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# tapol

British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners

BULLETIN No. 8

January, 1975

## MASS MURDERS IN IRIAN JAYA

On October 11th, 12th and 19th 1974, a Dutch newspaper, *De Telegraf*, published articles by Henk de Mari who was reporting direct from Biak and Jayapura in Irian Jaya.

The articles reveal a situation of flagrant and widespread deprivation of human rights, of mass killings which have, according to some informants, led to the death of 30,000 Papuans since the territory came under Indonesian administration. The journalist relates one series of mass murders that occurred in 1970 on the island of Biak which lies to the north of the mainland. We quote this part of his report in slightly abridged form:

"We publish only those stories that our reporter noted down from the lips of people who were involved themselves, who saw it happening, or who immediately afterwards happened to talk to the survivors. And further, only the stories of witnesses whose reliability is acceptable according to representatives of the Roman Catholic and Protestant missions.

"The mass murders are said to have taken place on the west coast of the island of Biak in June 1970. What the immediate case was is not immediately clear. Members of the Organi-

sasi Papua Merdeka are said to have fired at Indonesian soldiers in the jungle on the west coast. In the process, ten soldiers are said to have been killed. An Indonesian patrol of 50 red-beret and green-beret soldiers then went on a punitive expedition.

"The kampongs of Wusdori and Kridori, built on piles along the beach, were visited by the patrol. The villagers knew the patrol was coming and they fled, not because they had in any way been involved in the OPM but because they were, as is usually the case, afraid of Indonesian soldiers. It often happens, even to this day, that troops misbehave: they rape women, kill pigs, and demand food and drink without payment.

"When the patrol reached the two kampongs, all they found were deserted huts... The patrol moved on without destroying anything. Next day, the villagers moved back....

"The rule is that when a patrol visits a Papuan kampong, all the villagers must report on the village square. Anyone failing to do so is regarded as a member of the OPM and there-

(cont'd p.7)

### EDITORIAL

#### SO THERE ARE NO TAPOLS IN INDONESIA . . . .

So the Indonesian military has now decided to ban the word tapol! The pronouncements to this effect, which are reported in this issue, must have astonished not only the tapols and their families, not only the 'man and the woman in the street', but also the rank-and-file soldiers, the officers and the hierarchy in the country's military establishment, all of whom have been using the word for the past nine years.

Tapol is a classic example of the Indonesian people's fondness for abbreviating words to create new words reflecting the needs and circumstances of the day. It was in order to popularise internationally this widely-used word that our organisation decided more than eighteen months ago to use it for the name of our campaign.

By banning the word tapol, the military have at least indicated that they are feeling a growing embarrassment at the international campaign developing against them. As the Jakarta daily, *Kompas* stated in its editorial on October 8, "... the change in expression is probably intended primarily to clarify misunderstandings which arise abroad."

It has taken them nine years to wake up to the fact that most people in the world cannot accept the principle of keeping people in detention for their political views, whatever these may be.

Until this sudden awakening, the Indonesian military could at least be given credit for the fact that they never sought to conceal the fact that they held political prisoners; on the contrary, they frequently took pride in the fact, and there are numerous examples to prove that they considered political reasons as a much more forceful basis for arresting anyone than 'mere' infringement of the law.

Banning the word tapol has not however changed the situation one iota. The tapols are still in prison and more arrests are reported all the time. The word tapol may have now disappeared from the columns of the Indonesian press, but TAPOL intends to see to it that the Indonesian Government is not allowed to forget the tapols until they are all released and properly restored to their rightful place in society.

#### Some Questions to the British Government

Elsewhere in this issue we publish a report of a meeting on 10th December between an Ecumenical Deputation led by Lord Soper, and Lord Goronwy Roberts, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The report shows that the British Government prefers to refrain from officially and openly pressuring the Indonesian Government, even though HMG says that it is concerned about the widespread violation of human rights.

It shows as a comparison between what Lord Goronwy Roberts said and various news items in this Bulletin reveals, that much of the information that the Foreign Office receives

(cont'd p.3)

## UNREST AMONG TAPOLS ON BURU

According to a report in the Jakarta newspaper, Merdeka on November 23rd last, a soldier guarding tapols at the Buru detention camp was set upon and killed by one of the tapols. When soldiers nearby tried to restore order, other tapols attempted to grab their weapons. Normality was only restored after the guards had opened fire.

Some of the tapols are said to have succeeded in escaping and fleeing into the jungles. Up to the time the Merdeka report was written, they had not yet been found although the Army had launched an island-wide search and ordered the local inhabitants to join in.

Brig-General Harun Suwardi, Commander of the Maluku Military Command within whose territory the camp is located, has sent a special team of investigators to Buru to report on the incident.

Meanwhile according to other sources, the press in East Java has reported that as many as 48 tapols have been reported missing on Buru. They are believed to have taken refuge in the jungles, and the situation on the island is so serious that naval vessels are patrolling the shores to prevent any possible escape from the island. TAPOL has not yet obtained any clippings of these reports and is therefore unable to report more fully.

This latest escape attempt on Buru appears to be the most serious incident to occur since the detention camp was established in 1969 and is a far more accurate pointer to the feelings of the Buru tapols than all the efforts of the regime to depict conditions as satisfactory. It is always extremely difficult to obtain precise reports of such incidents as these. Two previous incidents are known to have occurred in 1972 and in 1973 but reporting on those occasions too was very inadequate, consisting only of a very brief announcement by the local military command.

