

There were two sets of charges against him. The first was that he had collaborated in a conspiracy to overthrow the legal government. This related to his actions as Deputy Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, and as head of the intelligence bureau, including the policy of purchasing arms from China, and advising the President to halt repayment of debts to the Soviet Union, and to get Indonesia to withdraw from the United Nations. There were numerous other charges, such as allegedly spreading rumours in order to incite left-wing feelings against the Indonesian Army, thereby paving the way for the coup. He was also allegedly forewarned of the planned coup on 1 October 1965 and did not take steps to prevent it but instead went to North Sumatra where he made inflammatory speeches.

The second set of charges related to events after the attempted coup. He was accused of undermining the authority of the state, that is, General Suharto's nascent "New Order", and of supporting the abortive coup and attempting to minimise its significance. He was also accused of actively encouraging counter-demonstrations to those organized in support of General Suharto. The charges were made under the terms of a presidential Decree on Subversion, which was issued by President Sukarno in 1963, making subversion a capital offence. That Subversion Decree did not have the force of law at the time of Subandrio's trial (it became law only in 1969: as discussed in this chapter).

In his defence, Subandrio said that his actions at the time were intended to implement the then President's policies. The court found him guilty on both sets of charges and sentenced him to death.

Many observers, including those sharply critical of President Sukarno's policies have commented that the evidence brought against Subandrio was circumstantial and insufficient to prove subversion, and that he was very much the victim of the "New Order" campaign to discredit President Sukarno.

The case was tried by an extraordinary military tribunal and no judicial process of appeal was allowed against the death sentence. Subandrio appealed for clemency directly to the President. Although there have been occasional reports in the Indonesian and foreign press that President Suharto reached a decision on the plea for clemency, no decision has been publicly announced. Subandrio was a well-known international figure, and it was possibly to avoid international criticism that the death sentence was not carried out.

After sentence, Subandrio was held at a military camp, Cimahi, near Bandung in West Java. He was later transferred to Nirbaya Prison in Jakarta. In August 1973 he appeared as a witness at the trial of Brigadier General Supardjo, a senior police and intelligence

officer. Supardjo was sentenced to death and executed.

During Subandrio's ten years' imprisonment, his wife, Hurustiati, who was also a doctor, was not allowed to practice medicine and had to depend on earnings as a teacher of foreign languages. She suffered from a kidney disorder. When their only son died unexpectedly from a heart attack in March 1974, her condition deteriorated and she died a month later. Subandrio himself has been in poor health and was reported to have had a mental breakdown.

Subandrio is a category A prisoner and is one of about 800 who have been tried. His case is typical of the unhappy position of many who were active in political life before 1965, were closely identified with the Sukarno administration and who have been imprisoned during the last ten years. They include cabinet ministers, heads of government departments and agencies, and senior officials, detained because of their pro-Sukarno past, without having been directly involved with the Communist Party. The great majority of these people have never been brought to court.

The defence lawyer in Dr Subandrio's trial, Mr Yap Thiam Hien, a member of the International Commission of Jurists, was himself detained without trial in January 1974, and was released the following December following widespread international concern.

Trial of Asep Suryaman

The trial began in Jakarta in June 1975. Asep Suryaman was accused of being a leading member of the PKI Special Bureau and of conspiring with others to overthrow the government. No evidence was presented that he had taken an active part in the 1965 attempted coup, apart from the fact that he was a Party lecturer in Marxist theory. In 1967, when the PKI membership was being hunted by the military authorities, he sought refuge in East Java and he admitted that he took part in guerrilla activities, which he maintained were in self defence.

The charges were brought under a Presidential Decree made by President Sukarno in 1963. This decree did not have force of law after the fall of President Sukarno, and it only acquired legal status when the legislature passed the text of the decree in 1969, when it became known as the Subversion Act. This Presidential Decree, which received legislative approval six years later, proved a wide-ranging and draconian measure as used by both the Sukarno and Suharto Governments to suppress political opposition (see Appendix IIIa).

The courts have acted improperly in the trials of all prisoners held in connection with the 1965 events, inasmuch as they convicted

them on charges brought under this Presidential decree. Defendants tried before 1969 were still charged under President Sukarno's decree, which up till then did not have the force of law in President Suharto's "New Order". Those who were tried after 1969 were charged with offences relating to activities dating from before 1969, and the retroactive application of the act was unconstitutional. Unquestionably the courts have acted unconstitutionally and illegally in sentencing such prisoners to death or imprisonment.

Asep Suryaman's defence lawyers argued in the trial that since the Subversion Act under which the case had been brought had been passed by the legislature four years after the alleged offences had been said to occur, the court could not act unconstitutionally by applying the law retroactively. The defence lawyers also pointed out that there was no proof of the defendant's personal complicity in the 1965 events. Moreover, the detention of the prisoner since his arrest in September 1971 had been illegal, because no application had been made to a court after the first year of detention without trial, as required by Indonesian law.

One member of the team of defence lawyers went further and challenged the authority of the judges. The distinguished lawyer, Mr Yap Thiam Hien, also pointed out that the panel of judges had been appointed by a government which had issued many decrees affecting members of left-wing organizations which had been legal until 1966. He said that appointed officials of this kind could not judge such cases impartially and according to law. Because of the statement, Mr Yap was cited for contempt of court by the Bar Association.

In his final speech for the defence, Mr Yap described Asep Suryaman as a prisoner whose experience in detention was not unique. He said political prisoners in Indonesia were:

"Treated like the dregs of society, deprived of the most elementary rights enjoyed by all other citizens, like mere objects that can be moved from one place to another, put 'on loan' to other authorities for interrogation, to give evidence or to meet the personal needs of some officials, and they are not even told why they are put 'on loan' or where they are being taken. They have no power and no voice, no right to complain or protest against their interminable imprisonment, against torture, insult, hunger or disease. They have no power and no voice in the face of this abuse against their dignity and person. . . .

"Many of them have become automatons, going to sleep, getting up and taking their meals like persons without any spirit,

for they are not permitted to read magazines, newspapers, or books, except religious literature. Nor are they allowed to write to their loved ones. . . such a life leads them to break down under the strain. Some become insane, others have committed suicide, some have tried to rebel against their predicament with horrifying consequences. . . ."

Continuing his plea on behalf of the prisoner, Mr Yap pointed to the predicament of prisoners faced with the choice of indefinite detention without trial, or unjustly conducted trials. He reported what a prisoner had told him while he was himself a prisoner:

"We are like leaves on a tree, just waiting to fall to earth and become one with it. Help us to get our freedom back, to rejoin our unprotected families. Help us at the very least to be brought to trial, so that this soul-destroying uncertainty can end. Whatever they want, we are ready to sign, so long as we can be released. . . ."

The court convicted Asep Suryaman and sentenced him to death. Despite Amnesty International enquiries to the Indonesian Government, it is not known whether the death sentence was carried out.

Trial of Oei Tju Tat

Mr Oei was a cabinet minister in former President Sukarno's administration. He was a leading member of Partindo (Indonesia Party), a political group which broke away from the Indonesian Nationalist Party in the late 1950s. He was arrested in March 1966 and detained for 10 years before his trial began in Jakarta in February 1976. He was charged under the Subversion Act and was accused of undermining the authority of the government. It was further alleged that he had issued a statement in October 1965 which said that the attempted coup was an internal Army affair. The prosecution claimed that by issuing such a statement, Mr Oei had attempted to destroy or undermine the lawful government of Indonesia.

The defence lawyers, led by Mr Yap Thiam Hien, pointed out that at the time of the alleged offence, President Sukarno's government was in power and that the statement issued by Mr Oei had not been criticized by Sukarno, nor had he been dismissed from the cabinet. Moreover, witnesses at the trial affirmed that Mr Oei was not personally responsible in drafting his party's statement. The defence lawyers criticized the proceedings in the same terms as in Asep Suryaman's trial. The trial was unconstitutional, since Indonesian law did not allow the retroactive application of the Subversion Act. The defence also pointed out that during Mr Oei's 10 years' detention

without charge or trial, he had not been served with any warrants of arrest and had been denied access to lawyers. The trial, which began after 10 years of illegal detention, violated the principles of Indonesian justice.

The court, nonetheless, convicted Mr Oei and sentenced him to 13 years' imprisonment, from which 10 years already spent in prison without trial were subtracted.

This judgement has been criticized internationally. The International Commission of Jurists in Geneva, declared:

“The court’s attempted justification of this extraordinary judgement was that Mr Oei ‘did not react strongly enough, although protesting against the statement’. This shameful decision can be explained only by factors external to the trial itself, and as an attempt to justify Mr Oei’s detention for almost 10 years before trial.” (*ICJ Review No.17, December 1976*).

The harsh sentence meted out by the court to Mr Oei can be considered relatively light when compared with the kinds of sentences readily imposed by Indonesian judges appointed to hear political trials. The fact that Mr Oei is an internationally known former cabinet minister had some bearing on the court’s decision (see Appendix IIIb for Mr Oei’s defence speech).

The Trial of Four Women, in February 1975

The defendants were former leading members of organizations affiliated to the PKI. The chief defendant, Sulami, was a leading member of the *Gerakan Wanita Indonesia* (Gerwani), a left-wing womens’ organisation, Sri Ambar Rukmiati, was head of the women’s bureau of *Sentral Organisasi Buruh Seluruh Indonesia* (SOBSI), the trade union federation. Suharti Harsono was on the staff of *Barisan Tani Indonesia* (BTI), the peasants’ union. Sudjinah was on the staff of Gerwani, responsible for education and culture. They were tried under the Subversion Act.

The indictment against the four prisoners alleged participation in the October 1965 attempted coup and also that they had tried to revive the left-wing movement after its various organizations were banned early in 1966. However, the evidence against them presented in court related mainly to their activities after October 1965. They were accused of having published and distributed an illegal bulletin, obtained false identity cards and helped provide assistance for the children of political prisoners. In addition, Sulami was accused of having recruited women to go to Lubang Buaya, to help in cooking and sewing. This, in the Prosecution’s view was sufficient proof that

she had known about the 1965 attempted coup which was said to have used Lubang Buaya as its base.

The Prosecution requested life imprisonment for Sulami and 20 years for the other defendants. All were found guilty of subversion and of having tried to revive banned organizations. Sulami was sentenced to 20 years’ imprisonment. Sudjinah was sentenced to 18 years and the other two to 15 years each.

The 10 years they had spent in prison before trial were deducted from their sentences. It was clear from the evidence presented that the Prosecution had failed to prove that the prisoners were guilty of subversive activity of such a kind as to justify 10 years’ imprisonment for involvement in such actions as providing assistance to the children of political prisoners, many of whom were virtually orphans because of the arrest of both parents and other relatives.

GOVERNMENT POLICY ON TRIALS

In 11 years, only several hundred prisoners, (a very small proportion) have been brought to trial. The trials were held merely to suit the government’s purposes. It was a foregone conclusion that the prisoners concerned would be found guilty and either sentenced to death or condemned to long periods of further imprisonment.

The Indonesian Government has repeatedly indicated its good intentions by mentioning its willingness to increase the rate at which trials were being held. But after 11 years, despite such protestations, the rate at which trials are being held has not significantly accelerated. Moreover, the trial proceedings display a gross miscarriage of justice. Defendants in political trials are merely victims of the government’s attempts to show that the rule of law is observed and to justify the continued detention without trial of the vast majority of the prisoners.

