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BRITISH CAMPAIGN FOR THE RELEASE OF INDONESIAN  
POLITICAL PRISONERS

Bulletin No. 3

January 1974

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## EDITORIAL

When in October last year, General Sumitro, chief of the all-powerful security command, KOPKAMTIB, and the Prosecutor-General, Brig-General Ali Said visited Buru Detention Camp for several days, accompanied by chief editors, psychiatrists and a large entourage of Army officers, this was certainly no routine trip. Despite protestations that the visit had nothing to do with growing foreign concern about the tapols, the signs were all too obvious. A few weeks later, Mr. J.A. Pronk, Dutch Minister for Development Co-operation and chairman of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, was due in Indonesia for talks with Indonesian officials and the IGGI was preparing to hold its December meeting at which new aid disbursements to Indonesia would be discussed.

The Buru visit was a piece of window-dressing, intended to impress foreign critics and Governments. The Indonesian Government knows very well that the governments of IGGI member-states are becoming much better informed about the tapols. Yet, whatever the intentions of the visit, it has provided new information about the deplorable sufferings and frustrations of the Buru detainees. Whatever is done to make Buru appear to be a "transmigration project" permitting the "social integration" of the B Category detainees there, it remains a glaring example of the gross injustice of political detention which still exists more than eight years after the 1965 events.

And Buru represents but a small segment of the tapol population. Even as the hue and cry surrounding Sumitro's visit was just beginning to die down, reports were being received that the conditions in the prisons where tapols are being held are deteriorating; food rations, grossly inadequate at the best of times have now been reduced in many places to starvation proportions.

The disturbances that occurred in Jakarta at the time of the visit of the Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka, have revealed to the world that students, deprived the right of freedom of expression, had no other way but to vent their anger at foreign economic penetration and the current strategy of economic development by means of riotous demonstrations and outcry. The demonstrators were fired upon by troops and at least ten were killed and several hundred injured. Numerous arrests were made and university buildings were occupied by troops.

The repressive measures taken against the students during and after the demonstrations are but another reflection of the total disregard for human rights and the rule of law which has been shown towards the tens of thousands of political prisoners for whom TAPOL is campaigning. There is good reason to believe that this new wave of repression will not only further expand the tapol population but will also make things far worse for those tapols who have been in prison already for so many years.

This means that our efforts on behalf of Indonesia's political prisoners must be redoubled; everything possible must be done to draw attention to their plight and to impress upon governments, particularly those that now have growing economic ties with the Indonesian Government, that Indonesia's political prisoners are their concern.

PAIGN NEWS

TAPOL Strongly Disapproves of Queen's Visit to Indonesia

The sponsors and members of TAPOL have expressed strong disapproval of the forthcoming visit by Queen Elizabeth to Indonesia. The Queen will be making a State Visit to Indonesia from 22 March.

TAPOL's disapproval was expressed in a letter sent on 18th January to the Prime Minister, Mr. Edward Heath, the Foreign Secretary, Sir Alec Douglas-Home and other members of the Government, to the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Harold Wilson and other Opposition leaders, and to the Leader of the Liberal Party, Mr. Jeremy Thorpe. It was also sent to the Heads of Government of 26 Commonwealth countries.

The statement reads as follows:

"The Sponsors and Members of TAPOL are deeply concerned over the announcement that Her Majesty the Queen will be making a State Visit to Indonesia in March.

"Although we appreciate that Her Majesty's Government is anxious to strengthen its ties with Indonesia which is the largest and most populous country in South East Asia, we cannot but express our strong disapproval of a State visit by the Queen at a time when the Indonesian Government still holds in detention without trial tens of thousands of political prisoners, many of whom have been in prison for more than eight years.

"Such a visit would inevitably be seen internationally as condonation of this deplorable state of affairs. Nor would it be in keeping with Britain's traditional attitude towards human rights.

"We feel most strongly that such a visit should only take place if the Indonesian Government were to give firm assurances that the political prisoners will be released immediately or brought to trial without delay in accordance with the principles of the rule of law."

