

INTERNAL (for AI members only)

AI Index: ASA 21/03/80
Distr: NS/CO

To: National Sections (1 copy for info.)
Coordination Groups on Indonesia

From: Asia Research Department

Amnesty International
International Secretariat
10 Southampton Street
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Date: 31 January 1980

A Collection of Material Relating to
Political Imprisonment in Indonesia

Summary

The attached collection of prisoners' and ex-prisoners' letters and accounts, official documents and press reports consists of three parts: 1) Imprisonment in Indonesia 1965-79 2) Released Prisoners 3) Tried prisoners. The collection is to be used as part of continuing AI action on Indonesia designed to publicize the present position of many thousands of released political prisoners in Indonesia as well as that of those persons still held in detention. The collection in particular provides documentary evidence relating to 1) the experience of imprisonment and 2) the difficulties facing prisoners after release. It should be used to publicize the position of released prisoners with a view to providing relief and urging the Indonesian Government to lift restrictions.

Distribution

This circular is being sent to all national sections, coordination groups and adoption groups with A-category prisoners.

AI Concern

As stated in two previous circulars (ASA 21/11/79 and ASA 21/02/80), it is hoped that some groups will continue to work on Indonesia following formal closure of cases previously assigned to them. Such continued work is necessary in view of the problems facing released prisoners. These problems include various forms of official discriminatory restrictions amounting to curtailment of released prisoners' civil and political rights as well as the expected problems of readjustment facing persons released after being held in detention for up to 14 years.

Recommended Actions

1. The attached collection - to be regarded as raw material from which selections or summaries may be made - should be used selectively to publicize AI concerns about the position of released prisoners in Indonesia.
2. Short leaflets (2-4 pages) should be prepared selecting short extracts according to the objective in mind and the sector to be approached (eg leaflets informing trade unionists of the problems released prisoners face in finding work). More comprehensive leaflets aimed at a wider public should emphasize the experience of imprisonment as well as the problems associated with release.

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/03/80
Distr: NS/CO

Date: 31 January 1980

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A Collection of Material Relating to
Political Imprisonment in Indonesia

The attached document is a compilation, prepared by Amnesty International, of statements by former and current political prisoners in Indonesia, articles from newspapers published in Indonesia, official documents and similar sources regarding the treatment of political prisoners in Indonesia during the past 15 years and the conditions of those who have been released.

In the aftermath of the coup of October 1965, 750,000 persons (according to official statistics) were detained for alleged association with the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), its affiliates or allies. At the end of 1979, the Indonesian Government announced the completion of a phased release program under which it had promised to release all untried prisoners detained in connection with the events of 1965. As a result, the Indonesian Government said, the problem of the 'G30S/PKI'* prisoners was 'resolved' and 'the book closed'. AI considers that, in view of the long-term detention of thousands of political prisoners, the vast majority detained without trial under the sort of conditions described in the attached document and their release subject to the kind of restrictions also described below, the problem cannot be considered resolved. In addition to continuing to work for the release of tried and untried prisoners of conscience who have not fallen within the scope of the release program, AI will be urging the Indonesian Government to take steps to ensure the readjustment of released prisoners to Indonesian society in particular by lifting all discriminatory regulations and fully restoring their civil and political rights.

* G30S is the Indonesian abbreviation for Gerakan Tigapuluh September, the 30th September Movement, the name given to the coup.

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1) Imprisonment in Indonesia 1965-79

1. Letter to an AI group

'You asked me about "Amnesty International". Of course I and all the prisoners in Indonesia have heard of it. We also know about its struggle and its appeal for the prisoners. We have a high regard for your attitude. But we cannot do anything as prisoners. Please convey my greetings on behalf of all the prisoners of Indonesia to your group.'

2. Arrest (Account of a released prisoner)

'They told me to go with them. When I got into the vehicle I saw that there were several others who had been arrested, including a very elderly gentleman who must have been 80-years-old. The vehicle made its way to Jalan Gunung Sari 1, to a house which had formerly been a centre for becak (trishaw) owners. We were ordered to go and "relax" in a back room, right next to the bathroom. The room was very dirty because water seeped through from the bathroom. A few people were lying down on very tattered mats, and their bodies looked swollen and black. When I asked them why they were like this, they said, "This happened during our interrogation. You will go through the same thing." As they spoke, they moaned with pain.

'The pervading atmosphere there was one of fear, anxiety, frustration and hatred as well as pain from the torture. Every evening some people would be taken away for interrogation, and would return with injuries, unconscious, or covered with blood. Those who were not interrogated would spend the night in a state of great anxiety. As soon as someone came back from interrogation the other detainees would do what they could to help. They treated the wounds, massaged swellings, and gave Javanese herbal medicine. There was a strong sense of loyalty, which was very heartening and strengthening.

'The interrogation of women was particularly inhuman. Many were stripped naked, and left in the open at the back of the interrogation centre which was known as Posko, and were told to watch others being interrogated. Objects, such as lighted cigarettes or bottle necks were inserted into their vaginas, and many were raped.

'My turn for interrogation came up in January 1967, and it was similarly cruel. At first it went smoothly enough as I was only being asked about my name, age, education and work, but as the night wore on the questions became more involved and more utterly illogical. When the answers I gave were not thought satisfactory, I was subjected to torture and eventually fainted, but I went through a whole night of torture.'

Prison Conditions

3. Health (Account of a prisoner)

'At the moment the situation is more precarious than ever. The prolonged malnourishment and maltreatment have made themselves felt quite clearly: the mortality and morbidity cases have increased considerably. During the first half of 1976, five deaths were registered: that means nearly one each month, out of the 200 political prisoners languishing in this prison camp. All the deaths were caused by ill-health, combined with acute attacks of various diseases. Besides, during that period, of those who have been released, three have died within six to nine months after release.

'Most of the remaining political prisoners in the prison camp are in delicate health. Mr Yoga, for instance, an ex-army lieutenant and formerly an instructor of physical education at the military training depot, who entered the camp 11 years ago as a robust, stout, athletically-built young officer, is now shockingly out of condition: skinny and pale, he is not able to manage walking 50 metres without stopping to pant; the sturdy back that stood so straight is now bent and he has to use a stick to support himself. Coughing badly and haemorrhaging with every attack, his strength is ebbing daily, and apparently it will soon be over with him, if there's no proper medical attention to save him.

'Mr Sara, former member of Parliament and of the National Assembly at Jakarta, about 50-years-old when captured, now seems to have grown 20 years older during these 11 years. Besides low blood pressure, increasingly frequent bouts of rheumatism are beginning to affect his legs. Gone are his catching jokes and laughter. His weak health, undermined by frequent attacks of coughing and migraine, has made him retreat into querulousness and he often murmurs to himself whether he could still survive the long-awaited release ...

'In the prison clinic, among the many patients, is Mr Dado, lying motionless, half of his body paralyzed, mentally depressed, he has also lost his speech - all as a result of tortures and electric shock treatment during the harsh interrogation some years ago. Clearly he'll be an invalid all his life.

'Similar such cases are too numerous to be mentioned here. In fact, only a handful of lucky prisoners, who still receive additional food supplies from their families, look relatively healthier. But for the rest, in general all are more or less in a precarious state of health.

