east of Indonesia were found dead several weeks after their break-out. There was evidence that survivors had eaten the flesh of their dead colleagues in an attempt to keep alive. Two of the prisoners were still alive when found by army patrols.

This news was given by Indonesia's Attorney-General, Lieut. General Ali Said on 20th June 1975, nine months after the escape had occurred. The only previous report of the incident appeared in the Indonesian press in November last year when it was announced that a group of Buru prisoners attacked and killed a guard and fled from the camp.

The Attorney-General said the escape attempt had failed because terrain surrounding the camp is very harsh. "It acts as a natural fence," he said. This explains the apparent openness of the camp which is usually described by military officials as having no barbed-wire fences — indeed it does not need them.

Asked by a journalist whether he thought the escaped *tapols* had planned to flee from the island by ship, he said that there was no evidence of this; there had been no foreign ships in the vicinity at the time, he said.

The Attorney-General confirmed that Buru prisoners are not permitted to read newspapers. "Certain books are allowed but as a matter of fact they have no time to read. They work all day in the fields and don't get home till dark, and there's no electricity for lights."

Ten thousand untried political prisoners were moved to Buru in 1969 and 1971; several hundred have died since. Buru prisoners are classified as category B, those who cannot be tried as there is no evidence to convict them but who are being held in indefinite detention as 'security risks'. The vast majority were arrested in late 1965 and have spent nearly ten years in detention without trial.

Troops Leave for Buru

Meanwhile the Jakarta press reported on 7th June that two companies from the Pattimura Division of the Army in Malutu have been despatched to Buru to take over duties from troops that have been on duty at the prison camp. At a ceremony held in Ambon before the troops left for Buru, the Army Chief-of-Staff stressed the serious nature of their duties, saying that although the prisoners on Buru had not been directly involved in the 1965 coup attempt, they were "important persons in the banned Communist Party and its mass organisations who would be dangerous if special acts of safeguarding them were not taken". The troops were enjoined among other things, to engage in 'up-grading' the prisoners by altering their mentality from communism to a *Panca Sila* ideology.

FIFTEEN TO TWENTY YEARS FOR FOUR WOMEN

Four women, found guilty of subversion and conspiracy in a trial that lasted five months, were sentenced to from 15 to 20 years' imprisonment on 16th June. Sulami the chief defendant, who was General Secretary of the now-banned women's organisation, GERWANI, was sentenced to 20 years. *Sudjinah*, editor of GERWANI's journal, *Api Kartini*, was sentenced to 18 years. The other two defendants, *Sri Aisah Ambar* head of Women's Department of the now-banned trade union federation, SOBSI, and *Suharti Harsono*, a staff member of the now-banned peasants' organisation, BTI, both received sentences of 15 years.

All four defendants have already been in detention since the beginning of 1967. There are contradictory reports as to whether the time spent in detention will be deducted from the sentence.



The four women were charged among other things with having tried, from the end of 1965 until the time of their arrests in late 1966 or early 1967, to help a condemned movement that had already failed, and to have disseminated material of the PKPS, the Movement of Supporters of the Commando of President Sukarno, a movement that had already been banned.* They are also said to have been involved in efforts to keep the Communist Party in existence and to produce and distribute *Mimbar Rakyat*, a bulletin which is described as having contained the doctrines of the Communist Party.

The Charges

Having no place to stay, they are said to have moved from place to place, assuming false names and using forged identity cards. During the months that they were in hiding, they are charged with having set up illegal cells. Sulami is also said to have helped recruit women as cooks and seamstresses to go to Lubang Buaya Training Centre where the coup attempt was subsequently launched.

Announcing sentence, the President Judge stated that several mitigating factors had been taken into account: the age of the defendants (all in their late forties), the fact that they had not impeded court proceedings and that they had all made contributions to the revolutionary struggle of the Indonesian people during the physical revolution (post-1945 era).

The four accused were defended by two lawyers who had been appointed on their behalf by the Indonesian Bar Association, Peradin, at the request of the Court. This is normal practice in political trials as defendants have no way of appointing their own lawyers nor would lawyers generally accept briefs from political prisoners because of the risks involved.

Following announcement of the verdict, the defendants stated that they would consider whether to appeal. The Prosecutor who had demanded life imprisonment for Sulami and 20-year sentences for the other three also reserved the right to appeal against the Court's decision.

East Kalimantan GERWANI Leader Gets 20 Years

Another woman, on trial before the State Court in Balikpapan, East Kalimantan, was found guilty and given a sentence of 20 years for alleged subversion. Her name is *Mrs. Sutinah Wiryosutejo*, described as formerly a member of GERWANI's East Kalimantan Provincial Council, of the Provincial Committee of the Communist Party, and ex-member of the East Kalimantan Legislative Assembly.