Furthermore, despite Government assurances that foreign jurists would be permitted to observe political trials, such assurances amounted to very little. The former Australian Prime Minister, Mr Gough Whitlam, was assured by President Suharto in a meeting in 1975 that Australian jurists would be permitted to observe political trials in Indonesia. In August 1975, the validity of this assurance was tested by the Australian Section of the International Commission of Jurists, when it applied to the Indonesian Government for two of its leading members, Mr John Dowd and Mr Paul Stein, MP, to observe the trial of Asep Suryaman. They were both refused visas to observe the trial.

During Asep Suryaman’s trial, his lawyer Mr Yap Thiam Hien, rightly criticized the Subversion Act. He described it as a “rubber

law", pointing out that it was so vague and broad in its application that virtually any kind of political or social activity could be indictable under it.

It is the view of Amnesty International that the Subversion Act should be repealed, and that political prisoners in Indonesia should be given prompt, open and fair trials; or be released immediately.



Purwadi and his family. Purwadi was arrested in 1965. His family joined him on Buru in 1972.



Basuki Effendi, well-known Indonesian film director, arrested in 1969 and now detained on Buru.



Dr Sumiarsih Caropeboka, arrested in 1967. She was a prison doctor at Plantungan and is now detained in Bulu prison, Semarang.



Pramoedya Ananta Toer, one of Indonesia's foremost writers, detained without trial since 1965. He is now on Buru Island.



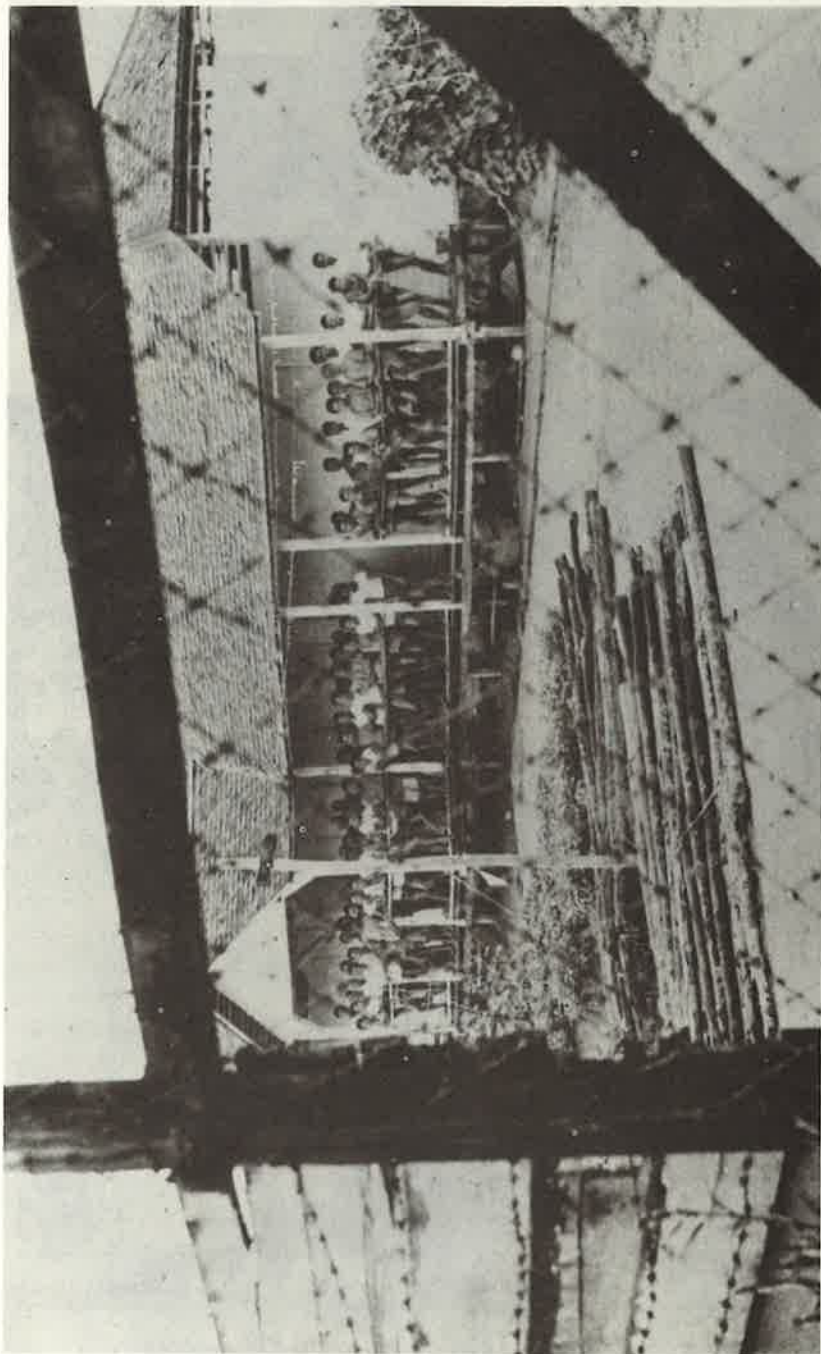
Forced Labour in Prison Camps: above, at Plantungan; below, on Buru



Left to right: Suharti Harsono, Sri Ambar Rukmiati, Sudjinhah and Sulami, arrested in 1966 and 1967; tried in 1975



Three young women arrested and detained on Kalimantan



Prisoners in a camp on Kalimantan

7

INDIVIDUAL CASE HISTORIES

Over the years, Amnesty International has taken up a wide range of cases of political prisoners held in Indonesia without trial. They have included well-known ministers, children, people in their 50s or 60s, women, famous writers, painters and musicians, former Army officers and other soldiers, peasants and trade unionists, and Indonesians from practically every walk of life or social class. The following are a sample of cases from the Amnesty International files.

Pramoedya Ananta Toer

Pramoedya Ananta Toer is a novelist, essayist and critic, regarded by many as the finest Indonesian writer of his generation. Selections of his work are still prescribed reading in Indonesian schools. He has been a political prisoner since October 1965 and is now one of about 14,000 prisoners living in penal exile on Buru, one of the more remote islands of the Indonesian archipelago. He was detained on the orders of the military, he has not been charged or tried and is scheduled for permanent imprisonment. In the 11 years following his arrest, he has been denied pencil and paper with which to write.

This last decade has been Pramoedya's third period of imprisonment; each imprisonment has been under a different administration. During the 1945 Revolution, while he was active in the Indonesian nationalist movement, Pramoedya was arrested by the Dutch colonial government and imprisoned in Jakarta. While in detention, he began work on his first novels. His second arrest was in 1960 when he was detained by the Sukarno Government for several months without trial. He had just published a popular history, *The Chinese Question in Indonesia*, which aroused official military and civilian antagonism on account of its defence of the Chinese community at a time when discriminatory policies were being pursued by the government. The book was banned and Pramoedya arrested.

In 1965, Pramoedya was again arrested, this time by the Army under the authority of General Suharto, now President Suharto. No reasons have been given for Pramoedya's imprisonment apart from the general charge that he, with other detainees, was a committed Marxist. As a radical and a populist, Pramoedya's natural

affinity was to the political left, but it seems unlikely that he was ever a member of the Communist Party. Certainly the government has never attempted to claim or prove that he was a member of the PKI. A combination of factors probably led to his detention: his concern for the Chinese community in 1960, which earned him the lasting hostility of influential elements in the Army; his membership of *LEKRA*, a left-wing cultural organization proscribed in 1966 as a communist "front"; and the criticism, never muted, which, in his writing, he levelled at corruption and other social evils.

Pramoedya was born in Blora in Java on 6 February 1925. He worked for a time as a journalist, and then joined the nationalist movement when the Dutch returned to Indonesia in 1945 following the Japanese surrender. After his release from prison in 1950, he published his first novels, written in prison, and by 1953 his reputation was already such that he was invited to Holland as a member of an official cultural delegation. Pramoedya's reputation as a writer was based on his novels and short stories written during the years immediately after Independence, which drew on events during the Revolution and on his personal involvement with the nationalist movement. He has written ten novels, some critical essays and a biography of Kartini, the 19th century Javanese heroine who argued the case for women's emancipation, also his book on the Chinese community.

In 1965 he was at work on an encyclopaedia. When he was arrested by soldiers, his wife and eight children were thrown out of his house, and a mob was allowed to ransack his books and manuscripts destroying everything, including the collected material for the encyclopaedia.

From 1965 to 1969, Pramoedya was imprisoned in Jakarta. In 1969, he was among the first group of detainees to be transferred to the penal settlement on Buru Island, where he is forced, like the other 14,000 prisoners held on the island, to work as an unpaid agricultural labourer (see Chapter 9).

Pramoedya's wife lives in Jakarta. Of his children, the youngest, now 11, was a baby of two months at the time of his father's arrest. They live with a relative in impoverished conditions; they have not been allowed back to their house since Pramoedya's arrest. Mrs Pramoedya is gravely ill with tuberculosis.

Three of Pramoedya's brothers are also political prisoners, one is with him on Buru. The wives of two of his brothers have divorced their husbands (see Chapter 10). Although monthly letters are officially permitted, in practice the only communication between Pramoedya and his wife in Jakarta is restricted to officially permitted

postcards which reach her irregularly. During the first three years that he was on Buru, she received only two postcards from him.

As previously mentioned a small group of journalists was permitted to visit Buru Island in 1971. They confirmed two essential facts: that Buru was a penal settlement to which 10,000 untried prisoners had been exiled, and that many prisoners had only the most tenuous or casual association with the communist movement (for example, the youngest prisoner on the island had been arrested when he was 12). While there, the journalists met Pramoedya and confirmed that he was unable to write because he was deprived of pen and paper. Asked about his hopes for the future, he described his predicament in these words:

"On Buru I have no future. Conditions for me here are too difficult. I want to return to Java, my home. . . I used to be free in everything, thinking and talking and doing, but now I am a prisoner. I have lost my freedom, I have lost my family, I have lost my work. I am a writer. That is all. I want to write and one day I will write. That is my work and my vocation."

This year, Pramoedya Ananta Toer spent his 51st birthday on Buru.

Charlotte Salawati

Charlotte Salawati, who is better known in Indonesia as Ibu (mother) Salawati, was born on 20 March 1909. She is now over 68, and had been detained without trial for ten years. A long-standing Amnesty International adoption case, she was released in March 1976.

In her youth, Ibu Salawati was prominent in the nationalist movement which won Indonesia's independence from Dutch colonial rule in 1950. She was active in the politics of the Republic as a member of the PKI, representing the party in Parliament, and as Deputy Chairwoman of the women's association *Gerwani*. Throughout her public life until her arrest in 1965 she was widely known and respected in Indonesia, even by those who did not share her political views.

She was born in Sulawesi (the Celebes), the Eastern region of the Republic, an island nearly 1,000 miles to the north-east of Java. She was brought up a Christian and educated at Dutch schools, but felt as a young woman nationalist that Church life as it was practised in Makasar (the regional capital of the Celebes) in the 1920s did not deal adequately with social and political problems in colonial Indonesia. For a period she left the church, apparently with reluctance. She became active in the nationalist movement, gradually

moving to work in left-wing organizations. After 1950 she joined the PKI, which seemed to her to offer a systematic program of economic and political development. Although a staunch and active member of the PKI, she has always retained her Christian beliefs. She is a woman of modest personal ambition and strong commitment to socialist ideals.

She first trained as a teacher and taught in a Dutch-run school, but was dismissed after she had written newspaper articles which were disliked by the Dutch administration. She then taught in a school in Makasar run by the nationalist movement, but in 1932 again came under suspicion, and this time was barred from teaching.