'Hence, even if these political prisoners were to be released soon, they are doomed to be ailing and sickly for the rest of their lives. But, they will be among their own families, who could take care of them far better than if they were still to remain in the camp.

'It's clear then: prolonged starvation diet is both inhuman and inhumane! It's merciless verdict to live their life in the shadow of death: a slow irrevocable death!'

4. Food (Account of a prisoner)

'Let us take as an example the food rations at (one prison camp) in July 1976. Compared to the food rations for the criminal convicts, the rations for the political prisoners in the same prison were far less. The common criminal convicts got food rations three times a day: 100 grams of maize as breakfast, 150 grams of white rice for lunch, and also 150 grams of rice for supper. Besides cabbage soup, they received alternately soya bean or a piece of salt-fish, or half an egg (twice a week). Even by normal Indonesian standards, these food rations were quite below the average.

'But the food rations for the political prisoners in the same prison were even less. They received rations only twice a day, consisting of 150 grams of maize and rice each time. Except for a mug of cabbage soup, they never received any other dishes. Day after day, month after month, year after year - just a bowl of maize and rice and cabbage soup! Only on very rare occasions they got some other vegetables, instead of cabbage soup. They never got meat, fish, eggs or any other nutritive dishes. For drinking they got only boiled water, yes, just plain boiled water - no tea, or coffee or milk, and of course also no sugar!

'Counted in calories, their meals for one whole day were less than 1,000 calories; while a normal diet should be about 2,000 - 2,500 calories daily. Even in a condition of rest, a non-working man needs 1,500 calories daily!

'A normal meal should contain at least 50 grams of protein daily, preferably animal proteins; but here the political prisoners got only about 10 grams of non-animal proteins daily. It's incredible, but it's true!

'If one compared their food rations for a whole day with prices outside the prison walls, it was worth only 25 rupiahs, perhaps even less. And if US\$1. is equal to Rp420., then their rations for one whole day at Rp25. is only worth the equivalent of 6 US cents! This really is a starvation diet! It's in fact the death sentence for thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia.

'People said, that actually the central government had allocated a bigger amount of money for their food rations; but what really counted was not the amount on paper, but what was actually given to them every day! It's hard to believe that the central government was ignorant of the corruption among its lower personnel, but no actions were taken against this fraud. Was it perhaps that it did not matter so much for the authorities, because it concerned only political prisoners, who were regarded as powerless outcasts in Indonesia, and thus doomed to starvation?

'But such a position is really intolerable! If their corruption was confined to the manipulation, say of equipment, or motorcars, or any other material objects, it would not have a direct impact on human lives - it's the business of the Indonesian Government itself, whether they check it or not. But here it concerned food rations for human beings in prisons. Outside the prisons, in society at large, by virtue of their freedom of movement and ample opportunities for all kinds of endeavour, people have many options, and there's a certain margin of play.

'But inside the prison walls, where the rigid regime limits any endeavour and freedom of movement, here, life was more or less cut to the bone, and there's no margin of play. Any curtailment to their food rations was fateful in its consequences.

'In the meantime, malnutrition took a terrible toll. One need not be a medical doctor to know that malnutrition retards physical as well as mental development. Malnutrition, especially protein deficiency, can be tolerated for several weeks, but after one or two years of continuous malnutrition a general deterioration of the human body will be apparent. Just imagine, these Indonesian political prisoners have been suffering malnutrition for more than 10 years!

'The impact of this prolonged or chronic hunger on their power of resistance was apparent: they became an easy prey to all kinds of diseases: tuberculosis, anaemia, beri-beri or kwasiorkor, infections, dysentery, arthritis, hypertension, skin diseases and mental depression. Not to mention the various illnesses caused by torture during the early brutal interrogations, the victims of which were still lying in the prison hospitals: partially paralyzed, limp, invalids for life, or suffering mental breakdown.

'There was virtually no medical attention for political prisoners at the camps, because the allocation of the budget of the prison hospitals was confined to attend the health situation of the criminal convicts only. Medical teams of the Catholic Mission, which visited the camp once a fortnight, had for several years provided the medical treatment so desperately needed by the political prisoners. But all this valuable medical and food relief was stopped two years ago. Now the political prisoners had to rely on the help from their own families, if any, or they had to make do as best they could.

'Small wonder, both the rates of morbidity and mortality among the political prisoners were increasing day by day, especially during the past two years. And every time, the death of a political prisoner weighed heavy upon the already distressed minds of the inmates.'

5. Contact with the Outside World

a) Account of a prisoner)

'Visits from their families were limited to twice a week, and each visit was limited to 10 minutes only. To visit their kin in the camp, the families concerned had to get written permission from the local civil administration, stating that they really were lawful citizens in their community and wished to visit their own kin at the camp; then they had to obtain another written permission from the military authorities, supervising the camp. As is the rule for obtaining any permit in this country, they had to pay "administrative money", and at the visit itself in the camp they had to pay again to the camp administration, 25 rupiahs for each visitor. "It's like going to a zoo," one of the visitors remarked, "you have to pay per head also; only, at the zoo you may stay as long as you please, but here, to see you own kin, the time is limited to 10 minutes only!". After repeated protests, this "entrance fee" was recently abolished, but the visiting time was still limited to 10 minutes.

'For those coming from other towns or from the villages, each visit meant a lot of expense and a waste of time and energy in obtaining the various permits. If they wanted to prolong the time of the visit for another 10 minutes, the families would approach the guard on duty and tactfully hand over a certain "sealed envelope" to him. If not, the visitor would then be requested to leave the camp,

or the political prisoner ordered to return to his cell room, while the food parcels from home would be scrutinized to see whether there were some hidden contraband materials, letters, but in particular ... money!

'Though limited, it was exactly this supplementary food from their families that has greatly helped the political prisoners to survive until now. But these food supplies were decreasing every year, because life became harder for the families also, together with the ever growing inflation and the deterioration of the national economy in general. Now only about 30% of the political prisoners still receive regular food supplies from their families, while the others have to make do as best they can.

'Correspondence was also very limited. Correspondence with relatives other than close family or with friends was not allowed. Also correspondence with and from abroad was denied altogether. In many camps, the political prisoners were allowed to write letters only twice a month. Closed letters were not allowed, only postcards, which together with the postage had to be paid for by the prisoners themselves. The content of each letter was limited to 20 words only, so they had to use a kind of telegram style for their letters! Even then, it would take some time to get the letters posted, and an even longer time was needed before the letter would reach their families. Restrictions of correspondence for POWs during wartime is understandable; but in these peaceful conditions those restrictions need not be so rigid.'

b) Letter to an AI Group (original in English)

'On the 3rd of February 1979 my wife just left the hospital, having heart disease and malaria. She stayed 8 days. Our son-in-law to be was tending her. Friends, the rest of my life and my wife's will be dedicated to our children's future. Even though sorrow is provoking and death is blocking the way, I still try. Now I have moral and material help from you and your friends. Thanks in advance and hope that my wish will come true.