* This movement was established in response to a speech by President Sukarno in late 1965 in which he issued a 'commando' to his supporters to oppose bloodshed and repression. Although Sukarno was still president, the movement was immediately prohibited by the military authorities.

SYAHRIR REJECTS ALL CHARGES, DEFENDS HIS STAND

In a defence plea presented by the accused to the court on 7th April last, Syahrir, economist and university lecturer, who is on trial for alleged subversion in connection with the January 1974 events, said that "it is easy for every citizen to see that any action undertaken in this Republic can quite easily be alleged to be subversive." This fact had made it difficult to work out his own defence.

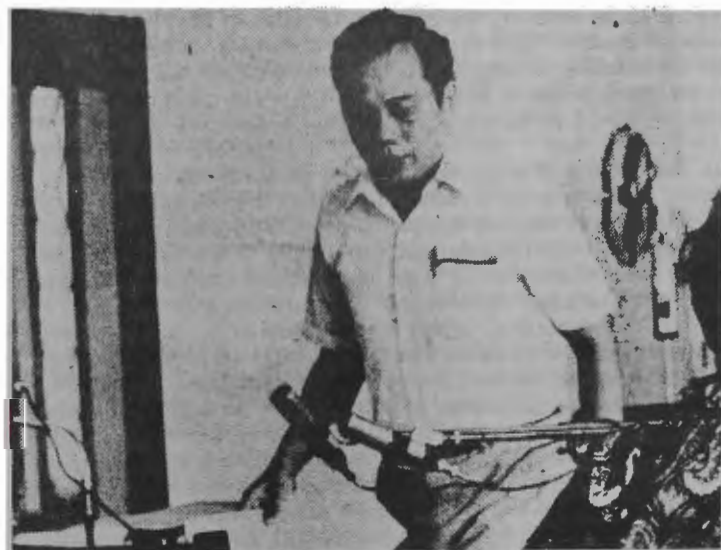
He quoted complaints made by lawyers about the Anti-Subversion Law under which he was being tried and said that such a confused law, capable of great elasticity in its application, was being enforced whereas other laws, much more in need of enforcement were being ignored. As an example, he mentioned the Basic Agrarian Law (providing for land reform), "a law which, because it guarantees the welfare of the peasants and prevents excessive ownership of land, is not being enforced".

Corruption and Unemployment

What he had been trying to do, he said, was to warn that problems like corruption, unemployment and the uneven distribution of wealth could not be relegated to second place. Together with friends, he had warned of the mismanagement and corruption in the Pertamina State Enterprise, the state oil monopoly, which led at the time to the establishment of the 'Commission of Four'. "Today, the validity of that warning has been proven with the exposure recently of the financial chaos within Pertamina."

He denied that he'd been trying to change the Broad Lines of State Policy. "All I suggested was that certain measurements should be used to know the real level of unemployment and the degree of economic injustice. These measurements are extremely important to economists, yet I was arrested and brought for trial for making such suggestions." Persons who, like the Prosecutor, tried to create the impression that by making such requests he was opposed to the official State Policy were persons "who only give lipservice to their support for the Policy, who agree but who do not want it to be implemented".

He denied the charge that he had been "manipulating academic freedom" to his own purposes. "The Prosecution is quite incapable of pointing out the scientific basis of this charge, neither did he explain what he meant by the 'impure way' in which I was said to have used academic freedom."



"He accused me of inciting the students. Such terminology does not exist in discussion. All we were engaging in was dialogue, two-way communication, exchange of ideas and critical analysis. Inciting people occurs when leadership-from-above imposes ideas on the masses-from-below in a non-scientific way, by means of orders that must be carried out".

It is quite unjustifiable, he said, to claim that the Broad Lines of State Policy are immune from criticism, as the en-

TWO 1974 TAPOLS DIE

It has recently come to light that two tapols arrested early in 1974 for their alleged involvement in the January 1974 events (student demonstrations against the Japanese Prime Minister's visit to Jakarta) have died. They are Ramadi, formerly member of the People's Consultative Assembly until the time of his arrest, and Colonel Djuhro. No further information about the circumstances or causes of these deaths has been forthcoming. With regard to Ramadi's death, the Public Prosecutor, General Ali Said, simply announced on 7th April that he had died "at the moment of his release", a clarification that raises more questions than it answers.

General Ali Said also declared that a total of 34 persons arrested in connection with the 1974 event are still under detention, that 20 have been released and two brought to trial.

Mochtar Lubis Released

Mochtar Lubis, the well-known publisher and journalist who was arrested on 4th February this year, was released in April. He had been arrested during investigations of the 1974 affair. Announcing his release, the Head of Public Relations of the Public Prosecutor's Office stated that no evidence had been obtained of Lubis' involvement in that event.