## On Nusakambangan Too

On the island of Nusakambangan too, which lies off the South coast of Central Java, where several thousand tapols are being held, an escape attempt has been made. One Jakarta newspaper, Sinar Harapan, reported on October 23rd the recapture of three prisoners who escaped while they were gathering wood in one part of the island.

## THE WORD TAPOL NOW BANNED

The term tapol should not be used because there are no political prisoners in Indonesia, said Brig.-General Sumrahadi, spokesman of the Indonesian Department of Defence and Security, as quoted in Suara Karya on 1st October, 1974. He said: "Indonesia has never had political prisoners and has never arrested people for political reasons. The people under arrest are those who have rebelled against the constitution and against the lawful government. . . ."

On the next day, Admiral Sudomo, Commander of Kopkamtib (the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order) repeated the order and said that it was better to refer to the prisoners now being held as '30th September 1965 / PKI prisoners' or '15th January Affair prisoners'.

Another announcement by the Chief-of-Staff of Kopkamtib in the first week of October declared that the official name of the Buru Detention Camp had been changed from Tempat Pemanfaatan (place for making good use of) to Instalasi Rehabilitasi (rehabilitation installation). This new term, an attempt to create the impression that tapols are being held for their own benefit rather than for the benefit of others, is apparently also being used for other places of detention.

## SET OF SLIDES ON POLITICAL IMPRISONMENT

As announced recently, TAPOL is preparing a set of slides on political imprisonment in Indonesia for use by people wishing to speak at public meetings. The set will consist of about 24 black-and-white slides, each with background information, arranged to provide a framework for a lecture-discussion given by anyone fairly well acquainted with the problem. Technical problems delayed the project, but the slides should be ready soon. If interested, please write for details.

## RELIGIOUS LEADERS PROTEST AT FOREIGN OFFICE

On December 10th Lord Soper led a deputation of religious leaders to meet Lord Goronwy Roberts, Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. The other members of the deputation were Monsignor Bruce Kent, Rabbi Dr. David Goldstein and Roger Hibbitt, chairman of TAPOL. The purpose of the meeting was to express to Lord Roberts the concern felt by the deputation at the continuing detention without charge or trial of 70,000 tapols in Indonesia.

Lord Soper began by describing his feeling of moral outrage and repugnance at the treatment by and the attitude of the Indonesian Government towards the tapols. As a Christian leader, he found the situation intolerable and was anxious to communicate to the British Government his and other religious leaders' strong feelings on this subject. Msgr. Kent and Rabbi Goldstein expressed similar sentiments and Roger Hibbitt said that what TAPOL wanted was some public statement/condemnation by Her Majesty's Government on the continuing detention in Indonesia of so many tapols. He found it disgraceful that the Indonesian Government's dreadful record on human rights had received virtually no publicity in Britain, particularly at a time when there was so much concern for the situation in Chile - on a general and government level.

Lord Roberts began a long reply by expressing his agreement with the deputation's attitude towards political detention in Indonesia; this was a horrifying fact of political life not merely in Indonesia but in many parts of the world.

However, how did the individual or a government deal with such repression? What, he asked, would be the result of a public condemnation? He feared it would set off a chain reaction within Indonesia which might well damage rather than help the tapols and might make the position of sympathetic members within the Indonesian Government very difficult. The British Government takes a studied view on how to deal with political repression wherever it occurs.

HMG deplures and condemns all the events associated with the 1965 coup but feels that it is not important to dwell on past history. The important point was how best its influence could be brought to bear on the Indonesian Government. During the Queen's visit in March 1974, he had spoken personally to a senior member of the Indonesian Government and had expressed HMG's concern about the tapols (forcefully) to them. He was convinced that a public statement was counter-productive and that a restrained policy was the only possible one for Indonesia.

Lord Roberts supported this by asserting that since (not as a result of) the Queen's visit, the situation had improved. All C category prisoners had been or were being released, the rate of trials had been stepped up, the trial of Hariman Siregar had been open and fair, and the general level of repression was diminishing. He was encouraged by this and felt it was important to allow President Suharto to stabilise the country since without such stability the Indonesian situation could easily become chaotic.

HMG will not contemplate withdrawing aid or technical assistance. These, he said, are small and not significant in terms of the international effort for Indonesia.

The TAPOL Chairman disagreed strongly that the situation in Indonesia had improved since the Queen's visit. Clearly, the British Government was receiving different information from that received by TAPOL. It was agreed that TAPOL would keep HMG informed of current developments in Indonesia with regard to the tapols.

Lord Soper agreed that one should not isolate countries. One should 'sit down with publicans and sinners but should not make them Deacons in the Church'. Where, he wondered, did the moral principle come in?

Lord Roberts felt the World Council of Churches might have a role to play. The deputation then discussed with him specific ways in which HMG might help the tapols. After 90 minutes' discussion, Lord Roberts finally invited the deputation to meet him again at some future date, when it was needed.

## THE LATEST ARRESTS

Several new waves of arrests have been reported in the Indonesian press during the past two months.

### In Maluku: RMS Activists Arested

In Ambon, the capital of Maluku, a number of people described as activists of the Republic of South Maluku, a movement fighting for the separation of the Maluku archipelago from the Republic, have been arrested. According to the Special Executor of Kopkamtib in Maluku, Brig.-General Harun Suwardi, in a statement to the press on 22nd November, eight persons in all were arrested. These arrests had been made for reasons of security even though the government had previously declared that the RMS movement no longer existed in the area. Among those arrested is an Air Force major.