'About my sickness, I once appealed to the International Red Cross when they were visiting our camp, but no news until now. Now I'm keeping to a strict diet to take care of myself. Thank you for your willingness to help me. My heart has become bigger, so that sometimes it's difficult to breathe. I cough and my bones hurt me. My blood pressure is normal now.'

c) Letter from the son of the same prisoner

'In this month of February my mother was twice examined in one of the hospitals run by the Army. Her sickness is low blood pressure, weak heart and too much thinking. No wonder, is it? For 10 years she never saw my father. Of course she's missing him. Then she had to bring up all of us, me and my brother and sisters, seven of us altogether. It's very hard. My younger brother and sisters are very naughty. I myself as the eldest sometimes can't control them. About myself, there's nothing special, also my education isn't very high.

'I will be 24-years-old on the 25th April and am not yet married.

My education was interrupted for four years (I did nothing) because of the situation. But now I'm grateful that I was able to finish my education in one of the technical schools, mechanical section (equal to Senior High), even now I haven't got a position and am very far behind my friends who are now finishing their studies at the university.

Buru

[In July 1969, the Indonesian Government announced the establishment of a permanent resettlement camp for untried political prisoners on Buru Island. Buru is part of the Moluccans, one of Indonesia's easterly group of islands. In all, more than 10,000 prisoners were transported to Buru from July 1969.

The prisoners were set to work first constructing the camp units and then clearing 2,000 hectares of dense jungle for the cultivation of rice and other produce, and creating the supporting infrastructure. Although the main crop produced on Buru was rice, the prisoners' own food rations consisted mainly of sweet potatoes, cassava and vegetables. In addition, due to the harsh physical conditions, many prisoners suffered from chronic diseases (tuberculosis in particular) for which adequate treatment was not given. The authorities reported the deaths of 143 prisoners during the six years 1969-1975 but certainly this is an underestimate. Deaths occurred not only as a result of disease but also due to brutal treatment of prisoners by the authorities. The response of the authorities to the attempted escape of 48 prisoners in November 1974 is one instance of such brutality.

The Indonesian Government described the Buru project as an agricultural resettlement scheme. Official statements about Buru ignored the fact that those 'resettled' there were untried detainees who were compelled to work for their survival. Between 1972 and 1975, the authorities encouraged prisoners to bring their families to Buru with a view to ensuring the permanence of the resettlement scheme. Less than 200 families were reunited on Buru, though the majority of them eventually opted to return to Java when the releases from Buru began (see 'Savanajaya families' below).

Despite the Indonesian Government's stated desire to maintain Buru as a permanent resettlement area, prisoners from Buru were included in the release program announced in December 1976. The first group consisting of 1,500 prisoners were released in December 1977. On 20 November 1979, with the release of 1874 from Buru, the camp was declared closed. Those prisoners who had been joined by their families were eventually permitted to return home to Java if they wished to do so (though at their own expense). However, AI continued to be concerned by reports that some members of another group of prisoners - some 20 who had married the daughters of prisoners whose families had joined them - remained on Buru against their will.]

'The challenge of the Suharto government's policy is felt more in the places of exile, like Nusakambangan and especially on Buru. Prisoners must find the answer to this challenge quickly for the

struggle between life and death is urgent, basic, formidable and constant. Failure to find the correct answer means victory for Suharto's policies, as the prisoners eventually succumb, or at least are physically and spiritually broken. The island of Buru has indeed become a graveyard, as the government intended. In the face of this challenge, the Buru prisoners have found the answer: "We must live for a long time, fit in mind and body so that we can return to Java". For this, certain conditions must be fulfilled:

1. Food difficulties must be overcome. Efforts must be made to ensure that there is enough food for survival.
2. Medicines must be bought to defeat illness.
3. There must be enough money to buy clothes to overcome the cold.
4. Efforts must be made to ensure that the workload is as light as possible.
5. Recreation must be organized.

These conditions must be met, while taking into account the concrete circumstances. Needless to say these objectives do not conform with those of the Suharto government, and it is therefore very difficult to achieve them.!

'Briefly, prisoners are treated as exiles who have completely been deprived of their civil rights. They are treated like objects, like working tools, and not like human beings with a sense of dignity. But the prisoners are human beings, with a level of culture, intelligence and education, at least comparable with that of those who hold them captive. They become deeply upset at the treatment they receive, and at the attitude adopted towards them, and these pent up feelings result in some prisoners becoming quite desperate. This was the background to an incident in which a sergeant was murdered in November 1972. Like other prisoners, the three prisoners who murdered the sergeant were very frustrated and upset at the behaviour of this sergeant who was always beating the prisoners, scolding and reprimanding them, taking their chickens, and punishing them in different ways. One day when these three men were sawing wood they saw the sergeant pass by alone, and they attacked and killed him. As soon as this was discovered by the soldiers who were guarding the unit, all the prisoners in Unit V were called out into the open, where they were shot, stabbed with bayonets, and beaten with agricultural implements. Fifteen men died, and many others suffered injuries which left them crippled for life. When the wounded prisoners were taken to the hospital that evening, they were beaten again, and so were those who remained in the barracks. The three men who committed the murder fled to the jungle, but some time later they were re-arrested. Two were shot dead as they were being apprehended, and the third was severely beaten and then taken to Jakarta. I don't know what happened to him, because we never heard another word about him.'

The Escape

On the night of 12 November 1974, 42 prisoners tried to escape from Buru. The other prisoners did not know what had happened but they were roused from their sleep and ordered to assemble outside their units for a roll-call. As the men filed onto the field outside their unit, they were beaten with rifle butts...]

'On the field the line of men met with similar treatment. Several officers ordered them to re-form their lines in an orderly manner - but how can you form orderly ranks when threatened all around? The fear of death haunted everyone. At the very least ... a serious wound. Among the earlier arrivals they saw something else - two men were splayed out in front of the first line of men, seriously injured. Even so they were still being abused and insulted, kicked and beaten. The men were being intimidated and ridiculed by the soldiers without knowing why. A mixture of victims' moans, of filthy insults and orders to the later arrivals to hurry into the field rose up.

'Then the last line of men arrived. This group was apparently not composed of inmates of the Unit. They were people who had been given the job of sawing wood for the building of a new unit and stationed at that unit, in a spot remote from the main housing areas of the Units. They arrived late because they had been last to receive the summons.

'But what happened? When they entered the field, almost the whole strength of the guards met them. Many of them received their "share" of the beatings - but they were agile. Despite the severe beatings, their bodies did not suffer too badly and they were not really endangered. Even so, two of them were laid out. Djalil was the most seriously wounded. For more than 50 metres on his way into the field he was dragged along like a tree-trunk. At the field, several of the guards just kept it up as rapidly as they could - trampling him, kicking, beating and everything else. Poor Djalil was really seriously hurt. It was terrifying, and once more those in the field asked themselves, what incident could have caused such confusion? Truly they had not the slightest idea.

