



Women's Human Rights Monitoring Report

Gender-Based Crimes
Against Humanity:

Listening to the Voice of Women Survivors of 1965

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GENDER-BASED CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY:

LISTENING TO THE VOICES OF WOMEN SURVIVORS OF 1965

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Authors Team:

Ita F. Nadia

Karen Campbell Nelson

Sawitri

Rina Widyawati

Experts Team:

Agung Ayu Ratih

Galuh Wandita

Reader Team:

Kamala Chandrakirana

Husayn Muhammad

Abda A'la

Arimbi Heroepoetri

Neng Dara Affiah

Vien Soesono

Data Collection and Verification Team:

Theodora Josephin Erlijna (Lingkar Tuter Perempuan)

Ester Rini Pratsnawati (Lingkar Tuter Perempuan)

Kusnul Hidayati (Syarikat Indonesia)

Rumekso Setyadi (Syarikat Indonesia)

Design Team:

Paragraphworld.deviantart.com

NATIONAL COMMISSION ON
VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

KOMNAS PEREMPUAN

KOMISI NASIONAL ANTI KEKERASAN TERHADAP PEREMPUAN

Jl. Latuharhary No.4B

Jakarta 10310

Indonesia

Telp: +62-21 390 3963

Fax: +62-21 390 3922

Email: mail@komnasperempuan.or.id

Website: www.komnasperempuan.or.id

Table of Content



Table of Content	3
Executive Summary	7
Introduction	19
Glossary	24
 CHAPTER I	
METHODOLOGY AND PROCESS OF PROMOTING DIALOGUE	25
A. Documentation and Study	28
B. Mutual Learning	31
C. Teaching History	32
D. Pioneering Reconciliation Efforts	32
E. Paving the Way for Dialogue	33
F. Teaching History	35
 CHAPTER II	
HISTORICAL CONTEXT	41
A. Background of Gerwani	46
B. Mass Media and Negative Propaganda about Gerwani	48
C. From Negative Propaganda to Physical Attacks	58
D. The Impact Of Attacks Against <i>Gerwani</i> On The Women's Movement	60
 CHAPTER III	
FINDINGS ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST WOMEN.....	65
A. Patterns of Human Rights Violation Against Women	67
Right to Life and Right to Protection from Forced Disappearance	67
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction	68
• Women Victims of Extrajudicial Killing and Forced Disappearance	69

Right to Protection from Arbitrary Detention, Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment -----	74
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction -----	75
• Women in Detention -----	77
<i>Inhumane and degrading treatment of women during arrest -----</i>	<i>78</i>
<i>Inhumane detention conditions -----</i>	<i>79</i>
<i>Relocation from one detention site to another -----</i>	<i>81</i>
<i>Detention without trial -----</i>	<i>84</i>
<i>Torture during detention -----</i>	<i>87</i>
<i>Sexual torture during detention -----</i>	<i>91</i>
<i>Rape and sexual slavery during detention -----</i>	<i>94</i>
<i>Children who were with their mothers in detention -----</i>	<i>100</i>
<i>Forced labour -----</i>	<i>102</i>
<i>Special detention sites for women -----</i>	<i>104</i>
<i>Sexual violence upon release -----</i>	<i>106</i>
Right to Security -----	109
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction -----	109
• Assaults against Women and Their Families -----	109
• Sexual Violence during Mob Attacks -----	112
• Looting, Damage, and Confiscation of Property -----	115
• Violation of the Family's Right to Protection -----	116
<i>Mothers forcibly separated from their children -----</i>	<i>116</i>
<i>Women whose husbands or family members were victims of summary executions and forced disappearances -----</i>	<i>121</i>
<i>Women whose husbands were detained -----</i>	<i>127</i>
<i>Sexual violence against women whose husbands were imprisoned -----</i>	<i>130</i>
Right to Protection from Forced Displacement -----	134
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction -----	134
• Experiences on Buru Island -----	135
<i>Women forcibly relocated to Buru Island -----</i>	<i>135</i>
<i>Children on Buru Island -----</i>	<i>137</i>
<i>Sexual slavery on Buru Island -----</i>	<i>138</i>
<i>Release of prisoners that neglected women and children -----</i>	<i>139</i>
Ongoing Persecution after Release: Grave Denial of Fundamental Rights ----	141
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction -----	142
• Problems with Identification Cards -----	142
• Denial of the Right to Freedom of Movement -----	144

• Denial of Political Rights -----	146
• Denial of the Right to Work -----	149
• Denial of the Right to Education -----	152
• Ostracism and Stigmatization by the Community and Family -----	153
Impact -----	160
Human Rights Framework	
• Introduction -----	160
• Impact on Physical and Mental Health -----	160
• Economic Impact -----	163
B. Key Findings: Women as Victims of Crimes Against Humanity -----	167
Applicable Law and Statute of Limitations -----	168
The Application Of International Law Based On Findings	
That Meet Threshold Conditions For Crimes Against Humanity -----	169
<i>The element of a widespread attack on a civilian population</i> -----	170
<i>The element of a systematic attack against a civilian population</i> -----	170
The Application of International Law Based on Findings	
That Meet the Elements of Gender-Based Crimes Against Humanity -----	172
<i>Gender-based Persecution</i> -----	172
<i>Denial of Fundamental Rights in Violation of International Law</i> -----	172
<i>Individuals or Groups Targeted Based on Group or Collective Identity</i>	
<i>(political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender)</i> -----	172
Rape and Sexual Torture as Crimes against Humanity -----	173
Sexual Slavery as a Crime against Humanity -----	173
c. Responsibility -----	175
The Rights of Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations	
According to International Human Rights Law -----	175
Individual Criminal Responsibility -----	176
Responsibility of Non-State Institutions -----	177
State Responsibility -----	177
<i>Ongoing Persecution</i> -----	178
<i>Ongoing Denial</i> -----	179
<i>No Follow-up to Previous Apologies</i> -----	179
<i>Ongoing Impunity for Perpetrators</i> -----	180
<i>Victims Continue to Suffer Without Reparations</i> -----	180
<i>Failure to Protect Human Welfare and Dignity</i> -----	182

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion And Recomendations -----	183
Conclusion -----	185
Recomendations -----	185
Epilogue -----	189
Appendice -----	190
1. Letter of Complaint from Women Victims of the 1965 Tragedy	
2. Komnas Perempuan's Position on the Testimonies of Women Victims of the 1965 Tragedy	
3. Mrs. Nani Nurrachman's Open Letter (Daughter of Late Maj. Gen. Soetojo)	
4. Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No.32 year 1981 on Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and Former Criminals of G.30.S/PKI	
5. 5A. Presidential Decree Number 16 year 1990 : Special Conditions of Inquiry for Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia	
5B. Presidential Decree Number 39 Year 2000 : The Revocation of Presidential Decree Number 16 year 1990 About The Special Conditions of Inquiry for the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia	
6. Decree Number Kep-009/kopkam/2/1969: The Establishment of Buru Island As a Temporary Residence for Prisoners Detained in relation to the 1965 Tragedy	
7. Visum et Repertum of the General	
8. Map: The Location of Detention and Interrogation in Solo	

Executive Summary



→ Introduction

According to Presidential Decree No.65/2005, the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Komnas Perempuan*) has a mandate to contribute to the establishment of a situation conducive to the elimination of violence against women and promote understanding about all forms of violence against women. In keeping with this mandate, *Komnas Perempuan* received a complaint presented by women victims of the 1965 atrocities. These women, mostly elderly, testified about the violations and violence they experienced in the past, as well as the discrimination they continue to experience. They also presented their demands and hopes for a better future.

In a genuine response to the needs of these victims, *Komnas Perempuan* tasked itself to understand and analyze the experiences of women victims of 1965, facilitate dialog on the experiences of women victims of 1965 with government and non-government institutions, and produce an official report on its findings, with recommendations to the President and Government of Indonesia.

Komnas Perempuan consulted with historians and experts, studied academic research on this period, collected historical archives and other evidence, and conducted an in-depth analysis of 122 testimonies of women survivors of 1965.¹ *Komnas Perempuan* is aware that these testimonies represent only a small portion of the victims. However, it is confident that the findings in the report capture the main patterns of violations that took place.

¹ *Komnas Perempuan* had access to testimonies and evidence gathered by two non-government organizations, *Syarikat Indonesia* (in citations noted as SRK) and *Lingkar Tutar Perempuan* (Women's Narratives Circle; in citations noted as LTP), as well as testimonies collected in a private capacity by Commissioner Ita F. Nadia. *Komnas Perempuan* independently verified this evidence, and met directly with victims to ensure veracity of the evidence gathered.

Historical Context

The truth about the series of events that took place in September 1965 remains hidden and is beyond the scope of this report. However, *Komnas Perempuan* notes that the official version of what happened in 1965 does not describe the wave of violence perpetrated by state officials in the aftermath of the murder of the seven military officers on September 30th, 1965. This omission, which continues until today, constitutes an official denial that lies at the heart of continued discrimination and persecution towards victims.

In the mid-1960s, Indonesia was in the midst of highly charged political turmoil, with tensions among Muslim groups, the military, and groups aligned with the Communist Party of Indonesia (*PKI*). On September 30th, 1965, a group of middle-ranking military officers with alleged links to the *PKI*, kidnapped and murdered six army generals and one officer.

In response, Major-General Soeharto was appointed to lead the military operation to crush the rebellious group. Mass killings began on the islands of Java and Bali, and in other parts of the country in October 1965. To date, the number killed in this carnage is still undetermined, but is estimated at between 500,000 to a million deaths. At least another million were incarcerated, and subjected to torture and ill-treatment without any legal recourse or trial. Prisoners detained during events around 1965, which included men, women and children, were gradually released by 1979. Although they were closely monitored and required to report to the authorities, their civil and political rights were never fully restored.

Established in the context of revolutionary zeal in 1950, *Gerwani* (the Indonesian Women's Movement)² aimed to achieve equal rights for women through organizing skills and literacy training for women, and establishing preschools in rural areas. By 1965, *Gerwani*, claiming a membership of 1.7 million women, took an active lead in implementing the national policy of agrarian reform, in close affiliation with *PKI* and other farmers' organizations. *Gerwani* also participated in volunteer trainings for government-led political campaigns to liberate Irian Jaya (now Papua) and against Malaysia.

During the period of the 1965 Tragedy, members of *Gerwani* and other women suspected of affiliation with *PKI*, became the target of systematic killings, forced disappearance, arbitrary detention, torture, and sexual violence. *Komnas Perempuan* believes that *Gerwani* was the target of a smear campaign designed to bring about its total destruction.

² When first established, it was named the Movement of Aware Women-Wives (*Gerwis*).

Despite the existence of autopsy reports which show that the generals died, bodies intact, from gunshot wounds, as well as from beatings with blunt instruments, newspapers began reporting that the bodies were mutilated—eyes gouged out and genitals castrated. The *Angkatan Bersenjata* (Armed Forces), a daily newspaper owned by the military, was the first to report, on October 11th, 1965, that “*Gerwani* volunteers played with the generals by rubbing their genitals onto their own.” The following day, *Duta Masyarakat* (*Society’s Ambassador*), a daily newspaper under *Nahdlatul Ulama*,³ reported that “according to trustworthy sources, *Gerwani* members danced naked in front of their victims.” These unsubstantiated reports spread to other newspapers, with fantastic descriptions of acts of sexual torture and castration by members of *Gerwani* resulted in violence targeted at women.

Komnas Perempuan has corroborated evidence that reveals a pattern of sexual torture, conducted in various detention sites in many locations. Women victims were insulted with disdainful words, accused of involvement in a sexual dance while participating in the torture and killing of the generals, and their bodies stripped and examined for hidden tattoos depicting the Communist Party symbol.

Patterns of Human Rights Violations that Women Experienced

Komnas Perempuan found overwhelming evidence in the 122 statements it studied that gender-based crimes against humanity were committed against women in the context of the massive wave of attacks against civilians.

→ Right to Life and to Protection from Forced Disappearance

Killings and disappearances reported in the 122 statements studied

	Military	Police	Prison/ Camp Authority	Organized Youth Groups	Unknown	Angry Crowd	Total Violations ⁴
Killings	10	0	1	0	15	3	29
Disappearances	8	3	3	0	21	0	35

³ *Nahdlatul Ulama*, commonly known as NU, is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. NU was established in 1926 by a group of conservative religious scholars and teachers, mainly from Islamic schools in rural East and Central Java, who wanted to defend traditional forms of religious belief and practice against a renewal Islamic movement centered in urban areas known as *Muhamadiyah*. See Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (eds.), *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 201-202.

⁴ Total violations refer to the number of counts of these violations mentioned by women in their statements. In some cases there are multiple perpetrators for one violation.

Right to Freedom of Movement and to Physical Integrity

Detention, torture, and cruel treatment reported in the 122 statements studied

	Military	Police	Prison/ Camp Authority	Civilian Official	Organized Youth Groups	Civilian Defence	Unknown	Angry Crowd	Total Violations
Torture	81	9	12	3	13	4	10	1	133
Detention	224	47	145	10	3	4	24	0	457
Abduction	97	17	1	16	15	6	65	5	222

Other violations in detention reported in the 122 statements studied

	Military	Police	Prison/ Camp Authority	Civilian Official	Unknown	Organized Youth Groups	Total Violations
Lack of Medical Care	8	2	4	0	0	0	14
Food Shortages	29	6	16	4	0	1	56
Poor Prison Conditions	20	4	5	0	1	1	31
Forced Labour	33	3	16	3	1	0	56
Abuse on Release	7		2	1	0	0	10
Obligatory Reporting to Authorities	18	0	0	17	1	0	36

Gender-based violations reported in the 122 statements studied

	Military	Police	Civilian Defence	Prison/ Camp Authority	Organized Youth Groups	Unknown	Husband/ Family	Total Violations
Rape	53	1	7	10	1	2	0	74
Sexual Slavery	15	2	0	1	3	0	0	21
Other Sexual Violence	44	3	3	1	3	8	0	60
Pregnancy from Rape	8	1	0	0	0	0	0	9
Forced Abortion	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1
Domestic Violence upon Release	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	3



KEY FINDINGS: WOMEN BECOME THE VICTIMS OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Based on the 122 testimonies received and studied, *Komnas Perempuan* concludes that there are strong indications that the violations committed against women in relation to the 1965 Tragedy fulfil the elements of gender-based crimes against humanity.

Crime against humanity is a serious international crime, in which any certain acts (murder, torture, rape, etc.) occurred in the context of a widespread or systematic attack directed against any civilian population. Essentially, crime against humanity occurred, when the state mobilize its power to attack its own citizens.

Komnas Perempuan draws a number of conclusions:

- Crimes against humanity is part of international customary law, with the trials held at the Military Tribunals in Nuremberg (1945-1946) and Tokyo (1946-1948), and later confirmed with the adoption of the Nuremberg Principles by the UN General Assembly in 1950. Indonesia, as a member of the UN, has recognized these principles and is also bound by international customary law.
- Indonesia's duty to try the perpetrators of crimes against humanity became even more pronounced with the adoption of Law No.26/2000 which established a legal basis for the establishment of a human rights tribunal in Indonesia.
- The 122 victim's testimonies studied by *Komnas Perempuan* describe mass murder, violence, and detentions that were carried out in a number of regions in Java, Sumatera, Bali, East Kalimantan, and Buru Island, resulting in hundreds of thousands of victims killed.⁵ Data examined by *Komnas Perempuan* provide strong indication that systematic and widespread attacks on the civilian population

5 See the findings of the 1966 investigation team of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order in Annie Pohlman, "Women and the Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Gender Variables and Possible Directions for Research" (paper presented at the 15th Biennial Conference of the Asian Studies Association of Australia, Canberra, June 29-July 2, 2004), <http://coombs.anu.edu.au/SpecialProj/ASAA/biennial-conference/2004/Pohlman-A-ASAA.pdf>. This team concluded there were a million victims, supporting the findings of an earlier Commission led by Major General Sumarmo (1965) that stated 78,500 people were killed. See Pramodya Ananta Toer and S. A. Prasetyo, eds., *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat, Pembantu Presiden Soekarno* [Oei Tjoe Tat Memoirs, Aid to President Soekarno] (Jakarta: Hasta Mitra, 1998), Appendix C, 348-366. Also see estimates on the number of victims killed according to a number of foreign sources as set out in Table 1 in Robert Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings of 1965-1966: Studies from Java and Bali* (Clayton, Australia: Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, 1990), 12.

occurred—i.e., attacks were repeated and the same patterns took place in many locations against women who were accused of having links to *Gerwani*, *PKI*, or other groups. For example, victims from different regions report the same method of violence such as being stripped naked under the guise of looking for the Communist sickle and hammer symbol, rape in detention, and sexual torture during interrogation.

- Military, police, and even civilian officials were involved in these operations. Civilian officials ranged from members of neighbourhood associations right up to the national level. Police officers were involved down to the sub-district level. Various branches and units of the armed forces actively carried out these violent operations. These operations to commit violence were carried out on a massive scale and also used state resources, for instance the use of military transport to arrest and relocate victims from one detention site to another, the use of military installations and public buildings as detention and interrogation centres, and the use of state funds to carry out these crimes.
- Additionally, state actors also supported a number of youth organizations to carry out these widespread attacks. The involvement of these organizations facilitated the extra-ordinary escalation of these attacks that resulted in thousands of victims.

Gender-based Persecution

Komnas Perempuan concludes there are strong indications that gender-based persecution, as a crime against humanity, was coordinated and carried out by Indonesian security forces, together with groups that had been resourced and/or supported by them. Persecution against women accused as members of or being affiliated with *Gerwani* and against other political groups took place during the 1965 Tragedy and have continued until now due to discriminatory regulations and behaviour that deny the fundamental rights of victims. Campaigns of violence directed at female victims have been sexual and misogynist in nature.

The orchestrated opinion that members of *Gerwani* were directly involved in the murders that took place at Lubang Buaya, which was accompanied by a tale of how women carried out sexual torture while they danced in circles, established a motive for the targeting of individuals based on their political identity (communist) and gender (women).

Rape and Sexual Torture as Crimes against Humanity

Cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan* show a pattern where the security forces were able to carry out sexual torture and rape against women from the moment they were arrested. There were no attempts from their superiors to prevent or punish the perpetrators of these crimes. These sexual crimes took place in the context of a widespread and systematic attack on a civilian population. The perpetrators knew that their actions were part of this attack and felt certain that their actions would not be prevented or punished, rather that these acts would be supported.

Among others, *Komnas Perempuan* found evidence of the following acts:

- Women were stripped naked, sometimes in public places, offices, or detention sites. In a number of cases, the security forces forced the women to dance or stand for hours while naked. Some women were stripped naked with the excuse of looking for the Communist symbol of the hammer and sickle on their bodies.
- Rape was committed by security forces, in groups, and repeated over long periods. Rape was committed in detention sites or victims were taken to other locations. Rape was committed in the headquarters of the security forces or locations under their control. Rape victims included pregnant women and women who had just given birth.
- Rape included the insertion of a penis into a victim's vagina, or by the insertion of an object into a victim's vagina or anus. Rape was also committed by the insertion of a penis into a victim's mouth.
- Rape of some prisoners resulted in pregnancy. One pregnant victim was released because the perpetrator did not want to take responsibility; another victim experienced violence by security forces in an attempt at forced abortion.
- Electric shocks to breasts and vaginas occurred during interrogation.

Sexual Slavery as a Crime against Humanity

The testimonies studied by *Komnas Perempuan* give evidence of instances where security forces treated women under their control arbitrarily and as possessions, including treating them as sexual commodities. These forms of sexual slavery occurred during detention and after release.

Again, there were no attempts by superiors to prevent or punish the perpetrators of such crimes. Sexual slavery took place in the context of a widespread and systematic attack on a civilian population. The perpetrators knew that their actions were part of the attack, and were certain that their actions would not be prevented or punished.

Among others, *Komnas Perempuan* found evidence of the following acts:

- Female prisoners were treated as personal possessions who were repeatedly raped over long periods. In several cases, sexual slavery resulted in pregnancy. In one case a woman who had just given birth was forcefully separated from her baby.
- Women who had just been released from detention, especially those lacking relatives or resources, were forced to take “accommodation” in locations where the perpetrator could regularly use the victim for sexual purposes.
- Sexual slavery also affected the wives and children of husbands/fathers who were imprisoned, where the military authorities and paramilitary agents treated these wives/children as their personal possessions.

State Responsibility

The state’s legal and moral responsibility for the institutions and officials who were given authority to protect and serve its people cannot be denied and does not disappear with the passage of time. The state bears responsibility for any violations against the state’s obligations under treaty laws or international customary law committed by officials, state institutions, or individuals controlled by the state. This responsibility arises because the state, through the officials, institutions, or individuals under its control, *has directly* committed the offence. This responsibility also arises when the state *fails to prevent or stop* such offences, or *fails to investigate and try* those responsible.

Continued Denial and Persecution

To date, regulations that discriminate against former prisoners and their families—for instance, national identification cards that mark them as former political prisoners, former prisoners who are denied identification cards with life-long validity, and restrictions on work opportunities—have not been revoked and are still valid in Indonesia which shows that the state continues to violate the rights of victims from the 1965 Tragedy. Female victims, especially former members of *Gerwani*, still experience severe discrimination. They are ostracized and stigmatized by the community due to a version of history that remains uncorrected to this day. An artistic depiction about what happened at Lubang Buaya that portrays women dancing naked and helping men to torture the kidnapped generals has absolutely no historical accuracy.

According to international customary law, crimes against humanity are crimes that have universal jurisdiction and carry no statute of limitations. Until now the state has made no effort to investigate or try those most responsible for the crimes against humanity that were committed, even though Law No.26/2000 has created a judicial framework for addressing these crimes.

Victims continue to suffer without reparations

Until now there have been no genuine attempts by the government to give reparations to the victims. What we refer to are wide-ranging reparations, not merely the provision of compensation through judicial mechanisms, as reflected in international jurisprudence.

Based on these findings, *Komnas Perempuan* recommends that the state immediately implement the following **national reparation program**, as detailed below:

I. In Regard to Reparation of Victims' Rights

The Government adopt the decision of the United Nations General Assembly of December 2005 regarding "Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law" as the foundation for a national reparation program for victims of the 1965 Tragedy. In this program, the concept of reparation would include the right to *restitution*, namely to restore the victim to her condition before the violation occurred, including the restoration of liberty, fundamental human rights, identity, family life, citizenship, residence, work, and possessions; *compensation* for economic damages proportionate to the violation suffered; institutional reform to ensure *non-recurrence of violations*; and *satisfaction* that includes cessation of violations, admission of the truth, the search for the whereabouts of the disappeared—including the exhumation of mass graves—an official declaration or judicial decision that restores the dignity of the victim, an official apology, sanctions against the perpetrators, and respect for the victims through commemorations and monuments.

II. In Regard to State Responsibility

1. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** follow-up on a statement of apology and commitment to provide rehabilitation and compensation to victims of the 1965 Tragedy through a comprehensive policy that covers:
 - a. An **admission** that these violations occurred and a declaration based on law that restores dignity to the victims;
 - b. **Support** and **guaranteed security** for all people's initiatives to reveal the truth about the 1965 Tragedy and open dialogue for reconciliation among people;
 - c. **Revocation of** all legal instruments that discriminate against victims, such as the Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No. 32/1981 on Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and Criminals of the September 30 Movement/PKI, Minister of Internal Affairs Letter of November 17, 1981, No.200/4652 (further explanation regarding Implementation Guidelines of Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No.32/1981), and Minister of Internal Affairs Letter of April 26, 1982, No.200/1550 (Instructions for the
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form used in administration of former detainees and criminals of the September 30 Movement/PKI);

- d. **Elimination** of all discriminatory acts directed at former detainees of the 1965 Tragedy;
- e. **Restoration** of all civil, political, economic, and social-cultural rights of all victims of the 1965 Tragedy, including:
 - Initiation of a process to guarantee the settlement of issues relating to the looting/destruction/confiscation of land and property
 - Provision of social security for victims, including, but not limited to, a pension;
 - Restoration of the rights of victims, their families, and their descendants to engage in any type of work they choose;
 - Directing health and social institutions to provide free services to victims who are now senior citizens;
 - Funding and working together with civilian organizations to provide psychological, medical, legal, social, and other services that need to be guaranteed according to the needs of victims;
 - Guarantees for education, including scholarships and skills training, for the descendants of victims;
 - Guaranteed access to institutions of geriatric care and the availability of other living facilities for victims;
 - Development of a mechanism under the appropriate state department or institution, so that civilians are involved in all rehabilitation processes for the sake of transparency;
 - In coordination with civil society and in consultation with victims, development of a special mechanism to overcome economic problems of the most vulnerable women ex-detainees, wives of ex-detainees, widows whose husbands were murdered or disappeared, and their children.

2. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** take the initiative to involve women human rights defenders across generations to produce an official historical writing on Indonesian women that integrates all the violence and discrimination women have experienced, including the findings of this report, as a formal and informal reference for history education.
 3. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** ensure that the revised law on the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation now being drafted is a mechanism for telling the truth about past violations, which includes telling the truth about the 1965 Tragedy, provides access to information that has been kept secret all this time, and integrates the findings of this report.
 4. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** ensure that the process to reform institutions in the state's security sector includes the guarantee that human rights violations committed by the state, including gender-based human rights violations, will never recur.
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5. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** take concrete steps to improve conditions in detention sites and guarantee that facilities for detainees comply with international human rights instruments regarding treatment of criminals, and guarantee that women and underage detainees/ criminals receive special protection.
6. **The National Human Rights Commission** fulfil its mandate to carry out *pro-justicia* investigations of gross human rights violations related to the 1965 Tragedy and that it integrates the findings of this report in such investigations.
7. **All state authorities in executive, legislative, and judicial fields** develop mechanisms for the protection and support of human rights defenders as guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, including women human rights defenders who are especially vulnerable, because of their identity as women.

III. In Regard to National Healing

1. **All elements of the nation** take concrete steps to free themselves from the shackles of stigma regarding *Gerwani* and all other stigmas related to the 1965 Tragedy.
 2. **Civilian organizations** which influence the formation of public opinion, including religious institutions, involve themselves in:
 - a. Grassroots reconciliation efforts between victims and their communities
 - b. Efforts to reveal the truth about the role of civilians in the 1965 Tragedy in their respective circles
 - c. Strengthening the commitment to principles of non-violence and breaking the chains of hate in society
 3. **All state authorities and elements of the nation** support and create a sense of security for civilian efforts in carrying out reconciliation, including, but not limited to, the development of memorials and documentation centres that honour victims, along with serving as a symbolic guarantee that these crimes, including gender-based crimes, will not recur.
 4. **The international community** take all steps and measures needed to ensure and support the Indonesian government in carrying out its obligations to reveal the truth, uphold justice, prevent a recurrence of human rights violations, and guarantee the rights of women victims, including the granting of reparations.
-

Introduction



We . . . women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who are present for this opportunity are women activists detained for years without trial by the New Order government, wives, children, and family members of former political detainees, who have suffered from the impact of arbitrary arrest, detention, torture, and the murder of our husbands, fathers, brothers, and our families. We come today, representing the fate of thousands of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who are unable to attend.

As women activists, we were arbitrarily arrested and detained . . . We were also arrested and interrogated by unauthorized parties, e.g., paramilitary groups supported by state security forces . . . As wives, we have never received an explanation about why our husbands were abducted, then forcibly disappeared, arrested, detained, even murdered . . . As wives of political prisoners, we have also faced verbal abuse, terror, and experienced sexual harassment when we visited our husbands in detention, or were raped while our husbands were in prison. Some among us were forced to "marry" members of state security or paramilitary forces in order to survive and save our families . . . As wives, we had to support our husbands and family members during the time of their detention . . . As family members or relatives of activists involved in mass organizations accused of involvement in the September 30 Movement, we were arbitrarily arrested and detained. State security forces also arrested and detained [our] underage children . . . along with looting our possessions such as homes, land, money, jewellery, valuable documents . . .

During detention we were interrogated and tortured: slapped or hit with objects, stripped naked, given electric shocks, and forced to witness torture of other detainees. Some of us experienced

sexual harassment, some were repeatedly raped . . . There are women who were pregnant and gave birth in detention . . . Those managing the detention sites did not provide us with adequate facilities, such as enough nutritious food to survive. Among us are some who were forced to bring their babies [with them into detention] because they had no family members who could care for them . . . Some of our friends were arbitrarily executed by state security forces and paramilitary groups. They were buried in mass graves or just thrown into rivers . . .

**Excerpt from statement prepared by victims,
presented to Komnas Perempuan, May 29th, 2006**

Thus began a meeting of the Indonesian Women's National Commission (hereafter *Komnas Perempuan*) with a delegation of nineteen women from West Java, Central Java, Yogyakarta, Bali, and East Kalimantan who were victims of the 1965 Tragedy. They came to the *Komnas Perempuan* office to submit a complaint about the violence and discrimination they have experienced and their aspirations for the future.

The registering of this complaint was a historical occasion for *Komnas Perempuan* as well as for the victims. *Komnas Perempuan* had never before received a complaint from a group of women victims who have experienced violence and discrimination for the past forty years, whereas the women victims had also never before come before an official state institution like *Komnas Perempuan* specifically to give testimony and put forward their demands.

The position taken by *Komnas Perempuan* in accepting the complaint of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy has been made public in a document, "*Komnas Perempuan's Position Regarding the Witness of Women Victims of 1965*" dated May 29th, 2006. The document embodies considerations and the position of *Komnas Perempuan* as follows:

Considerations

Komnas Perempuan is mandated to act as a national mechanism established by the President of the Republic of Indonesia to create conditions conducive for the elimination of all forms of violence against women and to uphold women's human rights, as set out in Presidential Decree No.65/2005.

One of *Komnas Perempuan's* tasks is to foster understanding about *all forms* of violence against women that will underlie efforts to deal with and apportion responsibility for past violence, as well as efforts to prevent the reoccurrence of such patterns of violence.

Komnas Perempuan was created due to community insistence that the state be held responsible for large-scale violence committed against women during attacks directed against a specific ethnic group, namely the Chinese community, in May 1998.

Komnas Perempuan is guided in its work by the struggle to fulfil victims' rights to truth, justice, and redress, with the belief that these three rights influence one another and are interconnected.

The Tragedy of 1965 is an inseparable part of Indonesia's historical path that, in turn, will continue to influence the future of this nation so that thorough study and self-illumination are needed, especially for the Indonesian women's movement, to remember how women's roles, bodies, and sexuality were used as a political weapon during this tragedy along with how Indonesian women have been divided as a result of it.

Every form of repression against women is a human rights violation that cannot be silenced by the state or by society.

The first step towards truth and genuine reconciliation is a declaration of the truth. So that a declaration of the truth will have real social-political value, an official admission of the truth on behalf of the state and society is needed.

Law No. 27/2004 regarding the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation states that past gross human rights violations must be investigated to reveal the truth, uphold justice, and create a culture of respect for human rights in order to achieve reconciliation and national unity.

Position

Komnas Perempuan will examine and study the testimonies submitted by the women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, either directly or through their representatives, to gain a complete and clear understanding about the systematic violence and discrimination committed against women linked to this event, as well as its causes and consequences.

Komnas Perempuan will promote understanding and acknowledgement by relevant state institutions including, but not limited to, the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation that is now in the process of formation, and within society, including women's organizations, concerning the entire experience of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, including its causes and consequences, as a foundation for overcoming, taking responsibility for, and preventing a reoccurrence of those experiences, and as a preliminary step towards national reconciliation.

Komnas Perempuan will take specific steps in accordance with its mandate to create conditions conducive to restoring the rights of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, namely the provision of truth, justice, and redress to the greatest extent possible.

Komnas Perempuan will issue an official report that encompasses specific recommendations addressed to the institutions responsible, based on testimony provided by the women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, to advocate for the state to take responsibility for upholding human rights.

During this process, Law No.27/2004 regarding the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation, which was one of the legal reference points for *Komnas Perempuan*, was struck down by the Constitutional Court in December 2006 on the basis of submissions by human rights organizations that questioned the passages on amnesty for perpetrators of past human rights violations. Nevertheless, the intent of this law to reveal the truth and promote reconciliation remains the spirit of *Komnas Perempuan*'s position towards the complaint submitted by women victims of the 1965 Tragedy. Parallel to the research and writing of this report, *Komnas Perempuan* facilitated a process that brought together women victims of the 1965 Tragedy with activists in women's organizations and of the younger generation as an effort to begin chipping away at the wall that has separated human rights defenders all this time.

After engaging in a process of documentation, study, and joint discussion that continued for a year and a half, *Komnas Perempuan* is finally able to publish an official report about the violence and discrimination experienced by women victims of the 1965 Tragedy. Pursuant to *Komnas Perempuan*'s mandate to uphold women's human rights, this series of painful experiences was studied using human rights standards as embodied in the 1945 Constitution and international human rights law. This report also provides a historical explanation for a political event concerning which—forty years later—the majority of Indonesian citizens are still in the dark. *Komnas Perempuan* understands that this bloody event is an inseparable part of the history of the women's movement itself. This report concludes with a number of recommendations addressed to all stakeholders entrusted with the fulfillment of human rights in Indonesia, state and social institutions, along with international institutions that have a human rights mandate.

Komnas Perempuan understands that the 1965 Tragedy remains a controversial part of Indonesia's past and is still actively politicized in the context of the struggle for power. Undoubtedly this report will not be free from these dynamics. Even so, *Komnas Perempuan* is firm in its mission. We hope the findings and recommendations included in this report can be the beginning of an awakening of understanding and acknowledgement by the nation and society concerning the experiences of the women victims of the 1965 Tragedy. In the view of *Komnas Perempuan*, this is an important foundation for addressing, taking responsibility for, and preventing the reoccurrence of all forms of violence against women, and is a necessary first step toward national reconciliation.

Finally, we wish to express our thanks to *Syarikat Indonesia* and *Lingkar Tutar Perempuan* for their valuable cooperation at every phase of this work in fulfilment of our mandate. We also express our appreciation to the International Center for Transitional Justice which supported the final stages of the writing of this report and its translation into English. To the women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, we express our deep respect for your courage in breaking the silence about your experiences of violence and discrimination during the past forty years.