However, according to information published by the RMS Union in the Hague, the number of people arrested is far greater. The Union gives the names of ten persons and states that in one village alone, no fewer than a hundred persons have been held. The arrests are continuing. The Union also reports that these detainees have been subjected to electrical torture to extract information and confessions.

A large number of Malukans living in Holland organised a demonstration on 27th December in protest against the arrests and torture. There were skirmishes between the police and the demonstrators outside the Indonesian Embassy in the Hague, and considerable damage was done when a large contingent from the main body broke away to demonstrate outside the Peace Palace, headquarters of the International Court of Justice.

### ... and also PKI Activists

According to the same statement of Brig.-General Suwardi referred to above, an unspecified number of PKI activists have also been arrested in Ambon. These people were described as 'big fish' but Gen. Suwardi refused to divulge their names as this would obstruct operations where they were still underway against underground forces operating in the region. As an indication of how seriously the Army regards the present situation in Maluku, the Army commander urged the public to give the Army 'badly-needed information' in order to ensure the success of these operations.

### In N. Sumatra and W. Kalimantan

Eighteen persons described as PKI cadres were arrested in Medan, N. Sumatra and in West Kalimantan after the Army had discovered a "network of PKI remnants" operation in the two regions, according to Lieut.-General Poniman, Commander of Defence Territory I (Sumatra) on 19th November. He referred also to the smuggling into the country of rifles, and to robberies in several areas, suggesting that these activities were related to political subversion.

## SO, THERE ARE NO TAPOLS (from p.2)

conflicts sharply with the numerous eyewitness and firsthand accounts which regularly reach TAPOL through various channels. We can assure our readers that we publish news and information only after careful checking.

TAPOL wishes to ask the British Government the following questions: If it feels that public condemnation would be counter-productive, what does it think it has achieved by its current policy? If indeed there are sympathetic members of the Indonesian Government, how have they been encouraged by the present policy and would it not be reasonable to expect that their position would be strengthened by some public expression abroad of concern at high levels? Where is the substance to the belief that stability under General Suharto, which is based on widespread and ever-increasing repression, can help to avoid chaos? How can this view be upheld when even

erstwhile supporters of the military regime such as Hariman Siregar have felt impelled to protest? Is not the real reason for the British Government's low-profile a concern to preserve and expand its strategic and economic interests by supporting the present Indonesian regime?

## NEW CONCENTRATION CAMP IN SULAWESI

A new concentration camp for category B tapols has been established in Sidondo which is located in the district of Donggala, S. E. Sulawesi. A number of tapols who were being held at the Palu Prison have been transferred to the camp.

The announcement about the new camp was made by Col. M. Rusli, commander of the 132nd District Military Command in Tadulako, who stated in an interview that appeared in the Jakarta daily Suara Karya on 7 August 1974 that the camp had been set up on July 22 this year.

He described the camp as being a place where the tapols would get 'mental guidance' and would be put to work on an agricultural project or on handicrafts 'to keep them busy and to provide some means of livelihood for the future'.

He said that 'mental guidance' would be directed at turning them into good Pancasilaists by abandoning Marxism'. He also said that the camp would be named the 'Meraram Putih Project', taking its name from an expression in the local language which means 'searching for a pure heart and cleansing oneself of all bad influence'.

## HEALTH CONDITIONS ON BURU

An article entitled: Health Work at the Buru Camp: Review of a Closed Society has appeared in the Indonesian scientific journal Prisma in its fourth quarterly issue of 1974. It is written by Dr. Achmad Sujudi who worked for some months as a doctor at the Buru Camp.

For reasons of space, we can only quote a few of the facts that he presents.

While on the one hand he writes that "the criteria for tapols who were transferred to Buru were that they were physically healthy and no older than 45 years", he refers later in the article to tapols who were suffering from certain diseases before they were transferred to the camp such as bronchial asthma and diabetes or other such afflictions. He states that the authorities provide finances amounting to Rp. 400 per tapol for a period of 8 months (the equivalent of less than one US dollar). The only medicines available are what he describes as "basic ones" whereas those who are suffering from chronic ailments must rely on what they receive from their families.

There are, he says, no laboratory facilities at the camp sickbay and diagnosis is therefore only clinical. If treatment has continued for a sufficiently long period but has not resulted in recovery, the treatment is stopped and the patient is isolated and placed into a group no longer used for work. This applies in particular to those suffering from tuberculosis.

The writer provides figures of tapols suffering from a variety of diseases in two units at the camp during the time he was working there. The figures, which he admits are only based upon clinical diagnosis, are as follows:

	Unit I	Unit VII
arthralgia, myalgia and lumbago	4.3%	5.6%
respiratory diseases	5.3%	4.4%
lung tuberculosis	2.5%	2.0%
skin diseases	0.5%	0.49%
accident injuries	2.7%	5.6%
eye infections	0.6%	0.4%
enteritis	3.3%	3.6%
malaria	3.3%	3.8%
filariasis	0.1%	-
other diseases, including chronic	0.1%	0.8%

## EX - TAPOL TOURS GERMANY

Ex-detainee, Carmel Budiardjo, carried out a speaking tour of West Germany from 15th to 29th November. During the tour, she addressed meetings in West Berlin, Karlsruhe, Stuttgart, Geissen, Darmstadt, Frankfurt, Cologne, and Bonn, and also spoke at the annual meeting of the Coordination Group on Indonesia of the German Section of Amnesty International.