'Suddenly a commotion was heard from the west side of the field - wild shouting, even more crazed and terrifying. Shouts of "Just kill them ... don't spare them" were heard again and again above the sound of incomprehensible oaths and insults. The shouts of "Kill them ... don't let them live" were accompanied by moans and wails and cries of "Mercy, please don't ..." one after another. A group of the guards who had just dispersed were attracted by the din and ran over there, not forgetting their weapons and their shouts. When they got there the sound of stamping feet could be heard approaching and the wailing voices got shriller and shriller. Finally a moan, oh-h-h, very long but very weak. Apparently two men - Eko and Supri - had come to the field late. They had been accused by the guards because of their late arrival, and confessed to stealing unhulled paddy from the rice-fields to feed their animals. But the guards did not want to know, and the two of them were whipped on every part of their body by all the guards there. So, more victims - this time two, dead for certain. They were no longer human; what part of their limbs was not covered in blood?

'The man in civilian clothes and blue-jeans was now taking command. He gave orders to the NCOs who were in charge of the lines of men, that all the prisoners should take off their shirts and trousers.

'After a short while this was done. Although a wind was blowing and dew could be felt, this was not apparent to the figures stripping off their shirts and trousers, shivering with cold. When they were all ready, a second order followed - put both hands on the back of the neck, and raise the right foot so that the sole is on the left knee.

'No other movement was allowed, no swaying of the body. All the NCOs had to watch over this - and they watched very threateningly. The exercise seemed easy, and indeed would be under normal circumstances. But under threat, who could be expected to do it just right? This position had to be held for two or three minutes, and then they had to change feet so that the left foot was positioned on the right knee. They changed position by turns again and again, with each position lasting two or three minutes and having to be done perfectly. Imperfect execution was punished by a beating that sickened the mind and body. When they had had enough of this particular game, the prisoners were ordered to lie face downwards on the thick grass of the field. When this order was given, some of those thus commanded were clearly hesitant. They were hesitant because of their recent experiences.

'When some of the victims were moved from the assembly hall to the hospital to be looked after, it was Dr Joko who nursed them and watched over them continuously every day. Others of the wounded, despite their serious wounds, nevertheless refused to be hospitalized - apparently they had their own reasons based on previous experiences. They resolutely preferred to face their suffering and the dangers in their own barracks together with their friends.

'Although the victims who were being nursed at the hospital (9 people in all) were the worst injured and were under the supervision of the doctor, even so the guards still came every day, or even every hour to visit them.

'Meanwhile, Unit II was quiet after the incidents of the night of 12 November. Apart from officials, guards and the local population, there was no one else to be seen walking along the roads. The prisoners dared not go out more than 50 metres from their barracks. Instead they withdrew to their quarters. Why so? They thought they were being spied on, and indeed they were. At all times, apart from morning and dusk when there were roll-calls, guards would approach their quarters. Some pretended to be buying chickens, eggs, ducks, or whatever goods they had. But many openly demanded the goods with threats. Every day, every hour even, they took turns to come to the barracks to cause trouble and demand whatever they wanted. Could they refuse what was demanded? If your situation was like that of these prisoners, however courageous and cunning you are, you would certainly not be able to refuse. The same was true of them.

'All goods of any value around them were removed one by one until they were nearly all gone. The same happened to their goods away from where they were - their crops in the fields were sure to be an easy target, and so it proved. Later they found out that the peanuts, vegetables, and other crops which they had worked so hard on for days on end, had disappeared without trace.'

[In May 1979, a former political prisoner sent a letter to Kurt Waldheim, Secretary General of the United Nations, who was then on a visit to Jakarta. The letter requested Mr Waldheim to intercede with the Indonesian Government on behalf of released political prisoners. Attached to the letter was the following article, written by the same person, describing the restrictions placed by the authorities on released prisoners and outlining their consequences:]

The Fate of a Political Prisoner after 'Release'

I Is a political prisoner who has been released by the Government truly free in the formal juridical meaning of the word?

At the time of their release each political prisoner who is accused of being involved in the Movement of 30th September 1965 (henceforth referred to as tapols) receives from the Government:

1. an order for change of his status of detention;
2. a certificate of release;
3. a certificate of pledge which must be recited and signed.

If we examine carefully the abovementioned order* it can be seen that the words 'free', 'released' or 'release' are not found in it. What can be read in it are the words 1) 'change of status of detention of the detainees of G30S/PKI from full detention to return to society' 2) 'implements the change of status of detention from full detention to return to society' 3) 'he is obliged to present himself for examination if necessary.

(emphasis by the writer)

Therefore according to the order for tapols who have been 'released' they have the status of being returned to society and not the status of being free in the formal juridical meaning of the word. The Government and officials generally talk about release and almost always write about 'return to society'. Tapols and former tapols always talk about release and never talk about 'return to society'. Foreign radio broadcasts talk about release and never about return to society. But in practice the Government and its officials do not treat former tapols as people who are free. The proof: at the time of 'release', tapols receive the following instructions from officials:

1. If a former tapol wants to go outside his region he must obtain a travel permit first from the local military authority; after arriving at his destination, he must report to the military authority of the region of his destination.
2. If a former tapol wants to move residence to another region, he must request a removal permit first of all from the military authority of the region in which he resides. In addition, he must produce a certificate

from the person who will receive him in the region where he will reside. Once he has settled in the new area, he must report to the local military authority.

Besides the above instructions there exists the following regulation. Every member of the population has to have an identity card. Identity cards for former tapols are given a code such as the code ET* or some other code. From this practice it is clear that a distinction is made between former tapols and other members of the population. This is the kind of discrimination which was practised in Germany during the Hitler regime against the Jews.

It should be added that sometimes former tapols are summoned by the military authority to be given certain instructions such as:

1. being forbidden to write books or write in newspapers and magazines;
2. being forbidden to speak in public;
3. being forbidden to become a member of a mass or political organization;
4. being forbidden to go abroad;
5. being forbidden to give true information to foreign visitors even when those visitors have received permission from the Government to talk freely with former tapols.

From the practices described above, it may be concluded that the status of being returned to society is not equivalent to the status of being free in the formal juridical meaning of the word. Rather it is equivalent to the status of being under town arrest and the words 'change of status of detention from full arrest to being returned to society' mean 'change of status of detention from full arrest to town arrest'.

When the concrete practices described above, which in reality define the status of being returned to society, will end nobody knows, including the Government itself.

II Because of the Government policy towards tapols several former tapols will be forced into a life of vagrancy.

At the time of their arrest, many tapols experienced the following fate.

1. Their families were evicted from their homes which were then occupied by a Government official.
2. Their houses, household effects, land, cars, motorcycles, as well as their businesses were taken over by officials.

In themselves, these actions are against the law and for that reason the officials concerned should be arrested and brought to trial. But this has not happened. In fact the Government has attempted to legalize actions which violate the law. This has happened in the following way.

.../12

* ET stands for eks-tapol (ex-political prisoner)

At the time of release, the authorities hand each tapol a document called a statement of pledge which has to be recited and signed.* It contains, among other statements, the following: 'I sincerely accept all actions taken against me by KOPKANTIB as part of the policy of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to restore security and order after the G30S/PKI rebellion and I will make no claim or charge against the Government of the Republic of Indonesia'.

Only a small child could believe that a tapol would recite and sign the statement of pledge 'sincerely' and 'voluntarily'.

Every tapol is convinced that in this matter the Government is misusing its authority, but they do not protest because they are afraid of the consequences.