Jakarta, November 29th, 2007

Glossary

<i>PKI</i>	<i>Partai Komunis Indonesia</i> Communist Party of Indonesia
<i>Gerwani</i>	<i>Gerakan Wanita Indonesia</i> Indonesian Women's Movement
<i>IFN</i>	Ita F. Nadia
<i>Komnas Perempuan</i>	<i>Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan</i>
<i>LTP</i>	<i>Lingkar Tutar Perempuan</i> Women's Narratives Circle
<i>SRK</i>	<i>Syarikat Indonesia (Indonesian Union) is short for Santri untuk Advokasi Rakyat Santri for People's Advocacy; santri refers to students in Islamic schools or pious and dedicated Muslims</i>
<i>TK Melati</i>	<i>Taman Kanak-kanak Melati</i> Jasmine Kindergarten

Chapter I

**METHODOLOGY and PROCESS
of PROMOTING DIALOGUE**

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METHODOLOGY and PROCESS of PROMOTING DIALOGUE



The oral and written testimony submitted by the women victims of the 1965 Tragedy on May 29th, 2006, presented *Komnas Perempuan* with several questions: “How did the violence occur?” and “Why did the violence occur?” *Komnas Perempuan* understands that it is not easy to answer these two questions because any explanation would first need to unravel a political event that until now is fiercely debated in the community. The state itself has not yet established an official mechanism to enable a comprehensive and balanced investigation into what actually happened. Despite these existing limitations, *Komnas Perempuan* is still obliged to carry out its mandate to promote and disseminate a clear and complete understanding about all forms of violence against women, including violence that occurred during the political upheaval at the end of 1965.

Komnas Perempuan, through its Working Group on Past Violence, has initiated a process for disclosing the truth about gender-based violence and discrimination relating to the 1965 Tragedy through the application of two approaches that consider both history and human rights. The first approach is specifically designed to glean factual information from testimonies about what victims experienced, who perpetrated the violence, what forms it took, who the victims were, and how the violence occurred. Through this approach we hope to obtain an overview about patterns of violence and discrimination against women that occurred in a number of locations during the aforementioned period. The second approach places more emphasis on the examination of past studies on the socio-historical context that framed the commission of violence against women and the general impact on the lives of Indonesian women until now.

Komnas Perempuan commenced its efforts to reveal the truth by giving full attention to victim testimonies as a basis for promoting understanding about what actually occurred. We realize that the one-sided denial of the victims’ experiences has perpetuated impunity and has allowed violent practices to be carried out across a number of regions in this nation. We hope that the truth revealed through the voices of the victims will act as a vehicle for changing unjust power structures, ending political violence, and breaking the chain of impunity.

Komnas Perempuan also realizes that in order to gain a comprehensive understanding, the process of revealing the truth needs to be accompanied by educational and learning activities involving all parties who have an interest in upholding human rights, especially the rights of women. We hope this process will pave the way towards an acknowledgement of the existence of victims as well as a full admission about their experiences as citizens of this nation to restore the social order that was torn apart as a result of the violence committed since the end of 1965. From our perspective, a willingness to make peace with the past as well as making peace with those who have been perceived all this time as “enemies” or “criminals” is an important prerequisite for efforts to promote a vision of nationalism that is gender-sensitive and humane.

Komnas Perempuan has implemented a number of steps since May 2006 as part of its methodology for revealing the truth, and these steps are explained below.

→ A. Documentation and Study

The collection and management of data is a fundamental starting point for carrying out our work. This work is vital because the state has not acknowledged the existence of crimes involving public officials and state institutions in relation to the political upheaval that took place at the end of 1965.

The main source of data and information about the commission of violence is witness testimony that includes testimony provided to *Komnas Perempuan* on May 29th, 2006, as well as testimony collected by human rights organizations and researchers who first examined issues of violence in relation to the 1965 Tragedy. To facilitate the collection and management of data and information from victims spread across a number of areas, *Komnas Perempuan* worked together with two human rights organizations, namely *Masyarakat Santri untuk Advokasi Rakyat (Syarikat Indonesia)* and *Lingkar Tuter Perempuan (LTP)*. Commissioner Ita F. Nadia also gave this working group access to data and information from research conducted between 1997 and 2003.

The first organization, *Syarikat Indonesia*, is a network of young activists affiliated with *Nahdlatul Ulama* based in Yogyakarta.⁶ Since the end of 2000, *Syarikat Indonesia* has been trying to promote communication between the victims and perpetrators through social meetings held in several cities across Java. *Syarikat Indonesia* called these efforts a “cultural reconciliation movement” to address community divisions at the grassroots

6 Nahdlatul Ulama, commonly known as NU, is the largest Islamic organization in Indonesia. NU was established in 1926 by a group of conservative religious scholars and teachers, mainly from Islamic schools in rural East and Central Java, who wanted to defend traditional forms of religious belief and practice against a renewal Islamic movement centered in urban areas known as Muhammadiyah. See Herbert Feith and Lance Castles (eds.), *Indonesian Political Thinking 1945-1965* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1970), 201-202.

level as a result of political tensions that occurred during the latter half of the sixties. As a preliminary step to initiate the cultural reconciliation movement, between 2001–2003 *Syarikat Indonesia*, with the help of a network of partners, successfully collected data on conflict that engulfed victims in eighteen cities across Java.⁷ From 2004 until now, *Syarikat Indonesia* has investigated and documented the meaning of justice and reconciliation for women victims of the 1965 Tragedy by extending its area of research to fifteen cities in Java and Madura.⁸ *Syarikat Indonesia* now has a network of partners in thirty-three cities.

The second organization, *LTP*, consists of human rights researchers and activists who have focused on researching the history of the Indonesian women's movement and efforts to provide an opportunity for women victims of political violence to speak freely. *LTP* has gathered written materials about the women's movement and violence against women, as well as recorded interviews with women victims of the 1965 Tragedy in a number of areas across Indonesia since 2001. *LTP* also took the initiative in 2001 to organize an informal meeting with women who were victims of several incidents of political violence in Jakarta. Considering that the women who experienced violence and discrimination in relation to the 1965 Tragedy were predominantly located in regions outside of Jakarta, it was difficult to organize a venue for them to speak. In mid-2005, *LTP* decided to organize specific meetings for women victims of the 1965 Tragedy. These meetings then became a medium for examining incidents of violence against respective groups of victims in Solo, Argosari (Kutai Kartanegara, East Kalimantan), and Gianyar (Bali).

The third source of data obtained by *Komnas Perempuan* was the research findings of Ita F. Nadia, who documented cases involving women who were former political prisoners from 1965 together with Mrs. Sulami Djojoprawiro, the former Secretary General of the *Gerwani* National Party Leadership and founder of the Institute of Research into Victims of the 1965 Massacre. Some of this data was used for further research that was conducted in 2003 at the Women's Studies Department, Institute of Social Studies in Den Haag, Holland, which formed the basis for a thesis entitled: *Narratives of Victimhood and Agency: Women Survivors of the Violence in 1965 in Indonesia* (2004) and a book entitled *Listen to our Voices* (Galangpress, 2007).

The Working Group on Past Violence also worked with the Team of Experts to manage and examine data and information with the application of human rights, gender, and

7 The eighteen cities examined were Bandung, Cirebon, Cilacap, Kebumen, Wonosobo, Yogyakarta, Klaten, Boyolali, Salatiga, Blora, Batang, Jepara, Blitar, Pasuruan, Probolinggo, Jember, and Banyuwangi.

8 The fifteen cities added to the *Syarikat Indonesia* network were Sumenep, Nganjuk, Jombang, Tulung Agung, Madiun, Ponorogo, Solo, Magelang, Purwodadi, Sleman, Kulon Progo, Bantul, Indramayu, Garut, and Cianjur.

historical approaches to produce comprehensive findings and conclusions about the structures, patterns, and forms of violence and discrimination. They also examined the continuing effects and impact of violence and discrimination on victims and their families, as well as on contemporary women human rights activists.

The Team of Experts comprised three researchers with experience in their respective fields, to help us manage and analyze data at the latter stages. These experts were Asvi W. Adam, a historian from the Indonesian Institute of Sciences (*LIPi*), Agung Ayu Ratih, a historian from the Indonesian Institute of Social History (*ISSI*) and one of the founders of *LTP*, and Galuh Wandita, also the Director of the International Center for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) in Jakarta and the former Deputy Director and Program Manager of the Commission for Acceptance, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR) in Timor Leste.

Komnas Perempuan organized regular discussions with the Team of Experts to examine a number of studies previously conducted on the political upheaval that occurred at the end of 1965, especially relating to violence against women, to establish definitions and classifications for forms of violence against women in accordance with applicable norms from national and international law, and to formulate a reporting framework for suspected human rights violations identified in victim testimony.

After the Working Group had completed its work, a Writing Team⁹ was established. This team worked for three months (March-June 2007) and prepared a draft report which was then discussed periodically with *Komnas Perempuan* to ensure the authenticity of the data and findings.

All parties involved in the collection of data and information, as well as the management and analysis of data, adhered to a number of work principles, namely:

- Full respect for the rights of the victim to speak without apportioning blame on the victim or opposing their testimony, as well as respect for the rights of victims who do not wish to speak but prefer to have their account recorded;
- Protecting the identity of victims who have come forward to give testimony and share their stories through interviews, except where the victims are willing to reveal themselves;
- Protecting the integrity of documents entrusted to *Komnas Perempuan* by organizations representing the victims.

9 The Writing Team comprised two staff members from *Komnas Perempuan*, members of the Working Group Sawitri and Rina Widyawati, former Commissioner Ita F. Nadia, members of the Team of Experts Agung Ayu Ratih and Galuh Wandita, and the coordinator Karen Campbell-Nelson. This team was assisted in the process of verifying data and finalizing the draft report by two researchers from *LTP*, Theodora Josephin Erlijna and Ester Rini Pratsnawati, as well as two researchers from *Syarikat*, Kusnul Hidayati and Rumecko Setyadi.

Komnas Perempuan used the following methods of verification during the process of managing and analyzing data:

- Information and data obtained via victim testimony and research findings by organizations representing victims were rechecked and cross-checked with primary sources. A large portion of victim testimony and interviews was recorded using audio or audio-visual equipment. In addition, a number of verbatim transcripts were compiled during interviews, as well as notes on field research, and an essay written on the profiles of the victims.
- Groups of victims, who entrusted their testimonies and stories in the form of interviews to organizations providing advocacy as well as to *Komnas Perempuan*, were visited.
- When selecting appropriate data and information to tabulate violence and draft the report on human rights violations, care was taken to ensure no ambiguity between opinion and fact.

The management and analysis of data at the initial stage resulted in the tabulation of acts of violence experienced and witnessed based on each victim's testimony. This tabulation provided an indication of the forms and patterns of violence committed specifically against women across a range of locations during a certain period. However, *Komnas Perempuan* did not intend to merely present the facts about violence and reduce the victims' experiences to a bunch of statistics and figures. We also tried to understand the factors that contributed to the commission of violence and the impact of incidents of violence on the lives of the victims and their families. In other words, we tried to place these incidents of violence in a clear socio-historic context so that the experience of every victim is not merely seen as an individual or separate case, but rather as part of a massive campaign of violence.

An understanding of the socio-historical context will also make it easier for us to determine if the acts of violence constitute human rights violations or ordinary criminal violations pursuant to applicable national and international laws recognized in Indonesia.

B. Mutual Learning

In addition to the process of documenting and examining these events, *Komnas Perempuan* has also promoted mutual learning among circles of humanitarian workers, women activists, women's rights defenders, human rights defenders, academics, researchers, and members as well as leaders of women's organizations at local and national levels. These mutual learning activities have focused on at least three requirements, namely (a) to document each person's knowledge about past incidents of violence against women, especially violence related to the political upheaval that took place at the end of 1965, (b) share experiences and knowledge about incidents of

violence against women as experienced by the activists themselves and/or members of the community represented by these activists, and (c) exchange views on methods and mechanisms for disclosure, resolution, how to prevent the reoccurrence of violence against women, especially in relation to political issues, and healing for victims in accordance with the fundamental principles that underline respect for victims' rights. Part of this process was supported by discussions and workshops with a number of women human rights advocates in several conflict areas across Indonesia that were organized by *Komnas Perempuan* through its Working Group on Aceh between November 2005 and August 2006.

→ C. Teaching History

In order to reveal the truth about past violence it is important not to overlook the role history education in high schools has played in perpetuating certain versions of the truth approved by the state. These practices made it difficult for anyone to gain knowledge about other versions of the truth, especially from victim accounts. We wanted to gain a more concrete and complete understanding about the issue of history education and wanted to examine the use of locations outside of school as mediums for learning history. Therefore, together with *Syarikat Indonesia* and the Indonesian Institute of Social History, we organized a number of activities with the teachers from the History Teachers Committee and students from senior high schools in Jakarta, Yogyakarta, Bandung, and Pasuruan. These activities included a series of limited discussions, workshops on history education from a feminist perspective, film-making workshops and competitions, and the showing of these films to promote understanding about the importance of narratives from women victims of violence to develop a historical awareness that is more sensitive to the past roles and experiences of women.

In addition, we also took the initiative to organize a meeting with the Director General of Teacher Development in the National Education Department, Dr. Fasli Jalal, to discuss the possibility of changing the way history is taught in high schools, especially changing the historical texts used in senior high schools.

→ D. Pioneering Reconciliation Efforts

One major consequence of the political upheaval and violence that occurred at the end of 1965 was the damage it caused to the women's movement. *Komnas Perempuan* was born from the women's movement and always intends to be in step with it. We believe that disclosure about what really happened to these women victims is essential for understanding how this political event damaged the women's movement. We consider disclosure to be a reference point for considering steps to redress this damage. In addition, we need to create a network of solidarity among women from a range of fields, based on their common desire to acknowledge the truth of the victims' accounts, in order to urge the state to take responsibility for fulfilling victims' rights to truth, justice, and redress.

In light of the previously mentioned considerations, *Komnas Perempuan* organized a friendly meeting with leaders and representatives from a number of women's religious and professional organizations, namely: *Indonesian Women's Congress*, *Association of Civil Servants' Wives*, *Indonesian Women's Business Association*, a number of *Muslim women's organizations* (*Muslimat NU*, *Fatayat NU*, *Aisyiyah*, *Nasyiatul Aisyiyah*), and Catholic Women of the Republic of Indonesia in Jakarta, Bandung, Yogyakarta, Semarang, and Jombang. We also organized special meetings with prominent women who we considered to be influential and attentive to the process of revealing the truth and reconciliation at the national level, such as Mrs. Enni Busiri, former President of Indonesian Women's Congress and President of Republic of Indonesia Veterans' Wives, and Mrs. Nani Nurrachman, a lecturer in the Psychology Faculty at the University of Indonesia and daughter of the deceased Lieutenant General Soetojo who was killed in the 1965 Tragedy.

We also organized meetings and discussions among women who experienced violence in relation to the 1965 Tragedy, women who experienced sexual slavery during the Japanese occupation, representatives from women's organizations, women's rights activists, women human rights advocates, and scholars of women's history. These meetings were held on two separate occasions, namely to mark International Day for Women's Rights (November 26-27, 2006) and Mothers' Day (December 14-15, 2006). In these discussions women talked about patterns and forms of gender-based violence that have occurred from the past until now. They mapped continuity in the patterns and forms of violence that occurred over time—during the Japanese occupation, as a consequence of political upheaval at the end of 1965, during military operations in Aceh, Papua, and Timor Leste, during the May 1998 riots, as well as incidents that occurred during conflicts in Ambon and Poso. These discussions were aimed at promoting awareness about the importance of revealing past incidents of violence against women to understanding the factors underlining the reoccurrence and continuation of violence. Moreover, both of these meetings promoted efforts to formulate a mechanism for transitional justice with a women's perspective that discussed forms of state responsibility to women victims and explored models for the disclosure of truth, reconciliation, and redress which were previously implemented right down to the grass- roots level.

→ E. Paving the Way for Dialogue

The general experiences of women activists, as well as the specific experiences of *Komnas Perempuan*, in relation to the issue of violence against women, forces us to deal with basic questions about the authenticity of victim accounts and validity of claims that acts of violence against women constitute human rights violations. Claims will be more pronounced whenever such violence against women takes place during political conflicts or war, and where it has never been officially or publicly recognized. On one hand, even if our sense of humanity makes us believe the accounts of the victims, differing political views might prevent people from understanding that the

violence committed were not ordinary criminal acts, but rather human rights violations that were planned, systematic, and widespread. On the other hand, this sense of humanity often makes us reluctant to believe that such heinous crimes could actually be carried out or overseen by agents whom we believe to be civilized, which gives rise to doubts about who exactly were the victims and who the perpetrators.

The gathering and analysis of data and information about violence against women, especially relating to victim testimony, is an important starting point for revealing the crimes that were committed against women. To obtain a better picture of how and why an incident occurred, and why women were targeted during that incident, the study of victims' testimonies was accompanied by social investigation and historical research about the locations where violence occurred. Such investigation promotes a more complete and comprehensive understanding about incidents of human rights violations. Eventually, acknowledgement of the voice of victims who have been silenced all this time will form the basis of a platform to appeal to the state to resolve certain cases.

Regardless of how *Komnas Perempuan* proceeded with its investigations and data management, we could not deny that we needed the support of certain elements in society in order to reveal crimes against women. The disclosure of mass rapes against ethnic Chinese women during the May 1998 Tragedy was the culmination of hard work and solidarity among women from a range of fields who successfully pressured the government to acknowledge the event and to take steps to apportion responsibility. However, the politically motivated violence of the 1965 Tragedy is a different matter. The state divided women along political lines and did not allow women to exercise their own judgment or gain a comprehensive understanding about why the violence occurred. Persistent acts of propaganda, terror, and intimidation by the state meant that women who traditionally did not have access to adequate information about political events at the state level were trapped into choosing restricted options. In such circumstances, it is quite understandable that women overlooked their own needs as they had been superseded by more urgent "national interests", such as "the restoration of security and public order." However, women's voices were not considered when these "national interests" were determined.

With this framework in mind, the Working Group on Past Violence took the initiative to promote dialogue and learning among women from different generations, political backgrounds, and whose organizations work in different fields, but who possess the same concern regarding efforts to uphold women's rights. Unlike the investigation and data management process, these dialogues were not aimed at achieving truth by verification, but rather, as stated by Mrs. Nani Nurachman, the aim was to extract "the

truth as perceived and experienced by the individual (*truth by experience*)."¹⁰ During these discussions and learning sessions the participants were invited to speak, listen, and exchange views with an open mind and willingness to re-examine opinions that they previously believed to be true. *Komnas Perempuan* hopes that continual discussions involving reflection will increase awareness about the historical importance of the women's movement as well as promote empathy and solidarity for the experiences of women victims.

→ F. Dynamics of the Study and Meeting Space

Komnas Perempuan created space for meetings and learning in various forms that emphasized discussion as an approach among a wide range of participants. In every meeting, the discussion process was begun with the presentation of a problem or information by guest speakers with experience in their respective fields. However, these guest speakers themselves were not the source of all information nor did they steer discussion. Rather, they were invited to present information and views that are not common knowledge among the general community, as well as pose questions that are rarely contemplated. The crucial part of this process, as put so well by Mrs. Enny Busiri, was to find a *point for a common platform* to seek resolution for issues of violence and discrimination against women. How can our efforts empower women, including victims, to oppose violence and discrimination?¹¹ Several main issues were discussed at meetings held in Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Yogyakarta, and Jombang from August-December 2006.

1. History of the 1965 Tragedy

Generally speaking, the participants knew that the history of women has been suppressed, especially in relation to the 1965 Tragedy. Apart from information provided by the government, very few participants had even a basic understanding about what happened during 1965–66, especially in terms of what was experienced by women. Explanations presented by guest speakers about how the mass media spread negative propaganda regarding *Gerwani*, and about forms of violence committed against *Gerwani* activists, shocked the participants and led to questions that could not be

10 This excerpt is taken from "Speaking and Listening to One Another: Women in Inter-experimental Dialogue," notes that Mrs. Nani Nurrachman provided to *Komnas Perempuan* (October 2006).

11 Mrs. Enni Busiri was speaking at a National Dialogue–Women Against Violence and Discrimination: Our Challenge to Defend the Defenders, an event sponsored by *Komnas Perempuan* in Jakarta on November 27, 2006.

answered satisfactorily in just one or two meetings. These questions were:

- Who, actually, were members of *Gerwani*?
- Why was it necessary to create terrifying stories about *Gerwani*?
- What was the exact nature of the relationship between *Gerwani* and other women's organizations in the past?
- To what extent did journalists and the coordinators of the mass media distort and alter the facts?

Another issue discussed again and again was how the issue of violence against women in relation to the 1965 Tragedy could be disclosed to a larger group. Activists and researchers who have been working with victims of the 1965 violence said that their efforts to research and disclose the 1965 Tragedy have often been criticized as attempts to spread communist ideas, or they have been accused of trying to resurrect the *PKI* or *Gerwani*. Talking about history is seen as a political activity that endangers social harmony and has no relation to the promotion of human rights. In contrast to the New Order era, those making such criticisms and who occasionally attack these types of activities, more often come from civil society and claim to be acting on behalf of a particular religion.

During a workshop with history teachers and high school students, the main focus was how the National Education Department limits the inclusion of certain materials and information in curriculum. The multitude of references about the 1965 Tragedy available through printed media and the internet have enabled students to obtain a wider range of information than what is available to them in school. Likewise, debates that have emerged through the printed and electronic mass media have expanded the knowledge of students and teachers. However, as the teachers are not authorized to determine the truth of these diverse historical accounts, they often are overwhelmed by the students' questions. Moreover, regardless of what the students learn from sources outside of school, exam answers still refer to the "truth" as that determined by the government.

2. History of the Women's Movement

One consequence of restricting information about the past is a generally poor awareness of history, even among human rights activists. The problems faced by women in general, and activist women in particular, at a different scale and intensity were also faced by women activists in the past. However, because of a limited knowledge of history, women activists today tend to see the problems they encounter as contemporary issues without linking them to the women's struggle of the past.

The main issue, and a topic of heated discussion, is that historically the women's movement has continuously tried to be involved in the formulation of a national vision, but on several occasions its interests have been pushed aside by overriding national interests. During the period after independence we have the impression

that the state, political parties and mass organizations truly intended to invite the women's movement to work together in developing the state and the nation. But when the women's movement pushed an agenda that focused on the specific interests of women, it was confronted with national interests deemed to be of a more urgent nature. For instance, the guarantee of equality between men and women has continued to present challenges, especially for issues relating to women's rights in marriage and polygamy. The sidelining of women's interests has contributed to the commission of violence against women.

During these discussions an idea developed that throughout every period women have had to overcome difficult obstacles such as narrowly defined national and spiritual or religious interests. These interests are manifested in a desire to regulate the role, body, and sexuality of women so that a woman becomes the symbol of the ideal individual as well as of national culture in accordance with patriarchal concepts. When conflict occurred in patriarchal circles, the woman's body became the focus of an ideological battle and a target for arbitrary attacks. To seize the reigns that steer the meaning of woman's role, body, and sexuality as it relates to formulating a national vision, we need a historical platform that legitimizes the role of women and women's organizations in the past in giving birth to, nurturing, and fostering the newly independent nation.

3. Recurring Patterns of Human Rights Violations Against Women

Activists who have investigated violence committed against women in conflict areas have revealed that the violence against women in relation to the 1965 Tragedy was repeated in military operation regions such as Aceh, Papua, and Timor Lorosae. During the reform era, similar patterns of violence occurred in conflict areas such as Ambon and Poso where a large portion of perpetrators came from civil society. There is a perception that civil society groups have adopted the violent practices carried out by security forces during the New Order era. In addition, recently there has been a strong tendency by political and religious figures to use religious teachings and traditional norms to justify symbolic and physical attacks on women.

The participants urged *Komnas Perempuan* to investigate and examine whether or not particular state policies caused, encouraged, and accommodated the commission of violent acts in areas beset by political conflict. Have such policies directly or indirectly perpetuated patriarchal values that already exist in the community?

There was also specific discussion on the importance of revealing violence against women and sexual slavery (*jugun ianfu*) that took place during the Japanese occupation because it forms an important component of a suppressed history of state violence against women. In fact, many believe the number of victims was quite high and the types of violence carried out resembled forms of violence that were committed during later periods. The question is: Why didn't women's organizations during the rule of President Soekarno ever take issue with this brutality?

4. Protection of Women Human Rights Defenders

Women defenders of human rights are placed in a vulnerable position. A growing illusion about the supremacy of a single religious, ethnic, and racial identity has meant the appearance and body of women have been the subject of debate by narrow-minded politicians to become a symbol of purity that draws on the respective identities of every group. Working in the midst of these competing political powers that tend to take increasing distance from an interest to safeguard diversity situates women activists as the source of problems that need to be controlled.

After holding discussions with fifty-eight women activists from November 2005 to August 2006, *Komnas Perempuan* found that women defenders of human rights face at least nineteen different kinds of vulnerability. Nine of these are also encountered by men. The remaining ten vulnerabilities were specifically related to their sex as women and their struggle for women's rights. During discussions in November and December 2005, women activists were given an opportunity to speak about the types of terror, intimidation, and discrimination they experienced because they are women and/or because they struggle for women's rights. The younger activists who dealt specifically with women's issues were accused of being western influenced, sexually promiscuous, and were branded as *Gerwani*.

To overcome such vulnerabilities, a mechanism that can provide legal protection to human rights defenders, especially women defenders, is needed. Any commitment by the state to respect women's rights must include protection for women who work in the field of human rights. However, in addition to such a legal mechanism, it is also necessary to consider other more culturally focused efforts, such as providing education that emphasizes values of diversity and peace, disseminating an alternative understanding of conservative myths about women, or promoting dialogue with political and religious figures about the importance of women's role in social work.

5. Principles and Mechanisms of Gender-based Transitional Justice

During discussions with community groups and human rights activists about how to resolve issues relating to past human rights violations committed against women, the voices of women, whether they were victims, activists, or intellectuals, were not heard. Women's views were not particularly evident during debate on the establishment of transitional justice mechanisms such as the Ad Hoc Human Rights Tribunal and the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation. This is despite the fact that the 1965 Tragedy affected so many women, and the experiences of these women were quite different than men's. The fact that so many women victims of sexual violence, especially those who experienced rape and sexual slavery, chose to keep quiet should be given careful consideration when deciding on a mechanism for revealing these crimes, upholding justice, and providing redress. We should not forget that many women experienced violence and discrimination because they were married or related to men who had been

targeted. Although they weren't imprisoned, they were forced to support themselves and their children while their freedom of movement was restricted and they were kept under strict supervision by the state and the community.

Discussions between women activists and victims produced several basic principles that ideally would become a platform for disclosing and resolving past crimes against women:

- The disclosure of truth is carried out with the sincere desire to hear victims and promote empathy for their suffering. Therefore, it is necessary to find "women's language" or "cultural language" that does not intend to judge those who are not victims so awareness can develop that this is a mutual process to find the truth.
- Willingness to be involved in this mutual process to search for the truth will open up space for building solidarity among parties of like mind in facing the politics of identity that has proven so divisive. It is hoped that this solidarity network will urge the state to take responsibility for past human rights violations committed against women.
- Steps towards the disclosure of truth should be based on a full understanding of how important an understanding about the history of violence against women is in order to prevent reoccurrence and create a culture of peace. Prevention of reoccurrence based on historical awareness should also include efforts to acknowledge the existence of victims in history education and in public knowledge by erecting monuments or holding ceremonies to commemorate certain incidents of violence.
- Considerations about justice should include the views and aspirations of victims so that justice will also include redress for victims. Linking justice and redress is a precondition to initiating the national reconciliation process. Only after victims have had their human dignity restored will they feel confident enough to move forward together with those who, for all this time, have seen them as the enemy.

Komnas Perempuan realizes that by taking steps to reveal what happened to women during the period after the September-30-1965-Movement coup, it will face many challenges, even from groups who have been working together with *Komnas Perempuan*. However, we believe that this disclosure is necessary because the state has continuously tried to erase incidents of violence and mass murder relating to the 1965 Tragedy from the public consciousness and has refused to give the victims a proper place in the history of this nation. This denial has prevented the younger generation from using history to learn from past mistakes and previous failures.

The importance of disclosing violence against women in relation to the 1965 Tragedy is not merely based on the multitude of victims, even though quantitative records can sometimes paint a picture of the seriousness and brutality of such human rights violations and crimes against humanity. Incidents of violence must be remembered primarily because of the cruelty that struck victims, the trauma caused to them and their families, and the deep and far-reaching impact on the community in general.

Finally, we hope these meetings and mutual learning sessions will produce what Evi Azhar refers to as “a map to study closely and understand the history of women,”¹² not only history directly related to the 1965 Tragedy, but also the history of organizations and women’s movements in general. This understanding will hopefully give rise to national insight whose backdrop is a mosaic of fragments that are the narratives of women from various social, political and cultural backgrounds to increase respect for diversity, human rights, and justice for all.

12 This excerpt was taken from minutes of the Reflection Meeting and Follow-up (*Komnas Perempuan*, December 16, 2006). Evi Azhar is President of the National Leadership of *Nasyiatul Aisyiyah*, a women’s organization for young Muslim women.

Chapter II

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS



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Year 1965 marks the beginning of the modern period of Indonesian history. At the end of this year a series of political events took place that were bloody and violent, claiming huge numbers of victims, which in turn, radically altered the course of this nation. In October 1965 the transition of power was accompanied by arrests, detentions, torture, rape, forced disappearances, exile, and mass murder, which was committed by fellow citizens across the entire nation. However, a study of Indonesian history as far back as the colonial period reveals no comparable incidents. A number of observers did not exaggerate when they said that the violence that occurred immediately after the kidnapping and murder of the army generals by the September 30 Movement was the worst human tragedy of the twentieth century.

Until now we have a number of explanations about the background and forces behind the political manoeuvring of the September 30 Movement that took place on the early morning of October 1, 1965. The New Order government, as well as the state agents of the reform period, has maintained a single explanation accusing the Communist Party of Indonesia (*PKI*) of masterminding the movement. However, from 1966 onwards national and international academics, historians, and researchers of social-political issues have presented several different versions, which include the suspected involvement of President Soekarno, President Soeharto, or intelligence bodies from the United States (CIA) and England (MI6).¹³ Under the New Order administration, the first version was the definitive reference for the public, while other versions were not

¹³ The version issued by the New Order government was published by the Republic of Indonesia State Secretariat, *Gerakan 30 September Pemberontakan Partai Komunis Indonesia: Latar Belakang, Aksi dan Penumpasannya* [The September 30 Movement Rebellion by the Indonesian Communist Party: Background, Action, and Eradication] (Jakarta, 1994). The first academic review was known as the *Cornell Paper*, which was written by two observers of Indonesia, Benedict Anderson and Ruth McVey, *A Preliminary Analysis of the October 1, 1965 Coup in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Southeast Asia Program, 1971). For complete information about literature that discusses the September 30 Movement, see Th. J. Erlijna, "Review of Literature on the 1965 Tragedy" (unpublished essay, Jakarta: ISSI, December 2005).

allowed to be openly discussed. Anyone brave enough to study materials banned by the government or investigate the cover-up of the September 30 Movement and the mass violence that followed had to do so in secret due to the threat they would be accused of subversion and imprisoned.¹⁴

The reform movement that ended the reign of the New Order government opened opportunities for further disclosure and debate about what really happened during the political upheaval of 1965. The victims, who have been silenced for thirty years, finally got an opportunity to speak. However, this report is not a specific debate about the September 30 Movement. We are interested in how perceptions of this movement resulted in such horrifying and widespread violence, which affected hundreds of thousands of people, including women and children, who didn't even know about the September 30 Movement. Moreover, the findings of *Komnas Perempuan* show that women were used as political weapons to create hatred and incite mobs to destroy powers perceived to be involved in the subversive acts of the September 30 Movement. Publicly, women active in politics were portrayed and slandered as prostitutes and killers with depraved morals; they then became victims of mass attacks carried out across the country.

The historical records approved by the New Order government, including the film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (Betrayal of the September 30 Movement/PKI), never revealed that any violence or massacres took place as part of the operation to eliminate the movement named by the New Order as the September 30 Movement/PKI. This operation was purportedly carried out in accordance with applicable law and procedures, and without spilling any blood.¹⁵ However, witness testimony, journalists' reports, and research conducted by academics and human rights activists, revealed that a range of violent incidents took place from 1965 to 1966, and in some areas continued until

14 Other published materials written by former political prisoners, such as books by Pramoeuya Ananta Toer, were banned from circulation. Three students who boldly discussed and circulated Pramoeuya's books were arrested and imprisoned from 1989 to 1990. See Amnesty International, "The Anti-subversion Law: A Briefing," AI Index 21/03/97 (February 1997). For a more in-depth discussion of these events see Ariel Heryanto, *State Terrorism and Political Identity In Indonesia: Fatally Belonging* (London: Routledge, 2006). A number of young activists who established the People's Democratic Party (PRD) were arrested in 1997 and given jail sentences ranging between one and a half to twelve years among other reasons because they said President Soeharto was involved in the mass murders of 1965. For a detailed description of the pursuit and arrest of the PRD activists and their portrayal as communists, see Human Rights Watch/Asia and Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Center for Human Rights, "Indonesia: Tough International Response Needed to Widening Crackdown," in *A Human Rights Watch Short Report* 8 (8 C, August 1996), 5-9, 11-14. See also Amnesty International, "The PRD Prisoners: A Summary of Amnesty International's Concerns," AI Index 21/56/97 (October 1997), 6-7.

15 See official government accounts issued by the State Secretariat, *Gerakan 30 September*, and also written by Nugroho Notokusanto and Ismail Saleh, *Tragedi Nasional Percobaan Kup G30S/PKI di Indonesia* [The National Tragedy of the attempted September 30 Movement/PKI Coup in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Intermasa, 1993).