The meetings were held by a variety of organisations in the different towns, in some places by the local Students Council or the Foreign Students Committee, in others by a local Indonesian students' group, and in others by local Amnesty groups. In Cologne, the newly-established Centre for Human Rights and Responsibilities collaborated with the local Indonesia Study Circle (AKI) and TAPOL to organise the meeting, and in Berlin, local Amnesty groups collaborated with the German S. E. Asia Institute.

One of the most striking features of the meetings in all places except Bonn, where Indonesian Embassy surveillance is the strongest, was the large attendance of the Indonesian students. There are about 12,000 Indonesian students now studying at German universities and colleges. The vast majority have left Indonesia in the last two or three years and have opted for study abroad because they find it cheaper to pay the price of an air ticket to Europe than to pay the exorbitant fees and bribes required in order to gain access to a faculty in Indonesia.

The attitude of many of the students present at the meetings reflects the widespread intimidation being exerted by the Indonesian Embassy in Bonn. Few of those present dared to do any more than ask very cautiously-worded questions. In one meeting, sponsored by the local Amnesty group, an Indonesian student told the meeting that although he had known while still in Indonesia that there were many political prisoners, he had never realised the circumstances under which they were being held and the way in which their rights were being infringed. Others cautiously voiced their concern about what they had heard at the meeting but said that they would be risking very much if they were to become involved in campaigns to bring these facts to the attention of the German people.

In some cases, pro-Suharto elements endeavored to defend the system and justify the repression of human rights. At the meeting in Karlsruhe, an Indonesian quite openly declared that it was better for one-hundred thousand people to be in detention and for one million people to have been killed during the 1965/1966 massacres than for Indonesia to have fallen under communist control. At the meeting in Frankfurt, an Indonesian claimed that the speaker had ignored the religious traditions of the Indonesian people which were ingrained in their culture. This had made them strongly anti-communist and this was why, he said, it was wrong to say that the Army was responsible for the massacres. The killings had been done by the people. To this, another Indonesian replied: "Are you then implying that the Indonesian people's culture is a culture of murderers?"

In Giessen, an Indonesian and a German colleague tried to disrupt the meeting by insisting on unlimited time for speaking in support of the Suharto regime. When after the German had spoken lengthily the chairman said that he could give him only five minutes more, the two walked out of the meeting in anger. Despite their challenge to other Indonesians to follow suit, only three others walked out with them, leaving more than twenty Indonesians who remained at the meeting which was then able to proceed in orderly fashion.

At most of the meetings, Carmel Budiardjo was the sole speaker, but in West Berlin there were several speakers on the platform. One was Rev. Tom Veerkamp, students' chaplain at the Berlin Technical University. He drew attention to the recent expulsion from West Germany of a Japanese student by the W. German police. The student had not been allowed to consult with a lawyer and challenge the expulsion order but had been returned to Japan within hours. Rev. Veerkamp urged the German public to make these facts known and to protest to the German Government. Such acts place foreign students in great jeopardy. Were such a thing to hap-

pen to an Indonesian student, he said, the circumstances would be even worse as he would surely be arrested immediately upon his return to Indonesia.

During her stay in Cologne, Carmel was also interviewed by West German radio for a programme of current affairs in the countries of Asia.

## NON - INVOLVEMENT CERTIFICATES STILL REQUIRED

Despite declarations to the contrary by senior officers of the Police Force, it has been made absolutely clear by Brig.-General Sumrahadi, Head of Public Relations of Kopkamtib, that Certificates of Non-Involvement in the 1965 Affair/PKI are still required for acceptance into the employment of government departments, agencies and institutions, and also for access to all educational courses financed by the Government in preparation for the civil service and the Armed Forces.

The statement was made on 13 August 1974 and appeared in Suara Karya, in view of the continuing confusion about the Certificates.

One month previously, on 18 July, Col. Suwarno Suryo, Head of the Information Service of the Indonesian Police Force, had declared that Non-Involvement Certificates were no longer required for gaining employment in government offices and had said that the police would not now bring charges against companies or institutions that did not stipulate possession of a Certificate as a requirement for employment.

The Kopkamtib spokesman must, however, in a matter such as this be taken as being the more reliable source of information, as both he and the Police Colonel before him stated that although the Police Force have the task of issuing Non-Involvement Certificates, they do this only in accordance with the instructions given them by Kopkamtib.

Brig.-General Sumrahadi was quoting a Kopkamtib decision of 23 November 1973 (Kep. 027/KOPKAM/XI/73) which is still in force and which stipulates that Non-Involvement Certificates are required for five things: (1) changing permanent residence from one province to another, (2) gaining employment in any government institution or enterprise or in non-government enterprises that have been officially designated by Kopkamtib as being 'vital', (3) for travelling to another province for a period of more than one month, (4) for going abroad, and (5) for enrolling in courses that are government-financed and in preparation for employment in the civil service or the Armed Forces.

He also made it clear that certificates are issued for limited durations: in the first case for only three months, in the second case for only six months. When enrolling for courses, it was valid only for a single application, and in the case of going abroad only for a single trip. In all cases, however, certificates were issued for only one specific occasion. For instance, someone obtaining a certificate for the purpose of moving would require another certificate for enrolling into a course or another one for gaining employment.