Whether these actions of the Government are legal or not is a problem of law.

In connection with the actions of the Government analyzed above, after release problems such as the following arise for many tapols.

Firstly, after a tapol who has lost his residence or his house and goods is 'released', he is obliged to find accommodation. It is not possible for him to be taken in by the people who have accommodated his family because the burden on those people will be too heavy.

The Catholic and Protestant churches have given considerable help to former tapols in the form of accommodation, money, capital, clothes, medicines, employment, advice and so on.

Because they have already been accommodated for more than six months, many tapols are requested by the churches to find another place because their place will be used by a tapol who has just been released. Where will he go? Will he take shelter under a bridge with the vagrants?

Secondly, before and after 'release' the Government and officials urged tapols to unite with the Government in the development of the nation. Tapols have already proved that they want to work, can work, and that they are creative. This has been proved in the prisons and on the island of Buru. On the island of Buru they transformed the jungle into farmland and in the prisons they made carvings, violins, guitars and other art objects.

What has been offered by officials and the Government with the right hand is taken away with the left. The Government has announced that former tapols are not permitted to become members of the armed forces or employees of vital industries. In practice, every door to ministries, departments, government offices, state corporations and state institutions is closed to former tapols.

Government practice is imitated in this regard by private companies and agencies because they are afraid not to imitate it. If a private company or agency dares to take on a tapol as an employee, its management is asked by Government officials to account

* See below, p.15

for itself or else facilities received from the Government become difficult to come by or are taken back.

It should also be explained that all people who want to practise as a doctor or lawyer must be able to show a certificate of non-involvement in the Movement of 30th September 1965 in order to receive permission to open a practice. This door is also closed to former tapols. All doors are closed. There remains self-employment - opening a stall for instance. For tapols who have lost all their assets this route is also closed. Are there any who have not lost their assets? They will have been used up by the family while the husband was in prison.

CONCLUSION

Because of the policy of the Government as explained above, in the end many former tapols face a life of oppression and are forced to find shelter underneath the bridges and to seek work as their hungry stomach dictates.

If I raise the problem of the difficulties of former tapols in searching for a livelihood, this does not mean that I am asking the Government to give former tapols first priority in obtaining work and second and third priority to the millions of unemployed who are not tapols. What I am challenging is Government discrimination against former tapols.

III The right to vote and stand in general elections.

Every tapol and former tapol has lost the right to vote or stand in general elections. This applies even to those tapols and former tapols who, according to the record of their interrogation, were proved not to be members of the PKI or a mass organization affiliated to the PKI and were not involved in the Movement of 30th September 1965.

IV Foreign government and agency assistance specifically directed at tapols.

There is much foreign assistance which enters Indonesia earmarked specifically for tapols, but which up to now has not reached tapols and former tapols except for assistance channelled through the Catholic and Protestant churches. Where did this flow become blocked and who is responsible for the blockage?

These are the principal difficulties faced by former tapols every day which must be solved as quickly as possible.

ORDER FOR CHANGE OF STATUS OF DETENTION

The Chief Executive Officer of the Operational Command for the Restoration of Security and Order of the.....Region ,
... ORDERS:

The chief of Public Affairs of the.....Regional
Interrogation Team or the Officer charged,

1. On ... (date) ... to change the status of detention of
G3OS/PKI prisoner:

Name: ...

Age: ...

No. /Category: ...

Occupation: ...

Address: ...

from full prisoner to returned to society.

2. To oblige him/her to obey the decisions contained in the
Oath/Promise already taken and witnessed by a Government
official.
3. He/she is obliged to appear for the purposes of interrogation
if required.

PLEDGE MADE BY RELEASED PRISONERS

With this I:

Name:

Rank:

Work/last position:

Religion:

Last address:

Swear/Promise as follows:

In the name of Allah I truly swear/promise:

1. I shall not carry out activities aimed at disseminating the doctrine or teaching of Communism/Marxism-Leninism in any of its forms or manifestations.
2. I shall not carry out any form of activity which could disturb security and order or political stability.
3. I shall not commit treason against the people and state of the Republic of Indonesia which is founded on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.
4. I shall always be willing to be called by the authorities to be asked for information or to appear as a witness in a court trial as necessary.
5. I sincerely accept all actions taken against me by KOPKAMTIF as part of the policy of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia to restore security and order after the G30S/PKI rebellion and I will make no claim or charge against the Government of the Republic of Indonesia.
6. As an Indonesian citizen, I will serve the nation with sincerity and obey all existing legal regulations and stipulations and will not be willing to be used as a tool by G30S/PKI or subversive groups.

I hereby make this pledge sincerely and without any coercion before a duly authorized representative of the Government of the Republic of Indonesia and am hereby personally responsible for any consequence of transgressing this pledge.

Section 4 of the release pledge requires that released prisoners be 'at all times prepared to be called by the authorities to be asked for information'. As the following accounts illustrate, released prisoners have been summoned to be told of new restrictions and to be ordered to answer questionnaires. These summonses have provoked fears of re-arrest or forcible resettlement.

An unknown number of released prisoners also have to report to the authorities at regular weekly intervals. Among them are the 105 prisoners officially regarded as 'unco-operative' who were the last group to be released and who are, according to Admiral Sudomo, to be kept under 'strict surveillance'. This means among other things that they will be required to report to the authorities every week.

'Are you willing to transmigrate?' (Letter from a Released Prisoner)

'As has already been widely reported, while ex-tapols had been said by the authorities in Indonesia to be already free, in fact they are still being treated as half citizens under many restrictions. Most recently, they were shocked by a number of Government actions, such as the following:

'In the months of March and April, in East Java released prisoners were ordered to report to the sub-district Koramil, their village chief or their village civil defence unit to answer questionnaires, which included the question, 'Are you willing to transmigrate?'

'In Jakarta also released prisoners were summoned to complete questionnaires. When they reported, they were confronted with a representative of the local military command to answer some supplementary questions including:

- a) whether they had been working;
- b) how their community had received them;
- c) what was their opinion of the present situation;
- d) from where they received income to live and whether they were willing to transmigrate.

'These questions had to be answered in front of the village chief, Koramil and the leader of the local political parties. The leaders of the political parties were also asked to give in writing their opinion of the answers given by the former political prisoners.

'If they (the released prisoners) did not appear, they were admonished and received various penalties. However, it is likely that not all the summonses were actually delivered in time for those persons ordered to appear.

'Also, the promises of the commander of KOPKAMTIB that the property confiscated or taken over by individuals would be restored have clearly not been kept. It is true that one or two houses have been returned to the families of former political prisoners, but this was only achieved through most complicated means and through the payment of bribes and considerable compensation, which was more than can be afforded by those who do not have anything.

'For these reasons, people are always asking 'What do they want to do next to former political prisoners?'. They have been detained for more than 10 years without legal process and now they have been released they are still treated as half citizens and are continually harassed by the authorities in their wish to assert 'I am still in power over you'. Release should mean the complete restoration of rights of citizenship without any conditions requiring signatures before release or limitations after release.'