It is interesting to note that of all the 1974 tapols, Lubis is the one about whom the greatest international pressure and protest has been expressed. His brief period of detention is shorter than any of the other 1974 tapols.

Another Student Trial Begins Soon

The third person to be brought to trial in connection with the 1974 event is Moh. Aini Chaeruddin, a student leader from Jogjakarta, Central Java. The Public Prosecutor announced in April that his trial would open as soon as Syahrir's trial had been completed. At the time of going to press, we had not yet received news of the verdict passed against Syahrir.

General Ali Said also announced (Kompas, 13th March) that Ramadi was to have been brought for trial but these plans had been abandoned after his death. The problem now, he said, was what to do with the persons who have been detained in order to testify as witnesses at Ramadi's trial. "We still need to carry out further investigations to decide whether they will be switched over to being the accused or whether the cases will be closed and the persons released."

Regarding the status of those 1974 tapols held for more than one year without charge, they would, he said, be released in accordance with the laws in force. But this excludes those whose cases have not yet been completed; these would be subject to "re-arrest", he said. This renders meaningless Ali Said's pledge last year that those held for over one year would be released in accordance with the provisions of the 1963 law on the basis of which the 1974 tapols are being held.

tire people are being expected to believe. It is quite proper for there to be criticism and discussion. To criticise and have different opinions should not always be taken as being an enemy of the state, still less an enemy of the nation and people.

The Prosecution's Idea of Freedom

Syahrir's two defence counsel also submitted a defence plea entitled "Freedom of Thought and Opinion Under Test". The Prosecution rejected the contention of this title and the entire plea, saying that freedom of thought and opinion were upheld in the Indonesian Constitution (Article 28) but that "implementation of that freedom cannot be conducted just as one likes. . . every freedom has its bounds and its limits, namely positive law." The Prosecution maintained that the accused had, in the implementation of this freedom, broken the law. Thus it was wrong to say these freedoms were under test but that acts perpetrated by the accused were being tried as infringements of the law.

Late News Flash: Syahrir has been given a 6½-year sentence. He is appealing, as is the Prosecution, which sought 16 years.

Indonesia: **THE PRISON STATE**

tapol

British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

A SPEAKING TOUR FOR TAPOL IN THE U.S.A. by Carmel Budiardjo

Touring the United States for nearly five weeks from 13th till 15th May to speak about Indonesian political prisoners has convinced me of two things. Firstly, that very few people, even within those organisations that have become deeply involved in the issues of human rights, peace and independence, are aware either of the significance of Indonesia in world affairs today or of the extent to which gross violations of human rights are being perpetrated in that country. Secondly, that once alerted to the truth people are horrified by the situation, disturbed by the fact that so little has been done to inform public opinion of the scale of the violations in Indonesia and very responsive to the idea of developing a campaign in America to press, through actions directed at the U.S. Government, for release of the prisoners.

The fact that the Indochina War came to an end during the weeks I spent in the States, which meant events in S.E. Asia were constantly in the news and uppermost in people's minds, only served to highlight the need for people in America to turn their attention to situations in other countries, including Indonesia, where U.S. policies strongly and actively support repressive regimes and where U.S. and multinational capital is flowing in to develop economies that do not serve the fundamental interests of the people.

Across the Country

My tour was partly sponsored by the U.S. Section of the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, at whose invitation I attended the Women's Seminar on Disarmament held at the UN. Aside from the help I received from WILPF, the tour was made possible by the co-operation and hospitality offered to me by a number of organisations and individuals, including members of Amnesty International, student and university contacts, the World Affairs Council of Philadelphia, and representatives of several different church bodies.

In addition to attending the UN Disarmament Seminar from 7-9 May, during which time I had plenty of opportunity to discuss the Indonesia problem with many women delegates from various parts of the U.S.A. and from several other countries, I visited altogether 19 places, including such major cities as New York, Washington, San Francisco, Berkeley, Boston and Philadelphia. I addressed over thirty meetings and gave a

number of press and radio interviews. The meetings ranged from tiny gatherings to which less than ten people came (reflecting the problems my hosts had in one or two places to interest people in what sounded like a remote topic) to several well-attended meetings of 50 people or more, and a lecture I gave to a class of more than 200 students at the University of California in Berkeley. The places I visited also included Ann Arbor (the centre of the University of Michigan), Lawrence (the University of Kansas), Palo Alto and Santa Cruz in California, Long Island, and the New England towns of Westport, Bridgeport and Stanford, as well as Reading in Pennsylvania.

In most places I concentrated on giving as full an account as I could in the time at my disposal of the present situation of the political prisoners, illustrating where necessary from my own experiences as a prisoner or as a prisoner's wife. The questions most frequently asked were about the bloodbath that killed an estimated one-million people in the wake of the October events in 1965, the extent of resistance now being waged in Indonesia against the repressive military regime, the degree of U.S. Government support for the regime, more details of the role played by the CIA in the events of October 1965, the possible impact of the defeat of U.S. policies in Indochina on Indonesia's foreign and domestic policies, and the effectiveness of international pressure in bringing about an end to the prolonged political imprisonment in Indonesia.

