

# who are the prisoners

Directly or indirectly involved in the 30th September Movement - this is the charge levelled against tens of thousands of political prisoners, the overwhelming majority of whom cannot and will not be tried.

What is the official definition of this vaguely-worded phrase? A presidential instruction, No. 09/KOGAM/1966, signed on President Sukarno's behalf by General Suharto and issued in May 1966, defines three levels of 'involvement':

**" Clearly involved directly in the 30th September Movement\***

those who:

1. planned, helped to plan or knew about the plan for this counter-revolutionary movement but did not report to the competent authorities;
2. being conscious of its objectives, undertook activities in the implementation of this counter-revolutionary movement.

**Clearly involved indirectly in the 30th September Movement:**

those who, after knowing of this counter-revolutionary movement:

1. displayed an attitude, whether in deed or words, of approval for this counter-revolutionary movement;
2. consciously displayed an attitude, whether in deed or words, of opposing endeavours/movements for the suppression of the 30th September movement.

**There are indications of, or it can reasonably be thought that there was, direct or indirect involvement in the 30th September movement:**

those who:

1. were members of the former, outlawed PKI or of the executives of mass organisations of like ideology/under the aegis of/under the protection of the said former party PKI, together with their activists;
2. were ordinary members of former, outlawed mass organisations of like ideology/ under the aegis of/ under the protection of/ the former party PKI, and those who, according to existing antecedents, were involved in the 'Madiun Affair' \*\* who, after the occurrence of the said counter-revolutionary movement, did not categorically oppose it in accordance with reasonable conditions and abilities."

\* The movement responsible for the coup called itself the 30th September movement which soon came to be abbreviated in Indonesia to G.30.S. But the coup attempt was postponed for one day and occurred on 1st October, 1965. This explains the discrepancy between the movement's name, always used in charges made by the authorities, and references to the day of the coup.

\*\* This incident occurred in September, 1948; it was a major clash between the PKI and the Army.

## OUTLAWED MASS ORGANISATIONS

And what of the 'mass organisations of like ideology' referred to above? These were listed in a Presidential Decision, No. 85/KOGAM/1966, issued in May 1966 and signed on

President Sukarno's behalf by General Suharto. In addition to all the committees of the PKI, from the Central Committee down to the village resort committees, the list covers twenty-six mass organisations

and twenty-three educational institutions; it includes in the case of the Trade Union Federation SOBSI, a sub-list of 62 trade unions, and in the case of BAPERKI, a Chinese organisation, a sub-list of two mass organisations and the BAPERKI-run Res Publica University.

Immediately prior to September 1965, the combined membership of these organisations was estimated at about 15 million. Allowing for double counts in cases of persons belonging to more than one organisation and excluding those virtually non-active, the effective strength would probably have been about half this number. However, for purposes of screening and arrest, the deciding factor was nominal rather than active membership. It is therefore no exaggeration to say that the measures taken by the government and the Army in the form of arrests, dishonourable dismissals and general ineligibility to obtain employment or education has, in some way, affected well over seven and a half million people.

The mass arrests that took place and still continue are thus broadly directed against communists and marxists, and their followers or supporters. In addition, a large number of people, especially members of the Armed Forces, have been arrested for being "Sukarno-ists", as the New Order has been at great pains to condemn policies followed by President Sukarno in the period before September 1965.

## DIFFERENT CATEGORIES

Prisoners are classified into three main categories: the 'A' group, against whom there is enough evidence, in the government's view, to warrant their being charged and brought to trial; the 'B' group, firmly believed by the government to have been PKI leaders or activists and therefore 'traitors' but against whom no charges can be laid because of lack of evidence, and who are to be detained indefinitely without trial; and the 'C' group, composed of followers of the PKI and who, according to the government, are scheduled for release. In addition, there is an 'X'