## GOVERNMENT PURGE CONTINUES

Nearly one-half of the 334 employees at the Solo Rehabilitation Centre, a Centre set up many years ago by the late Dr. Soeharso to provide orthopaedic treatment for maimed people, are to be dismissed as a result of the purge now underway in all institutes run by the State.

No fewer than 166 employees are in the process of being dismissed because they were members prior to the 1965 incident of the now-banned trade union of health workers, Serikat Buruh Kesehatan.

## 100,000 TAPOLS, SAYS SOCIAL WORKER

"There are at least 100,000 tapols in prison, from a group of 600,000 to 700,000," writes a social worker in the July 1974 issue of the World Council of Churches monthly publica-

tion, International Review of Mission. The worker who remains anonymous has been involved for years in doing relief work for tapols and their families in Jakarta.

The article refers to no fewer than eleven prisons in the capital, and with regard to the three categories of the prisoners, 'A', 'B', and 'C', has the following to say:

"The first are those who were directly involved: they can stand trial. Group B which cannot be tried are those that have reputedly been ideologically influenced. . . . And then there is group C. These were just followers. According to the government, Group C has been released, but you see, nobody knows to which group a prisoner belongs, and they can be changed from group to group. What is worse is that nobody knows what the government policy is, even if they say they have a policy. It is terrible for the wives and children.

"And no official statement has been issued as to when the prisoners are going to be freed. Nobody knows. Yesterday I heard they are going to be sent as transmigrants to Sulawesi, as plantation workers to open up rice fields, forests, with no pay. For how long? Nobody knows. That is slave labour, for all we know."

The report also provides considerable detail about the tapol families' and ex-tapols' problems and the kind of relief work being done to help them. Reference is made to the enforced separation of families, with mothers and/or fathers in prison and children left to fend for themselves. Perhaps one of the most devastating figures provided in the whole report is that seventy-five percent of the tapols have no contact with their former families.

## GEN. ALI SAID ADMITS: 'C' CATEGORY NOT YET ALL FREED

A Dutch parliamentary deputation which visited Indonesia in September 1974 was officially told, much to its amazement, that it was not true, as had been asserted by President Suharto, that all 'C' category prisoners had already been released.

A member of the deputation, writing in the Dutch newspaper Het Parool on 12th September, recalled that President Suharto had stated on 16th August 1972 and had repeated on 12th March 1973 that all 'C' category prisoners had been released, "and it came as somewhat of a surprise to us . . . that it was now admitted that this statement was untrue".

The information had been given to the deputation during the course of an interview with Indonesia's Prosecutor-General, Ali Said, who told them: "In principle it is true that the decision has been made to release these prisoners before 1976, but the territorial commanders have been given power to decide on its realisation in phases. It is very well possible that one territory might have reached its aims before another, but it is certain that ultimately in 1975 everyone must have solved this problem."

The writer of the article, Mr. Ko Wierenga, pointed out that it was evident "a number of high Indonesia officials were alarmed by this public confession." Mr. Wierenga continued: "It is certain that the number of political prisoners is higher than the figure of 30,000 recently given by the Indonesian officials. . . . The correct number is still unknown." The Prosecutor-General had confirmed that arrests were still being made and that released prisoners were being re-arrested.

Mr. Wierenga also wrote that the deputation had been assured by the Prosecutor-General that all those arrested after the January 1974 events against whom no charges were brought would be released within a year after their arrest.

In a statement to a conference held by Amnesty International in Amsterdam on 26th October, Mr. Wierenga stated that many members of the Dutch Parliament would be deeply concerned if these assurances were in fact not kept.

## 30 TAPOLS TO BE TRIED IN JAVA

Thirty tapols held in connection with the 1965 events are to be tried in Central Java and the Special District of Jogjakarta during the year 1974-1975, according to Col. Leo Ngali, Chief of Intelligence of the C. Java Military Command. So far, ten cases had been tried.

In his statement to the press, reported in the Indonesia

Times on the 28th November 1974, Col. Ngali also asserted that "all 'C' category detainees in the two areas had been released" and had been returned to their respective areas.

"They are still under constant surveillance to prevent any recurrence of subversive activities." He also stated that of the 'C' category prisoners released, a number had been re-arrested "because of signs which might disturb public security and order".

It appears from another report in the Indonesia Times on 29th November, that the next political trial in Jakarta in connection with the October 1965 affair will be that of Miss Sulami who was Secretary-General of the now-banned women's organization, Gerwani. She will be tried together with three other women, also described as "Gerwani figures" though their names have not been disclosed.

A 20-year sentence was handed down at the end of December by a military court in Bali at the trial of Sukarman. He was described as a former infantry major in the Army and a 'communist party boss' in the province of Nusa Tenggara.

Meanwhile in Medan, North Sumatra, a trial of five tapols described as 'communist leaders' has been in progress. The accused are: Probo Sukesno, described as a communist leader in Deli Serdang, together with Jamin, Kasim, Nasim and Jamal. The Public Prosecutor demanded that the five accused each be given twenty years in prison "for having been involved in an attempt by Sukesno, made in 1970 to overthrow the legal government and to set up a new-style Communist party." The final verdict is not yet known.

## LETTER FROM A TAPOL

The following are extracts from a letter smuggled out of a place of detention in the Indonesian capital:

"The world is indeed making progress and there is no force that can turn back the wheels of history. Nevertheless, this progress is uneven and it has not been able to prevent the brutal persecution of tens of thousands of families. . . ."