Although I had not set out to get major media coverage, preferring at this stage to contact people and organisations who could be involved in a campaign on Indonesia, I was in fact interviewed in several places by major local dailies. I also gave five radio interviews. KPFA, a listener-sponsored station in California that broadcasts from Berkeley and also relays its programmes from Los Angeles and New York, gave me over 40 minutes in which to describe the situation. Frank Ford in Philadelphia interviewed me for half an hour on his very popular midday programme, and a six-minute interview over National Public Radio from Washington probably reached out to the largest audience, in a programme beamed twice in one evening to numerous towns in the eastern part of the U.S.

At the Seat of Power

Unfortunately, my schedule allowed me only two working days in Washington, but with the help of friends there, I was able to visit the offices of several Congressmen and contact other groups working with various lobbies 'on the Hill' (Capitol Hill). I also visited the State Department and was received by the Human Rights Legal Officer and by two officials from the East Asian Bureau. My attention was drawn on all these occasions to Section 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act, adopted as an amendment to the Act in 1974, which expresses the sense of Congress as being that the U.S. President should "substantially reduce or terminate" security assistance to governments "which engage in a constant pattern of gross violations of internationally-recognised human rights". I learned that some members of Congress were concerned to press the U.S. Government to review its security assistance to the Indonesian Government in the light of that country's continuing violation of human rights.

I found everywhere a wide interest in the exhibition of photographs carried with me, as well as in the literature published by TAPOL which I offered for sale. When I started the tour, I had not visualised the possibility of setting up a TAPOL committee in the States, but I found a number of people who thought that this would not only be very desirable, but also quite feasible.

I am deeply indebted to all those who helped me carry out this tour successfully. Without their warm hospitality and sympathy, and without the financial support given in so many places, I would have been able to achieve nothing. Indonesia may still be extremely remote to the vast majority of people in the U.S.A., and the fate of its 100,000 political prisoners a matter about which they are still in almost total oblivion, but there are plenty of people who welcome TAPOL's work and who are willing to join with us in educating the American people and public opinion about the situation in Indonesia today. Only when the truth is known will it be possible to arouse enough interest in America to wage an effective campaign on behalf of Indonesia's political prisoners.

CAMPAIGN FOR TAPOLS IN WEST GERMANY

A major campaign for the release of Indonesian political prisoners is under way in West Germany, organised by the German Section of Amnesty International. The Section, which is the largest of all National Sections in Amnesty, decided to make Indonesia its main concern in 1975 as part of Amnesty's concentration this year upon long-term political imprisonment.

The first major highlight in the year's activities took place in April, when activities were undertaken in thirty towns to mark 21st April, Kartini Day. This is the day celebrated in Indonesia to commemorate the great Indonesian woman who rejected feudal inhibitions to become, in her very short life, one of the country's first modern thinkers and who pioneered the cause of education for women. Nearly 15,000 leaflets prepared for the occasion by German Amnesty referred to Kartini's desire to see women play an active part in political and social affairs. Thousands of women who have become involved in such activities, and who uphold the great traditions that Kartini established, are today being held in detention as political prisoners, the leaflet pointed out.

Since January, Amnesty members in Germany have been actively collecting signatures on a Petition urging the Indonesian authorities to release all political prisoners by an amnesty on the tenth anniversary of the October events in 1965. It is planned to submit this Petition to the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn on the occasion of Indonesia's Independence Day which falls on 17th August.

During Amnesty's Prisoner of Conscience Week in October this year, public meetings will be held in virtually all major West German towns to publicise the plight of Indonesia's political prisoners and to urge action pressing for their release.

The Annual General Meeting of the German Amnesty Section, held in Saarbrücken from 17th-19th May, also gave special emphasis to the Indonesian case. The keynote speech at the opening session was delivered by Carmel Budiardjo, ex-tapol and wife of an Indonesian who has been in political detention for more than nine years without trial. Her call for close collaboration between TAPOL and Amnesty International in their efforts to work for the release of Indonesian political prisoners was warmly welcomed by the meeting, which was attended by over 600 representatives from Amnesty groups in all parts of West Germany.

On 18th May, German national radio ran a two-hour phone-in programme with Dick Barner, AI International Chairman, accepting calls and answering questions. The programme included an interview of Carmel Budiardjo. One caller, who said he was an Indonesian but refused to identify himself because he feared repercussions from the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn, commented on the idea that efforts should be made to get countries like West Germany and the USA to cut their support for the military regime while human rights continued to be violated. He doubted whether these governments would accede to such demands. Mr. Barner, replying, said it would certainly be difficult to achieve this objective but that was no reason not to press for its realisation.