\* \* \* \* \*

Campaign Activities During December IGGI Meeting

The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, the international consortium for Indonesia, held its second 1973 meeting on 12 December in Amsterdam. The meeting was attended by all member states: Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, West Germany, Indonesia, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, New Zealand, United Kingdom and the USA. Observer countries present were: Austria, Denmark, Norway and Switzerland. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the UN Development Programme and the Asian Development Bank were also present.

The meeting decided to supply \$850 million during the 1974/financial year by comparison with \$840.7 million actually provided during 1973-74.

It is understood from very reliable sources that, for the first time, the question of the political prisoners was raised during the plenary session of the IGGI and was also discussed during talks between delegates outside the official sessions. The Indonesian delegation is understood to have told the meeting that the Indonesian Government was well aware of the foreign concern about this question.

Furthermore, Mr. Jan Pronk, Netherlands Minister for Development Co-operation and current Chairman of the IGGI, who visited Indonesia in November 1973 to hold discussions with Indonesian officials, told a press conference just before his departure from Jakarta that the fate of Indonesia's tapols very much affected the Dutch outlook towards Indonesia. He had discussed the tapol question with security chief, General Sumitro, he said, on behalf of his colleague, Foreign Minister van der Stoep who would be visiting Indonesia in January. He had told the security chief that the tapol question was very much alive in Holland.

Mr. Pronk also said that he had been told about General Sumitro's visit to Buru Island by the Indonesian Attorney-General, Ali Said, who claimed that there had been a relaxation of internment rules in Buru, and that an official promise had been given that prisoners would be set free "as soon as society is prepared to accept them".

During the two days of the IGGI meeting in Amsterdam, campaign activities were held in Amsterdam and London to protest against, and draw attention to, the continued detention of many tens of thousands of tapols in Indonesia.

In Amsterdam The campaign was organised by the Dutch-Indonesian Committee, J'Accuse and other Groups. On 10th December, a public meeting was held under the slogan: "Jakarta-Jakarta, the Cry of the Chilean Junta" One of the speakers explained that, several weeks before the overthrow of the Allende Government, the words Jakarta-Jakarta had been scrawled on the walls, a warning that the events of 1965 in Indonesia would soon be repeated in Chile.

Prof. Wertheim, Chairman of the Dutch-Indonesian Committee, told the meeting that General Sumitro knew exactly how many ties and golf-clubs he had (no fewer than 2,000 ties; he told the press some time ago!) yet he was incapable of producing precise and reliable figures of the number of tapols his security command, KOPKAMTIB, was holding in detention.

The meeting was also addressed by Mrs. Carmel Budiardjo, a British woman who spent three years as a tapol in Indonesia. She told the meeting of the appalling conditions in which the tapols were held, of the tortures and beatings she had witnessed or overheard, and of the many women in prison who had no contact with their families or information about the whereabouts of the children.

Her husband, Suwondo Budiardjo, is still in prison in Jakarta, and she said that, although she recognised there was danger for him and other relatives and friends of hers in Indonesia if she spoke out publicly, she nevertheless felt compelled to make known what she knew from personal experience to be true. Was she herself ever intimidated by the Indonesian authorities? Yes, at the commencement of that very meeting, she had been approached by an Indonesian who introduced himself as an official representative of the Indonesian Attorney-General's Office, who told her that he wished to listen to everything that she was about to say, and then asserted that her husband's case was "being taken up with Scotland Yard" (sic). This Indonesian sat through the meeting, taking copious notes of Mrs. Budiardjo's speech, and although he had told her that he wished to speak to her after the meeting, he left the hall abruptly, soon after she had related this incident.

She also told the meeting that the Indonesian Government had issued a circular some time ago prohibiting civil servants from reading a book written by her. "This is probably the first time

" she said, "that a book has been banned ever before it has been written!"

On 11th December, demonstrators appeared at the hotel where the delegates were staying and distributed material containing information about the tapol situation in Indonesia. A demonstration of protest about the tapols was held outside the venue of the meeting as delegates arrived for the first session.

London A Vigil was held outside the Indonesian Embassy in Grosvenor Square from 12.30 till 2 pm on the two days of the IGGI meeting in Amsterdam. This was the third Vigil, the first being on the two days of the IGGI meeting in May and the second being on 17th August, Indonesia's independence day. The attendance this time was smaller than usual as it coincided with the Amnesty Conference in Paris and many regular supporters were away.