Ibu Salawati then trained and worked as a midwife. At the same time she produced a journal for women, *Wanita*, in Makasar. The Dutch colonial police regarded her as politically suspect, kept her house under surveillance and restricted her visitors. In 1945, following the end of the Japanese occupation, she taught again in a nationalist school which was closed by the Dutch administration two years later. By now she had become an elected member of the South Celebes Representative Assembly. At this time, Indonesian nationalist forces under the future President Sukarno and Dr Muhammad Hatta were fighting the Dutch, who were trying to restore the colonial administration. Mrs Salawati worked for political union between the Dutch-sponsored State of East Indonesia (as South Celebes was then called) and the new Republic of Indonesia.

After Independence in 1950, she was delegated by the new government to negotiate with dissident Islamic groups in the Celebes who wanted regional autonomy. During the 1950s, she remained in public and political life. She was deputy mayor of Makasar, head of *Gerwani* in South Celebes, chairwoman of the Indonesian Peace Committee and, in the 1955 elections, she was elected as a PKI supporter to Parliament. From 1962 she was deputy national chairwoman of *Gerwani* and sat in Parliament as a PKI representative. In 1965 she was a member of the official Indonesian delegation to the Peace Congress in Helsinki.

The fact that Ibu Salawati was a member of the PKI and a leader of *Gerwani* (even though both were legal organizations taking part in parliamentary politics before October 1965) were the grounds for the authorities to detain her as a category B prisoner. There was no evidence against her, and the authorities never intended to bring her to trial. In this way, Ibu Salawati, one of the outstanding women leaders of Indonesia's struggle for independence, has from the age of 56 to 67, spent her time in Bukit Duri women's prison in Jakarta. She was given no explanation when she was released in March 1976.

Subadi

Subadi is a peasant who, with the help of his wife and children, farmed a small plot in a village in Kutoardjo, a district of Central Java. He belonged to the PKI and was arrested shortly after the 1965 abortive coup. Like the great majority of the tens of thousands of political prisoners in Indonesia, he was not at all prominent in public life.

Subadi had no formal education, but taught himself to read. He disapproved of the local council's policies and criticized them vigorously. PKI policies possibly matched his own ideas on how local problems of poverty could be tackled, but no details are available about his political life before his arrest.

Initially, he was imprisoned in Kutoardjo for about a year. During this time his wife was able to visit and to take food to him. He was then moved to a prison in Purworedjo for several months. While there he was severely beaten during interrogation. Later he was sent back to Kutoardjo where he was allowed out during the day, returning to prison at night. This lasted for about a year. Then in 1970, he was sent to the penal island of Nusakambangan, off the south coast of Central Java. He is still there. Since 1970, his family has not been able to visit him because of the distance and expense involved. The totally arbitrary way in which Subadi has been treated is the common experience of most prisoners. At times conditions could be said to improve slightly, even to the extent of a prisoner being allowed to go home during the day, but this is merely through some administrative decision—the prisoner may next be transferred to a place too far away for family visits to be possible.

Communication between Subadi and his family is limited to one censored postcard per month on which he is allowed to write 20 words. In these postcards, he continually asks for clothes, sandals, food and medicines. His family get these together and send them, but although they regularly receive postcards requesting such items they have never received confirmation that their parcels have reached him. Again, this is the common experience of prisoners. They are prey to the cupidity of the prison guards and the postal authorities.

When Subadi was taken, five other people in the village were arrested. One has since died and two have paid bribes to military officers to obtain their release from prison. When a similar offer was made to Subadi's family, which would have cost them 50,000 rupiahs, they consulted Subadi but he refused, saying that he would never feel secure outside if released under such circumstances. The corrupt practice of military officers who demand money for release of prisoners is quite usual.

Subadi's wife and five children are extremely poor and had to sell their land in order to survive. The elder children cannot find employment. The daughters of marriageable age have not been able to marry because of the stigma of their father's political imprisonment. This family's plight is familiar to many who are in a similar situation in the small towns and villages throughout Indonesia.

Sugiyah

Sugiyah was 13 when she was detained in early October 1965. She has spent her adolescence and her youth as a captive political prisoner held without trial. Amnesty International learnt in 1976, that she was released, but the precise date of her release is not known.

She was born in 1952 in Jakarta. Her parents were poor, and her education limited to elementary school. She was not involved in any political activity before September 1965, but when in the second half of 1965 a group of her friends were recruited into the campaign of confrontation with Malaysia, she accompanied them. At the time, volunteers were being trained throughout the Republic by many political parties and their supporting mass organizations.

Pemuda Rakyat, the PKI youth organization, was the strongest youth organization in Sugiyah's home locality, and it recruited the training group that Sugiyah joined. It went to a training ground in Lubang Buaya, near the Halim Air Force base, which, later, became the headquarters of the coup leaders in 1965. This was where the kidnapped generals were taken, and where they were killed and their bodies concealed. Anyone at the training ground on that particular night was regarded, by implication, by the military authorities as having been "directly involved" in the coup. Sugiyah was there and the charges against her were, therefore, considered to be serious.

After the failure of the coup, a nationwide campaign was launched in the press, highlighting atrocities alleged to have been committed at Lubang Buaya, including allegations of sexual orgies on the night of the coup, and infliction of atrocities on the victims of the coup. There is no evidence in support of the allegations (see Chapter 10).

In mid-1971 many of the Lubang Buaya prisoners, including Sugiyah, were transferred to the Plantungan Women's Detention Camp, in Central Java.

Sugiyah's case illustrates the way in which people were imprisoned as justification of the official interpretation of the Lubang Buaya events. The military authorities, under President Suharto's "New Order", claimed that the young girls at Lubang Buaya committed

atrocities, and these were widely publicized in order to establish that the PKI had an evil influence, especially on young people. In the opinion of many independent commentators, the alleged Lubang Buaya incident was used by the military to augment public hostility towards left-wing suspects, and thus created the mood which prompted widespread reprisals and killings.

It should be noted, that if the government's account of the Lubang Buaya incident is true, nonetheless the government has never attempted to prove this by putting the Lubang Buaya girl prisoners on trial. In 11 years, an estimated 800 prisoners have been brought to court—but not a single girl who was at Lubang Buaya. The reluctance of the government to establish the truth of the Lubang Buaya allegations in the courts, has been Amnesty International's main reason for deciding to take up the cases of girl prisoners such as Sugiyah.

Karel Supit

Karel Supit was born in Menado, North Sulawesi, in 1917. As a young man he worked in the oil fields at Cepu in East Java. After the proclamation of the Republic in 1945, he formed and led a nationalist guerrilla group in East Java against the Dutch colonial government.

In 1950, he returned to Menado, where he took the initiative in establishing the left-wing trades union federation *SOBSI*, in Minahasa, and helped to build the Communist Party in the region. In 1954, he became a member of the Party's Central Committee. He was elected to Parliament as a Communist Party member in 1955 and was prominent in the politics of his region.

He strongly opposed the Permesta rebellion against the central government which broke out in North Sulawesi in 1957 and he was captured by the rebels. He was released several months later when the rebellion was suppressed by central government troops. Later he moved to Jakarta to work at the Communist Party head office, where he was put in charge of the Party's International Department.

In 1963, he was appointed to be a member of the Indonesian delegation to the United Nations Assembly. He was also a member of Indonesian delegations to a number of international conferences and gatherings.

Following the October 1965 abortive coup, PKI leaders and members tried to evade arrest, but Karel Supit was caught within days. After being held at the Salemba Men's Prison in Jakarta for five years, he was transported to Buru in 1969. His wife, Lies Supit,

had gone into hiding in 1965 knowing she faced arrest because of her work for *Gerwani*; their children were cared for by relatives. Early in 1967, Mrs Supit was also arrested and is now detained at the Bukit Duri Women's Prison, also in Jakarta. Despite the proximity of Karel's wife while he was still detained in Jakarta, they were not permitted to meet. Later, one of their sons was also arrested.

When Karel Supit was transferred to Buru he was 52, well over the maximum age of 45, fixed by the government for those to be transported to the island. Now 60 years' old, his health is seriously threatened by the harsh conditions he and other political prisoners on Buru must endure.

Siti Suratih

Siti Suratih was born in Central Java. She was a trained nurse and carried on her job after her marriage to B.O. Hutapea, a leading communist from North Sumatra, who became a member of the Party's new Politbureau established under Aidit in 1951.

Siti Suratih herself was never attracted by politics and did not join any mass organization. She had four children and continued to work as a nurse, moving to Jakarta together with her husband, where she obtained work at the central army hospital. She became the chief-nurse of the maternity ward.

After the abortive coup in October 1965, she was dishonourably dismissed. Clearly her dismissal was due to her marriage to a leading communist. This was a common occurrence in the years immediately following 1965, when the wives of Party members were liable to be arrested.

For a year or so after the coup, she lived in very difficult circumstances. She had no contact with her husband, who had gone underground, and she had to care for her children single-handed. She was continually harassed because of her husband's position in the PKI. The military kept a close watch on her to discover whether she would be contacted by her husband.

She was arrested in 1966 while her husband was still in hiding. She was interrogated exclusively about her relations with him. None of her relatives were able to look after the three children still with her, so she had to take them with her to the detention camp, where they stayed for several months. When she was transferred to Bukit Duri Women's Prison in Jakarta, she was not allowed to have her children there and had to leave them behind at the detention camp in the care of other prisoners to await the expected visit of relatives who, it was hoped, would take the children home. The children later stayed with their aunt and went to school in Jakarta.

In 1968, her husband was killed in Blitar in East Java. She has still not been officially notified of his death. For the major part of her detention, she was believed to be a category C prisoner and was expecting early release. However, in mid-1971 she was transferred to Plantungan Women's Prison in Central Java and so deduced that she had been classified as a category B prisoner. Her transfer may also have been because they wanted her to work as a nurse.

Siti Suratih is now 55. Since the transfer to another prison, of two prisoners who are doctors, she has been the only trained medical person in Plantungan Camp.

Sitor Situmorang

The well-known writer and poet Sitor Situmorang was arrested in 1967, and was adopted by Amnesty International in early 1970. After eight years of imprisonment without trial, Sitor Situmorang was released from prison in January 1975 and was placed under house arrest. His case is cited as an example of a political prisoner who should never have been detained without trial and who was imprisoned for eight years.

After working as a journalist, Sitor Situmorang became an established and prolific writer. In 1959, he became founding chairman of the National Cultural Institute, the cultural organization of the Indonesian National Party (PNI).

He was head of the Indonesian delegation to the Asian-African Writers' Conference in Cairo in 1963, and visited China after the Conference. Following this visit he published a volume of social-realist verse entitled *New Era*. He also published two collections of talks on socialist orientated literature. By this time, his ideas had shifted considerably from his former defence of art for art's sake. He also became a Member of Parliament, and spokesman for artists.

After the 1965 attempted coup, he had retained his links with the PNI although a widespread purge was being carried out against radicals in the Party and in its mass organizations. But neither his Institute nor his works were actually banned, as had happened with *LEKRA* and its members.

He was arrested in 1967, when the authorities claimed to have discovered in his possession writings "critical of the New Order". He was detained at Salemba Prison in Jakarta until January 1975, when he was released at the age of 54 and put under house arrest. This was later modified to a requirement that he frequently report to a supervising office.

An Amnesty International mission was in Jakarta shortly after Sitor Situmorang was released, and was told by a leading Indonesian

churchman, who is a friend of Sitor Situmorang:

“Of course it is right that Sitor should have been released. He is one of us. He was not in any way involved in the attempted coup of 1965.”

The case of Sitor Situmorang was described in detail in *Indonesia Special* (1973) an Amnesty International Publication.

Up till his release, he was held in a prison designated for category B prisoners, but in an interview following his release, he was asked:

“In detention, is there a difference in the treatment which category A, B and C prisoners receive and that which category X prisoners receive?”