The major German television network, in its news report on Amnesty's Annual Meeting, also drew attention to the Indonesia campaign being waged in West Germany.

ONE REPRESSOR TO ANOTHER

The Indonesian Government has conferred the Mahaputra Adipradana order on Juan Ponce-Enrile, the Philippines' Secretary for Defence. This is one of the highest awards to members of foreign governments, and was bestowed upon the Defence Secretary for 'his foresight, wisdom and sensitivity in solidifying the friendly ties between Indonesia and the Philippines'.

The Defence Secretary was on a visit to Indonesia to sign an agreement on joint naval patrolling between the two governments, aimed among other objectives at repressing anti-government activities in both countries. The award is but a symbol of the very close relations between two neighbouring regimes, run in each case by the military.

HEALTH CONDITIONS ON BURU

In an earlier issue (no. 8 - January 1975), we published excerpts from a report published by a doctor who worked for some months several years ago as an official member of the medical staff at the Buru Detention Center. Since the appearance of that item, we have received further information about the health conditions of the tapols on Buru. The material originates from a number of independent sources and relates to the situation during 1974. The following is a slightly abridged compilation of this information:

Food is very poor nutritionally. The tapols eat rice only occasionally (maximum 250 grams a day); generally, they eat cassava, corn, sweet potatoes or sago. By now they are quite accustomed to eating rats, snakes and other such meat.

Illnesses - It is generally estimated that about ten per cent of tapols on Buru are suffering from one kind of ailment or another. The most widespread ailments are tuberculosis, muscular deficiency, worms including filariasis, malaria and liver disorders. Malaria is a particularly serious scourge and in some units a much higher percentage of tapols are latent malaria sufferers with fairly frequent attacks.

Hospitals - These are nothing more than sickbays where conditions are extremely primitive. The facilities are little better than in the barracks where all tapols are accommodated. A few of the patients lie on separate benches or wooden divans, but the majority lie together on larger wooden contraptions regardless of what ailment they have.

Medicine - The supplies are minimal, and there is no special equipment for the performance of operations and proper medical examination. There is, for instance, no x-ray equipment. Anaesthetics are not available and operations must therefore be undertaken, insofar as other equipment is available, without anaesthetics. This applies to such major operations as amputations.

Accidents - The accident rate is high, in view of the nature of the strenuous work the tapols are made to perform and the lack of safeguards. One tapol, whose leg was crushed in an accident, has been in the sickbay for more than a year without proper medical attention. He is now beyond help and totally bed-ridden.

Contagious diseases - The most serious of these is tuberculosis, and there are many advanced cases. With little medicine available and the sickbay facilities being what they are, the danger of spreading is present at all times.

EDITORIAL . . . (from page 1)

The victories attained by the people of Vietnam and Cambodia have indeed come as a severe blow to the military regime in Indonesia, which was deeply involved in supporting the Thieu and Lon Nol regimes. While on the one hand, some Indonesian leaders have sought to stress that the U.S. debacle in Indochina was the result of regimes, in Saigon and Phnom Penh, that totally ignored the aspirations of the people, hinting broadly that Indonesia should take note and avoid making the same mistakes, others such as General Panggabean who speak with the powerful authority of Army Commander and Defence Minister, have made it clear that the developments in Indochina will be interpreted as meaning that the Indonesian regime needs to be more repressive than ever to ensure its continuance in power.

This makes it all the more necessary, as we approach the tenth anniversary in October this year of the military takeover, the colossal slaughters and the first mass arrests, to intensify our work of informing and educating world public opinion about the massive violation of human rights in Indonesia and turning this awareness into actions that will make it increasingly difficult for the Indonesian military to continue with its policy of repression against the population of 130 million people.

TAPOL extends heartfelt thanks to Michel and Marika Julian, Chris Smith, Jim Perry, Richard Fuller and Gus. Their encouragement, and their patient help and craftsmanship have made this issue a reality.

ADAM MALIK FACES QUESTIONING AT COUNCIL OF EUROPE

When Adam Malik, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, addressed a meeting of the Council of Europe on 22nd April in Strasbourg, several members of the Council who are all parliamentarians in their own countries took advantage to raise with him the tapol question and to express their deep concern.

Even the President, in his introductory remarks, made a point of raising the human rights issue by informing the Foreign Minister that "the Council of Europe constitutes the first and only region where the Universal Declaration of Human Rights has been transformed into a European Convention on Human Rights, with its own court. This solution changes human rights into justiciable law where the citizen can sue his government for a violation of human rights. Human rights ... in the Council of Europe countries ... are practical law, and I am sure that you understand the importance of these changes which the European countries have made." One can well imagine that Adam Malik understood only too well, and was more than pleased that his country was not part of Europe!