The main object of our activity is to gain maximum publicity about the predicament of Indonesia's tapols. Previous Vigils have helped very much in this way. We would like to invite comments from our readers in Britain on the advisability of arranging future Vigils at regular intervals, and to invite too your suggestions for other forms of activity to undertake. We look forward to your active participation in future campaigning events.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Campaign for the Release of Indonesian MPs in Prison

Amnesty International has launched a special campaign for the release of Indonesian MPs in prison. All National Sections of Amnesty have been circularised with a list of 17 MPs in prison together with biographical data and information about their imprisonment and present place of detention. National Sections have been asked to launch campaigns on their behalf among MPs in their country, by suggesting that MPs, regardless of political affiliation write to the Indonesian President urging him to bring these MPs to trial immediately or release them without delay.

The list which includes several women MPs is by no means complete; it includes only those names known to the International Secretariat of Amnesty.

The German National Section of Amnesty ran a campaign of this nature in November last year, and a number of German MPs of all parties responded by writing to President Suharto. Amnesty National Section in the Faroe Isles has announced its intention to take part in this campaign. Readers of TAPOL Bulletin wishing to know more should write to AI International Secretariat, 53, Theobald's Road, London WC1X 8SP.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Australian MPs, TU and Church Leaders Issue Statement

Twenty-six Australian MPs and Senators together with many leading trade unionists and church dignitaries including the Anglican Primate Archbishop Sir Frank Woods issued a statement last week condemning the continued detention without trial of large numbers of people in Indonesia.

The statement says: "The continuation of this situation is, in itself, highly damaging to the image of Indonesia in Australia and in the outside world

Meanwhile, a Committee for Indonesian Political Prisoners has been set up in Australia with sections in all states. The aims of

the Committee are:

- \* to secure the release or fair and open trial of all Indonesian tapols
- \* to ameliorate their conditions and those of their families
- \* to secure equal rights and opportunities for released detainees and their families.

The Committee's address is: PO Box 333, Prahran, Vic 3181.

\* \* \* \* \*

## NEWS FROM INDONESIA

### Demonstrations - and Arrests - During PM Tanaka's Visit

The students' demonstrations which swept Jakarta during the Japanese Prime Minister's two-day visit came as the climax of several months unrest among students in Jakarta and other major towns, including Yogyakarta, Bandung and Surabaya. Ever since October last year, feelings have been running high over current economic development which is leading to an ever-widening gap between rich. The targets of the protests have switched from technocrats to corruptors, to foreign investors and aid-givers, and have even included criticism of the all-powerful KOPKAMTIB itself. The general grievances underlying these protests have been rising prices, failure to improve the social services, increasing unemployment, the bankruptcy of national enterprises in the face of the influx of foreign capital, the numerous cases of dispossession of peasants and worsening corruption. (One Indonesian politician estimates that corruption now accounts for thirty percent of the national income.)

On 24th October, students at the State university in Jakarta adopted a petition listing the priorities to which government ought to give attention, and when the Dutch Minister for Development Co-operation, Mr. J.A. Pronk arrived in Jakarta in mid-November to make preparations for the IGGI meeting he was greeted at the airport by students who had got through the security guards to present him with a letter complaining about the state of economic development and the role of the rich countries that provide the aid for this development.

A host of ad hoc bodies began to mushroom: the Indonesia for Indonesia Student Movement, the Young Generation Opposition, the Anti-Luxury Committee, the National Pride Committee, the Debt-Paying Generation and others. A major, but certainly not the only, object of opprobrium is Japanese economic penetration; on one occasion, students climbed to the top of the 22-storey Wisma Nusantara building and flew the Indonesian flag above two huge neon advertisements for Toyota and Sanyo. On many occasions demonstrators were taken for interrogation and held in custody.

In face of this growing body of criticism, General Suharto, Commander of KOPKAMTIB, adopted the tactic of "open dialogue". He even went so far as to accept the criticism that communications between the people and the government were poor and promised a "new style of leadership" which would come in April 1974 with the commencement of the Second Five-Year Plan (Pelita-II). But these promises were greeted with scepticism and the demonstrations and petitions, roll-calls and protests continued.