"Just prior to the visit of the International Red Cross \*), all places where detainees are concentrated underwent a change in name: instead of rumah tahanan (prison) they have now become instalasi rehabilitasi (rehabilitation installation) because, so they say, there are no such things as tapols in our country. In other words, there are no longer people being detained because of their political views . . . but (only) people undergoing 'rehabilitation' in order to be returned to society."

"But . . . it's all the same whether you live in a prison, a concentration camp or a rehabilitation installation. For contagious diseases and acute afflictions, there are no medicines. Streptomycin and INH are generally not available and anyone falling ill must wait months for treatment. If things are like this in the capital, what must they be like in remote places like Buru? We hear that the medical and clothing situation there is very bad despite official assurances that everything is all right."

"We now hear about the need for transmigration in order to redistribute the population. This term is being used to conceal large scale deportations. There is no respect for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights . . . which clearly stipulates that a person has the right to determine his own place of domicile. Compulsory transmigration is a violation of this human right. All the more is this true of deportation for which no provision is made in our laws. Under what circumstances and for what reasons can a person be deported? This has not been defined."

"According to the rule of law, every action and policy not based upon a law that has been legally enacted must be declared illegal. But this is just playing with words. I fear that even Goebbels would not be able to equal the lying that goes on here. This should be noted by all those gullible people who are ready to accept explanations that are subsequently proven to be false. The Head of State once declared that all C category prisoners had been released but now an official says that there are still C category prisoners being held. How stupid it is for the Head of State to try and deceive the world with reports which they themselves subsequently admit to be untrue."

\* An International Red Cross mission visited a number of prisons and camps in Indonesia a few months ago. 5

## YAP THIAM HIEN RELEASED

Just as we were going to press, we received news that Mr. Yap Thiam Hien, the well-known lawyer and church leader, who was held in detention for almost a year without trial, was released on 24 December. There are also as yet unconfirmed reports that about a dozen other tapols arrested in connection with the January 1974 events were released at the same time.

## Illegality of Kopkamtib Arrests Exposed

We recently received a report of a public statement made by Mr. Yap just three days to his arrest. The fact that he made such a forthright statement at a time, immediately following the 15 January events, when tensions were very great in Jakarta is a tribute to his courage. It is also undoubtedly an explanation of why he was arrested and an indication of the enormous difficulties faced by anyone in Indonesia who has the courage to speak out for human rights and respect for the law. We publish below the report of his statement translated in full as it appeared in the Jakarta newspaper, Indonesia Raya, now banned, on 19th January 1974:

When Haji J. C. Prinsen, Chairman of the League for the Defence of Human Rights, was arrested in Jakarta, he was not presented with a warrant and therefore his colleague, the lawyer, Yap Thiam Hien, made a protest yesterday.

Yap declared that Prinsen was taken from his home in Jalan Dukuh, Tanjung Priok on Wednesday at about 7 am by a unit of soldiers wearing the uniform of the RPKAD (Special Troops) without first being shown any arrest warrant. Neither was he told the reason for his arrest nor the place to which he was going to be taken.

As Secretary of the above-mentioned League, Yap declared: "We are compelled for the sake of law and justice to protest against arrest and detention in ways that violate the laws in force. We most urgently call upon the Commander of Kopkamtib to release the detainees (Prinsen and others such as Julius Usman and Louis Wangge) for the sake of upholding the law and justice that we all recognise."

In a written statement, Yap went on to say: "The firm measures taken by the security and order forces against those responsible for burning down property are quite justifiable and have the support of everyone who opposes violence and anarchists, because terror and anarchy, if tolerated, can destroy the foundations of social life.

"The statement made today by the Commander of Kopkamtib to press editors in the capital to the effect that, commencing Wednesday 'indiscriminate arrests' would be made can also be fully supported. This is indeed the way in which law and justice should be enforced: without favour and without discrimination, towards anyone who is guilty or towards anyone regarding whom there is sufficient proof that an infringement of the law has been committed.

"But this is only one aspect of law and justice. The other aspects are the legal principles and procedures of arrest and detention. These too must be respected by the law enforcement agencies in a State that is based on the rule of law.

"In the Presidential Decision No. 19 of 1969 which provided for the establishment of Kopkamtib, it is stipulated in Article 3 that in order to implement the basic task defined in Article 2 of the Presidential Decision, the Commander of Kopkamtib may use all the existing means and apparatus of government and must also take measures in accordance with the legal provisions in force.

"One of the legal provisions in force is the Basic Law on Juridical Powers which stipulates as follows in Article 7: 'No one may be subjected to arrest, detention, search and confiscation without a written warrant by those legally empowered to do so in accordance with the procedures established by law.'

"The arrest of the Chairman of the League for the Defence of Human Rights, as reported to us, did not comply with the regulations in force as described above. The same also applies to the arrest of such people as Julius Usman and Louis Wangge which took place prior to the occurrence of the arson that was committed on 15th January," said Yap.

## AUSTRALIAN LAWYERS SUPPORT ARRESTED COLLEAGUE

The case of Buyung Nasution, the human rights lawyer arrested during the January 1974 wave of arrests, is being taken up on a broad scale by members of the Australian legal profession.