1969. After examining these sources, *Komnas Perempuan* found at least three views that tried to explain the social, political, and cultural background that supported the emergence of mass violence during this period.

The first view sees the political tension between the communist and non-communist groups during the first half of the 1960s that exploded into a bloody dispute as a consequence of the actions carried out by the September 30 Movement. In particular, it was alleged that hatred had emerged, especially among landowners, towards the *PKI* and mass organizations considered to be affiliated with it, since these party activists and organizations had facilitated a “unilateral” movement to implement the Agrarian Reform and Products Distribution Law from 1962 to 1963. According to this view the violence toward and slaughter of members and sympathizers of the *PKI* was not a systematic event put in motion by certain individuals or institutions, but the logical consequence of a long-standing conflict among various factions within local communities.¹⁶

The second view is of the opinion that mass violence, especially the massacres, was spontaneous and could not be controlled because Indonesians are basically primitive and backward. Like other nations in Asia, Indonesians are considered to have a natural tendency to run amok and commit bloody violence. When this primitive tendency was joined with personal grudges resulting from the aggressive actions of the *PKI* over a number of years, it gave rise to raging mass hysteria.¹⁷

It is fair to say that the third view rejects the first two. Such widespread and synchronized violence during such a short period of time could not have taken place without the support and encouragement of a power that had a network of organizations and adequate logistic facilities, namely military troops under the leadership of Major General Soeharto as the one responsible for security and order at that time. Regardless of the high level of political tension between the *PKI* and other parties, spilling blood with such intensity could not have occurred without being triggered by negative propaganda, and

¹⁶ One of the studies representing this view was written by Hermawan Sulistyono, *Palu Arit di Ladang Tebu: Sejarah Pembantaian Massal yang Terlupakan 1965-1966* [Hammer and Sickle in the Sugar Cane Fields: History of the Forgotten Mass Slaughter of 1965-1966] (Jakarta: KPG, 2000).

¹⁷ This view strengthened racial stereotypes and was often put forward by foreign journalists who were covering events of this period and prominent academics such as Clifford Geertz and Theodore Friend. For a more in-depth discussion about this view, see John Roosa, *Pre-text for Mass Murder: The September 30 Movement and Suharto's Coup d'etat in Indonesia* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 27-28.

preceded by a systematic and planned military operation accompanied by a guarantee of impunity.¹⁸

Further investigation and study of every location where an incident of violence took place is needed to test the legitimacy of these views. For the interests of this report *Komnas Perempuan* considered only some of studies and basic information that showed when and how hatred against women, especially against members and sympathizers of *Gerwani*, began to develop, and that impact this had on the women's movement in general.

→ A. Background of *Gerwani*

In July 1950, about 500 women activists who were members of the Aware Wives organization and six other women's organizations established the Movement of Aware Women and Wives. One year later during the first congress of the Movement of Aware Women and Wives, it was decided to change the name of the organization to *Gerwani* (Indonesian Women's Movement), but it was only in 1954 that this name started to be used officially. In accordance with its revolutionary mandate, *Gerwani* actively fought for women's equal rights in the political sphere and was involved in development activities of the newly independent nation, such as organizing vocational courses for women, eradicating illiteracy, and establishing kindergartens that extended to rural areas. As a member of the federation of women's organizations at the national level, namely the Indonesian Women's Congress, *Gerwani* worked together with other women's organizations with different political backgrounds to reform the Marriage Law that authorized polygamy, protest the rising price of commodities, and was involved in the film censorship council.¹⁹ This was also the case with the Association of Women's Organizations at the provincial level; for example, in Yogyakarta *Gerwani* was involved in a program to eradicate prostitution, deal with abandoned children, and provide aid to flood victims.²⁰

18 There are a number of studies that represent this view. For a specific analysis of the military movement, see Harold Crouch, *The Army and Politics in Indonesia* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988). For an examination of massacres that took place in Bali, see Geoffrey Robinson, *The Dark Side of Paradise: Political Violence in Bali* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995).

19 Mrs. Maria Ulfah Santoso, President of the Indonesian Women's Congress, after attending the 1955 Congress, said that although *Gerwani* had created some general concerns, *Gerwani* "as a member of Indonesian Women's Congress has always been extremely cooperative" and "they have always been the most active member of the Indonesian Women's Congress." See interview with Maria Ulfah in Saskia E. Wieringa, *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia* [Destruction of the Women's Movement in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Garba Budaya and Kalyanamitra, 1999), 235.

20 Explanation by Mrs. Wahyudi from Catholic Women in Wieringa, *ibid.*, 268-269.

The relationship between *Gerwani* and other women's organizations, especially at the central level, apparently became contentious when *Gerwani* decided not to criticize Soekarno's marriage to Hartini in 1954, even though *Gerwani* had previously taken a strong stance on opposing polygamy.²¹ In addition, the *Gerwani* campaign to have women involved in national political activities annoyed women's organizations who wanted to concentrate on social and community activities. The close relationship between *Gerwani* and *PKI* raised suspicion that *Gerwani* was putting party politics over programs that were directly related to the independence and prosperity of women in general.²² One of the things *Gerwani* did that was considered to be support for *PKI* politics was its participation in *PKI*'s "unilateral action" to apply the Agrarian Law and the Resources Sharing Law, namely the act of staking out individually owned land by landless farmers. Women's religious organizations such as *Aisyiyah* and Catholic Women, felt that *Gerwani* was introducing principles of atheism and communism that were directly opposed to religious teachings, and these organizations therefore found it hard to work with *Gerwani*.²³

Until October 1965, *Gerwani* was still part of the women's movement, despite differences of opinions and tensions between *Gerwani* and other women's organizations. In 1965 *Gerwani* claimed that its membership of 1.7 million reached to the village level. With such a huge membership spread across such a large area, *Gerwani* was always considered a political power.²⁴ Together with the Indonesian Women's Congress, which had joined the National Front²⁵ in 1962, *Gerwani* was actively involved in various government activities such as the People's Triple Command Operation to liberate West

21 For a more in-depth discussion regarding differences of opinion among women's organizations about Sukarno's polygamy, see Wieringa, *ibid.*, Chapter 7 in particular, and Elizabeth Martyn, *The Women's Movement in Post-Colonial Indonesia: Gender and Nation in a New Democracy* (New York: RoutledgeCurzon, 2005), 125-134.

22 See statements by Mrs. Nani Suwondo, one of the leaders of Republic of Indonesia Women's Association, and Mrs. Wahyudi from Catholic Women in Wieringa, *ibid.*, 257, 276.

23 See statements by Mrs. Kwari Sosrosumarto, Catholic Women, and Mrs. H. Baroroh Baried, *Aisyiyah*, in Wieringa, *ibid.*, 258, 261-262.

24 For a comprehensive explanation of the history of *Gerwani*, see Saskia E. Wieringa, *ibid.* For accounts of the *Gerwani* activists who were victims of the 1965 Tragedy, see Josepha Sukartiningsih, "Ketika Perempuan Menjadi Tapol" [When Women Became Political Prisoners], in *Tahun Yang Tak Pernah Berakhir: Memahami Pengalaman Korban '65* [The year that never ended: Understanding the Experiences of Victims of '65], ed. John Roosa, Ayu Ratih, and Hilmar Farid (Jakarta: *Elsam* in conjunction with a Team of Humanitarian Volunteers and the Indonesian Institute of Social History, 2004), 87-112.

25 The National Front was established by President Sukarno in 1959 as one way to consolidate various political powers with different interests for the sake of national unity. For a more in-depth explanation about this institution, see Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1974).

Irian²⁶ and the People's Dual Command Operation through participation in volunteer training for the "Crush Malaysia" campaign.²⁷ Later on, the involvement of *Gerwani* in this volunteer training was used as proof that *Gerwani* had an organizational link to *PKI* in its attempt to seize power through the September 30 Movement. Despite the controversy about *PKI* involvement in the September 30 Movement, we know from statements by *Gerwani's* central leadership that *Gerwani*, up to the point of its destruction, was never officially a part of *PKI*.²⁸ Nevertheless, during the second week of October 1965 an operation began to eradicate the September 30 Movement, and women who were members, sympathizers, or even perceived to be members of *Gerwani*, became targets of arbitrary arrests and detentions, torture, sexual violence, rapes, forced disappearances, and murder.

→ B. Mass Media and Negative Propaganda about *Gerwani*

Examination of testimony from the women victims of physical attacks, who were *Gerwani* activists or accused of being affiliated with *Gerwani*, shows that these attacks were often preceded by a flood of slanderous accusations that they were "whores," "had cut off the generals' penises," or "had murdered the generals." Likewise, during the interrogation process carried out in military detention sites, the main questions were: "Were you in Lubang Buaya on October 1st, 1965? Did you dance naked while

26 The People's Triple Command (*Trikora*), was a command issued by President Soekarno in December 1961 to take West Irian away from Dutch colonialists. The three commands were: 1) cause the Dutch colonialist "Papua state" to fail, 2) fly the Red White (the Indonesian flag) in West Irian, and 3) prepare for general mobilization.

27 The People's Dual Command (*Dwikora*) was issued by President Soekarno in May 1964 during Indonesia's confrontation with Malaysia. The two commands were: 1) strengthen the endurance of the Indonesian Revolution, and 2) assist in the revolutionary struggle of the peoples of Malaysia, Singapore, Sabah, Serawak, and Brunei to disband the puppet state of Malaysia.

28 Umi Sardjono and Kartinah Kurdi, former leaders of *Gerwani* who were then imprisoned, said that the decision of whether or not *Gerwani* would be affiliated with the *PKI* was going to be taken during the congress planned for December 1965. See Francisca Ria Susanti, *Kembang-kembang Genjer [Genjer Blossoms]* (Jakarta: Lembaga Sastra Pembebasan, September 2006).

singing the *genjer-genjer* song?²⁹ Do you have a hidden tattoo of the hammer and sickle on your body?" These slanderous accusations and questions shocked the victims who were predominantly from small towns or villages and previously had almost no interaction with state officials at the national level, and had never even been to Jakarta or knew the location of Lubang Buaya. They worked as teachers, civil servants, artists, or were active in *Gerwani* and organizations dealing with social issues at the local level. Prior to the 1965 Tragedy, they had never experienced any significant problems with their surrounding community, or with organizations that had different political affiliations. Their activities were recognized as part of the effort to develop and advance the nation and state. The question in their minds was how their simple day-to-day affairs could link them to a political incident about which they still knew nothing.

Based on the examination of several pioneering studies that specifically discuss violence against women during the 1965-1966 periods, *Komnas Perempuan* notes that the mass media under the control of the military authorities at that time played a large role in forming negative opinions towards *Gerwani* and other mass organizations considered to be affiliated with *PKI*. Biased reporting, based on information that was later found to be baseless, about brutality committed by women activists against the generals in Lubang Buaya was one reference and a reason used to justify the large-scale attacks against anyone accused of being involved in the September 30 Movement, the *PKI*, or communism, including women.³⁰

To get a picture of how the mass media was controlled by state security authorities and how news was disseminated about the September 30 Movement, including how *Gerwani* was linked to the movement that took place in Lubang Buaya, we have provided a chronological summary of newspaper reports from October, November, and December 1965 as well as analysis by researchers on the processes that were taking place.

29 *Genjer*, found in swampland and rice fields, has small, dark green leaves that are tasty when boiled. When reaping their harvest, women farmers in Java normally gather *genjer* to take home. "*Genjer-genjer*" is a folk song from Banyuwangi that was popular in the early 1960s. Early in 1965, "*Genjer-genjer*" and other folk songs were published by the cultural section of the *PKI* Central Committee. After the 1965 Tragedy, this song was outlawed because it was said to have accompanied the "Fragrant Flower" dance purportedly performed by *Gerwani* volunteers and the People's Youth while the army generals (whose uniforms are green, like *genjer*) were being slaughtered at Lubang Buaya, Jakarta during the early morning of October 1, 1965. This song was thought to contain a veiled reference to the plan of the September 30 Movement; the second line of the song, *neng kedhokan pating keleler* (scattered throughout the rice fields) was said to carry the hidden meaning *esuk-esuk pating keleler* (the green is scattered in the early morning). Hersri Setiawan, *Kamus Gestok* (Yogyakarta: Galangpress, September 2003), 91-92.

30 The first academic to specifically investigate gender perspectives of the 1965 Tragedy was the sociologist Saskia E. Wieringa. Her research was compiled over a period of more than ten years and was published in *Penghancuran Gerakan Perempuan di Indonesia* [Destruction of the Women's Movement in Indonesia] (Jakarta: Garba Budaya & Kalyanamitra, 1999).

October 1st, 1965

Immediately after hearing news about the generals' kidnapping by the September 30 Movement, the remaining army leadership decided to ask Major General Soeharto, as Commander of the Army Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad), to take over as acting commander of the army. It was suspected that the Minister/Army Commander Lieutenant General Achmad Yani had been killed. Although Major General Soeharto was not a member of the Army General Staff, several times he had been appointed as the replacement for Lieutenant General Achmad Yani when the Minister/Army Commander travelled overseas.³¹

The first measure taken by Major General Soeharto to halt the actions of the September 30 Movement was to request the battalions who were still controlling Medan Merdeka to turn themselves in before 18.00. If not, they would be attacked for committing a coup against the legitimate government.³²

On that afternoon President Soekarno, who was at the air force base, insisted that the movement be stopped. The President immediately organized an announcement from the President/Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces/Great Leader of the Revolution stating that he was temporarily in control of the army and appointed Major General Pranoto Reksosamodra, Assistant III Minister/Army Commander, to oversee the day-to-day functions of the army.³³

For reasons that remain unclear, this written announcement from the President was not broadcast until almost midnight approaching October 2nd, 1965. What aired at about 13.00 was a decree and decisions issued by the Command of the September 30 Movement about the establishment and composition of members of the Indonesian Revolutionary Council. They said that the Indonesian Revolutionary Council was "the source of all power in the Republic of Indonesia" and unilaterally declared the "dissolution" status of the People's Dual Command Cabinet. This movement also claimed to be "a military movement from within the Army" that intended to remove unsavoury elements from the Army. They proclaimed the demotion of all officers above Lieutenant Colonel and the promotion of subordinate soldiers within the Indonesian Armed Forces who were supporting the September 30 Movement.³⁴

31 Soeharto, *Soeharto: Pikiran, Ucapan, dan Tindakan Saya: Otobiografi, seperti dipaparkan kepada G. Dwipayana dan Ramadhan K.H.* [Soeharto: My Thoughts, Statements, and Actions: An Autobiography, as told to G. Dwipayana and Ramadhan K.H.] (Jakarta: Citra Lamtoro Gung Persada, 1989); General R.P. Reksosamodra, *Memoirs* (Yogyakarta: Syarikat, 2002).

32 Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder*, 57.

33 Ibid, 53.

34 Indonesia State Secretariat, Attachments 3, 4, and 5 in Gerakan 30 September, 9-12.

In the afternoon, Battalion 530 from East Java, who was supporting the September 30 Movement and keeping guard at Medan Merdeka, surrendered to *Kostrad* headquarters, while Battalion 454 from Central Java returned to the movement's headquarters in Halim. Major General Soeharto then ordered the troops of the army para-commando regiment to take over the Republic of Indonesia Radio station and the telecommunications centre that had been occupied since that morning by volunteers supporting the September 30 Movement. In less than 20 minutes, the commander of the army para-commando regiment, Colonel Sarwo Edhie Wibowo, succeeded in reclaiming these two vital buildings without any significant resistance.³⁵

At about 18.00, the regional military commander, who was also the regional authority for the implementation of the People's Dual Command, Major General Umar Wirahadikusumah, issued Order No.01/Drt/10/1965 addressed to the Police Commander of Region VII/Jaya. This order basically prohibited any daily newspapers from being published in the capital except those under military control, namely *Angkatan Bersendjata* and *Berita Yudha*, "to prevent any conflicting reporting about the betrayal committed by the so-called Command of the September 30 Movement/ Revolutionary Council."³⁶

At approximately 20.00, Major General Soeharto announced via the Republic of Indonesia Radio that six high-ranking officers of the army had been kidnapped by "a counter revolutionary movement calling itself the September 30 Movement" who had tried to carry out a coup against President Soekarno by establishing an Indonesian Revolutionary Council. However, the disturbance caused by this movement in the capital and in the regions had been taken care of. This announcement also included the decision to appoint Major General Soeharto as the acting head of the army.³⁷

Therefore, from the evening of October 1st, 1965, the mass media (radio and newspapers) was under the control of the army. All reports about the September 30 Movement and government views had to be examined by army officials.

35 Information about the takeover of the *RRR* building and the telecommunications center was included in an article entitled "Jejak Gemilang Baret Merah" [Shining Footprints of the Red Beret], *Nasional Journal* (Monday, April 16, 2007), <http://www.jurnalnasional.com/new2>.

36 Asvi Warman Adam, "The Social Impact of the September 30 Movement Tragedy," <http://www.polarhome.com/pipermail/nusantara/2002-October/000419.html>. See Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder*, 171.

37 Indonesia State Secretariat, Attachment 8 in *Gerakan 30 September*, 16-17. This was also published in *Angkatan Bersendjata*, October 2, 1965.

October 4th, 1965

In the morning the bodies of the seven kidnapped generals were found in an old well in Lubang Buaya Village in East Jakarta. Major General Soeharto, as Commander of the Army Strategic Command and Operational Commander for the Restoration of Security and Order, was in charge of removing these bodies that had already started to decompose. In a speech made at Lubang Buaya, which was broadcast by Republic of Indonesia Radio at 2000, Major General Soeharto stated that the murder location was in close proximity to the volunteer training centre where training for members of the People's Youth and *Gerwani* had been conducted by the Indonesian Air Force. Major General Soeharto suspected that "members of the air force had been involved in the cruel murders of the generals."³⁸

Major General Soeharto issued a written command to the Director of the Army Central Hospital, Gatot Soebroto, to establish a team to autopsy the bodies of the officers. The team comprised two army doctors, Brigadier General Dr. Roebiono Kertopati and Colonel Dr. Frans Pattiasina, and three forensic experts from the Faculty of Medicine, University of Indonesia, Prof. Dr. Sutomo Tjokronegoro, Dr. Liauw Yan Siang, and Dr. Lim Joe Thay. They worked for eight hours, from 16.30 until 00.30 on the early morning of October 5th, at the Army Central Hospital.³⁹

October 5th, 1965

The autopsy reports concluded that, except for Major General M.T. Harjono, the other six officers had been killed by gun shots. All of their limbs were intact. It was furthermore stated that four of them were circumcised and three were uncircumcised. Minor and serious injuries present on the seven bodies were the result of being struck by rifle butts, stabbed with bayonets, heavy collision with the rock walls or bottom of the well, as it was as deep as a three story building. The security authorities never spoke on the radio or in the newspapers about the autopsy reports they had prepared.⁴⁰

The bodies of the seven heroes of the revolution were buried at a state ceremony at the Kalibata Heroes Cemetery. In a welcome speech to the Coordinating Minister for Defence and Security, and Army Chief of Staff, General A. H. Nasution, it was stated that the murdered officers were victims of slanderous accusations. On the same day

38 Indonesia State Secretariat, Attachment 14 in *Gerakan 30 September*, 24.

39 This information was only revealed after the academic and observer of Indonesian affairs, Benedict Anderson, accidentally discovered the autopsy results in an attachment to the Extraordinary Military Tribunal file of Lieutenant Colonel Heru Atmodjo in 1987. See Benedict Anderson, "How did the generals die?" *Indonesia* 43 (April 1984): 109-134.

40 See a review of the autopsy report in Anderson's article, *ibid*.

the Army Information Centre published a short review of the September 30 Movement and stated that *PKI* had masterminded the movement.⁴¹

On October 6th, other daily newspapers were allowed to publish (in addition to *Angkatan Bersendjata* and *Berita Yudha*). From October 7th, these two military newspapers had started disseminating reports that the generals had experienced “maltreatment beyond the bounds of humanity” and showed hazy photos of the generals’ bodies which had started to decompose. *Berita Yudha* described specifically how Lieutenant General Achmad Yani was still alive after being shot at his residence and then was thrown onto a truck that took him to Lubang Buaya. He was then tortured continuously and, among other things, “had his eyes gouged out” before finally being killed. The same newspaper also described how the body of Lieutenant Pierre Tendean was mutilated and that both of his eyes had been gouged out, while the genitals of the other officers had been cut off. These reports did not clearly state who carried out this maltreatment and murder in Lubang Buaya. On October 11th, the mass media disseminated accounts about the involvement of *Gerwani* in the crimes committed against the army officers. The following quotations come from newspapers in circulation at that time.⁴²

Angkatan Bersendjata, **October 11th, 1965**

Unidentified women came to the homes of our heroes wearing white veils and pretending to be Moslems. Their movements aroused suspicion because they clearly belonged to Gerwani. Fortunately their malicious plan was revealed before they could hurt the families of the Heroes of the Revolution. We have to remain alert.

. . . Gerwani volunteers fooled around with the generals by rubbing the generals’ genitals on their own.

Duta Masjarakat, **October 12th, 1965**

According to a reliable source, Gerwani members danced naked in front of their victims, their behaviour reminds us of cannibalistic ceremonies conducted by primitive tribes centuries ago. Let us ask

⁴¹ Indonesia State Secretariat, Attachment 15 in *Gerakan 30 September*, 25-26; Army Information, *Fakta-fakta Persoalan Sekitar “Gerakan 30 September”* [Facts Relating to “September 30 Movement”], Special Issue, No. 1 (October 5th, 1965), 15-18.

⁴² Some newspaper excerpts were taken from Wieringa, *Penghancuran*, and Stanley, “Portrayal of *Gerwani* as a Collection of Murderers and Devils” (paper presented at a seminar on the 1965 National Tragedy organized by the Community of Indonesian Historians, September 8th, 1999).

all women to judge the feminine morals of Gerwani who are more depraved than animals.

*Angkatan Bersendjata, **October 14th, 1965***

(On October 12th, 1965 Gerwani offices were burned by demonstrators)

After searching all Gerwani offices, a number of documents were found that proved that Gerwani planned to carry out acts of terror to sabotage trade, production, and the economy.

*Sinar Harapan, **November 2nd, 1965***

In Karang Asem, Central Java, ABRI sources reported that 97 people were killed by communists. According to a report disseminated to the people of Karang Asem, with the help of the People's Youth and Gerwani, the PKI rebels shouted out the holy words Allahu Akbar (God is great), then threw dust into the eyes of the villagers. However, the mask of those behind this primitive and cunning plan was removed because the PKI gang used a method that made it very easy to know them; they were not wearing a single piece of clothing.

Angkatan Bersendjata on November 3rd, 1965 carried a photo of two teenage girls who had been frightened by the statement made by a member of the People's Youth claiming that he had seen "thirty members of Gerwani shouting, torturing, and fooling around with General Yani who was unconscious."

*Berita Yudha, **November 4th, 1965***

Documents proved that a group of Black Cats were given the task of burning the houses of non-communists, burning forests, and destroying a number of vital installations. Working together with them was a group of Black Buttons comprising beautiful Gerwani members who prostituted themselves and approached the leaders of other parties so they could persuade them to support PKI programs.

News reports about the brutalities committed by *Gerwani* seemed to be reinforced with the discovery of a girl named Djamilah who was fifteen years old, three months pregnant, and who claimed to be a *Gerwani* leader from Pacitan, East Java. She was nicknamed "*Srikandi* of Lubang Buaya." At least five daily newspapers used the testimony of Djamilah in roughly the same way from November 5-7. These dailies were *Angkatan Bersendjata* (November 5th), *Api Pantjasila* (November 6th), *Berita Yudha*

(November 7th), *Duta Masyarakat* (November 6th), and *Sinar Harapan* (November 6th). They contained the following testimony:

On that day and the following day, we attended the training and at about three o'clock in the morning we were awakened and ordered to smash the capitalist bureaucrats and neo-colonialists. About 500 people gathered there, 100 of them were women. The Gerwani members, including Djamilah, were given folding knives and razor blades. . . . From some distance we saw a short fat man; he was wearing Ganefo-style pyjamas. Both of his hands were tied with red cloth. His eyes were also covered with red cloth.

Our platoon commander gave the order for us to beat that man, and then with their folding knives to stab his genitals.

About 100 of us carried out this act. Then the man was dragged to a well by a man in uniform, but he was still alive. Then the man in uniform ordered Gerwani members to continue as before, stabbing his genitals and stabbing him all over until he died.

The fact that Djamilah's testimony appeared almost word for word in every daily newspaper arouses suspicion that the testimony was prepared in advance. Djamilah's account was widely disseminated, and from that moment onwards demonstrations by students and groups opposed to PKI and President Soekarno used slogans such as "Gerwani is obscene," "Hang Gerwani," and "Smash Gerwani."

Equally horrifying testimony was provided by Saina and Sakinah, and was published during the first two weeks of December:

Sinar Harapan, **December 8th, 1965**

Saina, aged 17, a member of Gerwani, was injected several times during her six and a half months of training at Lubang Buaya. After being injected she felt her sex drive go out of control. According to the Chief of the Interrogation Team, West Java Region Executive Authority, Major A Danamihardjo SH, during six and a half months of training, Saina had to compete with the other one hundred ninety-nine members of Gerwani by sleeping with 400 men, who were also being trained at the location, with the hope of taking out the "Golden Horse Price" which they had been promised by DN Aidit. . . . Aidit had given a speech at the training barracks where he said that PKI volunteers should never feel restrained by religious rules, rather they should freely engage in intercourse with one another.

Angkatan Bersendjata, December 13th, 1965

Saina took part in the "Fragrant Flower Dance" that was presented every day by dancers who were completely nude. Four hundred men would watch the two hundred women, then they would all have unrestricted intercourse with each other, and sometimes one woman would sleep with three or four men.

Angkatan Bersendjata, December 15th, 1965

A woman calling herself Sakinah told a journalist that apart from sleeping with members of the People's Youth, they were also taught how to cut off the genitals of cats. Then they were given the job of cutting up two soldiers from the Diponegoro Division and two traders from Tegal, whose attention they got by pretending they were prostitutes.

These accusations about the involvement of *Gerwani* contain several important irregularities that require further attention. First, the women who made these statements and then detained were never taken to court to prove the involvement of *Gerwani* in the torture and murder of the generals in Lubang Buaya. Testimony given by leaders and members of *Gerwani* detained in Bukit Duri Prison, Jakarta, claimed that the young women who made the statements widely quoted in the mass media, such as Djamilah, Sainah, and Sakinah, were not members of *Gerwani* and never attended voluntary training in Lubang Buaya. Several of them were sex workers from the Senen area who were arrested, tortured continuously, and then forced to confess to stories made up by the military. It was only in prison that the leaders and members of *Gerwani* met these young women and found out the source of the stories that were being disseminated by the mass media about *Gerwani*. The "Fragrant Flower Dance" was also "created" in Bukit Duri prison by the security forces who asked the women to dance and shout so they could take their pictures with a camera.⁴³

Second, in the midst of the incessant reporting about the cruel and barbaric acts carried out by *Gerwani* activists against the generals, complete reports also appeared in the daily newspapers managed by the military about how at least three generals were murdered, namely Achmad Yani, D.I. Pandjaitan and M.T. Harjono. These dailies described how these three generals had died immediately at their homes as the result

43 Saskia E. Wieringa, "The Birth of the New Order State in Indonesia: Sexual Politics and Nationalism," *Journal of Women's History* 15, no. 1 (2003): 70-91. For short statements from the leaders and members of *Gerwani* in a journalistic-style essay, see Susanti, *Kembang-kembang Genjer*.

of a series of shots fired by members of the *Tjakrabirawa* Regiment, the personal bodyguard of the President, under the operational command of First Lieutenant Doel Arief.⁴⁴ In addition, the November 16, 1965 edition of the daily *Angkatan Bersendjata* contained the testimony of a man named Suparno who claimed that five of the seven officers were killed by gunshots, while the other two—Major General Suprpto and First Lieutenant Pierre Tendean—were beaten with rifle butts.

The third irregularity that is equally important is the autopsy report for each of the victim's bodies; none of the autopsy reports say anything about signs of torture as reported in the newspapers. There were no indications that injuries other than from gunshot wounds resulted from ill-treatment with razor blades or folding knives; rather these injuries were likely due to bayonet thrusts, being struck by a rifle butt or blunt object, or being bound too tight.⁴⁵

President Soekarno received reports about the tragic consequences of violence committed against *PKI* in Java and Bali, and he attempted to halt the reporting that was blaming *PKI* and mass organizations considered to be affiliated with it, including *Gerwani*. He invited journalists to present the autopsy reports that clearly contradicted news reports that the generals had had their penis cut off with a razor blade or had their eyes gouged out. In his speech to the Antara News Agency on December 12, 1965 he asked journalists to disseminate news that had been authenticated and to stop spreading lies: "Do the journalists think we are stupid? What is their intention? To incite hatred! What do they mean, once again, what do they mean by saying a penis was sliced into a hundred pieces with a razor blade? . . . Is the dignity of our nation so low that the newspapers have to write about such fantasies?"⁴⁶

Only two newspapers printed Soekarno's appeal on December 13, 1965, namely *Sinar Harapan* and *Suara Islam*.⁴⁷ Even though reports in the mass media about the brutality of *Gerwani* had decreased towards the end of 1965, stories that had never been authenticated continued to be the main references for writing history books

44 Reports about Lieutenant Achmad Yani were in *Berita Yudha Minggu*, December 5; about Brigadier General D.I. Pandjaitan were in *Kompas*, October 25, *Berita Yudha Minggu*, November 21, and *Berita Yudha*, December 13; and about Major General M.T. Harjono were in *Berita Yudha Minggu*, November 28. See Anderson, "How did the generals die?"

45 For details about the autopsy process and the fear experienced by the team of doctors, refer to an admission made by one of its former members, Prof. Dr. Arief Budianto (dh. Liem Joe Thay) in an interview, "Meluruskan Sejarah Penyiksaan Pahlawan Revolusi" [Correcting History about the Torture of the Revolutionary Heroes], *D&R* magazine (October 3rd, 1998)

46 Soekarno's speech appears in B. Setiyono and B. Triyana, eds., *Revolusi Belum Selesai: Kumpulan Pidato Presiden Sukarno 30 September 1965–Pelengkap Nawaksara* [The Revolution Is Not Yet Over: A Compilation of Speeches by President Sukarno 30 September 1965–Supplement to Sukarno's Nawaksara Speech (Semarang: MESIASS, 2003), 86.

47 See Anderson, "How did the generals die?"

approved by the government, making the film *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* [Betrayal of the September 30 Movement/PKI], and establishing it as national memory in the form of a stone relief that encircles the Holy Pancasila⁴⁸ Monument in Lubang Buaya.



C. From Negative Propaganda to Physical Attacks

The testimony of victims presented in the last part of this report indicates that attacks on *Gerwani* and other organizations accused of being involved in the September 30 Movement were not just restricted to newspapers. Roughly at the same time these reports were disseminated, party leaders and mass organizations that had been competing with the *PKI* to extend their national political influence established a United Action to Destroy the September 30 Movement in Jakarta. United Action for the Annihilation of the September 30 Movement comprised forty-five mass organizations and parties that organized demonstrations demanding the dissolution of the *PKI* from October 4, 1965 onwards. In several cases, the demonstrations were mostly attended by young people and students, and involved the destruction and burning of buildings belonging to *PKI* or similarly aligned mass organizations, such as the destruction of the *Gerwani* central office, *Res Publica* University belonging to the Consultative Body for Indonesian Citizenship, and the houses of party leaders. The security forces started operations in Jakarta and other areas of Java from the first week of October onwards to completely eradicate everyone considered to have been involved in the September 30 Movement—women and children were not spared.⁴⁹

The widespread violence that occurred after the October 1st, 1965 Tragedy can perhaps be understood as the consequence of chronic political tensions between communist and non-communist groups. However, *Komnas Perempuan* has found that the security forces either carried out, or failed to carry out, a number of key steps that not only created certain opinions about the origins of the tragedy, but also encouraged and gave civil society the opportunity to carry out human rights violations.

First, after the security authorities successfully subdued the troops supporting the September 30 Movement and found evidence of crimes committed against the army

48 Pancasila is the Five Principles of National Ideology proclaimed in 1945 by President Soekarno: belief in one God, a just and civilized humanity, Indonesian unity, democracy guided by consensus through deliberation, and social justice for all.

49 United Action for the Annihilation of the September 30 Movement (*KAP-Gestapu, Kesatuan Aksi Pengganyangan Gerakan 30 September*) was led by Subchan Z.A, Vice President of *Nahdlatul Ulama*, and Harry Tjan Silalahi from the Catholic Party. Regarding the establishment of United Action for the Annihilation of the September 30 Movement see I Gusti Agung Ayu Ratih, "Soeharto's New Order State: Imposed Illusions, Invented Legitimations" (master's thesis, University of Wisconsin at Madison, Spring 1997).

generals by this movement, the state did not immediately establish an independent commission tasked with investigating the details of this tragedy. The September 30 Movement and the acting leaders of the army broadcast officials' statements that contained conflicting information about what and who was involved in this movement. An independent commission should have been established comprising members who were not affiliated with either the September 30 Movement or the army.⁵⁰

Second, before investigating information from perpetrators, eyewitnesses, and the families of the army officers who were kidnapped and murdered, the security authorities who were controlling access to the mass media disseminated information that had not been authenticated, failed to publish the autopsy results, as well as blurring, and perhaps falsifying important testimony in relation to crimes committed by the September 30 Movement at Lubang Buaya. These acts are in conflict with the written order issued by the regional military commander/regional authority for the implementation of the People's Dual Command "to prevent any conflicting reporting about the betrayal committed by the so-called Command of the September 30 Movement/Revolutionary Council."⁵¹

Third, when civil society started to criticize, slander, and then attacked the parties thought to have masterminded and/or to have been involved in the September 30 Movement based on information reported by the mass media, the security authorities failed to prevent or punish the perpetrators of these attacks. Such acquiescence seemed to give legitimacy and justification to civil society to vent their anger and hatred toward the members, sympathizers, and families of *PKI* and mass organizations aligned with *PKI* through any means possible.