Sitor replied:

“There is no difference. Furthermore we ourselves did not know in what category we were classified. Only after my release from Salemba Prison did I know that I was a category X prisoner. But officially in my letter of release it says that I am ‘*non golongan*’ (of no category or group).”

Following his release after eight years’ detention he was put under house arrest for eight months, then under “town arrest” for one year. House arrest and subsequent restriction of movement is standard government practice with regard to all “released” prisoners.

I. Made Sutayasa

Sutayasa is an archeologist. He was arrested on 2 March 1975 at Jakarta Airport when he returned from an archeologists’ conference held in Sydney, Australia. Following his arrest, he was formally dismissed from his post in the National Research Center of Archeology in mid-1975.

Sutayasa is one of those who remain indefinitely in the category of persons liable to arrest for alleged involvement in the 1965 events. When the abortive coup occurred in 1965, Sutayasa was then a student at a university in Bali, where he was a member of a student movement, *Consentrasi Gerakan Mahasiswa Indonesi*, which was associated with the PKI. The former was banned after 1965, and many of its members were arrested. Apart from his membership in this organization, there do not seem to have been any grounds for his arrest, ten years after 1965.

Following his arrest in Jakarta, Sutayasa was transferred in October 1975 to a prison in Den Pasar, the provincial capital of Bali. This prison is just off the road, along Jalan Diponegoro.

Sutayasa has not been charged or tried. He is aged 36, and has a wife and four children.

Dr Djajus

Dr Djajus, who is 63 years of age, has been detained for more than eleven years without trial. He was trained as a doctor of medicine and became well-known for his research on asthma. Djajus was a member of the Association of Indonesian Graduates (HSI).

Before his arrest shortly after the abortive coup in 1965, Dr Djajus had a medical practice in Ambarawa, Central Java. He was at first detained in Mlaten prison in Semarang and then moved to Nusakembangan camp where he spent six years in detention. Later, in December 1975, he was taken to Jakarta, where he was tortured until he “confessed” to the allegations made against him. Then, in October 1976, he was transferred back to Mlaten. Dr Djajus has spent most of his eleven years in solitary confinement, without contact with his wife and eight children. As a result of his prolonged detention, his health has been seriously impaired.

Suprpto Mangkuseputro and Surjadi Wibisono

Before his arrest in October 1965, Mr Mangkuseputro was a director of an industrial trading company, NV Abasan. Several members of his family were arrested with him, but they were released after a few months in detention. Mr Mangkuseputro was transferred from one detention center to another during the early years of his imprisonment. Finally, he was moved to a Nusakembangan prison camp.

In early 1975, almost ten years after the coup, Mr Mangkuseputro’s son, Surjadi Wibisono, was arrested. He was accused of involvement in the left-wing movement before the 1965 events. Shortly after his arrest, he was transferred to Buru. He was among the first prisoners to be sent to Buru since the initial transportations had taken place between 1969 and 1971.

Supardi

Supardi is one of several prisoners in Salemba Prison, Jakarta, who have been detained for many years in an isolation unit, Block N, inside the prison. Before the 1965 events, Supardi was a member of the Railwaymen’s Union (SBKA). His association with that trade union, proscribed shortly after the abortive coup, was sufficient to expose him to arrest as a communist suspect. Arrested in 1966, he has been detained without trial ever since.

Gultom

Gultom is a young painter who comes from Sumatra. Before his arrest he was studying at the Art Academy, ASRI, in Jogjakarta, Central Java. He was a member of the left-wing cultural association, LEKRA. Gultom's parents were unable to pay for his schooling and LEKRA supported him financially while he studied at the Art Academy.

Gultom is one of many artists detained on Buru. He is probably now in his late twenties.

Roespanadi Soedjono

Soedjono worked for many years as a technical director in various ports in Indonesia. Between 1961 and 1962 he worked in Tandjung Priok and between 1962 and 1963 in Ujung Pandang in Sulawesi. In 1964 he travelled overseas to conferences in Sweden and Paris and in 1965 he was appointed President Director of the harbour at Surabaya, East Java. Soedjono was arrested in 1966 and was accused of not intervening on behalf of the authorities in the first few days after the attempted coup. He was categorized as a category C prisoner. In 1969 he was released but was re-arrested in 1970 and sent to Buru Island. He has been there ever since.

Soedjono is now 44 years old. Since his exile to Buru, his wife has had to earn small amounts by selling food. She has no contact with her husband.

PRISONS: CONDITIONS AND FORCED LABOUR

The Indonesian Government has claimed repeatedly that its treatment of political prisoners is humane and that the conditions in political prisons are reasonably satisfactory. In reality, the conditions in most Indonesian political prisons are deplorable, and in many places the prisoners are subjected to forced labour. It would appear that the Indonesian Government is aware of and sensitive to the true state of prison conditions. The Government has created misleading publicity in recent years, and at the same time prevented proper independent evaluation of the conditions in political prisons. Since 1972, the Indonesian Government has not allowed Indonesian and foreign journalists to visit prisons, apart from several conducted tours of Buru by Indonesian journalists, and one brief visit to the island by a Dutch journalist in 1976.

The reluctance of the Indonesian Government to reveal to visiting missions and journalists the true state of political prisons, is demonstrated by its hindrance of the work of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

In January–February 1977, the International Committee of the Red Cross sent a team to visit Indonesian prisons. From its sources in Jakarta, Amnesty International learnt of the steps taken by the Indonesian Government to obstruct the work of the visiting Red Cross team.

Firstly, the team was able only to visit less than 10 prisons, out of the several hundred places of detention in Indonesia, and all the prisons visited were selected by the Indonesian authorities themselves. Clearly, the Indonesian Government had obstructed the normal procedures pertaining to prison visits by Red Cross teams. For example, one of the prisons visited by the Red Cross team was Salemba Prison in Jakarta. Immediately before the visit, 26 Salemba prisoners were transferred to the military prison in Jakarta (*Rumah Tahanan Militer*), in Jalan Budi Utomo. Among the prisoners transferred were: Taher Thajeb, Yubaar Ayub, Karim D.P., Suwondo Budiardjo, Dr Prawoto Wongsowijoto and Gunulyo S.H. These prisoners had a number of things in common: they were articulate, of professional and cosmopolitan background, and therefore capable of explaining their circumstances in European languages.

A transfer of this kind which is not for the purposes of transit

from Salemba to the military prison is unprecedented, and there is no doubt whatsoever that the prisoners were transferred in order to prevent the Red Cross team from interviewing them, thereby obtaining an accurate picture of conditions in Salemba Prison.

After the Red Cross team's visit, all 26 prisoners were transferred from the military prison back to Salemba. The remaining prisoners were told by the prison authorities to speak well of the Salemba Prison conditions when talking to the Red Cross delegates, and they were threatened with reprisals if they did not.

Moreover, information received by Amnesty International from Jakarta indicated that the Indonesian Government had planned to allow the Red Cross team to visit Buru Island, but only for one day. The terms under which the Indonesian Government were prepared to allow the team to visit Buru were unacceptable to the Red Cross so they declined the offer.

Elsewhere too, Amnesty International's Indonesian sources have so far been able to provide information of several prisons where prisoners were threatened by the authorities in attempts to inhibit them from speaking openly to the delegates, and, in at least one other prison, at Sukamulia, several hundred prisoners were transferred to prevent them from being interviewed by the Red Cross team.

Whereas the above-mentioned information was sent to Amnesty International by its own sources in Indonesia, it should be pointed out that the International Red Cross mission was aware of what it described as "the difficulties encountered during the visits". Reporting on its 1977 visit to Indonesia, the International Committee of the Red Cross issued a terse and unusually critical statement:

"An ICRC mission consisting of four delegates, two of them doctors, was in Indonesia from 25 January to 18 February to visit seven places of detention selected by the Indonesian authorities. The centres visited were Salemba, Nirbaya, Ambarawa, Plantungan, Koblen, Sukamulia and Tandikat.

"In accordance with custom, the ICRC communicated the observations of its delegates only to the Indonesian Government. In submitting its report, the ICRC drew the attention of the authorities to the fact that its delegates' findings could not be regarded as an indication of the real conditions of detention in Indonesia for two reasons: the limited number of places visited and the difficulties encountered during the visits.

"The ICRC will continue its visits to places of detention in Indonesia on the condition that these difficulties are overcome". (*International Review of the Red Cross*, No.193, April 1977).

The steps taken by the Indonesian Government to prevent prisoners revealing the truth about their conditions, is illustrated also by what happened at Malang Prison in East Java, when it was visited by a team from the International Committee of the Red Cross in 1974. Subsequently, Amnesty International received from an Indonesian source the following message:

"Another important event to report is the visit by the International Red Cross delegation to investigate the conditions of political prisoners in Malang. Before the delegation's arrival, 18 prisoners, five of whom were sick, were removed and taken to the Den Pom (military police headquarters) so as to prevent them talking to the delegation. The removal of these 18 prisoners proves that the prison authorities were afraid that the secrets of their brutality would be exposed and described to the delegation. Tight precautions were taken by the prison authorities at the time of the delegation's visit, which occurred on 5 September 1974, in order to prevent the delegation from making direct contact with the prisoners. The head of the delegation, Dr Remy Russbach, took a firm stand and said that the visit had the approval of the Indonesian Government. He expressed dissatisfaction with the way he was being treated as he was not permitted to conduct an unrestricted inspection. After permission was finally granted, he managed to escape supervision and entered some blocks to converse with several political prisoners. When he left, he managed to take with him a plastic bag containing a ration of food to prove how badly the prisoners were being treated. Without help from their families, it is impossible for the prisoners to survive. Many would die of starvation, as indeed has happened in Surabaya. The prison commandant's informants told him about these secret interviews, and as a result three prisoners were severely beaten in the prison yard. Thanks to their courage, nothing escaped from their lips.

"After the delegation's visit to Malang, prisoners began to receive vitamins and those who were ill were taken for treatment to Sukun army hospital. During the term of duty of Deputy Commandant Sulaiman, 16 political prisoners have died as a result of lack of medical treatment. Unfortunately, the delegation did not visit another smaller prison where eight women political prisoners are being held in conditions that are far worse than those of the men."

Despite the prison authorities' attempts selectively to transfer prisoners, and despite their threats and reprisals, the Indonesian Government does not appear to have succeeded in vitiating the

effectiveness of visits from International Red Cross teams. Government spokesmen frequently claim that the reports of visiting Red Cross teams show that conditions are good in Indonesian prisons, but the Government has never taken up the request of Amnesty International and others to publish the reports submitted by the International Committee of the Red Cross to the Government about the prisons visited in 1974. The Indonesian Government is empowered to publish these reports if it wishes to prove that conditions in Indonesian prisons are satisfactory, as they claimed.

The most recent example of the Government trying to conceal the truth about political prisoners' conditions, was a speech given by General Ali Said, the Indonesian Prosecutor General, at a luncheon of the Jakarta Lions Club, on 5 January 1977. On 6 January, the Jakarta newspaper, *Sinar Harapan*, reported:

"Ali Said then invited people to compare reports from Amnesty International with that made by the International Red Cross which had given its own evaluation of the prisoners on the island of Buru."

The newspaper also reported that:

"In [the Prosecutor General's] estimation, the propaganda spread by Amnesty International was lacking in objectivity. As an example, he mentioned that with regard to the 1965 prisoners, that they were disseminating photographs which had been made in 1969. Clearly the things they were spreading were out of date photographs."

It was for all these reasons, according to the Prosecutor General, that:

"There cannot be any meeting point between the outlook of the Indonesian Government and Amnesty International. 'For this reason' he said, on the occasion of this function, 'we shall not deal with them. . . . Nevertheless', he said, 'the Indonesian Government is willing to deal with foreign ambassadors who present memorandums or appeals from Amnesty International, but it is quite out of the question for us to deal directly with Amnesty International', he said."