The Australian daily, The Age, reported on 29th October 1974 that Mr. R. E. McGarvie, chairman of the Victorian Bar Council, has described Mr. Nasution as "an Asian Solzhenitsyn". "As director of the legal aid service he would be helping many government detainees and is likely to have become very unpopular with the authorities," he said. "This could have led to his detention. Many of us know him and are worried."

The report also states that Mr. Nasution was only allowed four family visits for a total of 3½ hours in the first nine months of his detention. He was now being held at the Central Military Hospital and was under treatment for high blood pressure and an old neck injury; there, he was confined to a single room with two armed guards on constant duty outside his door. He is not allowed to read newspapers, to watch television or listen to the radio. The only books he can read are non-political and he is not allowed to write or receive letters.

The Law Council of Australia, the Victorian Bar Council and the Law Institute of Victoria have made representations about Mr. Nasution with the Australian Government and the Indonesian Ambassador in Canberra. The Law Council, the Asian Law Society (LAWASIA) and the International Commission of Jurists have jointly agreed to finance an observer to Jakarta should Mr. Nasution be brought to trial.

## Solidarity with 1965 Tapols

From other sources, it has been learned that at one of the four places of detention where he has been held, Buyung Nasution protested about the fact that he was receiving better food than the tapols held in connection with the October 1965 events. He refused the food, demanding that the other tapols be given the same treatment. His act of protest is reported to have led to an improvement in conditions for the other tapols, although it is not known how long these improvements lasted.

## HARIMAN SIREGAR GETS 6 YEARS

The trial of the student leader, Hariman Siregar, charged with subversion in connection with the January 1974 events, ended with a verdict of guilty and a sentence of six years' imprisonment. The Public Prosecutor had demanded a sentence of 12 years.

The charge of subversion was based on activities in which Mr. Siregar had been involved in developing a movement of protest against economic policies during the closing months of 1973, leading to the demonstrations that greeted the Japanese Prime Minister, Tanaka, when he visited Jakarta in January 1974. It was also alleged that he had been acting as part of an organisation intent upon bringing about a change in the state leadership. This charge was centred largely around Mr. Siregar's connection with the University of Indonesia Discussion Group. "He was not acting alone in his political activities but had the support of students who were without an organisational form," said the Prosecutor. "Those who were supporting him need not have been from a banned organisation; it is sufficient for them to have been politically motivated."

## A Second January 1974 Trial Opens

Meanwhile, on 11th December, the second of the 15th January trials opened in Jakarta. The accused is Mr. Syahrir, who was secretary of the University of Indonesia Discussion Group. This trial comes as a follow-up of the Siregar trial during which the Prosecutor sought to prove that the Discussion Group was the instigator and brains behind the student movement which spearheaded the protest demonstrations in January 1974.

## UK - INDONESIAN NAVAL EXERCISES

We have now learnt that during the visit to Indonesia of HMS Fife, a British guided-missile destroyer, in July last year, joint exercises were held by the British naval vessel and vessels of the Indonesian Navy. Our readers will remember that the visit, which was described by British Minister for the Navy, Frank Judd as a 'routine visit', was the subject of a protest made by a number of Members of Parliament and other dignitaries (See TAPOL Bulletin, No. 6).

The joint exercises which lasted for a whole day included a number of combat exercises such as tactical manoeuvres, zig-zagging, anti-submarine attacks, anti-aircraft exercises, as well as transfer of personnel from one vessel to another. During the anti-submarine exercises, a Wessex helicopter carried onboard HMS Fife made use of its dipper radar equipment which is capable of directing a torpedo attack against enemy vessels.

The report of these exercises was carried in the 26 July issue of the Jakarta newspaper, Suara Karya.

## STERLING INTERESTS IN INDONESIA

### Trade

Britain's trade relations with Indonesia have increased rapidly in the past few years, and are resulting in a growing trade surplus for Britain. This trend will definitely have been strengthened as a result of the British Industrial Fair held in Jakarta in November at which 60 British manufacturers, mainly of heavy, labour-saving equipment, displayed their wares.

The development of trade figures are shown in the following table:

	UK imports	UK exports
1969	£ 6,599,000	£ 8,793,000
1970	£ 7,273,000	£ 11,840,000
1972	£ 9,300,000	£ 19,800,000
1973	£ 14,947,000	£ 32,834,000

(Source: all figures except 1972, taken from Tempo Supplement on British Industrial Fair, in its issue of November 9th, 1974.)

### Investment

Up to the end of September this year, the total value of approved British investment projects under Indonesia's 1967 Foreign Investment Law amounted to approximately £66 million for a total of 41 projects, according to the November issue of "Indonesian News", published by the Indonesian Embassy in London.

This figure does not indicate realised investments, which lag behind considerably, but it does reflect the keen interest being shown by British capital interests in the Indonesian economy.

Moreover, researchers into long-term overall British capital investment in the country since before 1967 put this latter figure at near £200 million.

Various new capital spheres appear to have taken up the challenge in December 1973 to a group of potential London investors by then-Minister of State Dr. Emil Salim. Urging them to "put Indonesia on their maps," he declared proudly: "... Indonesia could offer cheap labour, a vast domestic market and a jumping board for the whole Asian market."

## MASS MURDERS.....( from p.1)

fore an enemy The fact that the villagers had left when the patrol came turned them all into enemies.

"After the villagers had been back for two days, the soldiers returned and encircled the villages. All the inhabitants were driven to an open space between the two kampongs, and the men, 25 from Wusdori and 30 from Kridori, were forced to dig a large hole. . . . That hole became their grave for they were all shot to death. The women and children were forced

to look on. . . .