Fourth, on December 24th, 1965, on behalf of the President, Major General Soeharto, as the Supreme Operations Commander, established a fact-finding commission to investigate reports that violence was being carried out in North Sumatera, Central Java, East Java, and Bali. The commission, which was comprised of five ministers, Chair of the Fifth Combined Supreme Operations Command, and three representatives of this party, stated in its official report that at least 80.000 people had been killed in these

50 This information is based on the statements of Oei Tjoe Tat, former State Minister who was seconded to the People's Dual Command Cabinet Presidium. In November 1965 President Soekarno established a Presidium Committee to Control, Clean Up, and Deal with Civilians implicated in the September 30 Movement in response to a major clean-up operation within the government's bureaucracy. This committee comprised three state ministers, namely Brigadier General Pol. Moedjoko, H. Aminuddin Azis, and Oei Tjoe Tat. This committee failed to carry out its duties because "its aim and purpose was no longer aligned to the new political forces that were gaining strength in Indonesia." See Pramoedya and Prasetyo, eds., *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat*, 179-180.

51 This information was obtained from an essay written by Adam, "The Social Impact." See Roosa, *Pretext for Mass Murder*, 171.

areas.⁵² The report was submitted to President Soekarno on January 2nd, 1966 but it was never published, so the general populace never knew exactly what the operation to eradicate the September 30 Movement actually entailed. Was this operation conducted in accordance with applicable laws and principles of human rights? Was this operation conducted separately from the actions of mobs who were venting their anger, or did these incidents influence each other?

→ D. The Impact of Attacks Against *Gerwani* on the Women's Movement

The portrayal of *Gerwani* activists as a bunch of barbaric women who were completely immoral, significantly contributed to the increase in hatred by some sectors of society against those whom they categorized as “communists,” “traitors of the nation,” or “the generals’ murderers.” Stories about groups of young women dancing naked and fooling around with the generals who were then tortured to death, was drastically opposed to the general perception of how women should act, namely that women are supposed to be polite, well mannered, and feminine. Moreover, accusations that *Gerwani* activists used religious symbols during the commission of certain acts offended the moral sensibilities of the community based on religious teachings. In a short time *Gerwani* was no longer just the name of the organization involved in the September 30 Movement, but it was associated with immoral women who had no religion, who were capable of carrying out inhuman acts, and who posed a threat to the safety of the nation and the state. Therefore, anyone accused of being a member of *Gerwani* was seen as a bloodthirsty criminal deserving of the most severe forms of punishment.

Symbolic and physical attacks on women activists who had joined *Gerwani* or other mass organizations effectively put an end to *Gerwani* as one of the biggest women's organizations during that period. From that point onward, women's movements were controlled by the state. Prior to the October 1st, 1965 Tragedy, *Gerwani* was a legal organization that conducted its activities in much the same way as other women's organizations and was a member of the Indonesian Women's Congress. Several of its leaders were members of the legislative assembly and two of them sat in *PKI* Faction.

⁵² Based on the observations of Oei Tjoe Tat, a member of this Commission, the actual number of people killed was between 500.000-600.000. See Toer and Prasetyo, Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat, 192.

However, based on testimony provided by its leaders, *Gerwani* never decided to be a part of *PKI*.⁵³

No precise investigation has even shown that *Gerwani* was organizationally involved with the September 30 Movement. The only fact that is frequently used as proof of *Gerwani*'s involvement was the presence of several *Gerwani* activists at Lubang Buaya to participate in volunteer training carried out by air force officers as preparation for the People's Dual Command operation.⁵⁴ This fact alone is not enough to prove that members of *Gerwani* were involved in the September 30 Movement, or that they participated in the decision to kill the generals. However, the political situation at the time forced women's organizations to take immediate action against *Gerwani*. For example, at the urging of members of other organizations, Indonesian Women's Congress decided to dismiss *Gerwani* activists from its membership as of October 29, 1965.⁵⁵ Thereafter, women's organizations that joined the Women's Division of the United Action to Destroy the September 30 Movement agreed to "denounce the actions of *Gerwani*, who had harmed the status of women, and urged the president to immediately outlaw this organization."⁵⁶

From the records available it is evident that when these women's organizations made decisions about *Gerwani* the circumstances did not permit an adequate understanding about the national political tragedy. Further research is required to ascertain if such

53 This statement was obtained from an interview of the journalist Francisca Ria Susanti with former General Moderator of *Gerwani*, Umi Sardjono, and the Secretary General of *Gerwani*, Kartinah Kurdi. See Susanti, *Kembang-kembang Genjer*, 60, 73. For a more in-depth analysis of the relationship between *Gerwani* and *PKI*, refer to Wieringa, *Penghancuran*, Chapter 6 in particular.

54 The participation of women's organizations and the wives of soldiers and public officials in training to defend the state were quite normal at the time. These activities were linked with preparations for the "Crush Malaysia" operation that was supported by approximately 21 million volunteers across Indonesia. *Gerwani* actually had its own training location in Cipete, as did other women's organizations. See Wieringa, *Penghancuran*, Chapter. 8. For specific references to the activities of women in preparation to defend the state, see A. Astika, "Pembentukan Peran Perempuan di Media Massa" [Shaping the Role of Women through the Mass Media] (working paper, ISSI, Jakarta, January 2007).

55 See R. I. Rahayu, "Militerisme Orde Baru dan Ideologi Koncowongking: Penguatan Ideologi Perempuan Indonesia Secara Pemaknaan Ksatria Jawa" [Militarization of the New Order and the Koncowongking Ideology: Galvanizing the Ideology of Indonesian Women from the Perspective of Javanese Nobility] (paper presented at the Authoritarian Legacy Conference as part of the Fiftieth Anniversary of Sanata Dharma University, Yogyakarta, November 18, 2005).

56 *Angkatan Bersendjata*, November 9th, 1965. Women's organizations who joined the Women's Division of the United Action for the Annihilation of the September 30 Movement included *Aisyiyah*, Women's Movement of the Indonesian United Islamic Party, *Muslimat NU*, Catholic Women, *Marhaen* Women, and the *Tarbiyah* Muslim Women's Association. For further records about the participation of women's organizations in denouncing *Gerwani*, see *Sejarah Setengah Abad Pergerakan Wanita Indonesia* [A Half Century History of the Indonesian Women's Movement] by the Indonesian Women's Congress (Jakarta: Balai Pustaka, 1978).

limitations were the result of internal or external forces. Clearly, the agreement entered into by the women's organizations with the security forces put an end to efforts that had been taking place since independence for the women's movement to gain autonomy.⁵⁷ Women's organizations previously had their own authority to determine their political affiliations, operational strategies, and organizational structures, but after 1965 they were required to obey the "national consensus" established by the state authorities. From May 30th to June 1st, 1966, the Indonesian Women's Congress organized an Extraordinary Congress that was attended by representatives from about thirty-five of its member organizations. During this Congress Major General Soeharto, as the Commander of the Restoration of Security and Public Order, was given an opportunity to deliver a speech discussing the "position of women in social history," "the position of women in Indonesian history," and "the role of women in the objectives and efforts of the Indonesian Revolution." Major General Soeharto also demanded that "Indonesian women" be responsible for implementing the People's Three Demands, namely, to disband *PKI* and its mass organizations, reduce prices, and retool Soekarno's cabinet.⁵⁸

Later on, the term *Gerwani* itself was used as a stigma to prevent women from being involved in political activities, especially those who were fighting for the rights of women and the marginalized. During the New Order period, women working for the government, as well as the wives of civil servants and soldiers, were obliged to join organizations established by the government, namely the Association of Wives of Civil Servants and the Association of Wives of the Indonesian Armed Forces. The hierarchical structure of these organizations reflected the hierarchy of their husbands' positions, and their activities centred on consolidating the role of women as wives and mothers who fully supported the national development policies of the government.⁵⁹ It was only in the 1980s that women activists started to emerge and fight for women's

57 Prior to 1965 some women's organizations were aligned or loosely affiliated with political parties, for instance *Marhaen Women* with the Nationalist Party of Indonesia (*PNI*), the Socialist Women's Movement with the Socialist Party of Indonesia (*PSI*), *Gerwani* with *PKI*, or they were part of religious-based parties such as *Muslimat NU* and *Aisyiyah*. However, some of them had no organizational link and were free from the influence of any political party, such as *Perwari*. This issue of affiliation was the subject of fierce debate among women's organizations during the 1950s. For an interesting analysis about the activities and debates of women's organizations see Martyn, *The Women's Movement*.

58 See *Sejarah Setengah Abad*. Major General Soeharto attended as the Commander of the Restoration of Security and Order/Minister and Commander of the Armed Forces and ad interim vice Prime Minister for Defense and Security who from March 11, 1966 had been given an unlimited mandate by President Soekarno to oversee governance.

59 For an in-depth explanation about how the New Order state structured the women's movement through its own organizations, see Julia I. Suryakusuma, "State Ibuism: The Social Construction of Womanhood in Indonesia's New Order" (master's thesis, The Institute of Social Studies, Den Haag, 1988). See a summary of this thesis entitled "State *Ibuism*: Appropriating and Distorting Womanhood in New Order Indonesia," *Sex, Power and Nation: An Anthology of Writings, 1979-2003* (Jakarta: Metafor Publishing, 2004).

rights, but their activities in the political sphere were restricted because any time they opposed government policy they could be perceived as *Gerwani*.

It is understandable that the propaganda linking *Gerwani* with depravity and cruelty made it difficult for the Indonesian community to see that the women who had been imprisoned for years and years, raped and killed were actually victims. The terrifying stories disseminated by the New Order government about events relating to the October 1, 1965 Tragedy prevented any in-depth and thorough investigation. Nevertheless, forty-two years later we should be mature enough as a nation to think rationally about what happened in 1965 and refrain from simply accepting the view that members of *Gerwani* deserved their suffering. Many questions need to be answered: Who was responsible for the creation of negative propaganda about *Gerwani*? Why did they disseminate stories that were so full of hatred that did not refer to authenticated facts?

We also need to address the fact that violence against *Gerwani* members was a collective punishment. How could one crime committed in Jakarta provide justification for large-scale violence against women all over Indonesia? Was President Soekarno right when he said that the violence was similar to “burning every house to kill a mouse?” Who is responsible for burning those houses and why did they do it? Many questions need to be answered. We have taken up these questions not just because they relate to the past, but because they also relate to the current state of our nation and community, which means they also relate to the future of women’s rights in this country.

Chapter III

**FINDINGS on HUMAN RIGHTS
VIOLATIONS AGAINST WOMEN**

Chapter III

FINDINGS on HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS AGAINST WOMEN



- **A. Patterns of Human Rights Violation Against Women**
- **Right to Life and Right to Protection from Forced Disappearance**

Human Rights Framework

Right to life

Every human being has the right to life. No person can take the life of another, except where this occurs in accordance with the law. For instance, a murder that occurs when a person faces an imminent threat to his/her life and so acts in self-defence and kills the other person; or a death sentence handed down to the perpetrator of a crime, based on a judicial decision that is fair and just. Nevertheless, according to evolving human rights standards, the death penalty is increasingly seen as a violation of fundamental rights and is no longer considered a suitable punishment for any person.

According to human rights law, member states are obliged to protect the lives of all humans and punish those who commit murder. The security apparatus, such as the police and military, are also obliged to protect the lives of civilians and may only take a person's life as a last resort, for instance during times of war, and may only target those who are armed.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3
Amendment to the 1945 Constitution,⁶⁰ Article 28A**

⁶⁰ All references to the 1945 Constitution mean the Republic of Indonesia's Constitution of 1945.

Right to protection from forced disappearance

The UN Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Enforced Disappearances (1992) clearly states that without exception no person may be forcibly disappeared. Even in times of war, unrest, and states of emergency, forced disappearances are prohibited. According to human rights law, member states are obliged to prevent forced disappearance and shall conduct investigations into forced disappearance to bring perpetrators to justice.

Forced disappearance violates a person's rights to liberty, security of person, and protection from torture, and cruel and inhuman treatment. Forced disappearance also violates the right to recognition before the law. Members of the victim's family also experience mental anguish akin to torture, a form of cruel and inhuman treatment, when they find out about the fate of their loved one.

International law clearly states that acts of forced disappearance are considered ongoing crimes as long as the perpetrator continues to conceal the whereabouts of the missing victim and the facts of the case remain undisclosed.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 3
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Articles 6, 7, 9, 10
Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Articles 28G, 28I**

Introduction

Based on its examination of testimony and data, *Komnas Perempuan* is unable to issue a finding on how many people were killed or disappeared in the violence surrounding the 1965 Tragedy. However, historical data and documents examined by *Komnas Perempuan* indicate that summary executions and forced disappearances took place on a large-scale. These acts were perpetrated against a large number of victims and also took place in several locations across Java, Bali, Sumatra, and other regions. The Supreme Operations Command Fact-Finding Commission,⁶¹ led by the Minister of Internal Affairs, Major General (of the Indonesian Armed Forces) Dr. Sumarmo Sastroatmodjo, stated the total number of deaths to be 78,500—a number denied

⁶¹ This commission was established pursuant to Presidential Order No. SPH/153/KOTI/12/65 dated December 24, 1965. It submitted its report to President Soekarno on January 10, 1966, at a time when killings were still taking place in a number of regions. The Commission's report is contained in Pramoedya and Prasetyo, eds., *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat*, 348–366.

by one member of this same commission.⁶² One year later a survey conducted by the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order found that one million people had been killed.⁶³ Until now it remains unclear how many men and women were actually killed or disappeared.

→ Women Victims of Extrajudicial Killing and Forced Disappearance

Women prisoners, just like male prisoners, could be taken at any time and disappeared without any form of legal proceeding. When referring to the practice of taking detainees and making them disappear, the common phrase used was that they were “taken away.”⁶⁴

CH, the wife of one of the leaders of *PKI*, who was detained in the Undaan Wetan Camp, East Java, spoke about two women who were “taken away,” meaning they were forcibly disappeared and were thought to have been murdered:

When I was in Undaan Wetan . . . every [night] was something I called the “death symphony” . . . I could hear lots of people sprawled all over the place . . . My friend [SM] . . . had just given birth . . . her breasts were full of milk . . . She . . . was harassed, her breasts were groped; it really hurts if you have just given birth. She swore . . . “Bastard!” . . . Then they burned her mouth . . . [T]hey used papers lying about in that room to burn her; when I was there I saw her mouth covered in burns so that she couldn’t eat . . . Her child had to be looked after by the grandmother. When the child was about six years old the child went looking for the mother; maybe the mother was in Plantungan. Now . . . that was very touching, everyone was moved. The child went with the grandmother looked to see if SM were there; but she wasn’t. SM wasn’t there because she had been taken to prison [Surabaya Correction Facility], taken away in the middle of the night, gone

62 Oei Tjoe Tat, a member of this Commission, stated that during a private conversation he had with the Territorial Military Commander in Bali at that time, he heard the number of deaths in Bali was approximately 45,000. However, during an official briefing with the Commission, only 15,000 deaths were reported. Oei Tjoe Tat estimated that the actual number of deaths could be as much as five or six times the official number reported by the Commission. Refer to Pramodya and Prasetyo, eds., *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat*, 186-187, 192. Also see Table I: Number of people killed according to various estimates in Cribb, ed., *The Indonesian Killings*, 12.

63 Pohlman, “Women and the Indonesian Killings.”

64 Hersri Setiawan, *Kamus Gestok* [Gestok Dictionary], (Yogyakarta: Galangpress, September 2003), 37. From testimony examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, some women used the term “taken away at night” to describe the removal of women at night to be sexually violated.

with her friends. Killed. But the family still . . . no one told them, so they still . . . hoped that she was alive, you know. But she was with five people, if I'm not mistaken, who were jailed, [then] she was taken away in the middle of the night . . . [I]n that prison if you were taken away at night, then it was the "end"; you would surely be killed . . . Her friend, a man from Central Java . . . was also taken away the same night as SM; he died.⁶⁵

BE was an Indonesian language teacher in a Chinese school in Solo. She was detained for twelve years without trial because of her activities as manager of the *Gerwani* branch in Solo.⁶⁶ She was detained in one of the municipal offices that was taken over by the military around the end of 1965 and turned into a detention site specifically for women political prisoners. There she witnessed the removal of four women who never returned.⁶⁷ One of the camp guards told BE that her four friends had been executed.

Then at night, four of my lady friends were taken away, they didn't come back. I was lucky that I was told about it, the guard was kind. "I'm sorry. The four women who were taken away will not be coming back because they were taken away, ya, as people say, they were finished. "Finished," that was the term used then. "Oh, what is finished?" "Killed." Oh, that's when I found out the term finished meant they had been killed.⁶⁸

This news caused quite a commotion among the women prisoners and when BE was taken away a week later her friends were quite anxious that she was facing summary execution. However, she was just taken to another room to be interrogated by the army and returned later on.

The four women referred to above were leaders of a number of mass organizations that military authorities accused of being leftist mass organizations. KS was a member of the District Parliament of Surakarta representing *PKI* Faction and also was head of a foundation for a junior high school. When she became chairperson of the *Gerwani* branch in Solo, every month KS gave half of the income she received as a member of Parliament to *Gerwani*. Her husband was chairperson of the Surakarta Branch of the Journalists' Association of Indonesia and subscribed to *Harian Rakyat* (*People's Daily*) newspaper owned by *PKI*. They were arrested together in a house where they were

65 CH, interview by LTP, July 20, 2000, Solo, transcript LTP.W26.

66 This branch was at the village/urban neighborhood level.

67 According to the testimony of another woman detainee, AK, about 200 women were detained at the town hall in Solo (see n. 210 below).

68 BE, interview by LTP, July 19, 2000 and April 22, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

seeking refuge. After being held at the Air Force headquarters in the Panasan region for several weeks, KS was relocated to the detention camp at the Town Hall, while her husband was held at the Surakarta Correction Facility. Both of them disappeared in close succession. The second of the four who disappeared was possibly a leader of the All-Indonesia Federation of Labour Organizations, while KY was an office clerk for the People's Youth (Communist Youth Organization) in Solo. The fourth woman who was forcibly disappeared was HR. She was arrested in November 1965. HR replaced KS as the Chairperson of the *Gerwani* Branch Leadership Council in Solo. HR's husband was a bodyguard for the Mayor of Solo at that time.⁶⁹

After the four women were taken away, their whereabouts remained unknown for three or four days, then they were taken back to the Town Hall to collect their clothes. At that time they said farewell to the other members of their cell for they knew their lives were under threat. BI, an actor of the *wayang* theatre and a member of the People's Cultural Institute who shared a cell with HR stated that:

I went in [was arrested and detained] on December 5; on the ninth I was taken to the Town Hall⁷⁰ . . . Mrs. HR was still there. After more than a week Mrs. HR was taken away. Then Mrs. HR returned to the Town Hall, and said goodbye to her friends. Four of them were taken away and until now have never come back . . . they were taken away, I don't know [where they were taken] . . . then they came back again, and she said "It's already clear I'm going to die. This is goodbye, come on let's sing!" Then we sang. . . . Basically she felt that she was going to be killed . . . but she was actually smiling a lot, she even said: "Don't be afraid! Don't be afraid! Continue your struggle!" Like that.⁷¹

BP, a sixteen-year-old student, was also detained at the Town Hall and suspects that the military authorities forcibly disappeared HR because she was bold enough to reveal to her interrogators who burned the shopping precinct in the centre of Solo:

69 LTP, "Kronik Tragedi 1965 di Solo" [The Terrible 1965 Tragedy in Solo] (unpublished material, October 2006).

70 According to the observations of LTP ("Lembar Fakta Tempat Penahanan: Kamp Tahanan Khusus Tapol Perempuan Gedung Perkantoran Balaikota") [Detention Site Fact Sheet: Special Detention Camp for Women Political Prisoners at the Offices of the Municipal Building/Town Hall] (2006), in 1945 a church building was taken by the municipal council to be used as an office building. However, the certificate of land ownership for the land and the building was still in the name of the church. After the 1965 Tragedy, the building was taken over by the military and used as an interrogation site as well as a detention site for women political prisoners. At the end of the 1960s the government returned the building to the church.

71 BI, focus group discussion, Workshop III, Mapping Violence against Women during the 1965 Tragedy facilitated by LTP, October 15-16, 2006, Solo, transcript LTP.FGD3.

She was asked . . . by the team of investigators, "Who burned the shops?" "You want to know who burned the shops? Come to my place! Members of the Ansor Youth⁷² were the ones who burned it." That's what she said . . . she was brave; she was the Gerwani chairperson . . . at the municipal level.⁷³

CG, a Balinese woman who was also detained, spoke about the sexual torture used to kill women. The LTP team that visited CG at her house recorded what she told them:

We heard [news] that a really beautiful janger dancer, WK, was killed by being speared like a pig on a spit [had a piece of bamboo inserted in her anus that exited her mouth], right in front of her father. She was the leader of a group of janger dancers in the Rendang Sub-district. Her father was known as Mr. Office Worker, and people say until now he is still mentally disturbed.⁷⁴

Men were not the only victims of murder. AX, a leader of the People's Cultural Institute who was detained in Central Java, stated that:

[I]n our place [detention site] there was a mother who . . . had a baby. Then Mr. Y . . . the Commander of the Regional Interrogation Team came and visited her. University students, senior high school students, and even junior high school students were there, "Sir, when will we be released?" "When it is the time, you will be released. You won't be detained forever." Then he saw Mrs D . . . who was carrying her baby. It seemed that he felt sorry for her, so she was moved to the Military Police headquarters. She had more freedom there. Then we heard that several days later she was released. . . . It turns out that after she was released she returned to her village. Then at some point she was killed by people who were anti-PKI. There were lots of military [in her village] . . . She was carrying her baby, she was stabbed with a sickle, the child was just left sprawled on the dike, and was found in the middle of a rice field by someone. So, Mr. Y came back [to where we were being detained] and the children surrounded him asking to be released. "Quiet! Look at Mrs. D; we released her and then she

72 The AnsorYouth Movement, often shortened to AnsorYouth, was established in 1949 and is the youth wing of *Nahdlatul Ulama* (see note 3 of the **Executive Summary** above).

73 BP, focus group discussion, Workshop III, Mapping Violence against Women during the 1965 Tragedy facilitated by LTP, October 15-16, 2006, Solo, transcript LTP.FGD10.

74 CG, interview by LTP, August 23, 2005, Bali, transcript LTP.W25; see "Notes from a friendship visit to Bali, August 21-25, 2005" (LTP).

was killed on the outside.” He said, “Therefore you will be safe here.” Some people are strange. Don’t know where their morals are.”⁷⁵

Other women disappeared and their whereabouts remain unknown. According to A, “During the 1964 Incident my oldest sister was arrested in Klaten in December 1965 and she has been missing ever since.”⁷⁶

During one large-scale operation, many women who were obliged to report regularly to the authorities disappeared on their way to report. According to the testimony of AJ, starting in December 1965, all leaders of *Gerwani*, the labour movement, and party members were obliged to report daily to the police office in Denpasar, but many of them disappeared because they were kidnapped on their way there.

I wasn’t afraid, [but] my younger sister was. [I was a member] . . . of the labour union . . . she was afraid, because men would come and grab you while you were travelling; normally they would be taken on the way there, kidnapped, killed. That’s why she was afraid . . . Because many of them who . . . were obliged to report . . . on the way there they were kidnapped . . . murdered . . . Even more for those in the village; it was more dangerous in the village, worse there than what we were facing here in the city.”⁷⁷

CF, a member of the *Gerwani* Central Leadership Council was detained at the Bukit Duri Correction Facility in Jakarta confirmed AJ’s statement that *Gerwani* members in the villages suffered more than the leaders in the large cities:

[F]or us . . . those in the central areas, thank god, no one was killed, but we suffered psychologically, people talked about us. If a child [young detainee or younger member] was tortured, we were forced to watch. But I really felt . . . sorry for those in the regions . . . the torture they suffered knew no bounds.”⁷⁸

⁷⁵ AX, interview by LTP, June 11, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W16.

⁷⁶ A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

⁷⁷ AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

⁷⁸ CF, interview by LTP, July 30, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W25.



Right to Protection from Arbitrary Detention, Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment

Human Rights Framework

Right to protection from arbitrary detention

A person may only be detained in accordance with the law, meaning he or she may only be detained by the police in accordance with a legitimate warrant. While in detention, a person shall be treated well, and have prompt access to a fair trial. A person shall not be detained if he or she has not broken the law, for example just for expressing an opinion or being involved in an organization.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 3 and 9
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Article 9
Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Article 28D.1**

Right to protection from torture, and other cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment

No one shall be subjected to torture. Torture is any act that results in severe pain or suffering that is intentionally inflicted on a person by or with the consent of a public official to obtain information, a confession, or to punish that person.

Rape and sexual violence that is inflicted by or with the consent of a public official in order to obtain information, a confession, or to punish the victim is a form of torture.

Cruel, inhuman, and degrading treatment are acts that resemble torture but cannot be classified as torture as they are not carried out for a specific purpose, or because they are less severe. Cruel treatment includes, for example, in an isolated cell, not permitting a person to sleep, forcing a person to sit or stand in a painful position, covering a person's head or subjecting a person to death threats.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Article 5
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Articles 7 and 10
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading
Treatment or Punishment Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Article
28G**

→ Introduction

It remains unclear how many people were arbitrarily detained in relation to the 1965 Tragedy. Waves of detentions were carried out from 1965 until approximately 1978/1979, in many different locations.⁷⁹ Based on testimony examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, many women prisoners were repeatedly detained without any type of legal proceeding. The Supreme Operations Command Fact-Finding Commission reported that at the start of January 1966 as many as 106,000 people had been detained in relation to the 1965 Tragedy,⁸⁰ whereas almost ten years later, on January 24, 1975, the Chief of Staff of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order said that 540,000 prisoners from the September 30 Movement/*PKI* had been released.⁸¹ Until now there are no estimates of how many women were detained.

Three years after the Lubang Buaya Incident, Implementation Guidelines, signed by the Commander of the Armed Forces, were issued by the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order to resolve cases of prisoners related to the September 30 Movement/*PKI*. These guidelines explained how the handling of prisoners would depend on their classification.⁸² According to the guidelines, Class A detainees would have their cases resolved through the courts, Class B detainees would continue to be detained, and any others would be considered not dangerous and therefore could

79 The first wave of arrests took place from 1965-1966, the second wave from 1968-1969 in relation to allegations regarding the “underground *PKI*” or the “South Blitar armed resistance,” and another wave of arrests occurred in 1974 in relation to the Malari Incident. In between these three periods of mass detention, other arrests and detentions also took place; for example between 1968-1969 and around 1971-1972 (around the time of the first general election) left-wing members of the PNI loyal to Soekarno were arrested (analysis of LTP based on a number of interviews and workshops conducted from 2000 to 2006).

80 Report of the Supreme Operations Command Fact-finding Mission to President Soekarno, January 10, 1966 in Pramoedya and Prasetyo (eds.), *Memoar Oei Tjoe Tat*, 348-366.

81 The Chief of Staff of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order, Admiral Soedomo, made this statement before the participants of the Sixth Congress of Moslem Youth and Fourth Congress of Moslem University Students in Semarang (*Berita Buana* and *Merdeka*, December 24, 1975). It was reported that Soedomo had previously said there were still 34,000 *PKI* prisoners in detention (*Antara*, December 2, 1975).

82 Implementation Guidelines of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order, No: PELAK-002/KOPKAM/10/1968 (October 16, 1968) regarding a policy to deal with the September 30 Movement/*PKI* detainees/prisoners, Policy Principles Item 4 (Item 4.a.1, Item 4.b.1, Item 4.c.1); signed by Commander of the Armed Forces as Vice Commander of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order, General M. Panggabean. In Secretariat of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order, *Himpunan Surat-surat Keputusan/Perintah yang Berhubungan dengan Kopkamtib, 1965 s/d 1969* [Collection of Decisions/Orders related to the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order 1965-1969] (n.d.), 206-219.

be released.⁸³ Most of the testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan* made no mention of such classification of victims, and among them no woman was ever tried in a court.⁸⁴

In a number of cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, more than one family member was involved in *PKI* or an organization deemed to be affiliated with it, and members of more than one generation were detained. AL, for example, was head of the *Gerwani* branch and Chairperson of *PKI* Faction in the District Parliament. She was detained in 1968, while her husband, who was a member of *PKI*, was arrested in Purwokerto and detained from October 1965. Eventually AL's husband died in the Nusakambangan Correction Facility due to a bleeding stomach ulcer without ever having the chance to be reunited with his family. AL's oldest child, who was active in the Indonesian Student Youth Association, was arrested and exiled to the island of Buru, while AL's mother was arrested in Kroya due to an allegation that she had been involved in a *Gerwani arisan*.⁸⁵

Not only women active in targeted organizations were victims of arbitrary detention, but also women who were related to members of such organizations, as stated by BE.

83 A similar thing is found in Implementation Guidelines of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order No: PELAK-002/KOPKAM/3/1969 (March 3rd, 1969), on Procedures for the Use of Police Authority (Chapter II, Item 10.2). According to these guidelines there were three classifications of detainees, namely: those considered "dangerous" who were to be "held in full detention in jail houses/detention site detention sites," those considered "reasonably dangerous" who were to be "held under house arrest in their respective houses," and those who were "not dangerous, but still require supervision" who were to be kept under city arrest (Secretariat of the Command, *Himpunan Surat-surat Keputusan* [Collection of Decisions/Orders], 254-259).

84 Apart from the primary data received by *Komnas Perempuan*, secondary data indicates that only a very small number of women were brought before courts as defendants in relation to the 1965 Tragedy. Sulami, Secretary III of the *Gerwani* National Leadership (sentenced to thirty years imprisonment); Sudjinah, a member of the National Party Leadership of *Gerwani*, Information and Education Section (eighteen years); Sri Ambar Rukmiati, Chief of the All-Indonesia Federation of Labour Organizations (fifteen years); and Suharti Harsono, member of the National Party Leadership of the Indonesian Peasants' Front (fifteen years) were tried in Jakarta in 1975. They were accused of carrying out crimes of subversion and activities aimed at reestablishing the *PKI*. See Annie Pohlman, "A Fragment of a Story: *Gerwani* and Tapol Experiences," *Intersections: Gender, History and Culture in the Asian Context* 10, August 2004, <http://www.she.murdoch.edu.au/intersections/issue10/pohlman.html>. Sudarmi, a member of the *Gerwani* Regional Party Leadership of North Sumatera, was sentenced to seventeen years imprisonment, whereas Sutinah Wiryosutejo, a member of the *Gerwani* Regional Party Leadership of East Kalimantan, who was also a member of the *PKI* Greater Regional Committee of East Kalimantan and the Mutual Cooperation District Parliament in East Kalimantan was sentenced to twenty years imprisonment. Secretary II of the Riau Youth Organization, Jasma, was sentenced to seventeen years imprisonment, and had her right to elect and be elected suspended for twenty years (*Pelita*, October 22nd, 1975).

85 An *arisan* is a social gathering for a kind of informal local savings and loan where participants chip in money to be won in turns through a lucky draw. AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

I [am] the daughter of a victim because my father was detained. [I am also] the wife of a victim because my husband ran away. I am the sister of a victim because my brother was detained. I was also detained and tortured. In '65 I was seven months pregnant. I was not a member of any organization. At that time, the team conducting military operations was looking for my brother who was a leader of the party at the sub-district level. They searched my house. After they left, I was ordered to find whatever was missing from my home. I saw that there was a sense of good will so I started searching. It turns out my money was missing. I asked the commander of the operation . . . about my money. [He] asked his men, and nobody confessed. [The commander] . . . then asked me and my mother to say that we had found the money so we would not ruin the reputation of his corps. Then a soldier came in and I was shot in the left cheek and the bullet exited from my right cheek. My pregnancy was unable to save me . . . I was taken to have my head shaved, I was given electric shocks . . . [A] member of the military police gave me something to drink so I wouldn't die. I was kept in detention until I arrived in Jakarta, where I was a witness for a friend who was a member of the Marine Corps. I was released in '76, but I wasn't fully free until '78.⁸⁶

Women suffered a range of violations while they were in detention. Just like male prisoners, women in detention were subjected to torture, and cruel and inhuman treatment. Some women experienced sexual torture when they were arrested, during their detention, and even immediately after being released.

Women in Detention

Women in detention were constantly accused of being members of *Gerwani*—without any close examination of what organizations they actually belonged to—and were accused of being involved in the Lubang Buaya Incident/September 30 Movement despite the fact that many of them had never even been to Jakarta, or visited the area of Lubang Buaya, which is located on the outskirts of Jakarta. They were accused of wearing the symbol of the hammer and sickle on concealed parts of their bodies (such as the chest, groin, thighs, etc.), and of having guns and planning to overthrow the legitimate government.

86 BE, focus group discussion facilitated by LTP, April 17-18, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.FGD6.

Inhumane and degrading treatment of women during arrest

Violence was inflicted from the very moment that women were arrested and before they were placed in detention, and this violence was not only directed at the individual but also at the family. Beatings and maltreatment started the moment that women were dragged by the authorities or mobs from their houses or their places of refuge. Women were forced to walk to their place of detention and were insulted and ridiculed by members of the community as they made their way to the authorities, as was the case with AB as she was heading to the police station.⁸⁷ BA was struck with a rifle by a police officer when she asked if she could collect her clothing and a pillow when the vehicle that was transporting her passed in front of her house. Her husband, who was a teacher and one of the leaders of the Indonesian Teachers' Association, was arrested several days earlier.⁸⁸

AJ revealed that her husband was arrested, her house was burned, and she was forced to surrender to a marauding mob. Around the beginning of December 1965, AJ's husband, who was an inter-island trader and a member of the *PKI*, was arrested at night. Her husband was eventually detained at the police station and was forcibly disappeared on or around January 4, 1966. Several days after her husband was arrested, AJ's house was burned so that AJ and her children had to flee to the home of her in-laws. The following day, a group of youths and military came and damaged the home of her in-laws. They then arrested AJ's brother-in-law, a member of the Prison Labour Union, and forced AJ out of the house. AJ surrendered and came out with her child in her arms. Several members of the group beat AJ with a steel bar. She and several others were arrested by the group who were operating together with the military authorities. They were then ordered to sit down. Ten of them were shot dead, including a man who was a member of the Indonesian Peasants' Front, and his son, as well as other members of his family. AJ was finally released at the order of a soldier, but that same month she was detained once more at the local District Military Command Headquarters. At the same time, a number of youths who had been arrested were transported by military truck to the office of the local Greater Regional Committee of the *PKI*, which had been taken over and was being used as a detention site.⁸⁹

In 1965, Mr. CJ was eight years old when he witnessed the arrest of his mother.