Meanwhile, plans were announced for a visit to Indonesia by Japanese Prime Minister Tanaka. As the visit drew near, students urged the government to cancel it and warned that demonstrations might occur if Tanaka came. But on 29th October, Foreign Mi-



nister Adam Malik confirmed that the visit would go ahead and that it would be better for the Prime Minister to come and see the problems for himself rather than "sitting behind a table". As things turned out, he could do little more than sit behind the four walls of the presidential guesthouse.

The demonstrations continued during the two days of the visit despite warnings by the Army Chief Commander that such activities were "treason" and that people attacking Japanese goods would be shot on sight. According to KOPKAMTIB, eleven people were killed and several hundred injured. Immediately after Tanaka's departure, the Army began a round-up of student leaders and intellectuals as part of a major investigation into the causes of the demonstrations, and also banned three amateur radios and a daily newspaper, Nusantara, in Jakarta.

The demonstrations and the repression which has followed in their wake will have a marked effect on political developments in Indonesia. A period during which some licence was permitted to dissident forces out of fear of antagonising them too much has come to an end. Some of those arrested during the aftermath may possibly enter the ranks of the long-term political prisoners. It is likely too that KOPKAMTIB will seek for culprits among ex-detainees and others connected with organisations that have been banned since 1965; a new wave of arrests can be expected to ensue. Inevitably too, as is always the case when such incidents occur, the tapols will suffer new hardships.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### Tapols Dying of Starvation in Indonesian Prisons

Alarming reports have been received that the material conditions under which the tapols are being held are further deteriorating and that malnutrition and starvation are becoming more widespread. An inflationary spiral in the prices of basic necessities during the past few months has not been accompanied by an increase in the meagre allocation of funds for the upkeep of the prisoners; on the contrary, worsening economic conditions breed corruption among officers in charge of the prisoners and actually reduce the money available for the prisoners' upkeep. At the same time, visiting families are finding it even more difficult to take food to the prisons.

Reports have been received that food supplies at Salemba Prison are now reduced to a single plate of poor quality rice which is full of grit and splinters of glass. With this, the tapols get a small portion of watery vegetables and a small piece of tempe (soyabean cake), only boiled; meat is a rarity and salted fish also served only infrequently. Many of the tapols, particularly those who receive no supplementary supplies from relatives, are suffering from starvation and diseases caused by malnutrition; in a single week in December, three tapols in this prison died of malnutrition. It is feared that, if immediate action is not taken to bring pressure to bear for an improvement in prison rations and proper provision of medicines, the death toll will increase.

In the last issue of TAPOL Bulletin, we reported on the appalling conditions at Ambarawa Prison in Central Java. Similar conditions prevail at Kalisosok Prison and Koplen Prison in Surabaya. At a detention camp on the outskirts of Ujung Pandang (formerly Makassar), more than 350 tapols are held in conditions of appalling squalor and are, in addition, compelled to do hard labour for local commanders.



The only reliable source of supplementary food is from relatives, but many tapols have no contact with their relatives and the number of those visiting and bringing food is decreasing, partly because of the increased cost of food and partly because of a new regulation for a purge of all Category C civil servants (see page 11) which makes people reluctant to reveal any relationship they may have with persons in prison.

Conditions at the Plantungan Women's Detention Camp in Central Java are also deteriorating. There are 386 prisoners at the camp and several small children; not more than about ten percent receive food parcels and most of them only infrequently. Rations have been reduced since the camp was first opened and the women no longer get anything for breakfast. Food rations are no better than at Salemba except that more vegetables are available from the gardens worked by the tapols. The only source of supplementary sustenance for most of the women is money earned from the sale of handicrafts, but it takes several months to sell these products, and furthermore part of the proceeds is 'lost' on the way; the women are also heavily over-charged for the materials they need for their handwork.

Provision of medicaments is minimal if not totally absent. Where outside doctors or prisoner-doctors examine prisoners and issue prescriptions, it is left to relatives to have the prescriptions filled. Some families are being requested to help with medicines for other prisoners too; inevitably, the strain upon them is becoming intolerable.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### KOPKAMTIB is Unconstitutional, Says Indonesian Lawyer

KOPKAMTIB, the Army Command responsible for the arrest and detention of political detainees and also for the general control of the political and social life of the country, has been described by a well-known Indonesian lawyer as "unconstitutional" Buyung Nasution, Chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Bureau, made this forthright statement in a lecture to students in Yogyakarta, Central Java last month.

