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### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN INDONESIA

The situation of political prisoners in Indonesia remains essentially the same as it was when Amnesty International last approached IGGI states a year ago. At that time, Amnesty estimated the number of prisoners at a minimum of 55,000. Many independent observers feel that Amnesty is considerably understating the position.

#### 1. Numbers

During 1973, the Indonesian authorities produced two new sets of figures regarding the numbers of persons in political detention; these figures are in conflict not only with earlier official statistics, but also with each other, confirming once again the unreliability of official statistics.

In an address to the People's Deliberative Assembly (MPR) on 12th March 1973, President Suharto stated that there were 2,000 "A" Category prisoners, a marked decrease from the earlier official figure of 5,000. In July 1973, the President supplied figures for the position at the end of June, 1973, to a visiting journalist according to which there were 2,457 "A" Category detainees. This fall indicates that nearly 2,500 detainees who were originally scheduled for trial are not after all to be brought to court; they have presumably been re-classified, although no official explanation regarding this has been forthcoming.

With regard to "B" Category detainees, President Suharto stated on March 12th that there were 13,117. In addition, there were "some prisoners who, since they are still under interrogation, have not yet been classified"; here, he was presumably referring to the "X" Category prisoners. In July, however, President Suharto said that, at the end of June, there were 26,650 "B" detainees and 7,114 "X" detainees. The journalist added: "I was also told that on the same date there were 9,898 on Buru". There is ambiguity as to whether the Buru prisoners are included in the total of "B" detainees or are in addition to it. Whatever the figure intended the total of "A", "B", and "X" Category detainees given is far in excess of the figure that Amnesty International had been led to expect, namely 23,000, once "C" Category detainees were released. In March 1973, President Suharto stated that all "C" detainees had been released, but the above figures indicate that this cannot be the case; rather they indicate that a large number of "C" Category detainees have been re-classified as "B" Category detainees or have been transferred to the "X" Category, and are now awaiting re-classification.

Indeed, President Suharto has been quoted as stating that a prisoner's classification can be expected to change with the acquisition of new evidence, and that this is a continuing process. Amnesty International believes that this constant re-assessment of the classification of detainees, so many of whom have been held in prison for many years already, not only adds to the legal insecurity of these detainees by delaying their

release or postponing their trial, but also renders suspect any undocumented accounting by the Government of the nature and scope of the problem.

## 2. Trials

A number of trials have taken place during the course of 1973, but the Government has not published any figures recently about the number of trials held so far. In June 1973, General Sumitro, then Commander of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Order (KOPKAMTIB) was reported in the press as saying that as from 1973, trials would be held at the rate of 200 per year. Information collected by Amnesty during 1973 indicates that the number of trials held during the year was far lower than 200, but even if this rate were achieved, it would take 13 years to complete the trials of those now said to be "A" Category detainees. A large number of these detainees have been in detention for  $8\frac{1}{2}$  years already, and most of the remainder for at least four or five years. Thus, even at the promised rate, many of the "A" prisoners will have been in detention for a total of 15 years or more before being brought to trial.

## 3. Conditions

Amnesty International has continued to receive information which confirms that the Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners are being flagrantly violated. In particular, it is deeply concerned about evidence of a serious worsening of detention conditions as a result of deteriorating food supplies to the prisoners, the total absence of supplies of clothing, and the continued lack of contact between detainees and families. Malnutrition is known to be widespread in prisons and places of detention throughout the country; the situation is particularly serious in Salemba Prison, Jakarta, in Ambarawa Prison in Central Java, in Kalisosok Prison in Surabaya, East Java and in a place of detention on the outskirts of Ujung Pandang, South Sulawesi. Three detainees in Salemba Prison died in a single week in December 1973 from malnutrition. While statistics for the death rate at Ambarawa Prison are unavailable, it is known that a number of detainees have been taken to hospital from the prison, suffering from advanced malnutrition. Furthermore, many detainees on Buru, particularly those who receive no supplementary supplies from their families, have no clothes and are clad in obnoxious rags which cannot even be washed because the detainees are never given any soap. Health conditions on Buru are also extremely bad; Indonesian journalists who visited the island in October 1973 reported that, on occasion, as many as 70% of the detainees in a single unit have been afflicted with malaria and that 9 detainees out of a total of less than 1,000 in this same unit are suffering from tuberculosis. The Times article quotes President Suharto as stating in August 1973 that there were 9,898 prisoners on Buru; this means that 102 prisoners had died there since the establishment of the camp in 1969, a mortality rate of over two persons a month. This figure is all the more serious in view of Government assurances that only able-bodied men who had been medically examined were transferred to the island, and moreover that all were under

45 years of age, although Amnesty International knows of prisoners on Buru who are now in their late fifties.

4. Buru Detention Camp

Recently, the Indonesian authorities have made considerable efforts to present an improved image of detention conditions on Buru island, the detention area which has drawn the most international attention and concern since its establishment in 1969. General Sumitro visited the island in October 1973. Considerable publicity was given to the reported amenities provided by the authorities and there were interviews and meetings with a small number of prisoners. However, only one of the detainees interviewed, a prisoner named Poerwadi, expressed satisfaction with the conditions under which he was being held on Buru (he is one of the 84 prisoners who have been joined by wives and families), while all the others spoke warmly of their desire for freedom.