The September 30 Movement took place in '65 . . . I forget the date, but my father was taken on a Thursday night. [He] was hit . . . dragged, whipped, and then put in a vehicle . . . It was in

87 AB, interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5.

88 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

89 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

the village that was how my father was taken away. Then they [the mob] came back. They came and took books, but that was not all. My brother was hit, they hit him . . . they screamed, "Hit him! Kill him! Burn his house!" Exactly one week after my father was detained, my mother was arrested . . . at midnight . . . then she was taken with that red flag, with the picture of the hammer and sickle . . . they didn't give any reason, "The main thing is that Mr., Mrs., need to be arrested." Then mother was beaten and had cigarette butts poked in her face . . . I saw it ... I couldn't do anything because I was too small. I was just crying, seeing my mother covered in blood, being hit with a pistol . . . all of my older siblings ran away, afraid . . . all of the neighbours ran away because everyone was afraid, the only ones left were my mother and I . . . My mother was taken to Palu for one day and one night . . . [T]hen she returned. According to my mother, about 100 meters from the Military Police office she was told to walk with that flag. She was told to walk and then she was beaten . . . [W]hen we met her she started crying . . . when we asked her, "Did they hit you, mum?" all of us were crying because my mother was all swollen . . . that was when she returned home. Her face had been burned with cigarette butts, when she got back from Palu.⁹⁰

Inhumane detention conditions

Based on the testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, it appears that mass arrests carried out in a number of cities and various locations lacked sufficient logistical support to accommodate the thousands of people arrested. A was a member of the *Gerwani* central directorate. She was breast-feeding her baby when she was dragged out of her bed at a midwife's house in Solo where she had just given birth. She was arrested in November 1965 by five soldiers.

For about one hour I was taken round and round . . . [E]very time the truck stopped several more people would be put into it. Men and women were packed in the back of the truck. It was still dark when we arrived at the barracks. It was dark and raining so I couldn't count how many of us there were. But I'm certain there were a lot of us! We were all screaming and some were also weeping. But when we arrived at the military barracks we all were quiet. Not a single person among us knew anything about what had happened . . . At about 7:00 p.m. we were taken to some

⁹⁰ CJ, interview by LTP, January 20, 2001, Palu, Central Sulawesi, transcript LTP.W28.

military barracks outside the city . . . We were all registered, and then put into cells. Cells that were meant for two to three people were jammed with eight people! There was no place for us to sit or stretch out. Our food was rice and a piece of soybean cake, some vegetables that were nearly spoiled, and a glass of water.⁹¹

The overcrowding of detention sites was not the only violation of human rights. Many prisoners starved, as reported by H:

Life in Nusakambangan jail was really tough. We weren't given much food. Sometimes no food at all. Many fellow political prisoners died of starvation.⁹²

BP was seventeen years old and had just started her second year of Senior High School when she was arrested and imprisoned in the women's detention camp at the Town Hall in Surakarta.

At that time [around November or December 1965] I was just about to go to school. But I was arrested with the others. They said I could go straight home, but I was detained for two years. At that time I was still young, I didn't know anything. So many people were being detained. If anyone wanted to sleep they had to lean on their side, everyone had to lean on their side. The only mattress available was cardboard. If no food was sent to me, I would cry and cry. I was still young. There was a good sense of mutual assistance in the jail. There I learned that PKI people were kind. It was '65 when I went in and '67 when I was released. I used to eat rice wrapped in leaves, rice mixed with cracked wheat. My job was to put out the cardboard for everyone to sleep on, and in the morning I had to fold it up again.⁹³

However, in the detention site in Purwodadi, not only food, but also water was a rare commodity. As told by AA:

Sometimes a single meal a day was given at 1:00 p.m., and then I don't know how many hours I had to wait until the next meal, but I was so hungry. I gnawed on bricks to take the edge off my hunger.

91 A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

92 H, interview by IFN, undated, transcript IFN.W8.

93 BP, Focal Group Discussion facilitated by LTP, April 17-18, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.FGD10.

Water was hard to get. No one ever sent me water. When it rained I was able to drink. Sometimes there was water from the pipe, but it was dirty. They lined up to get a drink, using whatever was available. Some would use a plastic bag or empty tins, then the water would have to be strained before we could drink it. It was difficult to get water for bathing; the water had to be distributed for bathing, and for drinking.⁹⁴

X spoke about the difficulties she experienced as a prisoner while she was kept apart from her family. X was born in Java and followed her husband to Padang in 1950 where she worked temporarily as a teacher at the *Melati* Kindergarten.⁹⁵ In 1967 she was detained:

In detention I was starving. I was only given a small amount of food. My friends from the Minang region had enough food, because it was sent by their families, but I didn't have any because I was far from my home. Finally I asked the camp guard, "Won't you feel ashamed if it is known I died of starvation and not because you killed me?" Eventually I was allowed to work during the afternoon and late in the afternoon I had to return to camp.⁹⁶

Relocation from one detention site to another

Immediately after the 1965 Tragedy there were so many detainees that the military authorities had to use a number of different locations as detention sites. There were not enough official detention sites such as police stations, jails, and military headquarters, so that civil service buildings such as town halls, village government offices, sub-district offices, civilian defence posts, social service buildings, and university campuses were used. People's houses, whether or not they had been confiscated, school buildings, Chinese schools in particular, and privately owned buildings were also appropriated as detention sites. One reason for the relocation of prisoners relates to the classification process, a process that kept changing over a number of years. The detainees were sorted into three classes according to the Instruction of the Coordinating Minister for Defence and Security/Army Chief of Staff, General Nasution (No. INS-1015/1965,

94 AA, interview by SRK, August 15-20, 2006, Purwodadi, transcript SRK.W4.

95 In addition to literacy campaigns, *Gerwani* also founded and managed about 1400 kindergartens called *TK Melati* or Jasmine Kindergartens, particularly for the children of women farmers' busy selling produce in markets. See Elisa Koraag, "Peluncuran Buku Kembang-kembang Genjer Sambut Peringatan Hari Ibu" [The Book *Genjer Blossoms* is Released on the Occasion of Mothers' Day], (January 4, 2007) at Kabar Indonesia web site, <http://www.kabarindonesia.com/berita.php?pil=12&dn=2007010414225>.

96 X, interview by SRK, August 15-16, 20-21, 2006, Madiun, transcript SRK.W1.

November 12, 1965) that was later supported and further defined by several instructions on classification issued by Soeharto as the Commander of the Restoration of Security and Public Order in 1965, 1966, 1968, and 1969. Class A were those directly involved in the September 30 Movement, Class B were those who were indirectly involved, and Class C were those who were ordinary members of the *PKI* and mass organizations who were involved in the “Madiun Incident.”⁹⁷ Many Class C detainees were released. However, after Class A and B detainees were arrested, they were moved to prison and finally into exile or labour camps.⁹⁸

The relocation of prisoners from one detention site to another was also carried out for the purposes of interrogation because detention sites and interrogation sites were often in different locations. The relocation of prisoners without prior notification meant that the prisoners, and their families, were always restless and questioning their fate—Would they be executed or exiled to some remote island? This process exacerbated the spread of terror, intimidation, and threats and was an effective way of covering the tracks of those who committed human rights violations.

Only two girls, ZA and ZB, were arrested from their village in Central Java. At that time they were fifteen years old and were teaching at *Melati* Kindergarten. Their house was searched by a group of youths. ZA said, “[When I remember it] I become traumatized. They came and forced their way in and searched the house for guns and documents. I was surrounded by those youths.” After being arrested, ZA and ZB were forced to walk about three kilometres to the Village Office. Then at night they were moved to the sub-district office. Then they were taken to the Muntilan Police Station and detained for one night in the Muntilan jail. Muntilan jail was full, so they were moved to the Magelang Municipal Social Service Building where they were detained for five years from 1965–1970.⁹⁹

F, a university lecturer, was moved several times after her arrest and finally remained in the one place after being relocated to Plantungan:

One ... morning at about 5.00 a.m. in ... October 1965, a group of soldiers came in a jeep to my house and arrested me. I was taken to the army barracks in Kentungan. The male and women

97 The Supreme Operations Command Instruction No. 22/1965, Article 4 as quoted in Abdul Harris Nasution, *Buku Memenuhi Panggilan Tugas, Jilid 6, Masa Kebangkitan Orde Baru* [Fulfilling my Call of Duty, vol. 6, The Rise of the New Order] (Jakarta: Gunung Agung, 1987), Appendix 9. Also refer to the Secretariat of the Command, *Himpunan Surat-surat Keputusan*, 67-72, 78-83, 106-111, 176-189, 244-246, and Susanti, *Kembang-kembang Genjer*, 138.

98 This analysis by LTP is based on a number of interviews and workshops held from 2000 to 2006.

99 ZA, interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang transcripts SRK.W3A and SRK.W3B.

detainees were grouped together there. I met with some of my colleagues. We didn't know why we had been detained. We ... knew from... the radio that in Jakarta the PKI were trying to take power. But we didn't know who was behind that incident, or how they did it. After one week without being questioned, we were moved to the Wirogunan jail in Yogyakarta. In this prison, the men were separated from the women. From there the women detainees were moved to Plantungan camp near Semarang ... I was released around 1975.¹⁰⁰

Some women were detained for years and were constantly shifted around. CL was released, and then arrested again and detained. She was arrested in her house in 1965 then taken with others who had been arrested in her sub-district to a building in Bokoharjo. From there they were taken to the District Military Command to be interrogated, and then they were taken back to the original building. CL was released in 1966. Three years later, she received a summons for questioning at the District Military Command. At that time she was put in Wirogunan jail when she was one month pregnant.¹⁰¹

Apart from making communication difficult between women detainees and their families, moving detainees from one detention site to another was also a form of intimidation because they did not know if their new detention site would be worse, or if the guards would be more inhuman, than at the last place. From the moment she was detained in 1968 until her release in 1978, AL was held in at least seven different detention sites. After being detained and interrogated for several days at the Salatiga District Military Command, AL was moved to the Salatiga Military Police Headquarters where she was only allowed out of her cell to bathe. As the rooms at the Military Police Headquarters were overcrowded, AL was moved to a building on *Jalan Merpati*. Then she was moved again to the Correction Facility in Demak City that housed both men and women prisoners. From there she was moved for a short time to the Cilacap Correction Facility and then to the Bulu Correction Facility in Semarang. She was moved again, this time to the Plantungan Correction Facility near Semarang in Kendal District. Then AL and forty-five other women prisoners considered to be “stubborn” were moved from Plantungan Correction Facility to the Bulu Correction Facility to prevent them from influencing other prisoners. AL was released in 1978.¹⁰² In addition to being moved from one detention site to another, some women were detained and released only to be detained once again a short time later, or even several

¹⁰⁰ IFN.W6, Bandung, August 2nd -5th 2000.

¹⁰¹ CL in “Ketula-tula Katali,” a DVD produced by a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan* (December 2006).

¹⁰² AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

years later. AV was detained for six months around the middle of 1966. After her husband was relocated to the Denpasar Correction Facility, she was rearrested and detained for a month.¹⁰³

AJ, a member of *Gerwani* since 1953, had established a *Melati* Kindergarten. She was detained several times, not because of her own actions, but due to political developments that had absolutely nothing to do with her. In December 1965 she was interrogated at the Denpasar District Military Command and Police Station, and then she was detained in the Pekambangan Correction Facility. When she was released in April 1966, she was placed under house arrest. Several months later her status was changed to that of city arrest, and eventually to regional arrest. In 1968 AJ was arrested once more and was detained for three months in a cell at the District Military Command Headquarters. After the Malari Incident on January 15, 1974,¹⁰⁴ AJ was summoned for interrogation five times and was forced to sign a statement. Finally she was allowed to go home. Upon arriving at her house some officials came and took her back to the Military Police Headquarters with the excuse that she had to sign another statement. When she arrived at the Military Police Headquarters, AJ was immediately placed in a cell. Then she was moved once more to the Pekambangan Correction Facility where she was detained for approximately four years.¹⁰⁵

Detention without trial

Prisoners had absolutely no access to a judicial process. Of the 122 testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan*, not one woman mentioned any sort of trial. In the case of AB, for example, there was no arrest warrant so she did not know why she was arrested or when she would be released.¹⁰⁶ C said, “My case never went to trial. While I was being detained in Bukit Duri prison, Jakarta I was aware that my name and photograph were being circulated.”¹⁰⁷ AX mentioned that her house was raided and searched without a search warrant.¹⁰⁸

CK was a teacher at a *Melati* Kindergarten and was pregnant when she received an “invitation” to attend a meeting at the sub-district military headquarters.

103 AV, interview by LTP, July 12, 2004, Bali, transcript LTP.W14.

104 The Malari Incident was a demonstration against foreign investment and the economic policies of Soeharto by students from the University of Indonesia on January 15, 1974 during a visit by the Prime Minister of Japan.

105 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

106 AB, interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5.

107 C, interview by IFN, first week of February, 2002, transcript IFN.W3.

108 AX, interview by LTP, June 11, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W16.

[O]ne of my friends told me that he [CK's father] was being detained at the sub-district military headquarters. So I . . . wanted to return to Trimujero to see how my son was doing . . . he was only eight months old; I left him with an old lady . . . [S]o after I went to the house in Trimujero, I found out that my father had in fact been detained; they said he was being held in custody. . . . My father was actually an ordinary farmer, maybe he was part of . . . the Indonesian Peasants' Front . . . Then I came here on the ninth [November 1965]; if I'm not mistaken, Friday. On Saturday I received an invitation to go to the office of the sub-district military headquarters. . . . [O]ut of respect for the invitation I went to the office of the sub-district military headquarters. I was not allowed to leave . . . so I asked the Commander, "Sir, what do you need me for? What meeting, Sir? It's already 2:00 p.m. and there hasn't been any meeting, so what meeting am I here for?" "Just wait. Wait for the military district commander," he said. Finally, at night, he said, "You can't go home, you must sleep here until a further decision is made." So. From then on it was one night, two nights, one week, two weeks, then months, no questions were asked. The only thing was that I had be prepared to be questioned at any moment by staff at the district military command . . . people from the sub-district military headquarters themselves said that. But the questions didn't make any sense. We were asked, "You ladies are members of Gerwani, aren't you?" We said nothing because we didn't feel we were Gerwani members. "Why did you fail to respond to the question?"

"I'm not a member of Gerwani, Sir."

"If you are not a member of Gerwani, who are you? Why are you being detained here? Why are you here?"

"We were invited to come here, Sir, I don't know why."

"Do you have guns, or not?"

"I don't know what a gun is, Sir. What is a gun, what is it like?"

"Stupid!" he said, "You don't know what a gun is; this is a gun." He showed me a . . . what is it?

[W]hen I was taken into detention I had just recently become pregnant, just forty-seven days. On the sixth day of the sixth month I gave birth. . . . I was allowed to go home, to give birth at home, because [in detention] where was I to lie down? We were all kept crowded in one room, had to lie next to each other. . . . When I got home I gave birth and was there for two months. . . . Every day I was visited by a member of the civilian defence unit who said he was afraid I would run away, so a member of the civilian defence unit would come to my house to check on me. . . . I didn't think two months was long enough, but I was ordered

back into detention. . . . There were no further questions; it was just like that. . . . [A]ll we did there was sleep, and eat if some food had been sent from home, if not then I would ask my friends to share some of the food that they had been sent. I was released in '67. . . . [O]n the certificate for my release it said that I was not involved in September 30 Movement/PKI, I was Class C. . . . The strange thing was, if the certificate said I was not involved, then why was I categorized as Class C?¹⁰⁹

F was a lecturer who managed a professional organization for her faculty. When she was taken to the military barracks she met other members of her organization.

None of us knew why we were being detained. We knew from . . . the radio that in Jakarta the PKI was trying to take power. But we didn't know the masterminds behind that incident. I was arrested on October 10, 1965. I was not questioned and one week later we were moved to the Wirogunan jail in Yogyakarta. From there women detainees were moved to Plantungan Camp near Semarang . . . I was detained in Plantungan Camp for eight years without any sort of trial.¹¹⁰

Several testimonies, including those given by ZA and ZB, indicated that the security forces kept administrative files on detainees. After their houses were searched by a group of youth, ZA and ZB were forced to march approximately three kilometres with a group of others to the sub-district office. The office was closed so they were taken by truck to the police station. Upon their arrival, the Muntilan police noted their details. ZB was asked about her identity and was told to leave any valuables that she was carrying. ZB said that although she was not subjected to physical torture or interrogation, the atmosphere was quite tense. It was not clear to ZB if the registration process at the police station was administered in accordance with a particular legal procedure or if it served another purpose, such as data collection for intelligence. The group that included ZA and ZB slept at the police station. The following day they were taken to a jail in Muntilan. They were there only one night. Perhaps due to overcrowding, a number of prisoners were then taken by truck to the Social Services building that was being used as a detention site where prisoners were being interrogated and sentenced without a trial. After arriving at this location they were categorized and tortured.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ CK, interview by LTP, February 26, 2001, Lampung, transcript LTP.W29.

¹¹⁰ F, interview by IFN, August 2-5, 2000, Bandung, transcript IFN.W6.

¹¹¹ ZA, interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang, transcripts SRK.W3A and SRK.W3B.

In several cases the law was used as a ruse to capture individuals *without* actually adhering to any legal procedures. AJ was a member of the Bali Greater Regional Committee of *Gerwani*. After being detained and released three times, in about 1974 she was summoned to the navy headquarters to be interrogated. She went there five times and signed a statement. She was asked the same questions she had been asked in previous interrogations during 1965-1966. At 2:00 p.m. she was allowed to go home. Upon arrival at her house, two officials came and took her back to the Military Police headquarters. They said that AJ had to sign another statement. When she arrived at the Military Police headquarters, AJ was immediately placed in a detention cell for the fourth time, then she was detained for another four or five years.¹¹²

Torture during detention

Women detainees were kicked, punched and received electric shocks the same as male prisoners. In a number of testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, descriptions of the interrogation process clearly indicate that torture was conducted on a large-scale. For example:

- According to P's testimony, during interrogation at the Tulung Agung District Military Command of East Java, she was given electric shocks, submerged in a tank of faeces, and struck with a rifle.¹¹³
- AJ was interrogated and tortured at the Denpasar District Military Command in Bali. She was struck with a chair, her cheek was burned with a cigarette, and her eye, ear, and head were struck with a bar of soap and a rifle butt.¹¹⁴
- When she was being detained at the *Timperca* headquarters in Salatiga, BA was struck on her back by a civilian until her nose started bleeding. When she was eventually released she required an operation for the injuries she sustained during the beating.¹¹⁵
- At the Pati District Military Command, BB was beaten and given electric shocks with a cable attached to her two big toes. When she started bleeding, her blood was used to record her thumb print.¹¹⁶
- W, who was seven years old when she accompanied her mother in detention, gave testimony about how her mother's body was always bruised, swollen, and bleeding after being interrogated at the office of the Trenggalek District Military Command in East Java.¹¹⁷

¹¹² AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

¹¹³ P, interview by IFN, September 1997, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W16.

¹¹⁴ AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

¹¹⁵ BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

¹¹⁶ BB, interview by LTP, September 6, 2000, Pati, transcript LTP.W20.

¹¹⁷ W, interview by IFN, September 20, 2002, Jetis, Trenggalek, transcript IFN.W23.

- When she was interrogated at an undisclosed district military command, AV's hair was tied to the chair she was sitting on, and she was beaten black and blue. One year later, when she was pregnant, AV was detained a second time and interrogated at a former cigarette factory. Four women detainees of Chinese descent were together with AV. One of them was bruised and part of her face had been dislocated as a result of torture.¹¹⁸

In several cases, women were tortured together with and in the same way as male detainees. For example, AK was tortured together with her husband when they were detained in October 1965 at the police state security office in Solo. At that time, her husband was accused of being a member of the *PKI* with a gun who was arming the community to overthrow the government. The interrogator put three tables together and ordered AK to lie face down on top of the tables. Then the interrogator who was wearing boots jumped on AK's back until her backbone broke. Blood leaked out of her mouth and ears, and then AK lost consciousness. AK and her husband were then taken back to a cell that was holding fifteen to twenty men and women who were all severely injured. In November 1965, when her husband was moved to the military police headquarters, AK was moved to the Surakarta municipal office. The upper floor was used for interrogations, and the lower floor was used as a detention site. As the upper floor was made from timber, often the blood of the prisoners being tortured would seep between the cracks in the timber and drip down below. In December 1965, AK was taken away by a mass organization with the excuse that they were dissatisfied with the statement she had made at the military police headquarters. They cursed AK as a *Gerwani* prostitute and of betraying her nation, and terrorized AK by sticking the barrel of a pistol in her mouth. After she was returned to the municipal office building, AK was relocated and detained in several more locations. In 1971 she was moved to the Plantungan Correction Facility near Semarang. She was placed in barracks designated for those aged eighteen to twenty-five who were called child detainees. She was forced to work as a maid in the canteen for the camp authorities. While she was working there she was sexually harassed by the Commander of the Rehabilitation Project, but AK resisted and he left her alone. AK was finally released in March 1979.¹¹⁹

Women prisoners were not just subjected to physical torture; some women, such as CH, were victims of psychological torture. When she was still attending university, CH was a non-active member of the Concentration of Indonesian Student Movement, a left-wing student organization, but she did not know much about it. CH's husband was a *PKI* leader in Semarang. When he was relocated to *PKI* central office in Jakarta in 1965,

¹¹⁸ AV, interview by LTP, July 12, 2004, Bali, transcript LTP.W14.

¹¹⁹ AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

CH went with him. Before CH's husband left her (after the 1965 Tragedy), he ordered CH to go back to Solo, "Go now, things are not good." But CH wanted to follow her husband, so she took a pedicab to his office and was shocked to see that the Central Committee office had been burned. CH managed to move around and remain in hiding for several years, but in September 1968 she was arrested in a safe house in Tulung Agung, East Java. At that time her husband was being pursued as one of the leaders of the PKI armed rebellion in South Blitar. After being detained at the police station and Tulung Agung Prison, CH was moved to a doctor's practice that had been taken over by military authorities and was being used as a detention and interrogation centre. Every time CH was interrogated she remained quiet so they thought she was suffering from a nervous condition and couldn't be physically tortured. Nevertheless, she was often forced to watch other detainees being tortured. Several forms of coercion were used to subject CH to psychological torture—she was forced to witness others being tortured, forced to write the addresses of places where she had hidden, and forced to write a notice of divorce.

After I was put in jail, at night I was taken away . . . Finally I . . . was taken to . . . the interrogation centre . . . I saw men lying face down, shaking . . . they were beaten with rattan, all of them were lying face down . . . Sometimes I was taken to the interrogation room, but I never said a word . . . that's why they thought I was suffering from a nervous condition . . . That's what saved me from torture. I was not subjected to any torture, only psychological torture. Whenever someone was being tortured there . . . I was summoned, "Where is CH? Get her here!" They took me there and I had to see others being tortured. . . . I couldn't sleep after that. . . . I was ordered to write the addresses, but . . . I would not say where I had stayed, I couldn't. I wrote down just any old addresses I knew . . . When I got there I heard a child scream. I was summoned, "Do you know her or not? . . . You used to stay with her, didn't you?" They treated a child like that, if not in sixth grade [possibly still], junior high school . . . [That child] her eyes were red from crying. I said, "Yes, I stayed at her place . . . But she went to school, I stayed in my room. I never went out, so she didn't know me . . . She was attending school, when I went out she had already left for school," that's what I said. So I confirmed it. [The child screamed] "I don't want this, I have to go to school tomorrow, Sir!" . . . She was taken home, but she had already been tortured. Until now I feel that I have sinned. If I recall her face, her eyes were red [CH weeping] . . . Actually I never stayed there, I had just made up a false address. So . . . I don't know about the child's parents, whether or not they were taken, I only saw the child . . . I can't believe the child was taken. Even now . . . I [still] think about it. . . .

That's the psychological torture I experienced. . . . [When] someone was being tortured, I was always summoned, I was told to watch a person being stripped naked on the table. A cable was attached to his genitals, he was given electric shocks; I was told to name it, what do you call it?

There was another incident . . . a military team that was conducting operations wanted to invited me to go along . . . invited to go . . . to the village. I thought, if they have invited me . . . those soldiers . . . I will be harassed . . . better to just die, whether by smashing my head against a wall or whatever [CH weeping]. Then I thought it's better to stop eating than to live like this. I went on a hunger strike . . . the soldier who wanted me to go with them, he was an obscene person . . . sometimes he would ask . . . his men, "How's it going, she still doesn't want to eat?" "No, not yet," that's how it went on. I only wanted to start eating after the group that wanted me to go with them had left . . . I ended up . . . getting a lung disease there . . . So I didn't eat enough, was undernourished, didn't get enough sleep there.

. . . The violence there was like that. A person went in one door, took off his/her clothes, was naked, was ordered to crawl around . . . Sometimes they would be whipped with a rope . . . it was like a long whisk broom . . . if someone was taken there . . . then there would surely be screaming . . . I didn't know anything, only psychological torture. Every day I was ordered to watch people being tortured, one until he couldn't walk, he had to be carried because he'd been given electric shocks . . . He was carried by his friend . . . As for women . . . some received electric shocks, some didn't. There was a thing they called "exchange of rings," that was when . . . a bullet was placed in the gap between your fingers and then twisted around, "Come on, swap your ring, and swap your ring!"

. . . Then . . . [my husband] was to be questioned in Jakarta . . . I was called to the commander's place . . . and forced to make a letter requesting a divorce from my husband. "Whether my status is that of a divorcee, or not, it's just the same . . . [E]ven if I don't divorced I can't be with my husband. It's nothing, there's no advantage to me to divorce or not to divorce." "No, basically you have to prepare a document requesting a divorce!" . . . I was summoned three times. Initially I didn't want to, didn't want to, didn't want to, and then I was forced . . . so finally I prepared the divorce document. Then, "What was the decision from there, does he want to divorce me or not?" "Oh, we don't know yet," that's

all he said . . . So the purpose of my divorce request was to disturb his [my husband's] concentration when he was preparing for trial. In the end, it wasn't a big deal. Just that, just psychological warfare.¹²⁰

Sexual torture during detention

In addition to the common forms of torture experienced by men and women, women detainees were also subjected to a specific type of torture, namely sexual torture. Sexual torture is any act that results in suffering or pain that specifically targets the reproductive organs or genitals, committed at the order of, or with the consent of, state authorities, in order to obtain information or a confession, or to punish the victim. Sexual torture includes rape, sexual slavery, and other forms of sexual violence.

It is difficult to speculate how many women detainees were victims of sexual torture. The political reality in Indonesia is that there has been no acknowledgement of the rights of victims whose human rights were violated, so it is difficult for victims to speak up—especially victims of sexual violence. Trauma of the past, along with society's stigmatization of victims of sexual violence increasingly silences the truth. Nevertheless, *Komnas Perempuan* still received testimonies where victims bravely spoken about the sexual violence they experienced during their arrest and while they were being held in detention sites. *Komnas Perempuan* believes that these testimonies are only a small portion of all actual cases.

One pattern of sexual violence that appears in the testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan* is the practice of ordering women to strip naked with the excuse of looking for PKI symbol (hammer & sickle) on their bodies. According to AG's testimony, she was a student at the Bogor Agricultural Institute. She had only been studying for three months when her campus was attacked and destroyed. The students were ordered to go home, however she was arrested when she went to meet her friends. She told *Komnas Perempuan*:

I was taken away. I was questioned . . . at night, about 11, 12:00. I don't know where I was taken. I resisted and broke the glass. He took out his pistol and struck me with it, I was bleeding and lost consciousness . . . The second and third time was the same . . . the fourth day there were no youths there, but then five or seven youths came along. At that time Mr. D and his prosecutor were there. I was stripped naked and they were searching for the hammer and sickle symbol. "She is from Jakarta; she surely has

120 CH, interview by LTP, July 20, 2007, Solo, transcript LTP.W26.

the hammer and sickle." I didn't want to be stripped naked, but I couldn't stop the group of youths from stripping me and playing with me . . . I was given worn out clothing . . . then I was given electric shocks . . . on the third, fourth, and fifth days it continued. I wasn't just questioned but also tortured. When I was moved to Semarang, I was happy because there was no physical torture, but there was still psychological torture.¹²¹

At the Bantul Public Works Department, CL was beaten and forced to confess that she was involved in the Lubang Buaya incident. Because she would not confess, she was taken to the district military command where she was stripped naked and ordered to lie on her stomach to be searched for the symbol of the hammer and sickle.¹²² While being interrogated, CO and other women were tortured and stripped naked so the perpetrators could see whether or not they had the symbol of the hammer and sickle on their bodies.¹²³ At the Garut District Military Command in West Java, CS and other women were interrogated and ordered to confess that they killed the generals. Every time they were questioned they were all stripped naked with the excuse that the hammer and sickle symbol was being sought on their bodies.¹²⁴

CH also witnessed sexual torture committed against a young women prisoner who was a member of the Concentration of Indonesian Student Movement:

I just saw her come out of the interrogation room and go to where my bed was, she was naked . . . still a CISM kid, you see, I was close to her. She said she was stripped naked, was mounted . . . like horses, so she got down on hands and knees . . . all the women were stripped like that. I saw that she had been stripped when she came back from the interrogation. It continued like that, some were still naked, some had their clothes back on, it was like that there.¹²⁵

From historical files examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, especially newspaper articles, there was a public perception that *Gerwani* played a direct role in the murders of the

121 AG, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K3.

122 CL in "Ketula-tula Katali," a DVD produced by a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan* (December 2006).

123 CO in "Kok Disalahke?," a DVD produced by a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan* (December 2006).

124 CS in "...Dendam Kasaha...", a DVD produced by a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan* (December 2006).

125 CH, interview by LTP, July 20, 2007, Solo, transcript LTP.W26.

generals at Lubang Buaya.¹²⁶ On October 13, 1965, *Duta Masyarakat* carried an article about the murders, "According to a reliable source, *Gerwani* members danced naked in front of their corpses . . ."¹²⁷ The allegation spread like wild fire and was an excuse to commit sexual violence against many women. This allegation meant that women were targeted for "punishment," not just those women who were active in *Gerwani*, but also women who were involved in art and organizational activities considered to have some link to *PKI*.¹²⁸ As stated by ZA, "In general we, including myself, were arrested because we danced here and there, following the drum band or *gejog lesung* (traditional music)."¹²⁹

Mrs. O was active in the People's Youth and the People's Cultural Institute. She had a good voice and was a skilful dancer. Because of her dancing prowess, O was asked to dance at the palace and received a sash from President Soekarno. When the 1965 Tragedy occurred, O was imprisoned at the office of the sub-district military headquarters in her city. Every night she was taken away for interrogation. On the third night she was forced to strip and dance on the table by the soldiers who were on duty. When she finished dancing, O was forced to submit to the sexual desires of the guard who was on duty that night. This happened every night until O was relocated to Plantungan Prison in Central Java.¹³⁰

Like O, BC was also a member of the People's Youth and the People's Cultural Institute and also often danced. According to her testimony, she was a target because she had once danced at an anniversary celebration for *PKI*, Indonesian Peasants' Front, and *Gerwani*.¹³¹

126 See *Mass Media and Negative Propaganda About Gerwani* in Chapter 3 Historical Context of this report. Media reports are also examined in Wieringa, *Penghancuran*, 498.

127 Minutes from "Pembongkaran Mitos Peristiwa G30S 1965, Khususnya tentang Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan/*Gerwani*" [Revealing the Myths of the September 30 Movement 1965, Specifically regarding Violence against Women/*Gerwani*], a discussion organized by *Komnas Perempuan's* Task Force on Past Violence. August 3, 2006, Hotel Harris, Jakarta; PowerPoint presentation by Asvi Warman Adam. The destruction of *Gerwani* due to the perception that this women's organization was immoral is also explained in detail by Saskia Wieringa, *Penghancuran*, 498-520.

128 What these newspaper articles emphasized about those who murdered the generals was their identity as *Gerwani* members and their actions, namely "dancing." Data examined by *Komnas Perempuan* indicates that women who were targeted included members of "leftist" organizations such as *Gerwani*, the People's Cultural Institute, and the People's Youth, or those who participated in their activities (but were not members); male relatives who were activists in "leftist" organizations; and women who took to the stage, both as dancers and to perform drama, to entertain at *PKI* events or for mass organizations considered to be "leftist." There was a tendency to brand all women as *Gerwani*.

129 ZA, interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang, transcript SRK.W3A.

130 O, interview by IFN, September 1997, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W15.

131 BC, interview by LTP, January 20, 2001, Pati, transcript LTP.W21.

AK, besides being accused of being married to a member of *PKI* who was armed (see previous section, ***Torture during detention***), was also accused of being a member of *Gerwani* who danced the *genjer-genjer* during the Lubang Buaya Tragedy.¹³²

The testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan* reveal a matter of great concern, namely that many girls were detained for years simply because they had been involved in dancing activities. According to AE, "One girl aged twelve was arrested for dancing . . . she was detained until she was twenty-five."¹³³ AB was held as a prisoner in Section One, an interrogation centre located in Jatinom Sub-district, Central Java when she was sixteen years old. She was stripped naked, then ordered to perform the *genjer-genjer* dance in a field in front of many people.¹³⁴

Sexual torture was not restricted to women, as explained by a former woman detainee:

*The women were normally stripped and beaten, whereas the men received electric shocks, were stripped and beaten. There was also one who had four fingers chopped off because he wouldn't admit that he had carried out the coup.*¹³⁵

Rape and sexual slavery during detention¹³⁶

Many victims of rape and sexual slavery¹³⁷ still find it difficult to talk about their experiences. The shame and social stigma is still too much for them to reveal the sexual violations committed against them. Even so, from a total of 122 testimonies studied by *Komnas Perempuan*, at least 74 cases of rape and 21 cases of sexual slavery that were experienced or witnessed were reported. Some women were raped at the time they were arrested, and some were raped repeatedly the whole time they were in detention.