Political prisoners in Indonesia can find themselves confined for indefinite periods in any one of a wide variety of institutions. They may be held in a prison intended exclusively for untried political prisoners; in a prison for criminal as well as political prisoners; in a labour camp or penal settlement; in guarded quarters attached to factories, plantation or public works units; in an interrogation center

or a house unofficially used for interrogation; in a military camp providing servants and labourers for army officers.

The Indonesian Government ignores its constitutional and legal obligations to those of its citizens who are deprived of their liberty and who are held arbitrarily by local military commanders. This means such prisoners have no idea how long they may be held at interrogation centers (possibly for years), and they can be transferred from one kind of penal institution to another over the years.

The case of Subadi, described in the last chapter, illustrates some aspects of the arbitrariness of imprisonment. Initially, Subadi was taken to a prison where his wife could visit him and take him food. Then he was moved to a prison in another town where he was severely beaten during interrogation. Subsequently he was transferred back to the first prison, where he was allowed to return home during the day, returning to the prison at night. After a year, he was transferred to a penal settlement on Nusakembang, where he and the other prisoners are subjected to forced labour. The penal settlement is so inaccessible that his family cannot visit him.

Thus, in one prison the inmates can be treated more or less in the prescribed manner, in another they can be permitted certain privileges, but later their conditions can change significantly, either in the same prison or after transfer to another prison or to a penal settlement. At any stage, prisoners can be forced to work and can be exploited to the financial advantage of the military officers in charge of them.

As regard both prison conditions and release, the prisoners are totally and arbitrarily controlled by local military commanders, who are allowed wide discretionary powers by the central Government.

The following are the different kinds of penal institutions which currently affect political prisoners.

INTERROGATION CENTERS

When Indonesian citizens are arrested for political reasons, they are taken by the military arrest team to a place for questioning. These are buildings whose function is not clearly evident from their external appearance; they look like private dwellings or shops. They are not officially designated nor do most people know of their existence. Some are regularly and exclusively used as interrogation centers, for instance, as in Jalan Tanah Abang and Jalan Gunung Sahari in Jakarta. Moreover, civilian prisoners can be taken to military camps for interrogation, and this is usual with military prisoners. In every town which serves as an administrative center in Indonesia, either at provincial or local levels, there is at least one interrogation center.

In the years following 1965, torture was systematically used as an everyday practice during interrogation. Young girls below the age of 13, old men, people who were frail and ill, were not exempt from torture. It was used not only for interrogation, but also as punishment and with sadistic intent. Cases of sexual assault on women and extreme cruelty were reported to Amnesty International. Deaths from torture were frequently reported up till the end of the 1960s. At the present time, Amnesty International receives reports of cases of torture under interrogation. The worst cases are those of military officers and men suspected of left-wing tendencies, who are tortured by their fellow officers. The Air Force interrogation center in Jakarta is particularly notorious for its use of brutal and prolonged torture.

PRISONS

The massive arrest of large numbers of prisoners detained after 1965 led to many *ad hoc* installations being created or adapted to hold the prisoners. Existing prisons for ordinary criminal prisoners became extremely crowded with political prisoners. Camps used during the war by the Japanese occupation forces to hold prisoners of war and internees were also used, and several, such as the one at Cimahi near Bandung, are still in use.

Until 1972, a few foreign journalists were allowed to visit political prisons, but in the last three years such visits have been forbidden, except for the visit of one journalist to Buru.

All prisons containing political detainees are run by military officers and guards, who are usually members of the military police corps. The prisoners' welfare is left almost entirely to the discretion of local military commanders. Whatever central, regional or provincial policy may be, the officers in charge of prisoners are, in practice, permitted to regulate things very much as they like. For example, they can decide what proportion of any official allocation of funds allowed for prisoners is actually spent on them. The current allowance for food for each prisoner is supposed to be 65 rupiahs (US \$0.17) a day. This is quite insufficient, and even the full allocation of 65 rupiahs is often not given to prisoners, but is in part corruptly appropriated by the prison administration. The prison commanders can make what rules they like about the frequency and duration of prison visits. Brutal treatment of prisoners is commonplace in those prisons where the commandants are notorious for their cruelty, as is the case at Kalisosok and at Ambarawa.

There are different types of prisons. Two prisons are used to detain internationally-known civilian prisoners and senior Army officers. One is Nirbaya prison in Jakarta, with about 60 prisoners,

where former ministers and senior officials are detained together with some former senior military officers. The other is the *Rumah Tahanan Militer* (RTM) in Jakarta, with 150 prisoners, which was previously a military prison and now also contains civilian political detainees and others who are in transit between camps and are kept there temporarily. In both of these prisons, living conditions are known to be relatively satisfactory; the food allowance for the *Malari* 1974 prisoners, for example, was 310 rupiahs (US \$0.80) per day, which was better than the daily allowance for the 1965 prisoners (65 rupiahs a day), but was still inadequate. Some of the *Malari* 1974 prisoners, were allowed as much as 500 rupiahs (US \$1.25) per day, depending on the prison, but this was exceptional (see Chapter 11).

When ordinary prisons previously intended for criminals are used, political prisoners are generally isolated from the other prisoners. The conditions of the untried political prisoners are far worse than those of convicted criminals.

The relatively few political prisoners who have been tried and sentenced are usually kept in prisons administered by civilian prison guards, for example, the prison at Cipinang near Jakarta.

The accommodation in prisons, except in a few such as Nirbaya and the RTM, is grossly inadequate, with extreme over-crowding. Sanitation and washing facilities are desperately poor. In some cases, prisoners who were issued with one bar of soap in 1971, have never since received another. Over-crowding in the prisons of the big cities has been eased somewhat by the transfer of political prisoners to prisons in smaller towns, but these smaller mixed prisons have totally inadequate facilities and are extremely over crowded.

Even so, the prevailing conditions in prisons are relatively better than those at interrogation centers, where prisoners sleep in very small unventilated rooms, or are crammed together along guarded corridors.

The combination of grossly inadequate food, deficient in proteins and vitamins, the extreme over-crowding and the lack of adequate medical care, has made tuberculosis endemic amongst prisoners. In almost every Indonesian prison known to Amnesty International, there are known cases of tuberculosis and cases of suspected tuberculosis. In the relatively better prisons, these are isolated cases, but in the extremely over-crowded prisons, where medical care is virtually non-existent, the disease affects more than half the prisoner population. Many other diseases are also common in the prisons, especially beri-beri, infections of the skin, gastro-intestinal diseases and chronic ailments caused by diet deficiencies. But the incidence

of tuberculosis is the most significant demonstration of the cumulative effect of continual long-term deprivation and lack of care. In the worst prisons, more than half the prisoners have contracted tuberculosis.

The government provides the most rudimentary medical facilities in prisons, and prisoners who fall ill in most cases rely on what they themselves or their fellow prisoners receive from outside. If the illness requires a visit to a hospital, the prisoner, in most cases, has to cover the cost of transport and to pay bribes to guards. Many prisoners have no money and must therefore do without treatment, even when seriously ill. In the prisons which provide some elementary medical care, the doctors' visits are infrequent and irregular, and drugs prescribed by the doctor must be brought and paid for by relatives. Prisoners who have no relatives to visit them (and this applies to about 85% of them) have to rely upon an occasional dose of medicine from the inadequate stock of drugs kept in some prisons. Even drugs bought outside or donated by welfare organizations are stored in the prison office and liable to be used by the officers and guards.

The current food allowance of 65 rupiahs (US \$0.17) a day has been seriously affected by inflation and food prices. The standard diet for political prisoners consists of one small serving of plain boiled rice a day, amounting to a few spoonfuls. In many prisons other starch substitutes, such as tapioca, are given to the prisoners in place of rice. The small amount of starch provided as the staple for each meal is supplemented by a minute piece of soyabean cake (*tempe* or *tahu*) and occasionally a small piece of fish. Fortunate prisoners who are visited by relatives, bringing them food, receive crucial additional protein and vitamins. They share this with other less fortunate fellow prisoners and so no individual prisoner receives sufficient. Nonetheless, supplementary food from relatives is an intrinsic part of the system of political imprisonment. Because of the persistent denial of adequate official provisions, the food and drugs brought by the comparatively few relatives who visit prisoners are essential in preserving the lives and health of political prisoners in general. Amnesty International has repeatedly stated that it is the government's duty, since it holds these citizens arbitrarily without trial, to ensure the health and welfare of the prisoners.

Apart from food and drugs, virtually every item the prisoners use is supplied by people outside. The government provides a small cell housing several prisoners, and the prisoners have to acquire their own bed, clothes, washing materials and other requirements. Prisoners in some centers are allowed to make small objects for sale, and

they need to do this in order to earn the money to buy at least some basic necessities for themselves.

With variations depending on which local centers they are in, prisoners are permitted visits from relatives perhaps once a fortnight or once a month, and if families are allowed to bring food, they may do so once a week by leaving it at the prison office. Usually, a certain portion of the food is eaten by the prison authorities. The prisoners are denied writing materials, except in some prisons, where an occasional postcard to relatives, limited to 20 words, is permitted. No reading matter is allowed, except the Bible and the Koran.

Prisoners who belong to a particular religion may attend a weekly prayer meeting, which is conducted by a religious worker supervised by military chaplains, or by moslem *imams*. During the past year, there have been indications that *Kopkamtib* has forbidden the churches to make new converts among the prisoners, as the government is embarrassed because a large proportion of prisoners have become registered as converted Moslems, Roman Catholics and Protestants.

The prisons described below are selected partly because they are representative of a wide geographical area. A number of them are located in the most remote parts of Indonesia and are small and obscure. Nonetheless, there are hundreds of such small town jails holding political prisoners, and these have always been ignored by the Indonesian authorities when they present statistics about the total number of political prisoners.

Surakarta

The prison in the town of Surakarta in east-central Java is a typical prison of medium size, holding only untried political prisoners. There are altogether about 450 of them, 30 to 40 chronically ill and most of the time confined in separate buildings for sick prisoners. The prisoners themselves do not know to which category they have been assigned.

They are housed in four old buildings surrounded by a high wall. The cells within the buildings each contain a number of prisoners; a few are shared by two prisoners, while others are shared by more than 20. In each cell are raised cement platforms to serve as beds. The lavatory facilities are limited to a hole in the ground in each cell which is connected to the outside drain and is flushed with water kept in a container. There are also in addition, two rooms for prisoners receiving punishment.

The medical officer who is nominally supposed to visit the prison

in fact does so only infrequently. In cases of emergency, prisoners are sent to a nearby hospital where any medical care they receive has to be paid for by them. More than a tenth of the prisoners are known to suffer from tuberculosis. Of the total of more than 450 prisoners, 190 need regular treatment for some illness or another.

The prisoners are given one meal a day, served just before noon and consisting of a small serving of rice and vegetable soup, together with a minute portion of *tempe* or *tahu*. Nothing else is provided. The prisoners' families are allowed to send in food.

The prisoners are allowed to make small handicrafts, which they sell, through their families, although they earn very little in this way. They are also required by the officials to work without payment outside the prison, for example, they have been required to construct a tennis court.

They may not read newspapers. The few books allowed are only religious ones. The permitted visits from their relatives may not exceed 10 minutes and are permitted once a fortnight.

This prison, compared with most others can be said to be relatively "adequate". Here the prisoners are treated somewhat better than is generally the case elsewhere. There have been no reported cases of brutality.