It was British Labour MP, Philip Whitehead (Derby North), who raised the tapol question most comprehensively. After mentioning some of the facts about the numbers currently detained without trial, he said "the Council cannot be indifferent to the continued detention of trade unionists, political leaders and journalists in Indonesia, a country with which we have such close trade and aid links."

Cunning Distortions

Space makes it hard for us to include the whole of Adam Malik's reply, which is a lesson in evasiveness and deliberate deception. There were, he said, initially 600,000 political prisoners but "we immediately began to discover whether these people were guilty or not. In that process ... only about 20,000 are left and they fall into various categories. These people will be brought to trial. Those who have already been found not guilty have been released. As others are found not guilty, they too will be released."

This neatly conceals the fact that the majority of those still in prison fall into the category of people not scheduled for trial and have been waiting for ten years to be 'found not guilty'. It also creates the impression that many have already been tried and 'found not guilty' which is a complete deception as there are virtually no acquittals in the trials being held. Even accepting Adam Malik's figure of 20,000, the record is appalling.

When queried by Mr. Whitehead "when all those in the category of detainee would be brought to trial or released, bearing in mind that it is now ten years since the Untung coup", Adam Malik said: "I do not want to attempt to deceive you by saying for sure that it will be finished this month or this year. No one can say. All that I can say is that we are trying sincerely to speed up the process. This is a big problem for us."

Mr. Malik then faced a strong attack from French Communist MP, Mr. Depietri, who spoke of the way the current regime had liquidated all opposition, had massacred half-a-million opponents and had detained without trial many others. He wanted to know when they would be freed and said that the Council was greatly concerned with human liberty.

After declaring that "they" (presumably he means all the tapols still being held) wanted to force their views on others through killing, through murdering innocent people and not through channels provided by the law, Mr. Malik said: "I should very much like to invite the honourable questioner to come to Indonesia, where he will be free to ask any questions he wants of anybody and to see for himself whether the situation is indeed as he has depicted it."

DID YOU KNOW — —

- that in the year 1972-73, the latest one for which final figures are available, Indonesia was in receipt of more foreign aid (multilateral and bilateral), private foreign investment, and trade credits than any other country in the world?
- that Indonesia now receives more British aid than any other non-Commonwealth country except Pakistan?

Perhaps there are MPs in Europe or Senators and Congressmen in the U.S.A. who would be interested to take up Adam Malik's invitation. We only hope that if they do so, they get a better reception than the Australian Amnesty mission which did indeed include a member of the Australian Senate, as well as other distinguished members.

GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS REFUSE TO MEET AMNESTY MISSION

An Amnesty International delegation composed predominantly of Australians, which visited Indonesia in January this year, was unsuccessful in its attempts to meet Indonesian Government leaders.

The Mission was led by Australian lawyer, Mr. R.E. McGarvie Q.C. and included Senator Peter Raume of the Australian Liberal Party (New South Wales), the Reverend Neil Gilmore, President of the Australian Council of Churches and Mrs. Leonore Ryan of the Victoria Section of Amnesty International, as well as Mr. W.S. Huang, head of the Asian Section in Research Department of the Amnesty International Secretariat in London.

A report of the Mission contained in a document published by the Victoria Section of Amnesty International states that although the Mission was unable to have discussions and contact with Government leaders, it was able to make contact with a good number of Indonesians outside the ranks of government.

The report states that the lack of cooperation from Government leaders was in contrast with the cooperation Indonesian Government leaders had shown to the three previous Amnesty missions to Indonesia: that of Mr. Bruce Grant in April 1966, that of Professor Julius Stone in August-September 1969, and that of Mr. Sean McBride of October-November 1970. It was also disappointing in view of the assurances of cooperation which had been received from President Suharto's personal assistant for political affairs, Lieutenant-General (then Major-General) Ali Murtopo when he visited Australia in October 1973. And it was particularly disheartening in light of the breadth of Australian concern for the fate of Indonesian political prisoners expressed by the petition of 64 Australian Members of Parliament which was presented to Indonesian Ambassador in Canberra, General Her Tanning, in December 1974.



Supono, former secretary of the PKI Section Committee in Magelang, Central Java, on trial before a civil court and guarded by the military police. The Commander of the Magelang Military Police is also present. He is being charged with subversion and conspiracy because of his alleged favourable response to the coup attempt (G.30. S/PKI) in October 1965. As we reported in our last issue, the Prosecution has demanded a sentence of 17 years. This is typical of a number of trials taking place in many towns throughout Indonesia at which extremely severe sentences are being handed down. The military seek to show that by bringing a small fraction of the tapols to trial they are upholding legal principles. The trials are however entirely based on political activities of persons who were members of a party or organisations that were legal at the time. Established legal procedures are breached in numerous respects, not least by the inability of the accused to appoint his own defence and have proper, unsupervised contact with the lawyer appointed for him by the court.