The 105 'Unco-operative' Prisoners (Letter from a Released Prisoner)

'Various contradictory reasons have been given for detaining them (the 105 prisoners) longer. The Chief of the Information Centre of the Ministry of Defence, Brigadier General Gunarso, stated that they were unwilling to sign the release pledge, while Sudomo has said that they were still 'hard-headed' and so on.

'Of the 105, 41 are from Buru, 12 from East Kalimantan and the rest from various other regions. Among them are Pramudya Ananta Toer, Drs Piry, Dr Busono Wiwoho, Dr Jayus, Rivai Apin, Naibaho, Karel Supit, Masyim Rahman, Oei Hay Djun, Syarifuddin SH, Moh. Saud Suryono, Mulyono SH, Isnandar, Anwar Kadir, ex-Major Kaprawi and ex-Major Wisnuraji.

'Is it true that their behaviour was unco-operative? Let us look at what they did while in detention, particularly on Buru.

- '1. Pramudya Ananta Toer, since being sent to Buru in 1969 was put in Unit III. In that unit, he was ordered to work on clearing the jungle and preparing fields for rice cultivation for about three years. Later he was transferred to the Camp HQ. There he was ordered to work at unloading fertilizer from the boats to warehouses and loading timber on to the boats, making roads and other things according to the authorities' wishes. In addition, he was given the opportunity to write with the result that he has produced seven books, for the most part historical novels, such as tales about the historical figure Noto Hadisuryo, founder of the SDI and Golang-Galeng, a commander of the Kingdom of Demak in the 15th century, who came from Tuban in East Java and led an expedition against the Portuguese in Singapore. These writings generally were of a heroic and patriotic character and could play a useful role in educating the present day Indonesian younger generation. One copy of what he wrote had to be handed to the Commander of the Buru camp. Was this 'unco-operative'?
- '2. Mispan, former director of the Indonesian Nautical Academy, in the course of his time on Buru was entrusted with supervising water transport. He worked into the night without regard to rain and heat or to the fact that his health could be endangered by fast currents of the River Wai-apu and the waves of the Namlea Strait, in order to expedite the journeys of the camp authorities including the camp Commander when they went to Namlea. Was this 'unco-operative'?
- '3. Mulyono SH, was entrusted from 1974 with taking part in running the HQ co-operative that yielded much profit which went into the pockets of the camp Commander and the camp authorities. Was this 'unco-operative'?
- '4. Mohammed Saud Suryono, was entrusted with co-ordinating the daily activities of a new unit formed in 1975-76 - that is Unit RST and the results greatly satisfied the camp Commander. Was that 'unco-operative'?

- '5. Isnandar, who since 1972 was given the task of work co-ordinator, that is, supervising the work of Unit XVIII and succeeded well according to camp standards and also satisfied the Commander of Unit XVIII and the camp Commander too. Was that 'unco-operative'?
- '6. Naibaho and Tjo Tik Tjun, while in Unit XV were given the job of working the fields planting tobacco, a type of work that they had never done in their life but which they did well. Their produce was sold and the money used by the Commander of Unit XV. Was that 'unco-operative'?
- '7. Syarifudin SH, who for years was given the job of sawing wood in the jungle and whose output was sold for the Commander of Unit XV. Was he also 'unco-operative'?
- '8. Dr Jayus, who during his detention was assigned the job of doctor in the polyclinic where he was which included treatment of the officers and their families. He carried out his task well and the authorities were satisfied with his work, although his age was well advanced. Was that 'unco-operative'?
- '9. Paijan, Sarman, Jali and Tumiso did nothing but hoe the ground while on Buru doing whatever they were ordered to by the unit commander. Were they 'unco-operative'?

'It was the same with the others.

'It is true that on Buru the authorities always waged various types of psychological warfare to confuse the political prisoners. Some were affected by this psychological warfare and as a result behaved mischievously or recklessly. This was a result of the authorities' actions. But the authorities alleged it was incited by the older prisoners. As a consequence, Drs Piry, Karel Supit, Chairun Syarif, Rivai Apin were sent to Ceko Kecil (known as exile within exile). But while in this exile they too worked well at tilling the land just like their colleagues in the units.

'Thus the pretext of being unco-operative is very much a fabrication simply to justify the government's desire to detain them longer. The reason for this is that the government is afraid of its own shadow.

'To require them to report once a week with no clear time limit is very burdensome for those released prisoners, as well as for their families, and for their social life.'

'It is not only the released prisoners themselves who feel they are still unnecessarily discriminated against. The newspaper Kompas (10/11/79) in a series on released prisoners stated:

'If the government eased the restrictions (on released prisoners), it is certain that the public would have no difficulty in accepting it.... (According to a psychologist who works with released prisoners.) "These restrictions simply show that we are not being consistent. On the one hand they are released, on the other there are all kinds of restrictions".... Indeed, due probably to this situation, in a poll of released prisoners, taken two months ago, it was found that 5% of the respondents would prefer to be in detention again.'

An appeal for 'forgiveness' of released political prisoners was made in a letter sent to Tempo magazine by a private individual whose political sympathies were clearly not the same as those allegedly held by the prisoners:

'Almost 15 years ago the PKI committed an act of treachery with an attempt to seize power which ended in national tragedy. The extermination and sentencing of those directly involved namely the leaders of the PKI and its mass organizations were carried out rapidly and with such effectiveness as to give rise to excesses damaging to our nation's reputation particularly abroad. The emotionally-charged massacres can in part be understood as a result of the sly and sadistic action of G30S/PKI in murdering innocent national heroes.

'However, one cannot ignore that there was another kind of revenge. The number of persons classified as indirectly involved or said to be "indicated" as indirectly involved, comprising members of mass organizations considered to be influenced by the PKI and its sympathizers, was far larger. These persons have undergone interrogation by the security apparatus and a substantial number have been detained for considerable periods. All have been informed of the mistakes contained in communist thinking and the correctness of the (state) philosophy of Pancasila, and have pledged their loyalty to the nation, the 1945 Constitution and Pancasila. Yet they are still under suspicion. Although the Commander of KOPKANTIB has pronounced these persons released and their rights guaranteed in the same way as other citizens, in fact every move they make is linked to their past mistake.

'An example is the instance of those who reported the infractions of officials in Cilacap to Parliament. Those who had shown "indications" were interrogated more intensively - they were being associated with their past mistake. The Angsana affair - in which it was reported that a number of individuals who were former members of the PTI (PKI affiliated peasants' association) had become village officials - shows how suspicion is still used as a pretext for bringing about a person's fall. The complaints of several teachers and government officials who have not been given any sort of position should also be recalled.

'Is this treatment of our brothers just? Is this attitude in accordance with (Pancasila) principles of Belief in God and Humanitarianism? Can their sin as sympathizers or "indicated sympathizers" of the PKI not be forgiven? A murderer, a rebel, a corrupt person who robs the state of millions, even a former Dutch soldier, the Indonesian people can forgive them. Why have those who through ignorance or simply by following along became members of organizations sympathetic to the PKI not yet been forgiven for their mistake?

'The writer respectfully appeals to the representatives of the people and the President to put an end to the unjust treatment of those of our citizens tagged as "indicated", in order to heal once and for all the wounds left by the national tragedy of 1965 and in order to assert truly the philosophy of Pancasila in our beloved land.'