Bukit Duri

Bukit Duri Prison in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, contains only women prisoners. According to the latest estimate, about 50 women are detained there. Most have been in prison for more than 11 years. It is believed that about 25 of them have been placed in category A and the remainder as category B. (There are other units which hold women political prisoners only, such as at Plantungan in Semarang in north-central Java, which holds about 300. Near Semarang is another women's prison at Bulu, which holds about 60 women political prisoners. In Malang in East Java, there is a prison holding eight women political prisoners in appalling conditions.)

Bukit Duri is another prison where the detainees are relatively better off than the majority elsewhere. The prison was once extremely over-crowded, but many prisoners were transferred to other prisons. Cells hold from one to four inmates. They sleep on cement bed platforms using mattresses and pillows that they or their relatives have supplied. A male army doctor visits the prison once a week and two of the prisoners help as nurses. Among the prisoners is a doctor, Mrs Sutanti, who is denied facilities to treat the other prisoners.

The daily meal is supposed to be taken about noon and consists of a little rice with *tempe* or *tahu*. This is supplemented by the

prisoners by means of the small sums of money they earn from their handicrafts. The prisoners supply their own clothes, soap and washing materials. They take turns in cooking the prison food.

One incoming and one outgoing letter a month are supposed to be permitted. The prisoners have to ask the commandant for writing paper.

Each prisoner may have a monthly visit of half an hour. Up to three to five visitors are allowed per prisoner. About a tenth of the prisoners have relatives in the Jakarta area, but the families of the remainder live too far away for the journey to be feasible, or else there are no relatives who could visit. A visiting permit must be obtained from the military authorities and this has to be renewed every three months. Families may bring food to the prisoner and this has to be left at the prison gate. Although the current treatment of the prisoners does not appear to be particularly harsh, during their early years in detention some of them were interrogated and severely tortured. The husbands of many of the married women are also detained or have died, and the children of the more fortunate are looked after by relatives and other people. There are several confirmed and suspected tuberculosis cases.

The position of these prisoners is examined in greater detail in Chapter 10. It should, however, be stressed that physical conditions for these women are bearable only because of their own efforts to obtain their minimal requirements. As in the case of most other prisoners, the authorities provide inadequate food and other necessities.

Lampung

Lampung Prison is near the town of Tanjungkarang in the southernmost part of Sumatra. It is a mixed prison containing about 200 criminal prisoners, who are kept separate from the approximately 30 political prisoners. Of the latter, 15 are women. There are known to be two children aged five in prison with their mothers, who are political prisoners. Lampung is in many ways a typical small political detention center in a regional town. The political prisoners are kept in three cells, two for the women and one for the 16 men. Seven of the latter have to sleep on the ground. There is an open lavatory consisting of a hole in the ground in each cell connected to outside drainage. As is usual, the prison authorities provide no soap for personal washing and laundry.

An army doctor is supposed to be in charge of medical care for the prisoners, but he has never visited the prison. The prison authori-

ties provide no medical facilities whatsoever. Twice a month, nurses from a religious social work organization visit the prisoners. Seven prisoners out of a total of 31 are confirmed tuberculosis cases. Several prisoners have other illnesses. Medicines are desperately needed.

The food provided by the prison authorities is quite inadequate. The daily ration amounts to only one bowl of cooked rice weighing about 300 grams. No protein in the form of meat or fish is provided except on four special days in the year. The only prisoners to receive vegetables are those who have earned some money from their handicrafts or have received help from their families.

In this way too the prisoners provide their own soap and clothing, none being provided by the authorities. The prisoners' families are poor and seldom able to supply any material necessities.

Although the prisoners are supposedly permitted regular visits from their families, it is very difficult for the latter to obtain permission to visit, and they are limited by the authorities to only a few visits a year. The isolation of the prisoners is so serious that their mental condition is reported to be seriously affected.

The confinement of infants with one of their parents in prison is not unusual.

Liananggang

The prison is in the village of Liananggang, which is 20 kilometers southeast of Banjarmasin in the southernmost part of Kalimantan (Indonesian Borneo). It is a prison exclusively for political detainees: 12 women, 4 boys and 7 girls, and about 140 men. The children, aged 2 to 11 are not classified as political detainees by the authorities, although they are held with their parents. The prison consists of eight buildings in open ground surrounded by barbed wire. The wooden buildings are thatched with palm leaves. The floors are beaten earth. There is no electric lighting.

The prisoners provide their own clothing and soap, and supplement their food ration with their earnings from raising poultry and from cultivation of pineapples and vegetables. From the sale of their produce, they each earn about 40 rupiahs (US \$0.10) a day.

In general, the conditions in this prison resemble those in most prisons, except that the prisoners are allowed to keep poultry and that there are as many as 11 children in the prison. The older children are allowed to attend school in Liananggang; their families have to pay for this. There are no educational facilities for the younger children.

Ranomut

Ranomut prison is six kilometers from Manado, at the northernmost tip of the large island of Sulawesi (formerly known as The Celebes). The prison holds more than 300 political prisoners, of whom perhaps 60 are former police and military personnel and the remainder civilians. All the prisoners are category B.

The buildings are in open ground surrounded by a double row of barbed wire. The roofs have no internal ceilings and do not provide adequate protection from the heat. Not having blankets, most of the prisoners cover themselves at night with jute sacking material.

The prison authorities do not provide a visiting doctor, nor do they provide medicines. When seriously ill, prisoners are taken to a hospital in Manado. The prisoners have to pay for any drugs prescribed, and since most of them do not have the money with which to pay, the prescriptions are meaningless. The prisoners' families are extremely poor, having been deprived of their breadwinner and cannot give financial assistance with money. There are several cases of tuberculosis and other chronic diseases. Many of the prisoners need dental treatment, but none is allowed.

The daily food ration is a mash of rice and ground maize (less than 200 grams), with a minute piece of fish. The prisoners grow some vegetables with which to supplement their diet.

Although in theory prisoners are allowed visits from their families every third week, the commandant rarely grants permission.

The prisoners had been transferred to this camp from Manado Prison in 1973. When imprisoned in Manado, from 1965–1973, at least 25 of them had died because of their privations. Their present condition, bad as it is, is relatively better than before 1973.

Payakumbuh

The prison is in the center of the town of Payakumbuh (population of about 60,000), 30 kilometers east of Bukit Tinggi in central Sumatra. It is a mixed prison containing about 50 political prisoners, one of them a woman who is kept in a cell with four criminal prisoners. Most of the prisoners have been in jail since 1965 and were tortured during interrogation, although there has been no more torture for the past two years. General conditions are bad and similar to those in most other Indonesian prisons.

There are several other political prisons in the Bukit Tinggi area, containing altogether about 1,500 prisoners.

Brief notes on a number of other typical prisons

Masohi is on the large island of Ceram in the Maluku archipelago

(formerly known as The Moluccas). There is a camp here containing more than 80 prisoners.

At *Martapura*, 40 kilometers east of Banjarmasin in Kalimantan, there is a prison with 25 political detainees.

At *Soasiu* in Tidore Island, a relatively small island in north Maluku there are six political prisoners, two of whom are men, all imprisoned in a house near the local military commander's residence.

There is a prison in the town of *Ternate* on Ternate Island, which is relatively small and just north of Soasiu Island in the Maluku. It contains more than 200 male prisoners and 20 women prisoners, all of whom are category B. In general, conditions here are roughly equivalent to those elsewhere, except that some of the prisoners were required to build new houses for army officials outside Ternate and others have had to work in a fishery. The prison is very overcrowded.

At *Den Pasar* in Bali, there is a prison with more than 300 political prisoners.

At *Malang* in eastern Java there is a prison holding more than 590 political prisoners. More than 15% of the prisoners have died since 1966. They are frequently beaten by Lieutenant Suleiman, the deputy commandant, and by the guards, and the interrogations that are held are exceptionally brutal. Few families can afford to visit the prisoners.

The prison at *Ambarawa* in Central Java, holding about 910 prisoners, was once a Dutch colonial prison, and the prisoners' living conditions are at present extremely unhealthy. The prisoners are allowed very little food. Many of them are former soldiers including officers.

At *Kalisosok*, near Surabaya in East Java, conditions are also very bad. Among the 950 political prisoners there are several who were recently reported to have been brutally tortured. Brutal, continuous torture has been the norm at this notorious prison.

LABOUR CAMPS

Most untried political prisoners are liable to be used as forced labour and can be made to work in mines, on plantations, in fisheries and on building and public works projects. Some of these projects are run by state corporations and agencies, others by private companies with whom local commanders have a financial arrangement whereby they are paid a regular sum for each drafted prisoner, out of which a very small amount, sufficient to buy only cigarettes, and thus called "cigarette money", is given to the prisoner. Prisoners may be moved daily from their camps to a place of work; alternatively, they may be

housed in temporary billets like that at Cilacap, where they are forced to work in an iron ore mining project, to which they were moved from Nusakambangan. Prisoners are also used by the local military to grow rice and vegetables and to raise livestock for the benefit of local army garrisons. They are also used as servants, as gardeners and as labourers, and in projects such as building houses and making tennis courts. For such work, they are usually given a minimal payment or nothing at all.

The trend of government policy increasingly has been to keep prisoners in camps which are located in farming country and to maintain a prison system which forces them to work as agricultural labourers. This is partly so that the prisoners' food ration can be supplied by the produce of their labour, and partly in order to supply the food for the officers and guards. This system enables the local military commanders to profit from the exploitation of prisoner labour. The following two examples illustrate how this forced labour system works.

Tangerang

This prison is in the town of Tangerang, which is 25 kilometers west of Jakarta. There are about 200 category B male prisoners. All are required to work in an adjacent prison farm, of more than 100 acres (40 hectares).

The prisoners are confined in buildings looking like an ordinary prison. They have to sleep on the ground on mats which they have themselves to supply. Almost all their necessities, such as cooking utensils, pillows and soap, have to be supplied by their families. Once a year, the prison authorities distribute a shirt and a pair of trousers to some prisoners, but not to others.

The food ration consists mainly of rice and vegetables. Sometimes *tempe* or *tahu* is provided, and, very occasionally, a little fish or meat, or an egg. The prisoners receive supplementary food from their families who have to leave it at the prison gates and may do so three times a week.

Inside the prison, the prisoners have to cook, clean and repair the buildings and to grow vegetables. The work outside the prison, called "the project", is on the prison farm and involves growing rice, raising fish in a fish farm, raising goats, buffaloes and poultry. This work is compulsory for all prisoners and the prisoners are not given any payment whatsoever. They may not use their own produce, that is they cannot eat any of the rice, fish or meat that they have produced, except when a very small portion of it is given them as part of their prison ration, which is quite insufficient and has to be

supplemented by the food from their families.

The prisoners walk to the prison farm and start work from eight in the morning. They continue until 5 p.m. and have an hour's lunch break at noon.

They are not allowed to read newspapers or to listen to the radio. They are permitted 30-minute weekly visits, but only by close relatives.

Nusakambangan

Nusakambangan is a peninsula south of the port of Cilacap in south-central Java. Because it is separated from the mainland by a river, it is commonly referred to as an island. In the past, Nusakambangan had been notorious as a convict colony, housing criminal prisoners, and until recently the only people allowed on the island were convicts, political prisoners and their guards. The government is hoping to develop Nusakambangan as a nature reserve and tourist center, and the neighbouring port of Cilacap is the focus of major development projects involving iron ore mining and the construction of facilities for servicing super-tankers and distribution of petroleum products.

The more than 4,500 prisoners are confined in more than seven, possibly nine, units. They may all be category B prisoners. The prison camps are spaced at intervals along the 50 kilometers' width of Nusakambangan. The buildings are in an appalling state of disrepair. The prisoners sleep on mats on wooden platforms.