This photograph appeared in the Central Java daily *Kedaulatan Rakyat*, 20th February 1975.



By courtesy of The Guardian

TAPOL members in a masked protest in London on August 18th, outside the hotel where the Indonesian Ambassador was hosting a reception for Indonesia's independence day. Behind one of the masks was Tari Hibbitt whose father, S Budiardjo, is a *tapol* in Salemba Prison. He has been held for over nine years.

IS AID TO INDONESIA JUSTIFIED?

At the meeting of the aid-Indonesia consortium, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) in May this year, IGGI governments and multilateral organisations pledged a record \$920 million and agreed with Indonesia's submission that her total aid needs this year were a staggering \$2,000 million which they would help secure by encouraging banks in their respective countries to make up the difference with loans of \$1,000 millions.

The British Government made a new pledge of £10 million to be used commencing 1977, and it has recently been reported that the British ECGD (Export Credit Guarantees Department) has guaranteed a loan to the Indonesian Ministry of Finance by the Midland Bank for the installation of cables and telecommunications equipment.

This year's British commitment keeps Indonesia in the forefront of non-Commonwealth countries receiving British aid, second only to Pakistan. The £10 million pledge was made against the recommendation of the Overseas Development Ministry which, when considering its policy for the IGGI meeting, saw aid to Indonesia as incompatible with ODM's aid guidelines of concentrating on rural development and agricultural programmes whereas aid to Indonesia is used on more capital-intensive projects. The reasons for the switch in policy were clear: to ensure markets for British exports and greater scope for British investors.

Indonesia is Now World's Largest Aid Recipient

The new 1975 IGGI offering seems destined to keep Indonesia at the top of the aid-recipients world league table, a position she has occupied for several years already. Figures released by the OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development) - the membership of which covers the 17 main aid-donors from Western Europe, the USA and Japan - show that from 1970 to 1973, Indonesia received more aid from OECD members than any other country in the world. In the last of these years, Indonesia received \$516 million worth of bilateral aid. The OECD report put this disproportionate amount down to the debt reorganisation being carried out by Indonesia, and suggested that as oil earnings began to flow in, aid to Indonesia would fall. Though Indonesia is now producing 1.5 million barrels of oil a day, which sells at \$12.60 a barrel, a higher price than that paid for Middle East oil, this year's aid pledges have confounded OECD predictions. OECD (which covers also IGGI) aid-givers are now rivalled by OPEC countries, and Indonesia is in the market for 'oil-aid' with two major agreements already signed this year: \$200 million from Iran and \$100 million from Saudi Arabia. To all this must be added enormous extra commitments flowing freely to

Indonesia from Japan, culminating in particular in the \$870 million to be supplied to finance the Asahan aluminium and electricity project, agreement for which was signed during Suharto's recent 'private' visit to Japan.

IGGI generosity towards Indonesia at a time when aid commitments are generally falling is prompted not by concern for Indonesia's poor but by the following three considerations: (a) preserving a stake in the rapid, highly capital-intensive growth of the Indonesian economy financed mainly by foreign investments, (b) securing a larger share in the Indonesian market, and (c) encouraging Indonesia to dissociate from any oil embargo which Middle Eastern countries could be expected to impose in the event of another Arab-Israeli war.

Oil A Central Factor

It is interesting to note, relating to the last point, that major plans are now afoot, mainly with US and Japanese capital, to construct a ring of gigantic oil reservoirs along Indonesia's southern flanks which would be used to store Middle East oil, ready among other things for any emergency that might disrupt oil supplies to the West from that sensitive part of the world.

IGGI governments were very complimentary about Indonesia's much-publicised efforts to improve agricultural production, raise income levels and tackle appalling unemployment problems, but events in Indonesia show that the contrary is true. Capital-intensive economic growth has deprived hundreds of thousands of their jobs. For example, the most important current effort to raise rice production is to set up rice estates while the problems of millions of impoverished peasant producers are ignored and even exacerbated. The scandal surrounding Pertamina, the State oil monopoly, which has defaulted on international debts to the tune of at least \$1,000 million, indicates that mismanagement and corruption are widespread. It is ironic indeed that at the IGGI meeting, Indonesia was basing its case for increased foreign assistance on the stable economic position resulting from the oil bonanza at a time when the Indonesian Government was bailing Pertamina out of its debt problems.