During the course of his visit, General Sumitro announced that the Indonesian Government was intending to introduce a system of "social integration" on the island, which he presented as the solution for political detention. Before commenting on the Government's reported intentions in this respect, Amnesty International would like to stress that the immediate trial or release of all untried prisoners is the only solution that accords with the principles laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

In the absence of a verbatim report of what General Sumitro said, we can only summarise reports made by several journalists who accompanied him on his visit to Buru. "Social integration" is intended to apply only to Buru which holds less than 30% of all political prisoners; furthermore, its application, even within Buru is restricted to those who will comply with certain criteria to be described below and will in effect be valid only for those prisoners who are joined by their wives and families; so far only 84 families have come to Buru which accounts for less than 1% of the total number of detainees in the island camp. As far as can be gleaned from journalists' reports, "social integration" will mean that detainees in question will be permitted to engage in economic intercourse with the surrounding population in order to achieve self-sufficiency in the fulfilment of their basic needs. It is not clear, however, whether the government will permit the detainees free and unfettered use of money; at the moment, detainees are not permitted to handle money. Neither will the detainees be granted freedom of movement as it is at all times implied that they will be permitted to integrate socially only within the confines of Buru. Nor is it suggested that they will be allowed to leave the island even temporarily or to communicate uncensored with persons elsewhere. In fact, "social integration" implies a system of permanent exile, under which detainees, even if no longer referred to as detainees, will continue to live under constant constraints and supervision.

Moreover, restrictive and unsatisfactory as it is, "social integration" is to be based not upon a proper legal settlement of the cases of the detainees in question, but will be dependent upon the fulfilment of two conditions: firstly, a change in the way of thinking and attitude of

the detainees, and secondly, a willingness on the part of society to receive them back. These are not standards which satisfy the requirements of juridical norms, but ones which will be based upon an arbitrary evaluation of attitudes.

5. New Purges in Civil Service

In 1973, all government departments announced that all civil servants described as Category C personnel would be purged, over a period of 18 months. A sample of the announcements is the Decision No. 019/1973 of the Minister of Health dated 12th July, 1973 which explains that the decision is based on an instruction of the KOPKAMTIB (Army Security Command) TR 484/KOPKAM/V/1973. C Category personnel are those who were rank-and-file members of the various organisations and trade unions deemed to have been left-wing which were banned together with the Indonesian Communist Party immediately after the abortive coup in October 1965.

The extent of the impact the purge may have on various sectors is indicated by a press report in November 1973 that 43 lecturers and administrative personnel would be affected by the purge in the Diponegoro University Semarang.

6. New Arrests in January 1974

Student unrest in the latter part of 1973, which was directed at government economic policies, culminated in demonstrations of protest against the visit to Indonesia of the Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Tanaka on 15/16th January last. Following the demonstrations, a large number of arrests were made, according to official figures about 750 persons in all. Those arrested included several noted Indonesian economists and lawyers, as well as many members of the Students Council of the University of Indonesia in Jakarta and other student leaders.

Some of those held were youngsters, stall-keepers, pedicab drivers and others; of these, a few have been brought to court on charges of breaking in and looting. It has not been possible to evaluate the weight of evidence against them nor to discover the rights the accused were granted in defending themselves.

As with the position of those political prisoners held in connection with the events of 1965, Amnesty International finds it difficult to ascertain whether government pronouncements regarding the status and numbers of those still in detention are true. For an indication of the unreliability of government pronouncements, we point to repeated assurances by government spokesmen that detainees' families are informed of the whereabouts of their arrested relatives and are permitted access to make visits. Reports that have reached Amnesty indicate however that some of the families do not know the place of detention and have not been allowed to make visits.

According to one recent figure published by government spokesmen, there are now 31 persons still in detention in connection with the January

demonstrations, and these are described as the "hardcore" elements, responsible for organising the movement of dissent. A statement by the Chief of Staff of Kopkamtib, Admiral Sudomo early in March indicated that these people would be brought to trial on charges connected with the subversion laws and could be liable to the death sentence. We give below brief details of a few of those who are still being detained and are awaiting trial.

1. Professor Sarbini Sumowinata Professor of Economics at the University of Indonesia; Head of the Central Bureau of Statistics until 1964. After the coup, he was closely connected with President Suharto's "kitchen cabinet", but broke away from the group of economists who subsequently became the core of Suharto's team of technocrats. He was a member of the PSI which was outlawed in 1960, and never restored to legality under Suharto.
2. Dr. Dorodjatun Kuntjorojahti Economist; Lecturer in Economics at the University of Indonesia. Post-graduate studies at Berkeley, California in the late 1960's. Frequent contributor of articles to Tempo, a critical weekly magazine.
3. Yap Thiam Hien (about 60 years old) Lawyer; Head of the Human Rights Institute; Deputy Chairman of the Indonesian Bar Association (Persatuan Advokat Indonesia); member of the International Commission of Jurists and of the World Council of Churches.
4. Adnan Buyung Nasution Lawyer; Director, Legal Aid Bureau. At the end of 1973, he was becoming more outspoken in his criticism of the Army Command, KOPKAMTIB, which he described as 'unconstitutional'.
5. Haji C. Prinsen Also a human rights figure; Secretary of the Human Rights Institute. He was arrested and held for several months in 1972, when protests about the Indonesia-in-Miniature project were at a climax.

7. Newspapers Banned Recently

Following the demonstrations in January, 1974, protesting about the visit to Indonesia of Japanese Prime Minister, K. Tanaka, a number of newspapers in Jakarta and elsewhere have been banned. In some cases, publishing permits have been revoked, which means that the papers will not be allowed to appear any more. In others, printing permits have been revoked, which means that they may at some future time be allowed to reappear.

The papers currently banned are: Harian Kami, Abadi, Musantara, Indonesia Raya, Pedoman, Jakarta Times (Jakarta Dailies); Suluh Berita (Surabaya Daily); Expres, Pemuda Indonesia, Wenang, Mahasiswa Indonesia (Jakarta Weeklies).

Journalists of these papers will have to be 'cleared' of involvement in the 15th January, 1974 events (in addition to needing clearance of involvement in the October 1965 events) before they can be employed in any other organ of the press.