¹³² AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

¹³³ AE, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K1.

¹³⁴ AB, interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5.

¹³⁵ ZA, interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang, transcript SRK.W3A.

¹³⁶ Many cases reported in this sub-section also meet the definition of torture; however this section is intended to specifically highlight cases of rape and sexual slavery that occurred in detention.

¹³⁷ Referring to the Convention on Slavery (1926) and the Rome Statute (Article 7, "Crimes Against Humanity"), sexual enslavement occurs when the perpetrator is able to exercise any right of ownership over a person by purchasing, selling, borrowing, exchanging, or detaining the victim and forcing the victim to commit any act that is sexual in nature.

D, a member of the People's Youth, experienced sexual torture on numerous occasions. Even her husband, who was also detained, experienced sexual torture together with D. D recalls what happened:

Around five o'clock in the morning, a group of young men, suddenly, has already surrounded and broke into our house. They came with knives, sickles, and yelled: "Give weapons!" Because they didn't find any weapons beside knife inside the house, they came to me. They denuded me. Because of I screamed and fought back, they beated me on my face and chest. They insulted me by saying, "Barbarian! Women Killer of General! Communist!" I struggled to release myself, but more I struggled, more they tortured me. They lied me on the floor, and screamed: "Rape!" Suddenly, a big young man released his pants and raped me. Then other men did the same thing in turns. I didn't remember how many men were raped me. I was unconscious at that time and was greatly bleeding. After they raped me, they lead me to the street in nude, walked by feet to the police station with a distance of approximately 5 km. Meanwhile the blood was flowing... [D appoints her genital]. Along the way, people yelled, screamed at me. "Communist woman! Kill her! Sliced her body, just like she sliced the generals!"

Finally we arrived at the police station. They tied me to the flagpole completely naked, in the middle of a field surrounded by police buildings. It was getting dark. The rain was pelting me all over. I felt so cold, but not one person paid any attention to me. All night I had to stand there naked . . . When I was able to stand up I was summoned for interrogated by several officers. That's when another disaster occurred. Every time I was interrogated I was stripped; and every time my answer didn't satisfy them, I was given electric shocks. After each interrogation I would return to my cell, and someone would have to help support me, before I would be able to walk by myself. I experienced this type of thing for two months, until I was moved to the detention site in Tanjung Gusta, Medan . . .

On my third night in Tanjung Gusta I was taken to a room by two military escorts. Four officials were waiting for me there. Without saying a word they took turns pouncing on me and raping me. This didn't happen just once, but almost every night. One night I was taken from my cell to be raped. I don't know how many times I had to submit to them. I saw my husband was also in the room . . . They intentionally wanted to put on a performance for my husband, to show him how several men took turns raping me.

When my husband lowered his gaze they slapped his face. After they raped me they ordered us to have sex in front of them. When my husband was unable to do it, they beat my husband until his nose bled. We experienced this type of thing repeatedly.¹³⁸

In their testimonies, several women told how they were raped several days after giving birth. S, who had just given birth, was taken to Jatiroto city, not to be interrogated and tortured, but to be gang raped. She experienced massive bleeding and was eventually taken to the hospital.¹³⁹

A was active in *Gerwani* activities as a youth, following in the footsteps of her older sister who was a volunteer for the program to eradicate illiteracy. According to A, she gave birth to her first child two months after the 1965 Tragedy, and was arrested when she was still lying prostrate at the house of the midwife. At that time, A was forced by the army to leave the hospital and get on a truck (see previous section ***Inhumane and degrading treatment of women during arrest***). A was taken to a detention site that housed both men and women. In her testimony she recalls:

I started to feel feverish because my breasts were beginning to swell with milk. I asked the guards for pain killers. I was taken out of the cell and told to bathe at the well near my cell. After bathing I was given a batik cloth and white shirt, and was taken to the room near the guard house. In that room there was a bed and small table. I was told to sit down and was given medicine and a glass of water. I was lying down on the bed and immediately fell into a deep sleep. Suddenly I was awakened. I was not aware that I had been stripped naked. A tall, large man was raping me quite violently. I felt incredible pain. Blood started pouring from my vagina. Then another man came, he was tall and skinny. He raped me very violently; he didn't care about the blood that kept flowing from my vagina. I didn't know what happened to me after the third man. He was short and fat. His heavy body was crushing me, and he was biting my swollen breasts. I fell unconscious. When I woke up I was back in my cell.

. . . For one month I was at that detention site, four times I was taken away at night to serve the soldiers. What more they went from one cell to the next looking for their prey. Normally they

¹³⁸ D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

¹³⁹ S, interview by IFN, September 2002, Jatiroto, East Java, transcript IFN.W19; interview in Javanese.

would look for prisoners who were young and beautiful. We could not refuse, nor could we escape these practices.¹⁴⁰

B was a student in the English Language Faculty at a university in Yogyakarta and active in an organization under the umbrella of the PKI. Because she spoke English well, she was often invited to attend student activities overseas. B read about the murders of the generals in Jakarta in the paper. One evening at about 11:00 p.m., a number of soldiers in a jeep came and invaded her home, and ordered B to surrender. B spoke of her experiences:

I was taken to a military post in Kertosono. The room where I was kept was about three square meters, but it contained fifteen men and women. I was lucky to be put in this room because several people who were just left placed out in the open were taken one by one and never came back. Many of their corpses were found in the Bengawan Solo River in our city.

After three days, without food and water, we were taken to some army barracks in Solo. We were raped by many men there almost every night. I don't remember how many times I had to submit myself to those soldiers, and I don't recall their faces. When I was called at night to submit to the sexual desires of those soldiers . . . I would lie there with my eyes closed and try and kill all of my senses. This was the only way I could resist their treatment, and a way to avoid being killed.¹⁴¹

Like B, E was also repeatedly raped when she was held at military barracks in the outskirts of Solo.

One day I was summoned to go to Solo, the city where I was born, to be questioned. I was not detained in prison, but I was taken to some military barracks to submit to the sexual desires of the many men who were stationed there. Rapes took place day and night. Whoever came into the room where I had been placed would sleep with me. I still remember, once I had to submit to twelve men in one day, until I lost consciousness. While I was unconscious they moved me to a camp where many PKI and Gerwani people were being detained.¹⁴²

¹⁴⁰ A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1.

¹⁴¹ B, interview by IFN, March 6, 2000, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W2.

¹⁴² E, interview by IFN, January 1999, Sragen, transcript IFN.W5.

According to international law, rape occurs when the vagina or anus is penetrated by a penis or other object, or the mouth is penetrated by a penis.¹⁴³ From the testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan*, women were raped with rifle butts, electrical cables, and feather dusters that were placed in their vaginas.¹⁴⁴ One victim had a piece of wood inserted in her anus and another victim was forced “to kiss” a man’s penis. C was only fourteen when she attended voluntary training at Lubang Buaya and she stayed the night in the barracks. One morning her accommodation was raided and all the women were ordered out by the army. They were taken to a place where they were ordered to strip and remain that way from morning until the afternoon without food and water.

One day, very early in the morning, when we were still asleep, some armed troops raided the barracks where we slept. The sounds of screaming and gunshots scared me. We were ordered out . . . The soldiers yelled, “These are the women devils that killed and mutilated our generals!” While shouting these words, they struck us all over our bodies. Then we were all taken to one place, I don’t know where . . . we were ordered to strip naked. If we didn’t want to, we would be hit with a rifle butt. If any one of us refused, that person would be tortured until they were covered in blood. I was very afraid. That’s why I did what they told us. I took off my clothes. Also my underwear. From morning until afternoon we were fully naked . . . Those soldiers screamed, “Here are the communist women who killed our generals. You are prostitutes aren’t you? You were trained by the PKI on how to mutilate bodies, weren’t you? These are the women used by the PKI to kill people!”

For two nights we remained naked without food or drink. Sometimes they would stroke our nipples with the barrels of their rifles. One afternoon they put the barrel of the rifle in my vagina. When I awoke a soldier said to me, “This time it was only the tip of a rifle. How about if I kill you? I will shoot you with my own gun!” he said while pointing to his penis.¹⁴⁵

H was raped and experienced severe sexual torture in an army complex in East Jakarta around October 1965:

¹⁴³ *Prosecutor v Kunarac* (Appeal Judgment) ICTY-96-23, (June 12, 2002).

¹⁴⁴ Also refer to cases mentioned in the subsection on **Sexual torture during detention** (above) where AK was raped with a feather duster and DQ mentioned a rape that was carried out with a bottle.

¹⁴⁵ C, interview by IFN, February 2002, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W3.

I saw a cable connected to an electrical generator in front of the interrogators [the army]. They attached the cable to my toes and fingers, but I did not tremble. When they saw that I was standing upright they put the end of the cable on my nipples and oh my god, they also put it inside my vagina. When they attached the other end of the cable to the electrical generator I received a huge jolt and fell unconscious. I was no longer aware of anything, by the time I came to I was already back in the cell. My nipples were burned and my vagina was swollen and wet. I felt the most incredible pain.¹⁴⁶

E was raped in an extremely cruel fashion in a detention camp in Solo sometime around October 1965. She recalled:

I was tortured with electric shocks. My arms and feet were tied for three days and three nights, without food or water. I nearly died when they released the rope. Then they repeatedly put a piece of wood into my anus, until blood came out. My anus became swollen.¹⁴⁷

CM was a *Gerwani* activist. She recalled, "I didn't really know about the Lubang Buaya issue, I had only just heard about it. I had never been to Jakarta. I was forced to confess." Because CM would never confess, she was stripped naked, was beaten, and her vagina was stabbed with a hard object until it bled.¹⁴⁸

In another case, a prisoner, "I," became pregnant as a result of multiple rapes committed by a group of perpetrators. "I" was stripped naked and forced to perform oral sex on several men in a sub-district office in Kediri, and then was taken to the offices of the District Military Command where she was detained. Every night during her detention, "I" was raped by the soldiers who were keeping guard. The multiple rapes are an example of sexual slavery. After one month, "I" was released because they discovered she was pregnant and no one wanted to take responsibility. "I"'s family gave her material aid and support and her child was adopted by a member of her family.¹⁴⁹

D became pregnant after she was repeatedly raped (see above), but her torture did not stop there. She was also the victim of a forced abortion. D recalls:

¹⁴⁶ H, interview by IFN, transcript IFN.W8.

¹⁴⁷ E, interview by IFN, January 1999, Sragen, transcript IFN.W5.

¹⁴⁸ CM in "Babaring Lakon," a DVD produced by a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan*, December 2006.

¹⁴⁹ I, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W9.

One day I felt that I was pregnant. When they [the army] found out, they asked me to get rid of it. They called the midwife to come to the camp to perform an abortion. Again and again my stomach was squeezed with tremendous force until I started bleeding. The bleeding was so bad that I had to be taken to the hospital in M. I was given a blood transfusion and had to stay there for 8 days. I had not yet fully recovered, but I had to return to the camp. They started raping me again, until I started experiencing more bleeding. I was pregnant for the second time. I asked for permission to get medical attention and to support my pregnancy. Unfortunately the child was born with physical disabilities. The child was so weak it died when it was a year old.¹⁵⁰

Children who were with their mothers in detention

I was detained [in Plengkung] and took my child who was eighteen months old. By the time I was released my child had grown up.¹⁵¹

There was no consistent treatment of women prisoners who were accompanied by their children. In the testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, some women had just given birth but were not allowed to take their children with them at the time of their arrest, but other mothers took their children with them into detention. For example, AK provided testimony that she was detained from November 1965 until March 1966 at the Surakarta Town Hall together with 200-250 other women. She said there were about twelve-nineteen small children with their mothers in detention. They were forced to sleep pressing against each other, some of them on cardboard that had been brought by their family members.¹⁵² AW was arrested and detained for several months in the Denpasar Correction Facility, together with her child. She was placed in the women's block with about forty women detainees. AW and her child shared a cell with two others.¹⁵³ In her testimony, CS told how she was arrested several days after giving birth. When she was questioned at the District Military Command, CS was carrying and breast-feeding her baby. CS and her baby were then imprisoned in a rice warehouse.¹⁵⁴

150 D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

151 AE, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K1.

152 AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

153 AW, interview by LTP, January 11, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W15.

154 CS in "...Dendam Kasaha...", a DVD produced a team of Yogyakarta High School students in collaboration with *Syarikat* and *Komnas Perempuan*, December 2006.

In one case, a woman police officer, who participated in the interrogations, showed no solidarity with the other women; quite the opposite. While AJ was being interrogated, her baby, who was still being breast-fed, was placed outside the interrogation room with the woman police officer and other detainees. For hours her baby was denied milk and cried continuously. The woman police officer was going to throw AJ's baby in a drum filled with water. AJ described how the woman police officer said, "Just throw this child in the drum. It doesn't matter. Its mother is going to die anyway." Fortunately another detainee took AJ's baby from the arms of the woman police officer.¹⁵⁵

Komnas Perempuan also received testimony from a victim who, as a child, accompanied her mother in detention. W was aged seven when her mother V¹⁵⁶ was arrested. W went along because she had no one to stay with while her mother was in jail. Her father had disappeared for a long time and both her mother's and father's relatives did not want to take W. She had no choice but to follow her mother wherever she went. Every time her mother was interrogated, W was looked after by other women detainees. W still recalls after each interrogation her mother's body would be swollen and covered in blood. Then the other women detainees in the cell would patiently tend to her mother. W could only sit quietly in the corner of the cell, listening to her mother's moans. This happened every night for a week. On the tenth night her mother returned to the cell with tears pouring down her cheeks and gave W to another detainee in her cell. All night long her mother held her so tight and did not want to let her go. W asked her mother why she was crying and holding her so tight. "Will mother be shot tomorrow?" Her mother just cried even more.¹⁵⁷ According to her testimony, W suddenly had a dream that she met an old woman who told her, "You will get very sick, but don't complain and cry because your illness will help your mother. So you have to keep calm." It was true, on the afternoon of her mother's scheduled execution; W had a fever and suffered convulsions and bleeding from her nose and ears. And sure enough; because of her illness, her mother was saved from being executed.¹⁵⁸

In the cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, the state did not make any specific efforts to protect children who were also in custody. Assistance was provided by other detainees and family members, or by religious institutions. Some children tried to get food by offering services. When her mother was arrested for the second time and detained in Kebumen, Central Java, AZ, who was nine at the time, accompanied her mother into detention. AZ acted as a courier for the families of detainees and delivered

¹⁵⁵ AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

¹⁵⁶ V, interview by IFN, September 18, 2002, Jetis, Trenggalek, transcript IFN.W22; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

¹⁵⁷ As chairperson of a city branch of *Gerwani*, V (W's mother) was interrogated every day and a decision was made to execute her at night, just before dawn.

¹⁵⁸ W, interview by IFN, September 20, 2002, Jetis, Trenggalek, transcript IFN.W23.

food and letters. She was given food in return. Several times the church took children out of detention and put them in boarding schools.¹⁵⁹

Forced labour

From the 122 testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan*, fifty-six cases of forced labour during detention were revealed. This violation was supported by implementation guidelines issued by the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order about taking advantage of September 30 Movement/PKI detainees/prisoners for productive purposes (Item 4.b.6).

5.Implementation: . . .

3) *Detainees/prisoners who are in detention: . . .*

- d) *For the purpose of utilizing the aforementioned detainees/prisoners, they shall be classified according to their respective expertise/ competencies.*
- e) *Prison labour can be used for projects in the local area or outside that area, both for regional and national development. .*
- k) *Former ABRI detainees/prisoners shall perform projects specifically designed for them.*
- l) *The Social Services Department shall ensure that women detainees/prisoners are used for productive purposes.*¹⁶⁰

Forced labour varied from cleaning the detention site and performing domestic chores to heavy physical labour such as chopping down trees, tilling the land, and building roads or bridges. For example, one month after being released from detention in East Kalimantan, AE was sent to Argosari, a detention camp in East Kalimantan. She recalls:

*My friends there were forced to work. We had to cut wood. Some men died because trees fell on them. We were paid a few cents, not a single silver coin among them. We were guarded by the military; we had no space to do anything. Even though I had been released I couldn't do anything. At 7:00 in the morning we plopped into the rice fields, planting water spinach until 12:00, 1:00. We weren't allowed out before that.*¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁹ AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

¹⁶⁰ *Juklak Kopkamtib* [Implementation Guidelines] KOPKAM/10/1968 (I). In *Himpunan Surat-surat Keputusan* [Collection of Decisions], 206-219.

¹⁶¹ AE, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K1.

Before being detained for seven years in the Plantungan Correction Facility, BD was detained for about six years (late 1965-1971) in several detention sites in Purwodadi, Central Java. She estimates that a large portion of that six years was spent carrying out forced labour with 250 male prisoners in Kelambu, Jatipohon, Godong Mloko, and Godong Kota. For six months in Kelambu they had to repair roads that had been damaged. In Jatipohon they also had to repair roads. As they had collected more than enough stones to build the road, they were sent to Godong to join another group of prisoners who were forced to repair the road. They then were sent to Godong Mloko and Godong Kota to build a canal. After that they were returned to the camp in Purwodadi before August 17. In Purwodadi, about 100 prisoners were forced to build stages for August 17 events. During her forced labour, BD had to work as a cook. She estimates that a large part of her six-year detention in Purwodadi was spent performing forced labour. While they were carrying out forced labour the prisoners relied on donated food from the community and what they could obtain from the surrounding environment.¹⁶²

ZA and ZB were detained at the Magelang City Social Services Bureau between 1965-1970 (refer to the section entitled ***Relocation from one detention site to another***), and also were forced to build a bridge over the Progo River.¹⁶³

Some women victims were forced to perform domestic chores. AB, for example, had been actively involved in *Gerwani* activities ever since she had been attending school. After graduating from Senior High School, she was ready to continue her studies at a university in Solo. She heard from her friends about the capture of members of the *PKI* and organizations considered to be under it. That is when AB and a woman friend of hers ran away to save themselves because there was large-scale sweeping in their village. They went in and out of fields, rice paddies, and forests for two months before they finally gave themselves up to the police. They were then taken to a place called Section I.

*I was kept in Section I for six months and put to work (by the army) . . . I was ordered to wash, sweep, cook, whatever they wanted.*¹⁶⁴

In some cases prisoners themselves had to clean the detention sites. AC was detained for eleven years, mostly in Plantungan Correction Facility. She was forced to clean the facility as soon as it was converted into a prison to house women prisoners.

¹⁶² BD, interview by LTP, August 30, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W22.

¹⁶³ ZB, interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang, transcript SRK.W3B.

¹⁶⁴ AB, interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5.

*When I was sent to Plantungan, it was run down. I participated in cleaning up that camp by cutting the grass that grew all around and faced poisonous animals such as scorpions and snakes that were hiding there.*¹⁶⁵

Special detention sites for women

Komnas Perempuan examined testimony that describes the conditions found in special Correction Facilities for women. Generally the conditions in these correction facilities were better than their previous places of detention. Even so, *Komnas Perempuan* received testimony that reveals there was sexual violence that resulted in at least two pregnancies in the Plantungan Correction Facility.

Two detention sites were regularly mentioned in the women's testimonies, namely the Bulu Correction Facility in Semarang and the Plantungan Correction Facility in Kendal District, Central Java. The Bulu Correction Facility was a prison for women under the command of the Central Java Regional Inspection Team that was controlled by the Territorial Military Commander VII/Diponegoro as the Special Director of the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order. For a number of women detainees, the Bulu Correction Facility functioned as a transit centre before they were moved to the Plantungan Correction Facility.¹⁶⁶

The Plantungan Correction Facility accommodated about 500 people, specifically women prisoners from all across Java and also from Sumatera, Bali, and Madura. When it was built in 1870, the Plantungan Correction Facility was not a jail but a hospital for lepers. In 1969, Plantungan was converted into a juvenile correction facility, but in 1971 it started to be used as a place for women prisoners detained in relation to the 1965 Tragedy. This prison was situated in Banyu Sangu Village, Kendal (at the foot of Prau Mountain which is flanked by Butak Mountain and Kemulan Mountain) which is divided by the Lampir River.¹⁶⁷ According to the victims, there were five barracks in Plantungan: A, B, C, D and F. The F barracks were split into three sections – F1 for

¹⁶⁵ AC, interview by SRK, July 25, 2006, Bandung, transcript SRK.W6; interview in Sundanese.

¹⁶⁶ Those detained in the Bulu Correction Facility included AA (transcript SRK.W4); AG (transcript KP.K3); AK for approximately three months in 1971 (transcript LTP.W3); AL (transcript LTP.W4); AP (transcript LTP.W8); AX (transcript LTP.W16); BA before her release in December 1974 (transcript LTP.W19); BB (transcript LTP.W20); BD for approximately three months (transcript LTP.W22); BE (transcript LTP.W23); BG around March-May 1966 and on several other occasions before her release in 1971 (transcript LTP.FGD1); BM for approximately three months the first time she was detained, and a second time from 1978-March 1979 (transcript LTP.FGD7); BN (transcript LTP.FGD8); CT (transcript SRK.W8); CX (transcript SRK.W12); DE (transcript SRK.W19); DH (transcript SRK.W22); DI (transcript SRK.W23); and DJ (transcript SRK.W24).

¹⁶⁷ Harsutejo, "Pembuangan Plantungan: Catatan Dokter Sumiyarsi" [Exile in Plantungan: Notes of Doctor Sumiyarsi] (working paper).

young prisoners, F2 for prisoners like CH who, at the time of her detention, was about twenty-six years old, and F3 for prisoners older than CH. Block A housed teenage prisoners, while Block C was partitioned off as an isolation room for sick prisoners and those classified as “dangerous.”¹⁶⁸ The Commanders’ Mess and guardhouse were elevated. Prisoners arrived at the Plantungan Correction Facility in waves.¹⁶⁹ While in the camp, they had to work to feed themselves. They also received assistance from a number of domestic and international humanitarian organizations. Prisoners were released in waves beginning in 1976 until 1979.¹⁷⁰

For a number of victims, the Plantungan Correction Facility gave them protection from rapes they had experienced in previous detention sites. B, a university student, was arrested and taken to a police station to be interrogated, then she was taken to army barracks where she was repeatedly raped, and finally she was moved to a prison set up to accommodate women prisoners.

*After two months in Yogyakarta, I was moved to Plantungan prison, a jail specifically for women in Semarang. Here we had to work, in the fields or in the kitchen. The atmosphere varied. Even though we were still in detention, we felt safer here. There was no more sexual violence. Here we met with other women political prisoners from other areas.*¹⁷¹

However, *Komnas Perempuan* also received testimonies from several women who were detained in the Plantungan Correction Facility (covering the period 1971-1978) who said that the Commander of the Plantungan Camp raped a prisoner and as a result the victim became pregnant. According to BD, a prisoner in Plantungan, the woman who became pregnant was accused of being a member of *Gerwani* and the People’s Youth and of being involved in the Lubang Buaya Incident. The rape occurred when the prisoner was ordered to work in the Commanders’ Mess. She gave birth in the Plantungan Correction Facility. Her birth was investigated by the Women Army

¹⁶⁸ LTP findings are based on a number of interviews conducted from 2000-2006.

¹⁶⁹ AC was part of the initial wave (see her testimony in the section on **Forced labor**; interview by SRK, July 25, 2006, Bandung, transcript SRK.W6; interview in Sundanese).

¹⁷⁰ Those detained in Plantungan Correction Facility included AC who was detained for eleven years until her release in 1977 (transcript SRK.W6); AE (transcript KP.K1); AK from 1971-1979 (transcript LTP.W3); AL (transcript LTP.W4); AX from 1971-1976 (transcript LTP.W16); BB ~1971 until September 1978 or 1979 (transcript LTP.W20); BD from 1971-1978 (transcript LTP.W22); BE (transcript LTP.W23); BM until 1978 (transcript LTP.FGD7); BN until her release in 1979 (transcript LTP.FGD8); CH from 1971-1978 (transcript LTP.W26); CO from 1971-1979 (in “Kok Disalahke?” DVD); DE from 1978-1984 (transcript SRK.W19); DG (transcript SRK.W21); DH from 1971-1978 (transcript SRK.W22); DI (transcript SRK.W23); DJ from 1971-1978 (transcript SRK.W24); and DK for seven years (transcript SRK.W25).

¹⁷¹ B, interview by IFN, March 6, 2000, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W2.

Corps, Women Police Officers, Women Navy Corps, and Women Air Force Corps. Their investigation found that the prisoner had been raped and became pregnant on two occasions. On the first occasion she was impregnated by a military chaplain, and on the second occasion she was impregnated by the Camp Commander himself. The children that were conceived as a result of these rapes were adopted by other families.¹⁷²

In addition to the Plantungan Correction Facility, other locations were used as special detention sites for women. AU said that during her first detention, she was placed in a women's block within the Denpasar Correction Facility;¹⁷³ AV was detained at the Pekambangan Prison in Bali with dozens of other women who were placed in a separate block;¹⁷⁴ AL and about thirty-four other women who had been transferred together occupied their own block in the Bulu Correction Facility;¹⁷⁵ AI was placed in an isolation cell in the Malang Correction Facility together with eight other women who had been arrested together in South Blitar;¹⁷⁶ in November 1965, women detainees, including AX, who were being held at a police station in Yogyakarta, were ordered to pack up and were transported to Beteng Camp by truck. The women detainees were placed in two rooms. The male detainees were placed in a different room that was separated by a two meter high bamboo fence.¹⁷⁷ CH recalled that when she was transferred from a detention site in Undaan Wetan, Surabaya to the Plantungan Correction Facility, she was first taken to the Women's Correction Facility in Surabaya where new women detainees were picked up and together they were taken to Plantungan. Upon her arrival at the Women's Correction Facility in Surabaya, CH was given a batik uniform.¹⁷⁸

Sexual violence upon release

Komnas Perempuan found several cases that once again indicate the state's gross negligence of prisoners who were released. For prisoners without family or relatives, release from detention could open a new page in their suffering. For this group of women, this transitional period made them vulnerable to sexual violence that can be categorized as sexual slavery.

172 AK (transcript LTP.W3); AX (transcript LTP.W16); BD (transcript LTP.W22); BE (transcript LTP.W23).

173 AU, interview by LTP, January 13, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W13.

174 AV, interview by LTP, July 12, 2004, Bali, transcript LTP.W14.

175 AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

176 AI, interview by LTP December 21, 2004 and February 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

177 AX, interview by LTP, June 11, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W16.

178 CH, interview by LTP, July 20, 2000, Solo, transcript LTP.W26.

C was just fourteen when she was detained in 1965. When she was released twelve years later, she had nothing and no one to support her. The state was negligent in the release process as it neglected to guarantee a transitional process to help former prisoners adjust to their freedom. C told how she ended up in a situation of sexual slavery:

I felt afraid and confused when I heard that I would be released. While I was still in my state of confusion, a prison guard, Mr. H, offered to let me stay in his house. I accepted the offer because I had no other choice. The rented house was very simple. He did not live there, but stayed at his wife's house. On the third day of my stay there, Mr. H raped me. Then he took me to his wife's house to use me as a maid, but I was not allowed to stay there. After that, every morning at four I went to the home of Mr. H's wife and worked as a maid. After completing my work, I would return to Pak H's rented house and had to submit to his sexual desires. I could not refuse because I had no other choice. After one month of being Mr. H's sex slave, two of his military friends came to the house. I had to serve them. I not only had to serve all of Mr. H's friends, but also all the men who came and wanted to sleep with me. Sometimes it was four people in one night. Later on I found out that Mr. H received money from the men I had been forced to serve. I felt that Mr. H blackmailed me into being a prostitute. For one year I was never paid for my work as a maid, or as a woman who had been exchanged for money.¹⁷⁹

K was only detained at the offices of the District Military Command for one month, but upon her release she was victimized once again. At the start of January 1966, K was taken back to the home of Lieutenant L where she had to work as a maid. She washed and cooked and even had to submit to the sexual desires of Lieutenant L. K was not allowed to leave the house, not even to meet with her family. From 1966 until 1975 K lived under the control of Lieutenant L and gave birth to two children—one girl and one boy. In 1975 when Lieutenant L was transferred to another area, K was told to go home with her daughter and was given some money to support her daughter. Her son was taken by Lieutenant L and she was forbidden to have any further contact with him.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ C, interview by IFN, February 2002, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W3.

¹⁸⁰ K, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W11.

F was a lecturer at a famous university. She was getting ready to go overseas for further study when she was suddenly arrested in October 1965. She was not released until 1975.

Problems started as soon as I was released. Lieutenant S, who detained me when I was at the army barracks in Kentungan, picked me up from my house. He wanted me to be his concubine. I was taken to the airport. I flew together with Lieutenant S to Kalimantan.

As a result of her relationship with this lieutenant, F gave birth to a child. After living with F for two years, the lieutenant brought his legitimate wife from Java to be with him in Kalimantan. At that time he felt that F and her child were a burden. Finally F was detained again, this time by a military police officer. For three months F was repeatedly raped by military police officers in their office until she became pregnant and was sent away.

I wanted to leave [that city], just to go anywhere else. But I could not go back to Java. I was ashamed of myself. I wanted to go somewhere so I could start a new life. But I didn't have any money. I tried to look for work.¹⁸¹

One woman victim was forced "to marry" someone as a condition of her release. After being detained for six months at the interrogation centre known as Section I, AB was moved to the home of Commander D in a city in Central Java to be the maid. Before "being released" she was pressured to choose a soldier to later become her husband. AB did not want to marry a soldier, but she was forced to choose one from a number of soldiers. She thought, "Ah, I am going far away, surely it won't work out that I marry him." AB was treated very badly at Commander D's house. The commander's wife always cursed her and ordered AB to follow her every command. While she was there, AB was not given enough food and had to do a huge amount of housework. AB was never paid for working in Commander D's house. Finally, AB married P, the soldier she had been forced to "choose" previously. Because her husband was a member of the military, AB considered him her enemy, so for her, the marriage was full of suffering.¹⁸²

¹⁸¹ F, interview by IFN, August 2-5, 2000, Bandung, transcript IFN.W6.

¹⁸² AB, interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5.

→ Right to Security

Human Rights Framework ***Right to Security***

Member states shall guarantee the right of every citizen to personal security. This includes the protection of the person's privacy, family, honour, and dignity. Every person shall have the right to feel secure and receive protection from the state against the threat of fear. Every person has the right to live peacefully, safely, and comfortably.

The right to security includes protection of the family. Every person has the right to found a family and have their family protected as part of the community and the state.

Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 12, 16

Every person shall have the right to feel secure against and receive protection from the threat of fear to do or not do something that is a human right.

Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Article 28G

→ Introduction

The majority of testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan* describe lives that were suddenly beset with fear. People who had an alleged affiliation to the *PKI* had their belongings looted, their houses burned, and their families attacked by security forces and youth groups. Terror took over and people ran helter-skelter, hiding wherever they could. This destroyed the unity of many families. Women, whose husbands, fathers or brothers were taken away to be killed, detained or disappeared faced a range of difficulties. Some women faced economic difficulties, as they alone had to take care of their children and find a place to live. Some women were forcefully separated from their children and others experienced sexual violence while their husbands were in detention.

→ Assaults Against Women and Their Families

The level of terror experienced by women, particularly *Gerwani* members, was facilitated by the press through tendentious news coverage. For instance, a newspaper article said that in one village, a mob, including school students, waved hatchets, knives, and spears while screaming, "*Gerwani! Gerwani . . . ! There it is! Hunt the Gerwani! Smash the Gerwani!*" The article continues,

Several former members of Gerwani in that village were shaking with fear, and with whatever clothes they were wearing, ran out of the village leaping dikes and drains. They ran, and kept running until they entered the jungle. They heard the shouts behind them growing fainter. And finally they disappeared altogether. Far away in the valley, in the midst of the rice fields the people gathered around their prey shouting, "Die you, Gerwani . . . Die you, Gerwani!"¹⁸³

Three days later one woman was brave enough to return to her village and found out from her neighbours that the "Gerwani" being pursued by the community was a civet cat. Besides hiding in forests and clumps of bamboo, some people hid in rice fields,¹⁸⁴ at the beach,¹⁸⁵ in a church,¹⁸⁶ in a gutter,¹⁸⁷ in a bathroom,¹⁸⁸ in a haystack in the ceiling of a stable, and inside a sarong being worn by another person.¹⁸⁹

183 "Itu Gerwani . . . ! Buru Gerwani . . . Hadjar Gerwani . . . dan matilah itu Gerwani . . . !" [There's a Gerwani . . . ! Hunt the Gerwani . . . Beat up the Gerwani . . . and die you Gerwani . . . !], *Berita Yudha*, November 12, 1965.