KOPKAMTIB is the abbreviation of Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order. Buyung Nasution said that this Command should be dissolved and the 11th March 1966 surrender of presidential powers to the KOPKAMTIB Commander repealed. Such extra-constitutional organs, he said, were an obstacle to the development of democracy in Indonesia.

Complaints about KOPKAMTIB's super-powers were also voiced by Hariman Siregar, Chairman of the Students Council of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta. Commenting on a statement by KOPKAMTIB Deputy-Commander, Admiral Sudono warning people against confrontation, Hariman Siregar said that KOPKAMTIB's determination to exert its powers firmly against things not to its liking exceeded the bounds of safeguarding law and order. "KOPKAMTIB assumes responsibility for all problems, it occupies the position of a supra-structure institution, superior to Parliament and is therefore an insult to Parliament."

#### KOPKAMTIB Structure

A brief description of the structure of KOPKAMTIB will be of interest to readers of TAPOL Bulletin. It was first established shortly after the abortive coup attempt of October 1965 was crushed and enormously strengthened as a result of the 11th March 1966 Presidential Order, issued under strong Army pressure.

ure by President Sukarno. General Suharto assumed these powers and became Acting President, finally ousting Sukarno altogether in 1968. KOPKAMTIB powers cover intervention in all aspects of political and social life and are delegated down through the Army hierarchy, from the KOPKAMTIB Commander at the top, through provincial, district and sub-district military commanders, down to the officers in command of the lowest unit in the village. Thus, at every stage of the hierarchy, Army commanders, in addition to their normal Army function, are also executive officers of KOPKAMTIB powers with the right to act in a vast number of matters on the instructions of the KOPKAMTIB Commander. This is the 'legal' basis upon which political arrests are made and decisions regarding the tapols classification are adopted and implemented. For instance, the Decree No 5, 1969, empowering the prosecutor-general to hold suspects indefinitely without trial is not a law adopted by Parliament but a KOPKAMTIB Decree.

\* \* \* \* \*

#### A GLIMPSE OF CONDITIONS ON BURU

General Sumitro's trip to Buru Detention Camp in October last year was widely reported in the Jakarta press. Although the writers of articles that appeared in leading newspapers were careful not to criticise the situation they found and tried to justify the continued existence of the camp, a number of facts and impressions emerge which help to depict the difficulties and hardships being faced by the Buru detainees.

Several of the journalists stressed that production had advanced greatly since the camp was set up in 1969, but only because the prisoners had been forced to work "tremendously hard, under the strictest supervision", to quote Jacob Oetama in Kompas. "Prosecutor-General Ali Said said quite frankly that the area had been opened up so quickly because the prisoners had been subjected to very strict discipline."

While the government boasts that prisoners in Buru may be joined by their families, in fact only 84, less than one percent, have their families with them. Much of General Sumitro's visit was concentrated on Savanajaya Unit, the unit where these families are living and the reports cannot be regarded as truly representative of the general situation. In fact, journalists appear to have visited only this one unit and some of the central buildings of the camp. The group of intellectuals and the group of painters and sculptors whom they met were brought to them at their lodgings or at central camp buildings.

Referring to the prisoners' children whom they watched during a performance, Jacob Oetama wrote: "They looked just as healthy as children in any Javanese village but ... their faces were not happy. The sullen looks I had seen on the faces of their fathers were on the children's faces too." One child, when asked whether she wanted to return to Java, could not answer for sobs.

A visit to the clinic revealed that malaria is a grave menace. "Fifty percent of the prisoners have malaria," wrote Jacob Oetama. Rochtar Lubis, writing in Indonesia Raya, gave a figure of 70 percent. "The mosquitoes are giant-size and there is a serious shortage of medicine."

And what about the provision that all prisoners may correspond with their families once a month? "They are allowed to send letters," writes Rochtar Lubis, "but of course, for security, all these letters must be censored. It takes time to censor 10,000 letters."

plain that they rarely receive letters."