The Effect on Families

'After up to 14 years' imprisonment without trial, often in complete isolation from friends and family, released prisoners are commonly unable to resume a normal social life. According to one estimate, 30% of the wives of released prisoners re-married while their husband was in detention. According to social workers quoted in the extract from Kompas printed below, 80% of the children of former political prisoners are suffering from some kind of psychological disturbance.

In the following letter, a released prisoner describes the difficulties he faces in restoring family life:!

'Leaving behind a wife and two boys (aged 3 and 1 respectively) I was arrested in November 1966.

'In 1976 when I was still detained, my wife married another man and my two sons continued under her care.

'Since my release I have tried to take my two sons under my care but have so far failed.

'Considering that I am still out of work and have no home of my own, at 48 years of age I should prefer my two sons to be under my mother's care, at least for the time being. But on the other hand due to the fact that the boys have been badly brought up, I am prepared to undertake the financial burden that would arise.

'(My wife and I) were married as Christians. Now my former wife has cut off all relations with relatives on my side as well as her own. Not only has she become a convert to Islam but my two sons also. It has gone so far that even my two boys refuse to meet me because, according to her, they are ashamed to be sons of a former political detainee.'

'Kompas (10/11/79) reported that political prisoners' children are liable to psychological disturbance as a side-effect of their parents' ordeal, including the return of a mother or father they may hardly remember:

'Father Suto estimates that about 80% of the children of political prisoners are suffering from psychic trauma. These innocent children have undergone a series of shocks, beginning with the absence of a mother or father and being branded by their peers as "PKI children" to the sudden return to the family of the mother or father.'

Released prisoners separated from their wives and children may feel helpless to reunite their families as long as they are unable to provide financial support:!

'You need to know that we are still relying only on assistance from our family for survival because we still do not have a fixed job. So, with the delivery of this letter, I am approaching you to ask for help to lighten the burden which is very heavy for someone with responsibility for two sons, although at this time we are forced to be separated because we do not have the money for everyday life....

'If you can sympathize with what we are now undergoing, possibly your feeling of humanity will be stirred and your conscience will be moved by a situation where a father cannot live with his children as a result of not having any kind of work. For your attention and assistance to my family in the past, I convey my thanks. May God repay your good services in the name of humanity, on which no monetary value can be put.

'I hope that we can meet somewhere sometime and that you will be able to continue your services in good health. Please accept our greetings and respects, from all of our family.'

Finding Work

The newspaper Kompas has noted 'Aside from the truly life and death cases, after release the basic problem is "where can we find work?'" Released prisoners are not permitted to become civil servants, join the armed forces or work in 'vital industries' (which include telecommunications and the press). Amnesty International has learned from several sources that former prisoners are discriminated against when applying for jobs in private industry. They may for example be required to produce a 'certificate of non-involvement' stating that they were not involved in the 1965 coup, in spite of repeated assurances from the Indonesian authorities that this procedure is no longer necessary. The alternatives are co-operatives or self-employment for which considerable initial capital is needed, which, for obvious reasons, released prisoners do not have. Consequently, the prospect of finding employment is bleak in a country where unemployment and underemployment are already problems for the population as a whole.

A letter from Sumatra describes the predicament of five released prisoners:

'All political prisoners in our region have now been freed. But the discrimination continues insofar as they remain excluded from any kind of fixed employment with the government agencies but also with private enterprises. They are forced to go on scraping along from one day to the next without any certainty.

1. Mr S: because of malnutrition for 11 years and hard labour as a wood-cutter in the forests, also because of deprivation of liberty, he is suffering from a stomach complaint and if he exerts himself a little too much, his liver reacts, as he is also suffering from chronic hepatitis. He used to be a teacher and he is still a hard-working man, but his work as a casual carpenter is too tiring and uncertain. Now it is intended to look for capital of US\$300 with which a small business for making concrete blocks can be started where he will be able to accommodate the pace of work to his health and where he can have good hopes of earning his "plate of rice".

2. Mr A: a 45-year-old with 5 children. He has a small shop in his mother's name. During the period of internment his wife had to borrow money (US\$2,000) at 15% interest. This appears to be too heavy a burden and they can hardly manage to pay the monthly high interest let alone redeem the loan. Means must be found to redeem that loan. If this does not happen, he will go downhill further and further until he has sold all his belongings.

3. Mr P: before his internment (he was 18 years of age then) he was a fisherman, working with his father who is now dead. If this man possessed a boat with a small outboard motor and three decent nets, one for each of the three seasons, he would regain confidence in himself and there would be a reasonable chance of development in the future. The cost: US\$70

4. For the building of bridges, roads and houses, foundation stones are badly needed. Up to now these granite stones have been heated and crushed with big sledge-hammers - very hard work. The authorities refuse however to allow the use of dynamite to split up the mountain-high boulders. However, on several beaches there are large quantities of coral, which worked loose from the bottom of the sea and are solid enough to be used as foundation stone. Mr M does not need large capital for this: only US\$80 would give him enough elbow-room to make a living.

5. Mr K: has started to clear a plot of forest to be able to lay out a clove orchard. Obviously the snag is that only after 7 years will he have his first harvest, so how can he make ends meet in the mean time? Since 1960 people on Belitung have been engaged in cultivation of this crop and many a poor man has built up some savings from it. Mr K is in his third year now and the trees look promising. But if he does not provide fertilizer, the harvest is going to be extremely poor, for tin- and caolin-bearing soil is very infertile and must be improved with fertilizer. If he had an amount of money of about US\$ 60 for the upkeep of his garden, he would stand a good chance of reaping a decent harvest in the 7th year.

The total amount of money needed to help these five families would then be US\$2,510.

3) Tried Prisoners

[AI believes that as of December 1979 there are still 656 A-category prisoners all but 23 of whom have been tried. These prisoners accused of direct involvement in the 1965 coup regularly received severe sentences ranging from 10 years to life and in some cases were condemned to death. AI knows of no instances of acquittal in the trial of a defendant accused of involvement in the coup. As stated in the letters reproduced below, tried political prisoners, unlike those prisoners convicted of ordinary criminal offences, were made to serve out the full terms of their sentences. However, in November 1979, President Suharto issued an instruction to the Minister of Justice stating that political prisoners who had been sentenced could now be eligible for remission. Following this announcement, 331 A-category prisoners received remission: 118 were released and 20 were granted a change of sentence from life to 20 years' imprisonment. According to Indonesian Government statistics, as of December 1979, 1014 A-category prisoners had been tried of whom 262 had already completed their sentences. Another 23 were still detained pending trial. Following the release of the 118 prisoners under the newly-announced remission regulations, 656 A-category prisoners should by the Government's figures still have been in detention. AI groups are working on behalf of some of these A-category prisoners and the organization will continue to press for an amnesty for these persons.]

Tried Prisoners

Background (Letter from a Tried Prisoner)

What happened in B in those October days (after the coup) fits in the general pattern just described. Not a single shot was fired, nobody was injured or unlawfully deprived of his freedom, we remained loyal and obeyed orders from our superiors up to the moment we were arrested. All we did was to have a talk with some fellow-officials, intellectuals and some others about what we would do if it came to a clash between forces loyal to the President (Sukarno) and those against him. But we decided to wait until we had got a clearer picture of the overall national situation....