The authorities provide eating utensils in some of the units. On 17 August 1974, (National Day), a small bar of soap was issued to every prisoner; apart from that, the prisoners have received nothing with which to wash themselves or their clothing. Since 1971, they have been issued with two sets of clothing, consisting of shirt and trousers.

They may receive supplementary food from their families, who either bring it with them when they visit or else post it. These arrangements are virtually useless because of the isolation of Nusakambangan and the great distances separating the prisoners from their family homes. Visits are very expensive and difficult to arrange, and posting parcels is expensive; furthermore, they are sometimes lost in transit or are stolen by the guards.

Apart from the ill and the very old, all prisoners are forced to work. Each unit is surrounded by fields, created from dense tropical jungle by the prisoners and farmed by them. The prisoners have to work on rubber plantations and in forestry, to build roads, to cultivate rice, to do carpentry and to construct and repair buildings, to

raise cattle, poultry and goats, to collect bird dropping deposits to use as fertilizer, to clean the camps, to perform services for their guards and officers by sewing and in other ways, to cook their own food, and to make handicrafts (musical instruments, toys and carvings), which are marketed by the authorities. They have to work all day, from early morning until five in the afternoon, with an hour's break at noon. They are not paid for their work; the profits go to the military administration.

The prison ration consists of rice and vegetables. The prisoners are not permitted to use their own produce, and are never allowed to eat meat or poultry. A little dried fish is occasionally allowed. Prisoners may supplement this inadequate diet by personally, during their spare-time growing vegetables, mainly sweet potatoes and cassava.

As at Tangerang, the prisoners on Nusakambangan are kept in extremely poor conditions, considering the work they are compelled to do, for the benefit of the military authorities. They are ill fed, unpaid, inadequately clothed, have negligible washing facilities and totally inadequate medical facilities. They are not given medicine when they fall ill.

These prisoners are in many ways worse off than those at Tangerang. Nusakambangan is remote from the main centers of population and the prisoners' families tend to live in other parts of Java, far away from the island. Visits are very difficult to arrange. First permission has to be obtained from the military authorities at Semarang, which is in north-central Java, more than 200 kilometers away. Next, the family has to travel to Cilacap to a special port at Wijayapura to seek further permission to see the prisoner. This request is passed on to the authorities in Nusakambangan, who then have to find out in which unit the prisoner is, and bring the prisoner over by boat to Wijayapura for a brief meeting with the family. A typical example of the difficulties involved is the case of a prisoner's wife who sold their only bed and other saleable belongings to collect enough money to visit her husband with their children. After obtaining the necessary permission at Semarang, she went down to Cilacap and waited for four days for the prisoner. Unfortunately, the authorities said they could not find him in time, and, her money having run out, she had to leave with her children without seeing her husband.

Although visits are usually permitted twice a month, the few families who do attempt to visit prisoners are obstructed at various levels of the military hierarchy and have to bribe them.

The only other contact which prisoners have with their families is through censored postcards which they are allowed to send each

month, writing a maximum of 20 words on each card. The post is very slow. In their postcards the prisoners invariably ask for medicines and other requisites and, although these are sent when the families can afford to buy them, the latter never receive any acknowledgement of the parcels.

CONCLUSION

There are illegal places of detention, referred to in Indonesian as *tempat menahan gelap*, whose existence is concealed from the community. Another kind of detention is that of making prisoners the servants of army commanders; thus a girl prisoner who was found to be good at English was made to live in the commandant's house and teach his children. Other prisoners have to act as servants in military garrisons, they constitute an unpaid compulsory labour force for the garrison's benefit providing for their needs. Some small groups of prisoners are to be found in dwelling houses that serve as detention centers, for instance, at Soasiu on Tidore island. This is common throughout the Republic. The most usual practice is for a handful of political prisoners to be held in a segregated part of ordinary criminal prisons in small towns throughout the Republic.

The prisons cited in this chapter are by no means the only ones of their kind in the same locality; thus Bukit Duri is the women's prison in the national capital, Jakarta, but there are other prisons in Jakarta such as Salemba, with more than 500 prisoners, the RTM with several hundred prisoners, Nirbaya with about 60 prisoners, an interrogation center at Jalan Tanah Abang with 80 prisoners and another interrogation center at Gunung Sahari with 50 prisoners, as well as the 200 prisoners at Tangerang.

Similarly, as well as the prison at Liananggang, there is within the environs of the city at Bangarmasim, another prison center containing more than 150 prisoners. Further away, the prison at Ranomut in North Sulawesi is only six kilometers distant from the prison in Manado with another 160 prisoners.

In the city of Semarang in Central Java, there is a prison at Mlaten for 200 men, and a prison at Bulu for 60 women political prisoners; and prisoners are still interrogated and tortured in a private house in Jalan Dr Tjipto's, which is used as an interrogation center. At Plantungan, near Semarang there is another women's prison, with about 300 inmates.

Another example is at Mojokerto in East Java where there is a political prison for more than 120 prisoners and also a military police headquarters (No.82), containing 25 prisoners. Throughout the Republic, small- and medium-sized towns tend to have only one

prison, the bigger towns tend to have several containing political prisoners, as well as interrogation centers; and prisoners are to be found in local military barracks and used as forced labour by private firms and in public works projects.

As can be seen from the above examples, prison conditions vary, as regards routine, requirement to work, medical facilities, food rations and living conditions in general. Although there are great differences, clearly conditions on the whole are extremely poor, and they certainly do not conform to the standards said to be government policy and which the government claims are met. Prisoners mostly receive less than their daily food ration of 65 rupiahs, which anyway is insufficient. The prison guards tend to pilfer the little food which is intended for the prisoners. Moreover, it is common practice for the guards to consume much of the food which families bring for prisoners; as a rule therefore, families and welfare organizations bring food for the guards as well as food for the prisoners, in the hope that the foremen will allow the prisoners a certain amount of what has been brought for them.

Prisoners are subject to beatings. They are frequent and brutal in such prisons as Kalisosok, Ambarawa, Malang and others where the commandants themselves encourage cruelty or permit junior officers to torture prisoners. The Indonesian Government has the power to abolish torture.

TRANSPORTATION TO PENAL SETTLEMENTS: THE BURU SOLUTION

When the Indonesian Government announced on 1 December 1976 that it intended to release all category B prisoners in a phased program over three years, it also announced plans to transport prisoners to permanent settlements remote from their home areas. The Government's announcement implied that many prisoners would be "released" by being transported to penal settlements. The Chief of Staff of *Kopkamtib*, Admiral Sudomo, gave this explanation:

"There must be sufficient employment opportunities for (category B prisoners), since unemployment would create fertile ground for all kinds of acts contrary to law, and this in itself would pose a threat to the national security, particularly to law and order. For this reason, the Government plans to establish transmigration centers in Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi and other places. Those who come from Java which is densely populated, are to be transmigrated to the island of Buru and other islands, in accordance with the guidelines on national transmigration as stated in the Second Five-Year National Development Plan. The program states that the resettlement and transmigration require a large budget and this could not be met in one fiscal year; hence the release by phases in 1977, 1978 and 1979." (Press statement released by the Indonesian Embassy, London, see Appendix II).

The Indonesian Government's tendency to think in terms of penal settlements for political prisoners has been evident for a number of years. Instead of releasing prisoners, the Government has conceived plans to remove them from their home provinces, transport them to penal settlements, and to explain such projects as "transmigration" in furtherance of national development schemes. In this way, the Government has hoped for several years to "solve" the problem of political prisoners.

The realities of the "transmigration solution" are illustrated by the experience of political prisoners who have been transported to the penal settlements on Buru Island. It may be recalled that even in the case of Nusakambangan (see Chapter 8), that the transfer of prisoners to the prison camps on that island, to some extent,

resembled penal resettlement and forced labour. However, the Government's experiment on the island of Buru most clearly demonstrates the harshness of the "transmigration solution" and its gross violations of human rights. The prisoners removed from their prisons in Java to the harsh physical conditions of Buru are not allowed visits from their relatives and friends, and are all subject to compulsory labour.

THE BURU SCHEME

The island of Buru is part of Maluku, one of Indonesia's easterly groups of islands. It is mountainous and for the most part covered by dense primary jungle. There is an indigenous civilian population of about 40,000 living in coastal areas. Agricultural methods are primitive. The island has no roads linking the small capital Namlea to other townlets and villages; the only form of transportation is along rivers or beaten tracks. Regular communication with the rest of the Republic is virtually non-existent, the only link being an occasional transport service between Namlea and Ambon, the capital of Maluku. There are altogether more than 18 prison camps holding political detainees on the island.

In July 1969, the Indonesian Government announced the establishment of a permanent resettlement camp for untried political prisoners on Buru Island. By then the first batch of 2,500 prisoners had been transported there in conditions of utmost secrecy from prisons throughout Java. Until 1975, there were more than 9,800 prisoners on the island. This was significantly less than the total number of prisoners transported to Buru from July 1969, which amounted to more than 10,000.

Amnesty International received information in 1975 that the prisoners on Buru were compelled to construct new camps sufficient to house several thousand prisoners whom the authorities intended to transport to the island in 1976. It is now known that more than 4,000 prisoners have been transported to Buru in 1977, again in conditions of utmost secrecy. Thus, there are now about 14,000 prisoners held in camps on the island.

The authorities have reported the deaths of 143 prisoners during the first six years after they began to arrive on Buru, but certainly this is an underestimate. As regards the few individual cases for which the authorities have stated cause of death, the brief explanation, such as "intoxication", is insufficient to indicate whether the prisoner died from an illness, committed suicide or died from other causes. The suppression of adequate public information does not allay suspicion that the authorities are embarrassed about

such a high death rate among prisoners said to have been chosen for transportation to Buru after they had been checked for physical fitness. It is still the case, as when the Buru "project" was started, that the physical conditions of the areas on the island allotted to the prisoners are exceptionally harsh.