#### Tabols Completely Without News

On one occasion, General Sumitro made a point of informing some prisoners of national and international events such as China's entry into the UN, President Nixon's visit to Peking and the Indonesian general elections, making it quite clear that he knew they had/nothing of these things. Indeed, he knows best of all that the prisoners are denied access to newspapers, radio and other sources of news. "The only books they have are about religion," write Jacob Oetama. "For educated people, this isolation from developments is in itself a punishment."

The journalists were allowed to speak to some intellectuals at the camp. They met Pramudya Ananta Tur, the writer, who told them that under the previous commander, he had been allowed to write a novel but when his manuscript was half complete, the new commander, the man who is now in charge of the camp, Lieutenant Colonel Syamsi, confiscated everything. The poet, Rivai Apin, told the journalists that it was impossible for him to write anything as long as he was being held in captivity. For his interview, he was brought from a extra-restrictive part of the camp as he had been "guilty" of some infringement of camp discipline. He was getting less than the normal Meagre ration, with maize instead of rice.

#### General Sumitro's Solution: "Social Integration"

During his visit, General Sumitro made much of his intended "solution" for B prisoners on Buru, a system of "social integration". "Social integration" is described as meaning that some Buru prisoners will be permitted a certain degree of economic and social intercourse with the neighbouring community in order to engage in commerce with the things they produce. It is not clear if and when the detainees will actually be permitted to handle cash, something which is at the moment denied to them and even to their wives who technically are not detainees.

They may even, or so General Sumitro would have us believe, no longer be called detainees when "social integration" is introduced though they will still be under strict military supervision. All this is reminiscent of the conditions under which thousands of political detainees were held by the Dutch from 1926 to 1942, in Boven Digul, after the 1925 uprising. Furthermore, whatever "social integration" may mean, it will only apply to those who are prepared "to undergo a change in their way of thinking". This requirement is most pointedly made in a letter sent by President Suharto to Pramudya Ananta Tur shortly after General Sumitro's visit, the text of which we publish below.

From the journalists' reports of their talks with six intellectuals, they clearly do not expect these men, whom one of them described as being extremely "obdurate", to be permitted to enjoy "social integration".

\* \* \* \* \*

#### President Suharto's Letter to Pramudya Ananta Tur

"I have received a report from the Commander of KOPKAMTIB about your condition. To commit an error is something quite natural for a human being, and it is also a natural thing for there to be a natural follow-up of this natural tendency, namely the honesty, courage and ability to rediscover the correct and justified path. May the Almighty and everlasting God protect and guide you in rediscovering this path. Amen." 10th November, 1973.

### Purge of all Category C Government Employees

In 1973, a purge of all Category C government employees was instituted in all government departments, providing for the dismissal of these employees by the end of 1975. The purge commences with those who have reached retirement age (50 years old and 20 years of service) and is to be implemented in three stages, during each of which one-third of the persons in question must be dismissed.

Category C is a classification applied not only to political prisoners but also to persons who have been subjected to political screening in various sectors, particularly in government offices and enterprises. The ministerial instructions that have been issued, ordering the purge, all of which are based on an order from KOPKANTIB, make it clear that new screening will be held to ferret out more Category C people. The classification covers those considered as being no more than followers or fellow-travellers of the leftwing movement, the rank-and-file members of banned trade unions and other mass organisations now declared illegal. In many cases, Category C people have long since been dismissed and have spent a period in detention (and some are indeed still behind bars). In others they have already been dismissed but not imprisoned, sometimes because of lack of prison accommodation.

The announcement of the purge has made many detainees' families fear to continue to be in contact with persons in prison for fear of being designated Category C. It is also feared that many people will take advantage of the purge to oust rivals or settle old scores.

\* \* \* \* \*

### Lawyers, Students and professors Arrested in New Wave of Repression

According to reports received as this issue was just going to press, lawyers, professors and student leaders are among those arrested in the clampdown that followed the anti-Japanese demonstrations in Jakarta during PM Tanaka's visit to Jakarta.

Adnan Buyung Nasution, Chairman of the Legal Aid Bureau is among them. (See item on page 8 regarding statements he made in December about Kopkantib.) Haji C. Prinsen, Vice-Chairman of the Human Rights Institute, is also under arrest, for the second time in two years. In 1972, he was arrested and held for several weeks for insisting on the legal right to counsel for students who were in custody at the time after campaigning against an Army-sponsored extravaganza, the Indonesia-in-Miniature project.