184 AB testified how she and a woman friend would run at night after it was dark and during the day would hide in fields, rice paddies, and the forest (interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5). AC also hid in a rice field: "A week after the '65 Tragedy, I was being hunted [by the army] like a low class thief. Those pursuing me were yelling, "Aidit's whore." I was carrying three children . . . I ran to the middle of the rice field. In the rice field I was picked up by a prosecutor, then taken to Sumedang. There I was beaten . . ." (interview by SRK, July 25, 2006, Bandung, transcript SRK.W6; interview in Sundanese)

185 AI, interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and February 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

186 ZB told how beside the place where she and ZA were being detained (the Social Services Bureau) there was an old church where members of the PKI were hiding. Those who entered the church had a better chance of survival. (interview by SRK, July 24, 26-27, 29, 2006 and August 2, 5, 14, 18, 2006, Magelang, transcript SRK.W3B)

187 AZ escaped because she crawled along a gutter. (interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18). Y also told how one night she hid her daughter in a *talang*, a kind of gutter in the kitchen. (interview by SRK, August 8-9, 2006, transcript SRK.W2)

188 AJ was a leader of the *Gerwani* Regional Party Leadership in Bali, and was well known. Before her house was burned and she was arrested, AJ hid five youths aged seventeen to twenty years old in her house. Those youths ran to the police station, surrendered, and asked for protection, but they were refused. According to AJ, "maybe . . . the police weren't brave enough." When they left the police station they looked for a woman whose house happened to be close to the police station and asked for protection. AJ once hid someone she did not know who was being pursued and was going to be killed. During the day she hid this person in the bathroom; at night this person slept in a bed. (interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2)

189 After being on the run for two months, AB went back to her village with a friend. They slept in a pile of straw in a stable belonging to a friend of AB's, then they hid under the sarong of the same friend to go to the home of a traditional healer whom AB knew. (interview by SRK, August 15, 18, 20, 2006, Klaten, transcript SRK.W5)

T and her husband were members of a sugar factory labour union who hid in a sugar cane field while planning where their next hiding place would be. That night, a mob and the army burned the sugar cane plantation where they were hiding. They could not run away because they were surrounded by fire as well as members of the mob who were carrying sickles and clubs. Many members of the labour union burned to death, including T's husband and their only child who was with him. T suffered burns to her entire body. When the mob found T they presumed that she was dead and left her. For two days and two nights T lay in the sugar cane field with burns all over her body. Facing death, T felt a person pick her up and the next thing she knew she was in a house and her body had been wrapped in banana leaves. For one month T didn't know where she was. Her hearing started to come back. Two days later she was fully conscious and was told that she had been saved by a Muslim cleric and taken to his boarding school. T stayed at the school and was given treatment until she recovered.¹⁹⁰

While being pursued, a student hid a teacher;¹⁹¹ a woman hid some youths;¹⁹² a mother hid her children's friends;¹⁹³ a woman hid her friends;¹⁹⁴ older siblings hid their younger siblings;¹⁹⁵ a wife hid her husband; and a mother hid her children. As Y recalls:

It was very scary at the time, especially for me . . . My husband was a member of the Indonesian Peasants' Front and my daughter was a member of Gerwani . . . I felt anaemic. I was thin and my face was pale . . . because I was afraid and my thoughts were in chaos. Every day the father of my children had to hide. One night several people came to the house asking about the whereabouts

190 T, interview by IFN, September 2002, Kediri, transcript IFN.W20.

191 Once, when she was headed home after teaching, BE saw a mob yelling and burning shops (in a region of Solo). One of BE's students from a Chinese school invited BE to hide in her house that was not attached to a shop. (interview by LTP, July 19, 2000 and April 22, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese)

192 On December 2-3, 1965, AJ housed five youths who were afraid to return to their village after reporting as obligated to the authorities because the mob was beating them and threatening to kill them. The police were not willing to house them. (LTP.W2, Bali, 17 August 2000).

193 AX housed about twenty of her child's friends who did not feel safe staying in their own village. (interview by LTP, June 11, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W16).

194 AI and her youngest child moved from one safe house to another in Surabaya. They only stayed one or two days in each place they hid. All their needs were met by their hosts. In return, AI tried to assist with the housework. (interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and February 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese)

195 As AK and her husband did not feel safe in her parents' house (in Sumber Sub-district, Solo) they sought refuge at the house of AK's oldest sibling in Semarang. However, two days later they were arrested by members of the military from Regional Military Command VII/Diponegoro. (interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese)

of my daughter . . . I said that she had gone and I didn't know where, but actually when they came I had hid her, with the help of her husband, in the down-spout my kitchen.¹⁹⁶ She [my daughter] and her husband eventually went to Surabaya.¹⁹⁷

Wives were more vulnerable to terror and violence when their husbands were being pursued, and in several cases they became targets of violence as substitutes for their missing husbands. According to her daughter, M and her two children (ten years old and six months old), were forced to walk alongside the security forces who searched for M's husband for seven days and seven nights. The whole time the army, police, and youths pulled her hair, kicked and slapped M. Whenever her daughter asked for food or water she would be pinched or cussed at: "Children of *PKI* have to resist hunger, they cannot cry. Cry later when you see your father shot!" When her husband was found on the eighth day, M and her two children were forced to watch her husband being tortured and killed.¹⁹⁸ According to K, the military had been searching for her husband for more than a month, and around November 1965 the security forces arrested and detained K as a substitute for her husband. She was taken to the office of the district military command, where she was detained for one month because they could not find her husband at their house.¹⁹⁹



Sexual Violence during Mob Attacks

J was a member of the Indonesian Peasants' Front. In October 1965 her house was attacked by a mob consisting of youths and army who were searching for her husband. They could not find him so J was forced to reveal her husband's hiding place. That night J was put on a truck and taken to the southern part of the city. The youths and military in the truck spat on her, stood on her, and slapped her whenever she was unable to answer their questions. Every time the truck stopped, J was raped by any man that wanted to rape her, sometimes by two or three men. After being raped, J would be put back on the truck. This occurred at three police posts and one house. After two days of driving around without finding her husband, J was taken back to the city. She was buried in the ground for two days causing her legs to be paralyzed for one year. It turns out that her husband had already been killed in a forest in the region of Madiun.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁶ *Talang* is zinc or plastic guttering usually used for water drains.

¹⁹⁷ Y, interview by SRK, August 8-9, 2006, transcript SRK.W2.

¹⁹⁸ M and N, interviews by IFN, September 1997, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W13 and September 2000, Blitar, transcript IFN.W14.

¹⁹⁹ K, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W11.

²⁰⁰ J, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W10.

Like the examples above, attacks directed at victims and their families were very violent, with total disregard to humanitarian values. State officials, as well as armed mobs working together with state officials, committed acts outside the law. For women, these attacks often took the form of sexual violence.

D was not a member of *Gerwani*, but she helped with the activities of her husband who was an active member of a labour union in Sumatera. D does not know precisely when and where her husband was arrested, but D herself was later attacked by a group of youths.

At about 5:00 a.m. a group of youths suddenly surrounded our house and smashed the door in. They came in carrying knives and sickles, yelling "Hand over your weapons!" As they did not find any weapons apart from a knife, they approached me. They stripped me naked. I yelled and resisted so they slapped me in the face and chest. They insulted me by saying, "Savage! Murderer of the generals! Communist!" I struggled to release myself, but the more I resisted the more they tortured me. They laid me on the floor and yelled, "Rape her!" Suddenly a tall and large-bodied young male took off his pants and raped me. Then several others took turns. I don't know how many people raped me at that time. I lost consciousness and suffered heavy bleeding. After raping me, they carried me to the road fully naked and made me walk to the police station located about five kilometres away. Blood was flowing out . . . [D points to her genitals]. Along the way people were yelling, screaming at me. "Communist woman! Kill her! Chop her up, just like she mutilated the generals!"²⁰¹

A similar matter was reported by G who was the victim of an attack by a mob in Karangasem, Bali:

My family tragedy occurred in 1965 . . . the month of October. One morning a group of people came to our house and asked my parents-in-law and my husband to come out of the house. We were all inside at the time. I was hugging my one-year-old baby tightly. The people were yelling, "Burn them! Burn them all if they don't want to come out!" My husband . . . was carrying our child and we all went out together via the back door. Right away he pushed me to the ground, between some clumps of bamboo. He immediately went back to the house to help his parents, but the

201 D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

house was on fire. I saw my husband come out. But he and his parents had suffered burns to their bodies. People were outside waiting for them. They beat and slashed at my husband and my parents-in-law. They were powerless. Their corpses were left sprawled on the ground behind our house. I was shaking in fear. Normally our child would cry, but at that moment he did not make a sound. We were gripped by an incredible fear. People were still gathered around the house. They were looking for me. Suddenly they saw me and my child among the bamboo. They dragged me, and then stripped me naked in front of the corpses of my husband and parents-in-law. I said to them, "Don't kill my child. If you want to kill me, please kill me." But they didn't kill me; they chose to march me naked around the surrounding area. Then they placed a cable around my neck while shouting, "Devil! Whore! Communist! General Killer!" After I was taken around the village I was tied up at the village hall, left naked. Then they left. Several men approached me and roughly groped my body. I didn't know where my child was. But I couldn't ask them. I was tied up naked at the village hall for almost twenty-four hours without food or water.

The following day I was handed over to the army. They interrogated me for two days non-stop. They could not prove that I was a member of the PKI or any mass organization. But because my deceased husband and parents-in-law were members of the PKI, I had to report at certain times. After I was released, I started looking for my child. It turns out that a family who lived behind our house saved my child. Then I went looking for the bodies of my husband and parents-in-law but I didn't find them.

Every time I reported to the authorities they always treated me in a vulgar manner. I had to submit to the sexual desires of the interrogators. Sometimes they came at night to sleep with me. They would not let me move to another house, because if I moved they would accuse me of absconding.²⁰²

Q was seventeen years old and still in Class Three of Senior High School when she was arrested. She was never a formal member of any organization under the PKI. She was arrested because her father was a member of the PKI. Q had a good voice and was a good dancer, so every time there was a party or an anniversary of the PKI, Q was

202 G, interview by IFN, February 3-5, 2000, Surabaya, transcript IFN.W7.

asked to dance and sing. Her father was arrested in October and Q was arrested in November, however she was not detained in prison. Q and three girls from another village were sent in turn to army posts, initially to dance, but later as victims of sexual slavery. Q stayed at each post for a month and every night she had to service three to five men. In the fifth month Q became pregnant so she was sent home to her mother's house. Q was lucky that she got pregnant because her three friends who were also sent to army posts suffered even worse fates. One killed herself and the other two suffered from depression and went mad, got sick, and died.²⁰³

→ Looting, Damage, and Confiscation of Property

Violation of the right to security included raids on houses, looting of possessions, and the burning or confiscation of houses. X told of her experiences, "Our possessions were stolen when we were arrested and imprisoned."²⁰⁴ This kind of statement was heard over and over again in the testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan*. Several examples of such cases are outlined below:

- Al's house was raided by some officials who were travelling by truck in October 1965. Her house was then confiscated and until now has never been returned.²⁰⁵
- In Cilacap, on October 20, 1965, a number of mass organizations gathered in the village square before they organized a procession and burned houses. By the time they arrived in the vicinity of AL's house it was already dark, so the mob could only smash the windows and damage furniture. That evening AL and her family took refuge in a neighbour's house, and then they went to Yogyakarta. Government authorities sealed off her house.²⁰⁶
- AT was the wife of a high-ranking official in Bali. On December 2-3, 1965, her family's home was attacked and goods were looted by a mob. A factory that used to belong to her parents was confiscated and the land was taken over by the district military command. AT found out about the attack on her house from the newspapers. AT and her family had to stay temporarily in the home of her parents-in-law whose house was also damaged by a mob. AT's family survived on leftover rice that had not been looted and donations that were secretly provided by the community. Thereafter they survived on the harvest of their rice fields and donations from various sources.²⁰⁷

203 Q, interview by IFN, September 2002, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W17.

204 X, interview by SRK, August 15-16, 20-21, 2006, Madiun, transcript SRK.W1.

205 AL, interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and February 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

206 AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

207 AT, interview by LTP.W12, Bali, 29 August 29, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W12.

- AX's house (Sleman, Yogya) was raided and searched without warrant on November 23, 1965.²⁰⁸
- In December 1965, while AJ was visiting her husband in detention, members of the People's Youth warned AJ to evacuate her house because it was going to be burned. During the first attempt to burn it, AJ woke up and the perpetrators ran away and left a jerrycan full of petrol. On the next occasion the perpetrators succeeded in burning down her house. AJ and her children took refuge at the home of her parents-in-law and later on that house was destroyed by a mob.²⁰⁹
- AW's husband owned a shipping business for exporting cattle and coffee that had branches in Lombok, Sumbawa, Surabaya, and Jakarta. Her husband was active in a political party and had been a member of the Provincial Parliament, the National Parliament, and the Mutual Cooperation People's Consultative Assembly as representative of a group of entrepreneurs. In November 1965, AW's husband was arrested by the police and detained at the regional police command. Their house was raided, then confiscated, then his business was also confiscated by the security forces.²¹⁰

➔ Violation of the Family's Right to Protection

Mothers forcibly separated from their children

The right to form a family and to have the family protected is violated when a mother is forcefully separated from her child. This is what happened to A, a national *Gerwani* official who was arrested while still at the house of the midwife after giving birth.

The 1965 Tragedy took place and two months later I gave birth to our first child. At that time I was still laying prostrate at the midwife's house . . . I still recall that I was breastfeeding my baby and suddenly five soldiers dragged me from the bed, took me outside, and threw me in the back of a truck. I didn't know what was happening to my baby who was just two days old and lying on the bed. I shouted and screamed, asking them if I could take my child. But they refused, and pulled my hair saying, "A woman like this one killed the generals!"²¹¹

208 AX, interview by LTP, June 11, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W16.

209 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

210 AW, interview by LTP, January 11, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W15.

211 A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

Forced disappearance, murder, and detention were directed at specific targets that simultaneously destroyed the wider family and left an impact on the next generation. AO recalls:

*"My family? They got them all, they were destroyed. My husband's family, they got them all, they were destroyed. [The siblings] who were adults got it . . . all of them were teachers, all three of them. My husband was the oldest, then the middle one, then one. The one who never returned was my husband who disappeared. One came back from Buru Island, the other one died in Nusakambangan, my in-laws. They got one of my own siblings, but not the others."*²¹²

AL came from a wealthy family. Her father worked as the chief of a train station during the Dutch colonial period, while her mother was a housewife. AL and her husband had eleven children. AL was an intellectual and Indonesian political leader whose life changed drastically as a result of the September 30 Movement. AL's husband was arrested in Purwokerto and died from a bleeding stomach ulcer at the Nusakambangan Correction Facility in the 1970s. Her mother-in-law was arrested in Kroya due to her involvement in *Gerwani arisan*²¹³ and was detained for a short period. AL's oldest child was arrested and exiled to Buru Island. AL was forcefully separated from her children. Her children were entrusted to several relatives. Many of them were forced to quit school. AL's husband died in detention, while AL was released after being detained for ten years. Upon her release she had no capital left, so she started selling meatball soup and ice.²¹⁴

You can imagine the happiness experienced by a mother or father who are released and reunited with her/his family, after being in detention for years and years. But this was not always the case, because returning home did not mean the problems one faced had been resolved. Often a victim's household would be fractured due to financial problems—former prisoners found it hard to get work—accompanied by the negative stigma attached to them and their families.

Testimonies received by Komnas Perempuan show that some families were forced into poverty because they had no choice but to sell the family's assets to buy food. When BA was detained, her two children were looked after by her parents and her older sibling. In order to survive and be able to send food to BA while she was in detention,

²¹² AO, interview by LTP, September 7, 2000, Pati, transcript LTP.W7.

²¹³ An *arisan* is a type of savings group where participants gather regularly to contribute a certain amount of money. At each gathering there is a lottery to determine who gets all the money. All participants must have won at least once before the round can be resumed.

²¹⁴ AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

her family had to sell their possessions, including their house.²¹⁵ After BD and her husband were arrested, their oldest child, a girl, started caring for her three younger brothers with the help of their maid. The oldest child spent some time with another family; however those who were brave enough to take in BD's children were always arrested. Therefore, the oldest child decided to return home and stay with her younger siblings. BD's children survived by selling their possessions, including their parent's house.²¹⁶

AN, the wife of a sub-district administrator who was detained, also sold her family's possessions to get food and pay her children's school fees.

All I could do in the past was selling things—I sold the door, the table, I sold those things for food. If I wanted to wear some clothes, normally my husband [the sub-district administrator] would buy them, but there were none left. My clothes became more and more worn out, I didn't have any clothes. I had to work as a labourer cutting grass. As soon as my child returned from school I asked him to cut the grass, to go to the rice fields over there towards the east. That was so we could buy clothes, pants, Junior High School books on Mutual Cooperation, that's how we did it . . . also to pay taxes.²¹⁷

When both the father and mother of the same family were in detention, the grandfather or grandmother would sometimes support their grandchildren. In October 1965, BE entrusted her three children to her mother and then started hiding in the homes of her relatives. At the end of 1965, BE received news from her mother that her two maids had been arrested and detained in place of her and her husband, so she decided to turn herself in. She was taken by several men in civilian clothes to the Banjarsari Police Station (Section II). After being detained for a month, BE demanded that her two maids be released. Her wish was fulfilled. During her eleven years in detention, BE was moved at least five times. While she and her husband were in detention, BE's mother supported her grandchildren with the money she received from renting out their house. BE's daughter also supplemented their income by accepting sewing assignments. Her son, who started primary school in 1965, was expelled because of the status of his parents. Her son was only able to go back to school when he was adopted by a neighbour who was a member of the army. Upon her release in 1977, BE had to deal with the financial problems of her household that were exacerbated by the fact that her husband disappeared while she was in detention. The hardest thing was

215 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

216 BD, interview by LTP, August 30, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W22.

217 AN, interview by LTP, August 4, 2003, Yogyakarta, transcript LTP.W6; interview in Javanese.

that her children blamed BE because they thought their mother was involved in the September 30 Movement. They found this out from history classes at school. BE was upset because she felt her children did not know about the struggles of their parents for so long, beginning with the guerrilla war up until 1965.²¹⁸

BA's husband was a teacher at a technical school and a leader of the Indonesian Teachers' Association. He often housed members of the All-Indonesia Federation of Labour Organizations who used BA's house to plan demonstrations. In November 1965, BA's husband was teaching when he was arrested and taken straight to a camp. Several days later BA received a written summons from the police. From the moment she arrived at the police station in December 1974, BA was also kept in detention. Both of BA's children were cared for by her parents and her older sibling. In order to survive and be able to send food to BA in detention, her family sold their belongings, including BA's house.²¹⁹

AI, a *Gerwani* activist, heard an announcement about the September 30 Movement when her husband, a staff member of the *PKI*, had already been gone two days on duties outside the area. One of her colleagues advised AI to leave her house, so AI entrusted her three oldest children to her maid. AI left her house in October 1965 and took her remaining child who was one and half years old. Together with her child, AI moved from one safe house to another at intervals of one or two days. When she felt there were no more safe places to stay in Surabaya, AI moved to South Blitar where she had a chance to meet her husband. While in hiding she became pregnant and gave birth. AI recalls:

[My fifth child] was born on May 25, '68. Therefore I gave her up when she was two months old. The story's like this. When I gave birth to my daughter, by chance . . . [a newly married couple] had just had a baby, but their child died, so we spoke to them. Things were starting to get dangerous [in] South Blitar . . . They wanted to accept [my child]. [They] were very happy to take my child wrapped in a new shawl, and wearing new clothes. Sometimes I remember . . . When they took her away, [my fourth child] stood in front of the door [calling out], "Little sister . . . little sister. Ma, where is little sister? Where is little sister?" [I] . . . never imagined the situation would be so pressing, that the community would be increasingly frightened. That's why my child [who had just been adopted] was discarded in the cemetery. [I] really don't know

218 BE, interview by LTP, July 19, 2000, and April 22, 2005, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

219 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

[who discarded her. Maybe they were afraid.] . . . At that time the operations being conducted in South Blitar were incredibly viscous, we were so afraid.

In that situation, the family who had adopted AI's youngest child left the baby in a cemetery. However, the baby was saved by a different family. Yet, AI lost track of her fourth child and never saw that child again. AI's husband was arrested in South Blitar and sentenced to death. While he was being held in the Pamekasan Correction Facility he died from a heart attack. After she was released, AI did not reconnect with her four children (including her youngest child who had been adopted), until they were adults.²²⁰

As seen in the above examples, a number of methods were used to protect children who were abandoned when their parents were placed in detention. Sometimes their parents were able to entrust them to a relative. However, some children were forced to survive on their own.

AZ's mother was arrested and detained in the Purworejo area for three and a half years. AZ, who was nine years old, was separated from her three siblings. Her older and younger siblings were taken in by a family, but had to work as unpaid domestic servants. AZ and her youngest sibling, who was just four years old, were forced to live on the street. At night they would sleep at the market. Many children shared their fate. She saw one of her friends, a child whose mother had also been detained; die unattended on one of the benches in the market. AZ and her younger siblings were reunited as a family when her mother was released in 1969. However, some time later her mother was placed back in detention, and AZ accompanied her mother into detention. AZ's father returned from Buru Island at the end of the 1970s, but he had to spend one week at home and one week in detention. This "obligatory reporting requirement" continued for years and years. Finally AZ and her family were able to live together again. They eventually moved to Jakarta to avoid ostracism and discrimination in their local environment.²²¹

After BD and her husband were arrested, their oldest child, a girl, started caring for her three younger brothers with the help of their maid. Their oldest child spent some time with another family; however those who were brave enough to take in BD's children would always be arrested. Therefore, her oldest child decided to return home and stay

220 AI, interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and February 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

221 AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

with her younger siblings. Her children survived by selling their possessions, including their parent's house.²²²

In some cases mothers entrusted their children to relatives or family members before being detained and upon their release the children refused to acknowledge their biological mother. For example, A, who was released from detention fourteen years after giving birth to a baby girl, not only had to confront the fact that her husband had remarried, but was also introduced to her biological daughter as "an aunty . . . who transmigrated to Lampung."²²³ S found out that the baby she was forced to abandon when she was arrested had been given to another family in her village who would not admit that S was the child's mother.²²⁴

Women whose husbands or family members were victims of summary executions and forced disappearances

Many of the testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan* about murders and forced disappearances relate to the murder or disappearance of a husband or male family member. Women who were left behind had to try to survive and protect their families, while making efforts to search for their husbands, fathers or sons who had been arrested or killed. Families often found it difficult to track down where their family members were being detained because prisoners were often transferred from one camp or prison to another, or had been executed with no official notification to the family.

Many women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who lived in Solo were young mothers of small children, were pregnant, or had just recently married like AK (see ***Torture during detention***). AK was a member of the People's Cultural Institute, while her husband was a member of the Greater Regional Committee of the *PKI*. In August 1965 they had just been married. However, less than two months later military authorities separated them forever. Members of the VII/Diponegoro Regional Military Command arrested AK and her husband in their safe house in Semarang. Since the husband and wife were registered as residents of Solo, the military moved them back to their place of origin. First they were detained at the headquarters of the State Intelligence Agency. Then AK was moved to military police headquarters, while her husband was taken to navy headquarters situated on the outskirts of Solo. From that moment on AK never saw her husband again.

²²² LTP.W22, Purwodadi, August 30th 2000.

²²³ A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1.

²²⁴ S, interview by IFN, September 2002, Jatiroto, East Java, transcript IFN.W19; interview in Javanese.

[My] father was summoned by the military police only to be ordered to collect a shirt completely smeared with blood, trousers, and a sarong. He was told by . . . the investigators, "Don't hope that he will ever be going home [AK's husband]. When he goes home . . . he will be dead. Tell his wife, at the Town Hall [Camp]. Give this shirt . . . to his wife." . . . Finally, my father collected it . . . my father went to the military police. . [actually] he wasn't brave . . . [but he felt that] what the local government said . . . had to be carried out . . . Finally [my husband's clothes] were collected and given to me . . . "This is your husband's shirt, your husband is gone . . . he is dead, you don't need to hope for your husband any more." . . . I don't know [where my husband] was taken. Unexpectedly I received a shirt covered in blood . . . [He] was taken from the military police . . . No one knows until now. But I still remember . . . Basically, until the last return home from Buru I was still waiting for my husband.²²⁵

BP was seventeen when she was arrested as she wanted to leave for school (see **Inhumane detention conditions**). She spoke about her older brother and father.

My father and older brother were both taken away . . . There have been no news about my father until now. I don't know if he disappeared or died. My brother is home now.²²⁶

It was very difficult for mothers to support and raise their children on their own due to the disappearance or murder of their husbands, especially when both husband and wife were targeted. AO and her husband were primary school teachers who were also members of the Indonesian Teachers' Association. In November 1965, AO was suspended from her job for six months. Her husband was detained and then disappeared. Her husband responded to a summons from the police station on November 8, 1965. AO believes that her husband was first detained at the National Building, then moved to Simo Village, Pati District and five months later, around March 26, 1966, was moved to prison. On March 28, 1966 AO received news that the next day her husband would be moved to Semarang. AO met her husband for the final time:

It was a Monday . . . "Don't make things difficult for yourself, don't burden yourself with the task of sending [food] to me," my husband said. "Wherever I am, I must send a letter." He asked for

225 AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

226 BP, focus group discussion facilitated by LTP, April 17-18, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.FGD10.

. . . a pen, that was all. "If I move from Pati, I will let you know," that's what he promised. But, ya, I don't know. Until now there has been no news.

While AO was suspended from her job as a teacher, she made soybean snacks and cakes to sell in food stalls, accepted sewing assignments, and opened a small business. To get capital for her business, she sold anything that could be sold such as a cupboard and jewellery. At that time AO had two children. So that her children would not feel inferior, AO was forced to lie to them about their father.

[When my children asked,]"Mom, where is my father? Is he not a good man?" "No, your father is good, polite. Kind to other people . . . He is seeking employment in another city. When he comes back he will buy you some souvenirs, he will give you a really nice skirt." . . . If we went to prison [my child would ask], "Why is our father here, Mom?" Last time he came with me when I sent [some food]. "What, here?" "This is where he is attending a course," that's what I said. "You aren't allowed to attend this course." You see, my child wanted to go to his room. "No, you may not. You are a small child. Your father is in school, doing a course."... I just kept lying.

She did not need to lie to her second child who was too small and died of an illness while his father was still in detention.

The little one was fifteen months old. But the little one died on March 6 [1966]. He was always sick; maybe he missed his father, because he was used to being looked after by his father while I was teaching . . . His father was still in Pati at that time. I don't know, I didn't tell him that [his youngest child] had died. He heard it from others.²²⁷

AA was an active member of the Indonesian Peasants' Front, the Indonesian Teachers' Association, a *Gerwani* Secretary, and Coordinator of the *Melati* Kindergarten in Purwodadi. Her husband, an officer with the Purwodadi *People's Youth*, was first arrested on November 6, 1965. "My husband was arrested in his office, and that's the last time I saw him." Until now AA doesn't know the whereabouts of her husband's body because her husband was taken by truck to a forest known as a place where

227 AO, interview by LTP, September 7, 2000, Pati, transcript LTP.W7.

PKI members were massacred. "I was told by a friend that my husband had been 'transported' on a truck. That was a sign that my husband had been killed."²²⁸

Without any certain news about her husband's fate, one wife was unable to stop looking for him. AQ no longer owned a thing—she had sold her house, land, and rice fields to look for her husband. She went to Semarang, Pekalongan, Pati, Cepu, Lasem, and Surabaya in search of her husband. She also visited traditional healers and asked them to show her where her husband was. During her efforts to locate her husband, AQ slept anywhere she could, including on the veranda of a shop, even in the office of the market manager. She travelled around by getting lifts on the backs of trucks.

Sometimes the truck driver's assistant would order her to get off if they found out that she wanted to visit a prison. They were afraid of *Gerwani*. When her money ran out, AQ worked as a textile labourer or performed any type of work she could, wherever she was at the time. When she got some money, she would go back to looking for her husband. AQ felt as if she were in a daze. However, if she just stayed at home she would continually feel overwhelmed. Her family was so concerned they summoned a Muslim cleric to make her forget about her husband. However, their attempt was unsuccessful. AQ only stopped searching in the 1990s because she was too old and had no money.²²⁹

AT's family also refused to accept the disappearance of AT's husband and continued to try to find out about his whereabouts. AT's husband, a high-ranking official in Bali, was summoned to Jakarta to attend a meeting for all regional leaders across Indonesia in December 1965. After that, he was posted to Jakarta for about the next six months. That same month AT and her children moved temporarily to Jakarta. While in Jakarta, their house in Bali was attacked and their belongings were looted. On July 29, 1966, AT's husband was picked up by a captain with an army strategic reserve command jeep. After that AT's husband disappeared. All family efforts to track down AT's husband—at the army strategic reserve command, garrison command unit, and the district military command—were unsuccessful. AT even went as far as the Bogor Palace to seek information about her husband, but Soekarno was not there. AT's oldest child wrote a letter to the Minister of Internal Affairs, Major General Basuki Rachmat, who then ordered Brigadier General Gatot Subagyo, the head of a screening team, to look into the matter. In July 1968, Gatot Subagyo met AT's oldest child and convinced him that his father was in good health. Every year since 1970, AT's oldest child has sent letters (including a chronology of the case and supporting documents) to the Minister of Internal Affairs, the Secretary of State, the Commander in Chief of

228 AA, interview by SRK, August 15-20, 2006, Purwodadi, transcript SRK.W4.

229 AQ, interview by LTP, February 9, 2000, Rembang, transcript LTP.W9; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

the Armed Forces, the President and, after its formation, the National Commission on Human Rights. He demanded an explanation about his father's fate. One reason was that Balinese people have a moral obligation to conduct an appropriate ceremony for the deceased. Despite his efforts, only the National Commission on Human Rights sent three responses, confirming that they forwarded his letters to the Coordinating Agency for National Stability, the Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, and the Secretary of State.²³⁰

Other women knew more about the fate of their husbands. AL's husband was a member of *PKI* and was arrested in Purwokerto. He died in the Nusakambangan Correction Facility in the 1970s as the result of a bleeding stomach ulcer. AL was notified about her husband's death by the prison director.²³¹ However, it was quite rare that confirmation was provided by official sources. Most women received information from eyewitnesses and some women were even forced to witness the death of their husbands. BD saw her husband's name on a list of people who had been executed. She was shown this list informally by an executioner she knew. Later on she visited the place of the execution near a deep and wide river. According to members of the local village, the corpses had a number of banana trees and teak trees piled on top of them. They showed her three separate locations. At the first location ten people had been buried, five at the second, and twenty-five at the third. BD suspected that her husband's body was at the third location.²³² G was stripped naked in front of her husband's corpse and was marched to the village office where she experienced sexual torture.²³³ M and her two children were forced to witness the torture and murder of M's husband who was then thrown into the southern ocean.²³⁴

AU can be considered "lucky" as she managed to locate her husband's body and so was able to conduct the final honorary cremation ceremony. Many women victims in Bali were only able to conduct such ceremonies symbolically, meaning the only thing that could be cremated was a handful of soil taken from the location where their husbands were killed and buried. AW organized a cremation ceremony for her husband around 1979-1980, but she was too afraid to take any soil from the place where her husband had been murdered and buried. She decided to take some soil from near her house.²³⁵ For Balinese Hindus, the cremation ceremony is important because they believe that if the death ceremony is not done properly the spirit of the

²³⁰ AT, interview by LTP, August 29, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W12.

²³¹ AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

²³² BD, interview by LTP, August 30, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W22.

²³³ G, interview by IFN, February 3-5, 2000, Surabaya, transcript IFN.W7.

²³⁴ M, interview by IFN, September 1997, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W13.

²³⁵ AW, interview by LTP, January 11, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W15.

deceased will be restless.²³⁶ Nevertheless, this does not mean AU was satisfied or that she does not wish to demand justice.

AU's husband was director of a Balinese newspaper during the Japanese period and finally became the chief of an agency in Bali that was trying to stop the 1965 violence in Bali. At the end of 1965, AU's husband was upset after receiving a call from a person claiming to be the friend of his oldest child who said that his child, who was supposed to be on duty guarding the school, was missing. Several moments later, some people in military uniforms came and spoke to AU's husband. He went with them and never came back. AU reported the loss of her oldest child and her husband's departure to a member of the district military command. It turned out that her oldest child had not disappeared—the news given over the phone was a ruse to get AU's husband to go out at night. He disappeared after he went out that evening. Two to three years later a police officer told AU that her husband was killed near a temple in Badung. The police officer admitted that he witnessed the murder. In 1978 the family took the remains from that location to be cremated.

AU twice wrote to the central government to ask for justice for her husband, but received no response.

*I would really like to know the background to my husband's murder. What, who, why, why was my husband sacrificed like that? If he was sick, I could have taken care of him . . . he died. . . I am so sad, even until now.*²³⁷

In one case a woman's certainty about the reason for her husband's death came from her husband himself. AS's husband was detained twice for reasons that were unclear. In 1965 he was taken to Purwodadi but not long after he was released. In 1968 her husband was detained once more. One day before he died, he told AS of his torture when she visited him in detention. "My husband . . . he died from electric shocks and torture. [He] was ordered to lie on his stomach, and then a [soldier] jumped on top of him. How could that not crush him . . . That [is what he said] when he could still speak to me . . . I went home, then at three o'clock [he] died."²³⁸

²³⁶ Unidentified Hindu priestess whose husband disappeared, interview by LTP, July 11, 2004, Bali.

²³⁷ AU, interview by LTP, January 13, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W13.

²³⁸ AS, interview by LTP, August 28, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W11; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

Women whose husbands were detained

Women whose husbands were placed in detention had to use all their energy on efforts to support their children. This was especially so for those women who faced persecution and discrimination, and had their fundamental rights denied.²³⁹ The wives of prisoners who were working as civil servants were sacked unceremoniously when their husbands were arrested. Sometimes these women could not depend on any assistance from their wider family or local community because those people were too afraid to associate with the family member of a “political prisoner.” One woman understood her position and did not ask for assistance from anyone, even when she was giving birth. CI recalls:

[W]hen the September 30 Incident occurred I was nine months pregnant [with my fourth child]. I’m not sure when my husband was taken; I’ve forgotten . . . “If you go to jail, what about the children?” I said to him. “It won’t be long. It will be okay. I haven’t done anything wrong . . . they are only detaining me for a short time. Three months at the most,” he said. “They detain people to prevent anything from happening . . . All that commotion is only in Jakarta,” he said. I didn’t know. Then my husband was taken, and I only got part of my salary . . . [and] that was only once . . . [My husband was detained] in Ambarawa . . . [then] in Salatiga . . .