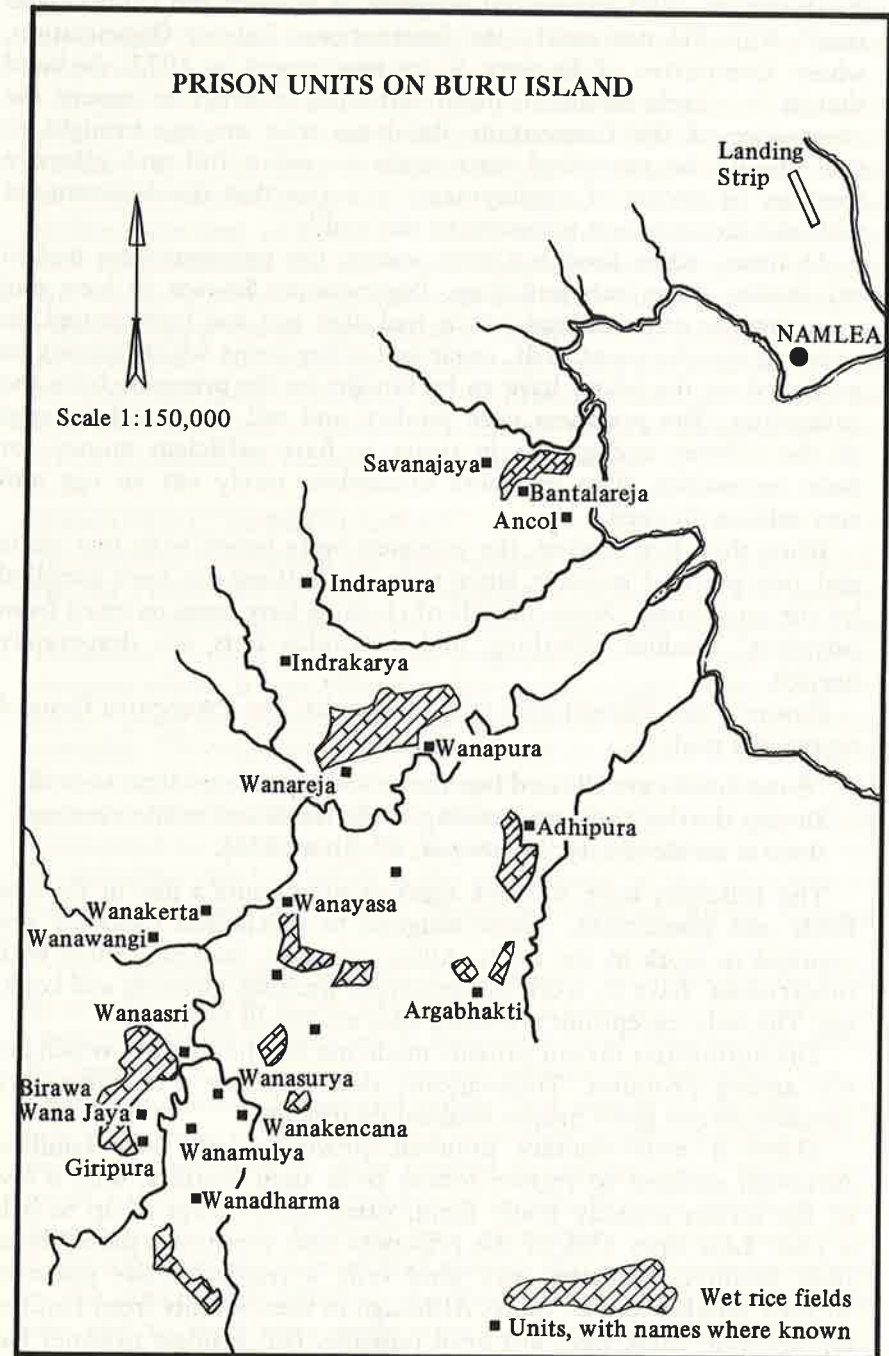
The establishment of detention camps on Buru made political imprisonment more permanent. Instead of bringing the prisoners to trial and releasing those against whom no charges could be brought, the government had embarked on a course of long-term compulsory "resettlement" for the prisoners concerned.

The prisoners were transferred in secrecy and great haste from various prisons throughout the Republic where they had been relatively near to their families. In most cases there was no time for leave taking. They were transported by the ship *Tobelo* mainly in September 1969, December 1970 and throughout 1971. At Buru they were gathered together in a transit camp near Namlea, called Jiku Kecil, before being transferred to one of the units in the Apu Valley. At each site the prisoners were required to build a prison camp. They were made to build the bamboo rafts and carts for transportation along the river and jungle tracks.

The lands which are now cultivated fields were, in 1969, primary and secondary jungle. The prisoners had to clear the jungle and expand the areas under cultivation. At present, each unit of about 500 prisoners cultivates an area of between 50 and 300 hectares for rice, and up to 100 hectares for other crops such as maize, cassava and vegetables. Although there are large areas producing rice, the prisoners' food ration consists mainly of sweet potatoes, cassava and vegetables. Part of the rice stocks, timber and other products are used by the authorities, ostensibly for export to enable the purchase of fertilizer. It is now known that one third of the total produce resulting from prisoners' labour is seized by the military administration for the benefit of the officers and soldiers guarding the prisoners.

Indonesia ratified the International Convention on forced labour in 1950. The Report of the Committee of Experts of the International Labour Organization in 1976 affirmed that "the detainees cannot be considered to have offered themselves voluntarily for the work in question, but are performing forced or compulsory labour within the meaning of the Convention. The Committee trusts that measures will be taken at an early date to put an end to this situation".

The Indonesian Government immediately countered the ILO charge of using political prisoners for forced labour by reiterating



its December 1976 announced program of releases and "transmigration". This did not satisfy the International Labour Organization, whose Committee of Experts, in its new report in 1977, declared that it "... feels bound to point out that, in order to ensure the observance of the Convention, detainees who are not brought to trial should be permitted once again to enjoy full and effective freedom of choice of employment. It hopes that the Government will take the necessary measures to this end".

At times, when food has been scarce, the prisoners have had to eat snakes, mice, rats and dogs. Prisoners are known to have dug up a cow or other animal which had died and had been buried, in order to eat the meat. Salt, sugar and other items which cannot be produced on the island have to be bought by the prisoners from the authorities. The prisoners raise poultry and sell these and the eggs to the officers and guards in order to have sufficient money for basic necessities. The prisoners themselves rarely eat an egg and very seldom chicken.

When they first arrived, the prisoners were issued with two shirts and two pairs of trousers; since then no clothing has been supplied by the authorities. Some parcels of clothing have been received from prisoners' families. Clothing and mosquito nets are desperately needed.

Prisoners are allowed only religious books. The Prosecutor General reportedly said:

"Some books are allowed but the prisoners have no time to read. During the day they are working in the fields and in the evening there is no electricity." (*Kompas*, 23 June 1975).

The prisoners have to work eight or nine hours a day in the rice fields and plantations. Those assigned to specialized tasks are not required to work in the fields. Ailing prisoners, including those with tuberculosis, have to work in the camps, washing, cleaning and cooking. The only exceptions are those who are too ill to move.

The authorities do not provide medicine for the diseases which are rife among prisoners. Tuberculosis, skin infection and alimentary diseases are not given proper medical treatment.

There is little contact between prisoners and their families. Although entitled to receive letters from their families, only a few of the letters actually reach them, often after delays of up to half a year. Less than 15% of the prisoners have received a parcel from their families. Prisoners may send only a regulation-size postcard to their families and no more. Although in theory visits from families are allowed, these have not been possible. Not a single prisoner has

had a family visit since arrival on Buru. However, the authorities have encouraged the prisoners to bring their families to Buru, to ensure the permanence of the "resettlement" scheme.

In July 1972, 84 wives with their children were sent to join their prisoner husbands in Buru. A second group of 62 wives was sent in February 1974. In early 1975, another group of wives, mainly from the Jakarta area in Java, was taken to Buru. In addition, two other families were sent to Buru, but when the authorities were unable to trace the husbands, the wives and children were returned to Java. The remaining wives, their husbands and their children are housed in a special camp called Savana-Jaya (Camp No.4). Altogether there are now about 400 children in the camp. Wives and children have to live under the same conditions as the prisoners and have to work for their food and basic requirements, except that the children are permitted to attend the elementary school in Namlea.

PERMANENT "RESETTLEMENT"

The decision to establish the Buru project was taken by *Kopkamtib*, and the Prosecutor General was appointed to supervise the project. Thus the military authorities which staff *Kopkamtib* delegated to the Prosecutor General's office the responsibility for those political prisoners whom it was official policy not to release. This, however, did not place the political prisoners on Buru in the control of civilian authority. The regional military command at Ambon is in charge of all security arrangements of the project and the guards are recruited from the Military Police Corps. Moreover, the Army is powerfully represented in *Bapreru* (Buru Resettlement Executive Authority), the executive chief of which is the commander of the 15th Military Command, based at Ambon, Brigadier General Abdul Rahman Suwodo.

The official reasons for the scheme were set forth by the then Prosecutor General, Sugih Arto, (himself a general), in the preface to a brochure issued by *Bapreru* in December 1969. This explained that the transfer of category B prisoners to Buru was intended "not to isolate them from the general public, but merely to provide them with a new way of living together with their families, because if they were to be returned to their original community now, their safety would be at risk". This explanation implies that the prisoners were transported to Buru for their own protection, but it is made clear in the very next sentence of the brochure that the underlying reasons for the policy were different: the Prosecutor General stated that the men sent to Buru were those who the government firmly believed had played "an important role in planning, supervising and carrying

out. . . . the 30 September/PKI Movement either before, during or after it took place; however, we have not sufficient evidence to prosecute them further. We consider it still to be a danger to our security to return them to the community; they are still like a thorn in the side of the community". Thus it seemed to have been the government's view that it was the community which needed protection from people who could not be prosecuted because of lack of evidence.

The most striking thing about the Buru project is that those permanently detained there are compelled to labour for their own sustenance, thereby relieving the government of its responsibility to provide for the essential needs of people whom it detains without trial. Provisioning the prisoners on Buru was supposedly the authorities' responsibility only for the first eight months after their arrival; from then on the prisoners were forced to live from their own labour, but even then they were deprived of benefiting from the food they themselves produced. Official statements about Buru have always stressed that the project was not supposed to be a concentration camp, but an agricultural resettlement scheme, whereby political prisoners would be "given the opportunity" to become self-sufficient. The government insists that there is no forced labour on Buru. The Prosecutor General, in the *Bapreru* brochure, emphasized that "resettlement on Buru Island is not like any previous or recent concentration camps abroad because on Buru Island there is no forced labour".

The *Bapreru* brochure justifies the system of forced labour on humanitarian grounds. It refers to a Dutch colonial regulation stating that detainees should "whenever possible be given the opportunity to work". It then states that, according to Indonesian *Panca Sila* principles, "everyone, whether a member of a free society or undergoing punishment. . . is obliged to work". Such "principles" are the basis of the government's policy of forcing prisoners to work on Buru Island, and elsewhere, for instance in the prison camp at Tangerang, and in labour camps on Nusakambangan. These principles are also used to justify the arbitrary employment of political prisoners throughout the Republic in forced labour projects. This view of the government is stated most clearly in the *Bapreru* brochure:

"Procuring work for the detainees of the 30th September/PKI Movement, therefore, is one of the government's efforts to respect them as human beings who, in the interest of their physical and social development, must work to the best of their ability."

It is quite reasonable for the laws of any society to uphold the right of its free citizens to work; but it is surely wrong for a government to assume the right to compel untried detainees to work in order to survive. The survival of political prisoners on Buru depends on their doing a long day's arduous labour under the strict supervision of armed guards. It is a program that applies to all, the young and the old, the sick and the healthy, except for those who are so ill that they cannot rise from their sleeping mats. One foreign journalist who visited the island in December 1971 reports in *Newsweek*, 14 February 1972:

"For those with no previous farming experience, and for the older men and the intellectuals, the gruelling manual labour is sheer physical punishment."

Forced labour is performed by men for whom the government no longer considers itself responsible. They are forced to engage in hard labour while weak from prolonged food deprivation. A high proportion of the prisoners are chronically ill but do not receive even the most elementary medical treatment. They are without adequate clothes and other requisities. Although the majority are unfit for hard physical labour yet they are compelled to perform this day after day.

In 1972, when it was first learnt that there was a high death rate on Buru, officially admitted to be 143, the authorities explained that the prisoners had died not because of conditions on Buru, but as a result of ailments they had before their transfer. Yet it was emphasized in the *Bapreru* brochure that all prisoners transferred to Buru had undergone medical examinations to check their physical fitness. By December 1972, the Indonesian Embassy in London was claiming that deaths were due not to illness but to old age; this contradicted the original assertions that no one aged over 45 was to be transported to the island.

FAMILIES ON BURU

The Indonesian authorities have always insisted that their plans to bring the families of the Buru prisoners to the island are humane. But the prisoners themselves, and most of their relatives regard the matter very differently. In December 1971, when a group of Indonesian and foreign journalists visited Buru, not a single prisoner to whom they spoke showed any desire to have his family with him. While separation from their families is one of the most intolerable aspects of their existence, they realize that life on Buru is totally unacceptable to and far too arduous for their wives and children.