' The charges brought against us were that we had:

1. taken part in an armed rebellion to overthrow the lawful government of the Republic;
2. conspired against the lawful government of the Republic.

But these are crude distortions of the facts as they actually happened. The lawful government at that time was the one led by President Sukarno, which was the very government we intended to defend at all costs.... Neither could there be grounds to charge us for having any part in the actions of Colonel Untung and his men.*

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* The attempted coup of September 1965 involved mainly middle-ranking officers led by Lieutenant-Colonel Untung, a battalion commander in the President's Palace Guards.

None of us knew Untung nor had any contact with him directly or indirectly. All we did was to talk with fellow-officers and some others about what we would do, should there be an open conflict between the President and the Army. The farthest one of us had gone was to brief his company that they might be called into action to defend the President and the Revolution. But we all decided to wait.'

Trials (Letter from a Tried Prisoner) (I)

'As to the G30S trials, they are sheer mockeries of generally-accepted standards of fairness, justice and equity. Sentences are decided long before the court sessions take place. In the long list of G30S trials throughout the country, there is not one single case of an acquittal, while sentences of less than 10 years are very rare. No matter how weak and lacking in evidence such cases might be, they have invariably ended in convictions and outrageous sentences like death, life imprisonment and imprisonment for 10 years and upwards....

'Once a G30S prisoner is convicted, he has no more the status of a political prisoner, at least formally. Actually he remains under the supervision of the commander of the local Inrehab.* He is not handed over to the care of prison officers as should be done according to normal procedures.... While having to undergo all the harassment, jeopardies and inconveniences the Indonesian political prisoner is subjected to, he gets none of the advantages or benefits of a normal rehabilitation process to be applied to any convicted person. He never gets any remission or reduction of his sentence, he is not subject to the usual assimilation process which allows him to work and have recreational activities outside the prison walls, he never gets the three or seven days' leave to go to his home as part of a pre-release treatment, he is not eligible for parole after having served two-thirds of his sentence in good conduct as is provided for in our criminal code and other statutes.'

Trials (Letter from a Tried Prisoner) (II)

The G30S prisoners are classified A and B. People the government regarded as their worst and irreconcilable enemies are put in the A group and scheduled for trial by military tribunals, so as to provide the government a (false) legal pretext to keep them imprisoned or even put some of them to death. The trials are mock trials, using false and fabricated evidence and lacking any legal grounds whatsoever to support a conviction.

Let us look at the plight of the political convicts (A group), people the military or military-backed tribunals have imposed sentences on, ranging from 15 years' imprisonment or upwards to even death sentences.

.../ 25

* Inrehab - Rehabilitation Installation, special detention camps for political prisoners.

'These people, besides having to suffer all agonies and inconveniences of the political prisoner (they remain under military supervision and are not handed over to the care of the civil prison service), have to miss the benefits of the normal rehabilitation process guaranteed by the law.

'I'll quote you some of the provisions for rehabilitation any convicted person in Indonesia is entitled to:

- (1. Presidential Decree No. 15b/1950, sections 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7;
2. Criminal Code for Indonesia, sections 15 and 15a.*)

'If these provisions of the law are applied to the A group of political prisoners, 80% of them would have been released several years ago or would be due for release by now or very soon, within two or three years even for those who are sentenced for life.

'As for the death sentence, the President has the prerogative to announce a presidential pardon by either commuting the sentence to life imprisonment or even to ordering an instant release.'

Presidential Decree No. 15b/1950

Section 1: Any person sentenced to imprisonment may be exempted from all or part of his sentence subject to good behaviour.

Section 3: Good behaviour is to be understood as such behaviour as does not give rise to the taking of disciplinary measures as described in Article 69 of the Prison Regulations.

(These disciplinary measures include solitary confinement and flogging.)

Section 5: Convicted persons who have satisfied the condition mentioned in Section 1 may receive remission according to the provisions stated below:

- a) a person who has served three to six months of his sentence is eligible for remission of a maximum of one month;
- b) a person who has served six months to one year of his sentence is eligible for remission of a maximum of two months;
- c) a person who has served more than one year of his sentence is eligible for remission as provided for in a) and b) above;
- d) in the second and third years of a sentence a person is eligible for remission of three months for each year of his sentence;
- e) in the fourth and fifth years of a sentence a person is eligible for six months' remission for each year of his sentence;

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* Extracts from Presidential Decree No. 15b/1950 and sections 15 and 15a of the Criminal Code follow this letter.

- f) in the sixth and following years of a sentence a person is eligible for nine months' remission for each year of his sentence.

Section 6: A person sentenced to life imprisonment may have his sentence commuted to provisional imprisonment of a maximum of 15 years after he has served five years and if his conduct during that time has satisfied the condition laid down in Section 1 (good behaviour).

Section 7: Apart from the provisions of Section 5 and Section 6, a convicted person whose behaviour meets the standard described in Section 1, may be granted complete release or special remission.

Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP)

Section 15 (on parole): Any convicted person sentenced to imprisonment for one year or more may, if he has served at least two-thirds of his term or at least nine months of it, be granted a conditional release or parole. A fixed time for probation and certain conditions should be determined before parole is granted. The time of probation will be one year longer than the time the convicted person would still have to serve were he not granted parole. Special conditions may also be imposed provided these do not infringe in any way on his religious and political freedoms.

Prison Conditions (Letter from Relative of a Tried Prisoner)

'I shall start to tell you about Y. For 12 years we had lost contact. It was not until September 1978, exactly on the feast-day of Idul Fitri, that I could visit her and meet her and talk with her for several hours. For on the days of big feasts - Idul Fitri, Christmas, New Year's Day and Independence Day - there is the possibility to visit and to talk. During normal days it is only possible to send something once a fortnight. She may receive mail every day. Physically she appears healthy, only she has lost nearly all her teeth, and her right arm is paralyzed. This is not surprising, as she was in a room apart for 11 years, so there was a lack of good nourishment and sunlight. She has received medicines which appear to have good effects:

1. Neorobiovit, which can be given by the hospital;
2. ARLEF, which must be bought independently outside the prison.

'Our possibilities are limited, we can only send some money for the buying of sugar, salt, soap etc. As for the medicine ARLEF, we bought 30 capsules each month from January to May. The effect is very positive; she can already move her arm to comb her hair, to do sewing, in short to make light movements.

'To our regret we were forced to give up sending medicine as from June 1979. We do not even manage to send money each month. Frankly this is caused by our own financial difficulties, the state of a lower worker who is unemployed now and then.

'In this time Y occupies herself with embroidery and crocheting, together with her friends, and the output is sold outside the prison. Last year those sharing her fate in the same ward numbered 21. Now there are 12, and at the end of the year four will still be there, amongst whom will be Y. In her latest letter she says that her health is steadily improving and that she now works in the kitchen of the prison. She writes: if it is not possible to send money, this does not matter, for now she can use her hands again to do work. And even though we cannot help her I am convinced that she only writes those words to set our minds at rest, considering our own standard of living. I am quite sure that Y still needs our help.'