Professor Sarbini, lecturer in economics at the University of Indonesia and one-time head of the Central Bureau of Statistics, has also been arrested. He has been critical of current economic policies of the government. Among the student leaders under arrest are Hariman Siregar, Chairman of the Students' Council of the University of Indonesia, and members of the Council, Marsilam Simandjuntak, Sjahrir and Imam Waluyo. Shortly before the Tanaka incident, Imam Waluyo announced his intention to establish a new political party despite an Army decree forbidding the creation of new parties. This move was described at the time by President Suharto's top aide in security affairs, Major-General Ali Murtopo as being "illegal" and "an attempt to overthrow the lawful government".

It is understood that in the first days after Tanaka's visit, as many as 700 persons were in custody.

## SPOTLIGHT ON TORTURE

### Accused Exposes Torture in Military Detention Centre

Indonesian courts have recently heard several cases of police officers charged with maltreating prisoners under interrogation. One officer, found guilty of causing bodily harm to a prisoner which led to his death a few days later, was sentenced to three years.

Publicity has been given to these cases but virtually nothing has been heard about the maltreatment of prisoners held by the military. Recently, Tempo magazine, in its issue of 5th January, 1974, reported on exposures made by one of the accused in a case heard before a military court in December. Below is a slightly abridged version of the report:

### Military Detention, According to Deddy

At a time when the press was busy reporting methods of interrogation used by the police force, a police officer was heard to exclaim: "Just try exposing for a change the methods of interrogation used under military detention."

Partly as a result of strict military discipline, victims of interrogation in places of military detention never say anything publicly about the conditions in these places of detention. Furthermore, though Members of Parliament frequently visit civilian-run places of detention, there has never been any report about an MP taking a look at conditions of people held by the military.

Had Deddy Hamid, a civilian employee of the Air Force, not been held at Panasan Airfield (Solo), then moved to Halim Airfield and finally to the Air Force centre of detention in Jalan Sabang 2-C, Jakarta, a place where tapols are held and interrogated, the methods employed by the military towards others connected with the Forces would never have been exposed. Deddy was one of four persons charged with blackmail. In their defence the accused explained that they had employed blackmail because they feared that corruption in the Supplies Division of the Air Force would not be exposed.

In his defence plea, Deddy spoke at length about the method of interrogation employed at the Jalan Sabang 2-C detention centre: he was beaten, subjected to electric shock and tortured with various weapons. "I still have the scars on me," he told the court, baring his arms as he spoke.

He told the court that in October 1970, a person named Second Lieutenant Jayeng Sugito had died as a result of injuries inflicted during interrogation. Deddy named the officers responsible for this, all of them lawyers working for the Air Force prosecution office. Deddy witnessed the incident and he knew all about the burial of the victim and the medical report issued by a doctor which said that the victim died "not as a result of any illness but from other causes". Forty days before Jayeng died, another victim died in the same way; he too was a junior Air Force officer, named Tenu.

It was the fact that he and his corps knew about these two victims, which had led to feelings of revenge among those responsible. That resulted in the present case, Deddy told the court.

Charges of Coup/PKI Involvement Deddy Hamid's defence lawyer, Tharrin Manan SH, also told the court that he had encountered great difficulties in establishing contact with his client. The difficulties he had met were very much attuned to current practices, namely it was insinuated that Deddy was involved in the 1965 coup attempt and the PKI. It was hoped that in this way, the lawyer would be too afraid to handle the case. But far from being scared, the lawyer had lodged a strong protest. His protest had covered a number of aspects: failure to prolong the detention warrant, the methods of interrogation employed, the fact that a civilian was being tried before a military court and other aspects.

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### Amnesty International Report on Torture

#### Torture in Indonesia

The following is a quotation from the Amnesty International Report on Torture, reprinted by kind permission of Amnesty International:

The gravest allegations of torture relate to interrogations by the Central Satgas (Special Task Force) Unit in Kebayoran-Lama on the outskirts of Jakarta and by the Jakarta Satgas Unit, Satgas-jaya which operates in two Jakarta camps, one being the former Kalong camp.