IGGI governments may have chosen to ignore the graft and incompetence in Indonesia, but they are not ignored in Indonesia although those who publicise them are taking personal risks. Even as the IGGI was meeting, an Indonesian economist, Dr Syahrir, was being tried for subversion for having criticised corrupt practices and seeking to draw the attention of Dr. Jan Pronk, Dutch Overseas Development Minister and IGGI Chairman to the disastrous effects of current economic policies. While the IGGI was exuding satisfaction in Amsterdam with Indonesia's

(cont'd on page 8)

TENTH ANNIVERSARY CAMPAIGN

Suggested Activities For Your Consideration

Please undertake any one or a combination:

1. Publish an article in your own periodical.
2. Organise media coverage in the national or local press, radio or television.
3. Place display material on your notice board or in some other prominent place.
4. Send letters to the British Government urging more pressure on Indonesia to end human rights abuses.
5. Send letters to the Indonesian Government urging a tenth anniversary amnesty for all political prisoners. (Write to: President Suharto, Istana Negara, Jalan Veteran, Jakarta, Indonesia).
6. Include Indonesia on the agenda of meetings you will be holding in October.
7. Hold a special meeting on Indonesia (we can provide or suggest speakers).
8. Arrange an exhibition on your own premises or in some central place, as your own effort or in collaboration with other organisations.
9. Arrange for the performance of 'Ten Long Years', a drama written by TAPOL on political imprisonment in Indonesia. (In places near or in London, we may be able to provide a drama group to do this for you or give production advice).

TAPOL can supply you with the following:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------------|
| 1. Speakers to address your meetings (UK only). | Quantities supplied free of charge |
| 2. Leaflets (UK only) | Quantities supplied free of charge |
| 3. Standard letters to MPs (UK only) enclosed) | Quantities supplied free of charge |
| 4. Posters with slogans, or 'without if you would prefer to write your own slogans | 45p each |
| 5. 'Indonesia: The Prison State', a 16-page background pamphlet, illustrated and with maps, supplied on a sale-or-return basis | 10p each (Reduction for bulk orders) |
| 6. Recent and current issues of <i>TAPOL Bulletin</i> supplied on a sale-or-return basis | 10p each (Reduction for bulk orders) |
| 7. Set of 25 slides with accompanying lecture notes | £2.50 |
| 8. Sets of photographs for display. We have prepared two separate sets of ten photos, each complete in themselves or usable in combination for a bigger display | |
| SET A | £1.75 |
| SET B | £1.75 |
| BOTH SETS | £3.25 |
| 9. 'Ten Long Years', drama script and production hints | 50p |

PLEASE PLACE YOUR ORDER NOW.

TAPOL says a very large thank you to Michel and Marika Julian, Chris Smith, Dick Inglis, Richard Fuller, Jenny Penning, Jim Perry, Ann Gray and Gus. Their patience and encouragement have made this issue possible.

TAPOL Bulletin is published by TAPOL, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners.

PARLIAMENTARY LOBBY FOR TAPOLS

A Parliamentary Lobby will be organised early in November this year at which letters pressing for government action on the *tapols* will be presented to Members of Parliament from their constituents.

A standard letter has been prepared and is enclosed (to UK readers only). Full instructions for use are given on the detachable slip. We can supply you with as many copies of this letter as you need so please consider ways of circulating it to friends or distributing it at meetings.

The more letters we can deliver to Parliament and the more MPs to whom they are addressed, the more effective will be our Lobby for Tapols so please help to make this a success.

Order your copies (free of charge) NOW.

INDONESIAN AND SOUTH KOREAN ATTORNEY GENERALS GET TOGETHER

South Korea's Attorney-General, Chi Yul Kim, paid a 6-day visit to Indonesia from 16th June as the guest of his Indonesian counterpart, General Ali Said. The press reports that meetings between the two men were held to 'compare experiences concerning the danger of communism'. Considering the extreme brutality with which both regimes, each in their own distinctive ways, combat opposition and dissidence, they probably have quite a lot to learn from each other.

(from page 7)

performance, he was receiving a 6½ year sentence in Jakarta for criticising policies which are very much the IGGI's concern. This suggests that concern for human rights is not only a moral issue; it is also relevant to those who would like to be sure that the humanitarian principles intended to inspire foreign aid are upheld.

Notes to Readers:

1) Many subscriptions are now falling due for renewal. Our Administration endeavours to inform all subscribers as this happens. We regret we cannot continue to send the Bulletin unless you renew your payment. You will help us greatly by paying your subscriptions promptly.

2) We believe it is important to have TAPOL Bulletin on the shelves of libraries, research institutes and other interested bodies. We need the help of readers to draw the attention of such institutes to the existence of our Bulletin. Please write to us for extra copies of the Bulletin if you require them to publicise it.

3) Our bank account is held with the Wandsworth Common Branch, National Westminster Bank, 27 Bellevue Road, Wandsworth Common, London SW17 7EF. Our account number is 40987493. The bank has asked that all foreign currency cheques be endorsed on the reverse side with the words. 'As made payable to on the front.'

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IRAT PRINT & DESIGN - 267 4909/4109