"The day after the mass murder, the soldiers came back with some 30 Papuans, presumably from neighbouring kampongs. They were not known to the villagers of Wusdori and Kridori. The soldiers took the boats of the villagers they killed the day before and forced the 30 Papuans into the boats. Stones had been tied to their necks, and not far from the shore, the Papuans were thrown overboard and drowned."

### Tapols

Henk de Mari also reports that when he came to Jayapura, the capital of Irian Jaya, a member of Parliament from Sorong named Jan P. Kamunandiwan and his colleague Bernadus Tjo-E who had made an appointment with him for an interview, were arrested the day before the interview. When he returned to Jayapura one month later, he was told that the two men were still under detention, and that when the troops came to search their hotel rooms after the arrest, people at the hotel were told that the men had been taken because of their 'communist sympathies'.

There are, reports Henk de Mari, about one hundred political prisoners in a prison in Jayapura, who have been held for about 5 years without trial. "Some are occasionally allowed to go home for a while but are dragged out of their beds again whenever the tension increases a little or whenever the OPM has been active."

In connection with this remark, it is interesting to note that on 9th December, the military commander of Irian Jaya announced that a number of persons held "under temporary detention" in the province have been released. They were suspected, he said, of involvement in the 1965 coup attempt and the Free Papua Movement. Following their release, they are being placed under the supervision of the provincial Governor. It remains to be seen whether the jargon "temporary detention" will simply be replaced by "temporary release".

### Historical Background

Irian Jaya, or West New Guinea, was ceded to Indonesia following an 'act of free choice' in 1969 according to which there was a 'unanimous' decision to enter the Republic. The Organisasi Papua Merdeka (Papua Independence Organisation) has been opposed to the territory's inclusion in the Republic and strongly condemns the 'act of free choice' as having been rigged by the Indonesian authorities. They dispute the method of the referendum which was implemented according to the accepted Indonesian principle of 'musyawarah' (consensus) and not according to the principle of 'one man one vote'.

Since the Indonesian administration came to the territory, and particularly since 1969, the Papuans have been subjected to widespread social, political, economic and cultural repression, and the repression has intensified as the prospects of lucrative exploitation of the area by foreign investors have become more luring.

For the past few years, the OPM has engaged in guerrilla warfare. The government claims that it has been decimated and paralysed as a force and now consists of only a few hundred men operating in the jungles, and some commentators agree. But the Papuans who have their representatives abroad state that they have a force of 5,000 men and control an area two-and-a-half times the size of Holland.

### POSTER

Specially produced by TAPOL in connection with 'October Week', a poster is available to Bulletin readers and supporters in Britain and internationally. Measuring 20"x30", it is strikingly silk-screened (by our own hands) in 3 colours (black, ochre yellow face, red slogan) and costs 45 pence + packing and postage. Choice of 2 slogans: 70,000 held nine years--free them now; Remember them as UK aid continues. For our foreign friends in the expanding international campaign, the lower space is left blank so any slogan in any language can be inserted. Send us your order now as they're going fast.



## BRITISH STUDENTS CONCERNED FOR TAPOLS

The London School of Economics Students' Union adopted a resolution in October pledging support for TAPOL and calling upon the British Government to take a stand towards the Indonesian military regime, and noting the widespread torture and deprivation of human rights in Indonesia.

The Union collaborated with TAPOL in the organisation of a public meeting for students during October Week this year.

The Students' Union of Edinburgh University has also written letters of protest to the Indonesian Government and to the British Foreign Office, and has invited TAPOL to send a speaker to Edinburgh to address a public meeting organised by the Union early in 1975.

In Cambridge, the University Amnesty Group which handles the cases of two Indonesian prisoners, is organising a special week of activities early next year during which a speaker from TAPOL will be present.

## GLOSSARY

tapol: abbreviation of tahanan politik, meaning political prisoner. Widely-used in Indonesia since 1965, both officially and by the public. In October 1974, the regime suddenly announced the banning of the word.

Kopkamtib: abbreviation of Komando Pemulihan Keamanan dan Ketertiban, the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order, the Army Command in charge with political security and directly responsible for arresting and detaining the political prisoners.

surat bebas G.30.S: certificate of non-involvement in the 30 September movement. G.30.S is the way in which the coup attempt of 1st October is described in Indonesia. The movement itself used this name although the attempt was actually made on 1st October.

Panca Sila: the Five Pillars of State Ideology. These are Belief in One God, Nationalism, Humanitarianism, Democracy and Social Justice.

HMG: Her Majesty's Government, United Kingdom.

**WHAT IS TAPOL?** This is the Indonesian word for political prisoner, and it is the name we have taken for our organisation, the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners, and likewise for our Bulletin.

**WHAT'S THE BACKGROUND?** Young readers and many others may have forgotten the blood-bath of October 1965, when the Indonesian Army under General (now President) Suharto overthrew the government of President Sukarno, and carried out one of the worst slaughters in history - when somewhere between half a million and a million people were killed.

**AND TODAY?** Nine years later, there are still some 70,000 political prisoners held without trial, some of them allegedly members of organisations now banned but perfectly legal prior to the Suharto takeover. Many prisoners were not even members of banned groups. At best, the tapols are living under unbelievably horrible conditions. At worst, they are subjected to torture, starvation and denial of medical care. The release of these prisoners is TAPOL's main concern.

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

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