This passage, written by a former prisoner, illustrates clearly the extra-legal style in which military investigations were conducted:

(Satgas-jaya) was established in 1969 or 1970 to replace the previous operational force which had been in charge since the middle of 1966. The previous unit was known as the Kalong (vampire) which was its official name, and employed particularly vicious methods both as regards torture and also as regards the intensive employment of very high-ranking ex-PKI functionaries to hunt down those still at large or actively engaged in underground activities... For some time, the most powerful figure at the Command was a man named Atjep, presumably a civilian for he never wore uniform and did not seem to have a military rank. He is extremely well known as a top interrogator, perhaps the most brutal of all, though he usually relies on his subordinates to do the actual torturing... His methods and perhaps also his successes frequently arouse strong opposition within the Kodam (Military Command) itself and he was on two occasions... actually placed under detention for particularly brutal treatment of detainees. But he has always managed to weather such storms and emerge again in full strength. He obviously has top-level backing and I have been told that he is a special favourite of General ....

This report is of the situation in Jakarta, but allegations of severe torture have been received from East Kalimantan, Sumatra (Padang) and West Irian, and there is no reason to suppose that the pattern established in these places is not a national one. A letter which was written by 800 prisoners in Balikpapan, Kalimantan, in January 1972 states: "We all have suffered from extensive interrogation and investigation for exceeding the bounds of human treatment." It continues: "We have been pushed into self-dug pits, covered at the bottom with glass splinters. We have been given electric shocks and cigarettes have been used to burn us... There are some among us who have been shot through the mouth." The report from West Irian, which concerns Indonesian attempts to force the cultural development of the Dani people, is supported by a first hand statement and photographic material.



## THE TAPOLS - CASE NOTES

\* Mrs Siti Mudigdio, Member of Parliament Mrs Mudigdio is now 65 years old and has, throughout her long life, been active in radical and leftwing movements. Born in Padang, a strongly Moslem region of Sumatra. She became active in women's organisations while still a young girl. She married a radical nationalist from Java and settled down in Central Java. She was active against the Japanese occupation and, after the war, against the restoration of the Dutch colonial government. Her husband was killed in the Madiun Affair, in September 1948.

Mrs Mudigdio was a member of the Republic's first legislative assembly, representing one of the Marxist parties and has remained a member ever since. After her re-election to Parliament in 1955 as a representative of the Communist Party, she became a member of Parliament's Commission on Justice and Internal Security. She was also elected to the Constituent Assembly and after this was dissolved, became a member of the Provisional People's Consultative Assembly.

In addition to her parliamentary activities, she was also Vice-Chairman of the leftwing women's organisation, Gerwani and for a time occupied a position as Vice-Chairman of the Women's International Democratic Federation whose conferences she often attended.

She was arrested a few days after the abortive coup attempt in Jakarta in October 1965. Several days prior to her arrest, her home had been destroyed in a wave of attacks against the homes and offices of leftwing people and organisations. She together with other prominent women communists protested to the leadership of Parliament and they were provided with alternative accommodation in the Parliament complex of residences. A few days later, Mrs. Mudigdio together with four other women was arrested. She has been held ever since at the Sukit Duri Women's Prison in Jakarta.

Her daughter, Dr. Sutanti Aidit, widow of the Chairman of the Communist Party, is being held in the same prison. Neither of them has been charged or tried.

\* Njoman S. Pendit, writer and translator This tapol is Balinese and a Hindu. He studied at the Rabindranath Tagore University in India and has written several works on Hindu philosophy, including a translation with commentary on the Bhagavadgita. Shortly after his arrest, another book by him, concerning the Sikh religion, was published.

During the years prior to his arrest and following the coup attempt, he lived in Jakarta and worked as a journalist for several newspapers, including an English-language paper. He was arrested during a sweep against a number of journalists, all of whom had been assumed to be trying to 'infiltrate' the New Order press. No formal charge has ever been brought against him and he has not been tried. As far as is known, he is still being held at Salemba Prison in Jakarta.

## STOP PRESS

On 28th January, President Suharto announced that he would resume command of KOPKAMTIB, replacing General Sumitro. He also dismissed several other generals from their positions in an effort to strengthen his own leadership against potential rivals.