One day I received a letter from my husband written on a cigarette packet, “Is the baby born yet?” I received the letter at six o’clock. Suddenly there was pressure on my stomach as if the baby knew. I felt as if I was going to give birth, but I stayed quiet. I had three children in my house, I took them to their grandmother’s, and then I stopped by the market . . . When I got home it was hard to walk . . . I could feel some complications . . . I didn’t eat . . . I went to the kitchen to get a glass of water, I crawled. I had to crawl back up to the house, because the kitchen is somewhat lower . . . Then I crawled up to the bed . . . I thought, “If I give birth on the mat, the mat will get blood on it.” I thought, I have to roll up the mat, then I would give birth on what Javanese people call ‘galar’—then I gave birth on the galar [a kind of mat made of flattened bamboo]. I was all alone. There was a neighbour, but I didn’t want to [ask for help], because maybe the neighbour [would] also end up with the same fate as I.

²³⁹ Persecution is the denial of fundamental rights due to discrimination based on race or religion. Refer to the section on **Gender-based Persecution** and relevant footnotes below for a more complete definition.

After . . . the baby was born . . . I wrapped it up in a cloth, I felt able to move again. I pushed down on my stomach, the afterbirth came out, then . . . I went to have a shower . . . My neighbour said, "Is that a baby crying?" I said, "That is my child." "Did you give birth?" "Yes." Then the neighbour cried . . . She said, "That was CI giving birth. She said nothing, didn't want to speak. Who was with her? By herself, oh my . . . oh my . . . oh my . . . Fortunately nothing went wrong," she said. But I was perfectly healthy. That is God's justice . . . After that one of my children was told to summon the traditional healer. . . The only ones who visited me were the next-door neighbour with her relative or another person. No one wanted to visit me, even though that's not normal in the village. Normally when someone gives birth . . . many people visit her. That didn't happen . . . Maybe because my husband was accused of being a member of the PKI.²⁴⁰

Just like CI, when her husband was detained in 1966, AR also had three children and was heavily pregnant with her fourth child. Her efforts at trading kept failing because of the discrimination she experienced from her surrounding community.

We had all been selling things for a long time that was how I took care of my three children who had such bloated stomachs that kept on getting bigger. We sold the cupboard, the bed, kept selling until.... we ended up sleeping on the floor. Luckily I had foster parents there... they often gave me rice. I didn't have anything there, not even any jewellery... I didn't think of myself at the time, I never thought I would be stuck in such a hole. Once I tried to sell things behind the school, but it was hard to sell anything because I am the wife of a PKI member. Only one or two people bought from me, I was broke again, kept going so I could feed the children. Everywhere I went I was ridiculed by people that are how it was for me.²⁴¹

Some of the testimonies received by Komnas Perempuan show that families were rendered destitute because their belongings were confiscated or these families were forced to sell off their assets to buy food. AU was forced to perform the roles of both father and mother to her children after her husband was killed in detention. None of her nine children had started working yet; her oldest child was sixteen and the youngest was one year old. AU and her children survived on the handouts of her

²⁴⁰ CI, interview by LTP, July 29, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W27.

²⁴¹ LTP.W10, Argosari, East Kalimantan, July 2nd 2005, interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

parents and parents-in-law until they set up an art shop that they were eventually able to expand. Now almost all of her children work in a hotel owned by her family.²⁴²

AT was the wife of a high ranking official in Bali. Her husband disappeared along with all of her family's wealth – her parents in law's house and her parent's house were damaged and her parent's factory was confiscated (see the Section above entitled: "Looting, damage and confiscation of property"). Her family survived on left over rice and secret donations from the community. After that they survived on the harvest of their rice field and donations from various sources, including veterans of the struggle, friends of her husband in Jakarta and the Department of Internal Affairs.²⁴³

Children were also pursued and persecuted. AZ lived in Kebumen in Central Java. Around the time of her ninth birthday, shops in the Chinese quarter were burned, including her own house, by a mob armed with swords who were yelling religious sentiments. All the members of AZ's family ran and spread out to save themselves. Her father, who was dressed in pyjama tops and a sarong, was arrested and taken away in a truck, while her mother and younger siblings escaped detection. AZ escaped because she hid in a drainage ditch. Then she sought refuge at police barracks together with others, including relatives and her father's students. Two days later she met her mother and younger siblings who had also sought refuge at the police barracks with about 600 others. Her mother managed to keep teaching until she received a letter of dismissal from the school supervisor. The neighbours pretended they did not know them. Some even threw rocks at AZ and her mother when they passed. After her mother was sacked, they survived on rice mixed with cracked wheat, which was given to them by the church.²⁴⁴

In addition to trying to provide for their children, many women whose husbands were in detention were also kept busy organizing food to be taken to family members in detention. This was because the state did not meet its most fundamental obligation to prisoners, namely the provision of food, water, and the minimal services required for their survival. Taking food to a detention camp also required bravery, especially when the detention site was a long way from home. Some wives were also victims of violence committed by military authorities or members of their community who targeted them for verbal abuse while on their way to a detention site, or because their husbands were not at home.

AV was a member of the Indonesian Cigarette Workers' Union, whereas her husband worked as a staff member of the All-Indonesian Central Workers' Organization. Two

²⁴² AU, interview by LTP, January 13, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W13.

²⁴³ LTP.W12, Bali, August 29th 2000.

²⁴⁴ AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

months after their marriage, AV's husband was arrested, detained, and tortured while he was being interrogated because he was accused of being a member of the "night PKI." The prison guard at the Denpasar Correction Facility often made it difficult for AV when she wanted to send food to her husband: the food parcels were refused or the food was messed up. When her husband was arrested, AV had just become pregnant. During the nine years her husband was detained (1968-1977), AV did any kind of work that she could. With borrowed capital she sold daily commodities at the market or went around selling coffee. AV was forced to find money to support herself and her husband in prison as well as prepare for the birth of her first child. When her first child was born, AV had to take care of all the administrative matters by herself. After giving birth, AV was often unable to sell things because she had to take care of her child who had pleurisy and jaundice as a result of malnutrition. She used all of her money to pay for her baby's treatment. To cover the cost of this treatment, AV received assistance from a close friend and she was also aided by a doctor who treated her baby. She tried to make a living by accepting orders for sewing at home or making incense holders. During her husband's detention, AV was sexually harassed two times, once by a neighbour and once by a man at the market.²⁴⁵

Sexual violence against women whose husbands were imprisoned

Sometimes women were targeted for extortion or threatened so they would provide sexual favours to local authorities with the promise that their husband would be released early or would receive a lighter sentence. Mr. CU was a farmer and a member of the Indonesian Peasants' Front. He was arrested in 1965 and exiled to Buru Island. In 1979 he was released. When he arrived home, his younger brother told him how his wife suffered as a victim of sexual violence committed by a number of people while Mr. CU was imprisoned.

When I got home . . . my younger brother said, "Brother, when your wife died . . . [she] suffered . . . Every night . . . she was taken to the hamlet office, was ordered to sleep there, was ordered to massage them, all sorts of things. If she didn't go there, then the army would come here. At the town hall, she was ordered to give massages, and then sleep there, and come back in the morning. So my older sister [your wife] suffered a long time, so many of them would come over here at night, they would stay here."

. . . It used to be called the People's Resistance Organization, and then it changed to Garuda. Those Garuda people would come here

²⁴⁵ AV, interview by LTP, July 12, 2004, Bali, transcript LTP.W14.

at night . . . they would argue about whose turn it was, I didn't understand. Basically if they came here, then someone would stay here and the others would go home. Then later on someone else would come. Eventually my wife got thinner and thinner, her stomach became more and more bloated. [She] died in . . . '77 . . . [In] '79 I came back. I was told by the head of my neighbourhood unit, "Your wife cared, she suffered on the inside. When she was dying [she asked], "When is my husband . . . coming back?" [She] kept hoping. "What about my body; I've gone so far like this. Will my husband want to take me back or not?"

. . . Every night [my wife] would be taken away by someone. Then . . . if no one came to take her away, [she] would be taken by the village head, I don't know where. If it wasn't the village head, then an army lieutenant; the lieutenant often came here. Massage, back rubs, then they would sleep together . . . in the room over there . . . Two of them, that's what happened. I can't accept that she was treated like that . . . Because of the circumstances, she had to agree. Eventually she suffered [psychological torture] until she died.

. . . [When I got back] there was no money . . . How could I not be confused. A person returns from prison, his children are a mess, his wife is dead. The only one left was my [younger brother] who is now in Jakarta. What was I supposed to eat? Imagine how confused I was. Luckily I still had my parents. My parents said, "Come back and live with us here [in my parent's house] . . . Before she died, [my wife] was taken by a member of the Ansor Youth . . . Every night he took her around with him. [He] often killed people . . . His clothes were black, and he carried a sword. When he came to this house it would be nine or ten o'clock. [He would wake up] . . . my younger brother, "[G]et up. Go cook something in the kitchen. Tomorrow morning wash these pants, shirt, sword." He would put the sword on the table. It was like that . . . my younger brother told me . . . In the morning my brother would wash the sword, it was always covered in blood.

Starting in '65 . . . my wife was approached by . . . head of the neighbourhood association. . . . Basically he liked to sleep here. What do you call it? If she didn't want to, she would be forced; raped . . . After that it would be the village head, "Call her . . . tell her to come here!" She would be asked to give him a back rub, and then return home the next morning. They would meet at the guard post, where the army is now. She would often go there, give a massage at the meeting hall there . . . rubs, massages, and then

*afterwards he would sleep at my house. This is what my younger brother told me . . . Sometimes at 7:00 p.m. [my wife] would look to the east, towards that door. According to my younger brother [she would say], "Hey younger brother, younger brother, when is my husband coming back, when? He is taking so long to come back. I don't have the strength . . . if he doesn't come back, then I have to keep suffering like this."*²⁴⁶

AM was a member of *Gerwani* and the Indonesian Teachers' Association who came from Lampung. Her husband was detained when their house was looted. Two to three nights later, an army officer from Territorial Affairs for the People's Defence returned to AM's house and ordered her to get into his car. He took her around so she could try to identify the homes of kindergarten and primary school teachers, but AM did not know where the houses were. AM spoke about her experiences in an interview with LTP:

[We] we were in the middle of a forest, "Do you want to live or die?" [The commander] spoke like that . . . I was alone. I . . . kept quiet . . . After that he wanted to rape me, he took off my clothes. Then he took off his shirt, took off his trousers, then he raped me . . . That first night at 10:00 p.m. I was taken . . . to the home [of the Commander]. I was detained . . . in the warehouse out the back. [In that place] about seven members of the civilian defence unit took turns raping me. At that time . . . the Territorial Affairs Commander slept in that house. Out the back . . . there were three warehouses.

. . . After that I said, "Sir what is going to happen to me? Will I be detained, what will happen to me? . . . I was raped by your men . . . am I a human being or an animal, sir? . . . I was raped by seven men." . . . After that . . . I was told to get medical treatment. Then I was ordered to go home . . . For about one week . . . I had to report to the Territorial Affairs office . . . Every three days I had to report. One week after the incident, he . . . raped me again on top of the table . . . in a room at the Territorial Affairs office . . . The room was locked, "ctet" . . . Then he stripped me . . . wanted to have sex with me . . . I said, "My God, Oh Lord. Am I a human being? Why am I being treated like this again and again?" That was the second time, until . . . one week later he wanted to rape me again. There was . . . a teacher . . . who was also raped. If you heard the sound of the lock "ctet", then someone was getting

246 CU, interview by LTP, August 28, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W31.

raped. . . . Basically, all the girls and women teachers . . . from the regular primary schools, state primary schools, and members of the Indonesian Teachers' Association were all raped by him . . . The Territorial Affairs Commander himself raped as many as seven or eight women.

Around 1966, AM told the military police of the violence she had been subjected to, including the looting and the repeated rapes committed by the Territorial Affairs Commander and his men. The military police ordered AM to request a medical report from a doctor and submit evidence and the names of other witnesses/victims. The Commander was tried in a military court and found guilty of looting and committing extortion against a large number of people, including Chinese. But it was not clear if he was also found guilty of the rapes that he had committed.²⁴⁷

From the 122 testimonies received and studied by *Komnas Perempuan*, there was nothing to prove that the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order in relation to the September 30 Movement/PKI was ever implemented. Item 4.d.I of the implementation guidelines emphasized the importance of security and guidance for the families of prisoners to prevent them from being influenced by “elements of the September 30 Movement/PKI who wished to conduct subversive activities,” and to “prevent security disturbances” against them. Guidance included giving them the opportunity to obtain a standard education, religion, and work, as well as:

4. POLICY ISSUES:

d. Follow-up:

1) Families of detainees/prisoners:

b) Guidance:

. . .

(2) . . . make the families realize they must accept the Situation and be aware of the crime committed by the detainees/prisoners.

(3) Make the families realize they must be supporters of Pancasila and good citizens of the Republic of Indonesia.

. . .

(5) Endeavour to prevent families/children of the detainees/prisoners from being influenced, or manipulated by members of the September 30 Movement/PKI and subversive elements.

²⁴⁷ AM, interview by LTP, February 26, 2001, Lampung, transcript LTP.W5.

now, the impact from those tens of thousands of prisoners can be seen in the form of alterations to the landscape of Buru. Thousands of hectares of jungle once full of teak, mahogany, and sago has been transformed into rice fields and settlements in a location known as *Mako*, an acronym for *Markas Komando* (command headquarters).

Around 1972-1974, the wives and children of male prisoners who had been exiled to Buru Island were gathered up and forcefully relocated by state authorities to Buru Island. The Commander of the Restoration of Security and Public Order used the term transmigration to refer to the forced relocation of families of prisoners to Buru Island. According to the operation manual:

Recalling the plight of detainees/prisoners, overcrowding, limited work opportunities, and other social circumstances in Java, in principle use of detainees/prisoners will be implemented by means of transmigration outside Java, in the interest of both regional and national development. Transmigration will give first priority to the regions of Central Java and Greater Jakarta. Thereafter the regions of West Java and East Java, while awaiting completion of the implementation, can make use of detainees/prisoners in their respective regions. . . . Selection of locations for . . . transmigration within the same region or to another region, shall consider issues of security, both in terms of location and in accordance with the type of project/work to be performed, as well as the security of the regional and national environment. . . . The use of detainees/prisoners in projects will take into account the possibility of involving the families [of detainees/prisoners] while continuing to address their security, supervision, and guidance.²⁵¹

The following testimonies demonstrate that those detained at Buru Island experienced violations of their fundamental right to have their survival guaranteed.

Experiences on Buru Island

Women forcibly relocated to Buru Island

AF from Bali spoke directly to *Komnas Perempuan*, and in her testimony mentioned her husband's detention in 1967. Her husband was relocated to a number of detention sites in West Java until he was sent to Buru Island in 1971. One year later, AF and her children were ordered by the prison authorities in Bandung to join her husband,

²⁵¹ *Juklak Kopkamtib* [Implementation Guidelines] KOPKAM/10/1968 (I). In *Himpunan Surat-surat Keputusan* [Collection of Decisions], 206-219.

as her husband had asked that they go and stay there with him. AF and her children joined eighty-two other women and children who were assembled at Tanjung Perak in East Java and were put on a ship that took them to Buru Island.²⁵² She told the Commission:

I was actually the youngest mother, and I was appointed as the group's spokesperson. This was the first time that women from rural areas had ever been on a ship so we took care of those who were sea sick or vomiting. The authorities had lied to us. It turned out our husbands had not asked that we be sent there. Because things had gone so far and we were already there, our husbands received us and our children with heavy hearts. It turned out that another two or three groups came after us . . . So in total there were 632 [women] together with their children . . .

Those of us from the first [group] suffered serious violations . . . We were forced to steal what we ourselves had, whatever we planted we stole. If the guard found out, we would be punished. We were with our family, so like it or not we kept on having children. Almost all the women were still fertile and gave birth to children on Buru Island . . . As the place was covered in virgin forest, like it or not the malaria mosquitoes attacked . . . The two of us [myself and my neighbour from Sukabumi] took turns breast-feeding [our children].

In 1972, Savanajaya Village was built as a special location for the settlement of prisoners with families. Facilities provided by the state were barely adequate to guarantee their survival. Every family who settled in Savanajaya Village was given a three-room house with an earth floor and corrugated iron roof, half a hectare of rice fields, half a hectare of farm land, and agricultural tools to support themselves.²⁵³ They had to survive through their own efforts. Meanwhile, public services such as schools and hospitals were not ready for use until 1974. AF spoke about how determined the prisoners and their families were to survive:

After some time the children . . . [received] some facilities for school . . . And then some hospital facilities, but the medical staff

252 According to Hersri Setiawan, "The relocation of families to Buru Island was part of the strategy to 'completely wipe out communists'. However, the official wording placed this program as part of a humanitarian project, whereby 'for the sake of humanity' people could not be separated from their families." Hersri Setiawan, *Diburu di Pulau Buru* [Fugitives on Buru Island] (Yogyakarta: Galangpress, 2006), 106.

253 Hersri Setiawan, *Memoar Pulau Buru* [Memoirs from Buru Island] (Magelang: Indonesiatara, 2004), 226.

came from the same group of women who had arrived together with us. After one year, we were finally given the freedom to manage rice fields so that the harvest from them belonged to us. The problem was, after we got our harvest it was difficult to sell or buy any of it. Eventually we took the initiative to [exchange goods] through barter. If we needed fish, we had to pound the unhusked rice manually . . . Then we could exchange the hulled rice for fish. It happened that we lived close to the beach.²⁵⁴

Not just adults, but also children were involved in efforts to survive. AH was still in primary school when she was forcibly moved with her mother from Surabaya to Buru Island, following her father's exile. On Buru Island, AH was one of the children who smuggled medicine from the city to the prisoners.

Those of us who went to school in Namlea were given the task of getting medicine for men in the units. At that time I was in fifth grade and I was forced to wear an oversized bra that I could fill up with medicine [that we had smuggled]. Sometimes the army would fool around and nudge our bras. My heart would beat so fast, if any medicine fell out then my father would be punished. [One time] some malaria medication fell out of my bra, and then my father was taken away to the post. [He] was beaten and when he got back he was unrecognizable.²⁵⁵

Children on Buru Island

In testimony provided to *Komnas Perempuan*, AH revealed how naive she was as a child who was persecuted by the state in every aspect of her life. After her father had been in detention for some time, three soldiers from the district military command suddenly visited her home in 1972 and told her mother to get ready as she was going to Buru Island. In Surabaya they were assembled with other families who were also going to be relocated:

While we were in transit in Surabaya, children my age were told that our fathers were PKI. Those of us going to Buru Island must also be PKI. We didn't know anything, we were just happy to see our fathers. On the ship we sat together with the women from Central Java and Jakarta . . . [Just before our departure] a representative from Jakarta [told us], "You are the children of the

²⁵⁴ AF, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K2.

²⁵⁵ AH, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K4.

PKI, you must also go to Buru Island." I was afraid, so I just went along.

I was with my father and mother [on Buru Island] for about three months. After that, school-aged children went to the Catholic Mission to sit for school exams. I had a special exam; it wasn't like the normal exams that were given to children. I sat down, with soldiers to the left and right, front and back of me. I felt afraid when I was working through the exam.

There was a soldier who didn't know the Pancasila so he asked me to teach him . . . I taught him the Pancasila, but he could never seem to understand it. My father was beaten; they said it was because I was the one who was stupid. After that I passed the exam. In fact, seventeen children [of prisoners] received excellent scores in comparison with those studying in the Moluccas. The score was 9, with an average of 8.

We mixed with the public in Namlea. If we had to submit any documents we had to have a foster father . . . Even though we were not physically tortured, we were pressured. One child whose father was in the army called us "PKI kids." He did not want to use our names, but would call out "Miss PKI." If we didn't like it then our fathers would be beaten. We became an exam jockey for him; while he was singing, we filled in the answers for him.

Fortunately some of the teachers had a conscience. Our male history teacher gathered up the children of political prisoners and apologized because the curriculum forced him to teach us certain things, even though we had totally different experiences. . . .

I felt that my teenage years were stolen from me. I could not express myself the way I wanted to, I had to agree with whatever [the authorities] said. If I rebelled, then my parents would be punished.²⁵⁶

Sexual slavery on Buru Island

Komnas Perempuan also received information about incidents of sexual slavery on Buru Island, meaning the military routinely came to the homes of victims—all of them

²⁵⁶ AH, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K4.

under-age girls—and asked for sexual favours. In such circumstances the victims were unable to refuse. According to CD, at least three girls were victims of sexual slavery. To prevent the victims from becoming pregnant, the military authorities would force them to take contraceptive pills obtained from the local Maternal and Child Welfare Agency. The three victims were aged seventeen, sixteen, and fourteen respectively, and were victims of sexual slavery committed by three army commanders from a local unit.

CD continued by explaining that in 1977, the first wave of male prisoners were sent back to Java from Buru Island. This caused unrest among families who were left as they too wanted to go home. To prevent this and to make the resettlement program a success, the military authorities “encouraged” (CD’s term) marriages between male prisoners and women on Buru Island, whether they were children of other prisoners, local residents, Bugis migrants, etc. The military authorities thought if they marry and stay on Buru Island rather than go home to Java.²⁵⁷

Release of prisoners that neglected women and children

In several testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan*, the state did not facilitate the release of women from Buru Island. Different from male “political prisoners” who were taken to Buru Island by ship and then repatriated on ships arranged by the government, wives and children were categorized by the government as “transmigrants” so that only their passage to Buru Island was organized by the state.²⁵⁸ A number of women had to resort to their own means to pay their way off that island. AF recalled in her testimony:

Just before '78, our child, who was born there, was nearly five years old. There happened to be a delegation from the UN. We made a request . . . we came here not for transmigration, we didn't want to transmigrate, but the government asked us to transmigrate. Finally in '78 we were released en masse, but our

257 CD, interview by LTP, May 3, 2007, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W32.

258 On November 15, 1978, pursuant to a decision issued by the Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order. No: Skep-60/KOPKAM/XI/1978, prisoners and their families who were residing in the Village of Savanajaya were officially released. The instruction, contained in radiogram code Rdg. No: TR/407/Kopkam/VIII/1979, stated:

(1) any former political prisoners who wish to return home should immediately organize their travel

(2) any person who wishes to stay should immediately organize an identification card, land certificate, etc.

On October 14, 1979, approximately 160 family heads departed for Java. One third of the cost of the journey was paid by the government and the other two thirds were borne by the prisoners. During the repatriation of families in 1979, ten families were refused. They were only able to leave Savanajaya Village and return home after obtaining a letter from Commission V of the Parliament dated April 15, 1980. That group arrived at the Tanjung Perak Port in Surabaya on May 2, 1980. In Setiawan, *Memoar Pulau Buru*, 222-232.

release was delayed because there was a transport problem. Only at the end of '79 were we able to return by paying our own way. Before we left, we sold whatever we had, whatever would sell. We just abandoned our homes, rice fields, etc.²⁵⁹

AH was a child who was forcibly relocated to Buru Island. When she reached adulthood she married a prisoner there. During her marriage ceremony, she was forced to "take an oath" to President Soeharto that she would remain on Buru Island:

[When] I got married, I had to take an oath to Soeharto, I promised and swore in the interests of national justice [that] I was willing to become a resident of Buru Island and would adhere to all existing regulations. So it wasn't an oath of allegiance, but an oath of residence . . .

However that oath did not stop AH from wanting to return to Java. AH and a friend bravely advocated "the release" of a group of women from Buru Island. They approached the local government authorities, including the Governor, and asked for "permission" to leave Buru Island. However, in the end they had to organize their own repatriation efforts:

At that time, my friend and I approached the territorial assistant in Ambon. Without heed to existing protocol, we just asked for permission to be allowed in. We pushed and pushed, and finally we got in. We insisted that we wanted to go home. Fortunately my oath was not recorded in writing, so there was no authentic data on my oath. We asked to speak to the Governor to request permission so the thirty-two women here could go home. We were asked why we wanted to go home when we were already comfortable here. I said, when I came here I was still a child. Now I am the wife of a prisoner. I have to go home, if I don't go home, I will still be a prisoner here.

When we went home, we didn't have one cent. We were not allowed to work the rice fields; they deliberately set us against those who did not want to go home. Every night the children and I gathered money from those residents who didn't have any family to help fund the trip of the women who wanted to return to Java. Money was collected to pay for those women. So I was the last to go home. To get home, even I had to barter with transmigrants.

259 AF, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K2.

So whatever I had left, I handed over to the transmigrants who were arriving.²⁶⁰



Ongoing Persecution after Release: Grave Denial of Fundamental Rights

Human Rights Framework

Every person has the right to equal treatment, without discrimination based on affiliation with a certain group. If a person is treated differently due to affiliation with a certain religious, ethnic, racial or cultural group, or a certain political group, or for reasons of gender, and that treatment results in a grave denial of fundamental rights, then this is called persecution.

The denial of fundamental rights such as civil and political rights can constitute persecution; Every person has the right to life, freedom and security. This includes freedom of movement, to be free from arbitrary detention, torture or inhuman treatment. Every person has the right to express their opinion and freely participate in organizations. Every person also has the right to religion. Every person has the right to chose and be chosen in free, periodic, and genuine elections to establish the government. Every person has the right to be treated as a legal subject, and the right to privacy, including the integrity of the family and property. Every person also has the right to move freely, including the right to determine her or his place of residence. These rights must be protected without discrimination.

The denial of fundamental rights such as social-economic-cultural rights can also constitute persecution. Every person has the right to work and receive remuneration and fair working conditions. Every person has the right to have a family with an adequate standard of living. Every person has the right to receive an education and have access to basic health and social services. These rights must be fulfilled without any form of discrimination.

Any persecution committed, supported, or condoned by the state shall be deemed sufficient grounds to receive asylum from another country. When persecution is committed in circumstances of a widespread or systematic attack against the civilian population, it can be considered a crime against humanity.

**Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Articles 2, 14
Amendment to the 1945 Constitution, Article 28I (2)**

²⁶⁰ AH, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K4.

→ Introduction

Women prisoners who were released experienced ongoing persecution in their daily lives.²⁶¹ Upon their release from detention none of their rights were guaranteed; on the contrary, the fundamental rights of these women were systematically denied.²⁶²

The systematic and ongoing denial of rights that has gone unchallenged for dozens of years was strengthened by the issuance of *Minister of Internal Affairs Instruction No. 32/1981 on the Guidance and Supervision of former September 30 Movement/PKI Prisoners and Convicts together with Implementation Guidelines*.²⁶³ Numerous fundamental rights were denied with the excuse that former prisoners of the 1965 Tragedy required guidance and supervision to control “dangerous latent” communism.

→ Problems with Identification Cards

For Indonesian citizens, the identification card is a “ticket” that guarantees a number of rights, both civil-political rights and social-economic-cultural rights. An identification

²⁶¹ Murder, detention, torture, and inhuman treatment, which were discussed in previous sub-sections, can also be seen as forms of persecution. This sub-section focuses on forms of ongoing persecution after the large-scale release of prisoners that was carried out in successive waves.

²⁶² In 2005, a class action civil suit asking for compensation for victims from 1965 (No: 341/SK/LBH/IV/2005) was registered at the Jakarta Central State Court. This claim was made on behalf of 20 million victims of 1965 and their descendants. A description of the alleged ongoing large-scale and systematic persecution, although not specifically targeted against women, can be obtained from explanations provided by seven groups represented by the plaintiffs. Group I were those forced to resign, were terminated, were not given any employment status by their employer, were forced to stop work and/or did not obtain proper work either domestically or internationally, so that they did not receive a salary/ severance pay/allowances/income. Group II were those who have not received their Civil Servant/Army/ Police pensions. Group III were victims of a specific inquiry and were found to have an unclear background (accused of being involved with the *PKI*), and so were ejected from their work place and/or could not seek employment and/or were obstructed from advancing their career. Group IV were those who had their veteran allowances and their merit as heroes revoked. Group V were those who had their land seized, their buildings seized and/or damaged or burned, and/or their property lost. Group VI were those expelled from school and/or could not advance their education because they were accused of being involved in the September 30 Movement and/or were accused of not having a clean background (their parents were suspected of being involved in the *PKI*). Group VII were those whose artistic creativity was obstructed and were prevented from publishing their thoughts in the form of books and exhibitions of art (see http://www.wirantaprawira.net/pakorba/teil_2.html). APPENDIX: LIST OF REGULATIONS THAT DISCRIMINATED AGAINST VICTIMS OF THE 1965 TRAGEDY INCLUDING THEIR FAMILIES AND EFFORTS TO RESOLVE DISCRIMINATION provides a global description of the official mechanisms developed by the state although they conflict with human rights instruments also ratified by the state.

²⁶³ Directorate General of Social and Political Matters, National Document 0106 (1982).

card is required to participate in general elections, to obtain work opportunities, and to receive any type of service. For released prisoners, gaining an identification card was a hurdle they found very difficult to overcome and even if they did manage to succeed, their identification card was stamped with “ET,” which is an acronym for *eks-tahanan* or *eks-tapol* (ex-prisoner or ex-political prisoner). Based on the threat of “dangerous latent” communism, the state developed a procedure to supervise all former prisoners by stamping the code “ET” on their identification cards and registering their names at every level, from the village right up to the national level.²⁶⁴ As this instruction was never repealed, it is still applicable. In addition, the government also did not repeal its decision on issuing identification cards for life so that government officials in a number of regions still refuse to furnish former prisoners with an identification card that is valid for life.²⁶⁵

In the majority of cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, identification cards were issued with the stamp of “ET.” According to AD, this stamp was only removed from her identification card when Gus Dur (K.H. Abdurrahman Wahid) became president.²⁶⁶

Both of AZ’s parents were victims of the 1965 Tragedy—her father, who was a teacher and member of the Indonesian Teachers’ Association, was arrested and exiled to Buru Island, while her mother, who was a member of *Gerwani*, was detained on two separate occasions. After her mother’s release, AZ’s identification card was stamped as ex-prisoner.²⁶⁷

B experienced difficulties because she did not have an official identification card.

*We were only able to get an identification card five years ago. Before we got a formal identification card, we always had to pay for a “falsified” identification card. It is hard to live when you don’t have an ID card. One time we were detained in the Bamboo Hut Prison together with beggars, street prostitutes, and others who did not have an ID card. We were released when my younger sister came and paid a sum of money to the official.*²⁶⁸

²⁶⁴ Attachment to Minister of Internal Affairs Instruction No. 32/1981, Implementation Guidelines, 16.

²⁶⁵ Minister of Internal Affairs Decision No. 24/1991 states that ID cards that are valid for life shall not be granted to Indonesian citizens aged sixty who were involved directly or indirectly in prohibited organizations.

²⁶⁶ AD, interview by SRK, August 4, 6, 13, 2006, Tulung Agung, transcript SRK.W7.

²⁶⁷ AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

²⁶⁸ B, interview by IFN, March 6, 2000, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W2.

According to G,

In addition to the rape that the soldiers committed against me, the neighbours also harassed me, by saying that I was a dirty woman. Also, the president of the neighbourhood association refused my request . . . I didn't have an ID card so I could not move around freely.²⁶⁹

→ Denial of the Right to Freedom of Movement

From the testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, many women once released were required to present themselves to the authorities. There were many variations on this compulsory requirement. Some women had to present themselves to the authorities every day, some once a week. Usually this requirement would be relaxed over time, but in some cases the requirement to appear before the authorities continued for years and years.

After being released from Malang Correction Facility on December 31, 1979, AI had to present herself before the authorities once a week, then once a month, and then eventually not at all. She asked herself how free she actually was:

[When I was released] of course I felt really happy, because I could truly taste freedom. But in my heart I doubted that this freedom would be 100% legitimate. I still had my doubts. And I was right; I had to present myself to the authorities.²⁷⁰

AJ was released from prison but she was placed under house arrest. Several months later her status was changed and she was placed under city arrest, and finally she was allowed to move within her region. AJ and the leaders of *Gerwani*, *PKI*, and other leftist organizations were required to present themselves to the Denpasar police station every day.²⁷¹ After being released in 1978, BB was still required to report every day for one month to the sub-district office in Pati. After that she was required to report once a week to the Pati District Military Command, it was twice a month, once a month, and eventually this requirement was totally lifted.²⁷² Other released prisoners generally

²⁶⁹ G, interview by IFN, February 3-5, 2000, Surabaya, transcript IFN.W7.

²⁷⁰ AI, interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and January 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

²⁷¹ AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

²⁷² BB, LTP.W20, Pati, 6 September 6, 2000, Pati, transcript LTP.W20.

shared the same fate; some were required to present themselves before the authorities for years and years.²⁷³ As AD recalls:

As soon as I was released from detention I was allowed to go home but I was ordered to appear at the Kedungwaru Sub-district Military Headquarters every Monday. After some time I was only required to present myself once a month. I was ordered to report to the authorities for approximately one year.²⁷⁴

X followed her husband to Padang in 1950. She was accused of being involved in the September 30 Movement and was jailed for five years. When she was released from detention, X was required to report to the authorities for eight years:

In 1972 I was released, but I still had to report to the Padang District Military Command . . . I had to report up until 1980. After that I escaped to Java. I returned to Java without my children . . . I had not yet received a letter of release. I could not handle living away from my native home.²⁷⁵

In addition to violating the freedom to move, the requirement to report to the authorities was also utilized as an opportunity to extort money from those who had to report. After CK was released from the Simbarwaringin Sub-district Military Command Headquarters in Trimurejo (Lampung), she was required to report to the authorities for several months. According to CK, every time she presented herself to the authorities, she and the other detainees had to pay between 500 and 3,000 rupiah with the excuse that their photos needed to be updated so that there were administration costs, etc. Also the sub-district military headquarters staff often visited CK's house and asked for timber to build their own houses, or else they asked for chickens, rice, or whatever else they wanted. CK was not brave enough to refuse their requests.²⁷⁶

The Instruction of the Minister of Internal Affairs established a strict procedure for controlling the movements of former 1965 prisoners. They were not allowed to move residence, make domestic trips (even to other regions), or go overseas, including

273 After her release, BE was summoned to the Surakarta Municipal Office every year (for six years) to be interrogated (interview by LTP, July 19, 2000 and April 22, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese). Around 1968, BF was interrogated for two weeks at the sub-district military command office by the commander. After that, she was required to report to the authorities until she already had two children (interview by LTP, February 26, 2001, Lampung, transcript LTP.W24).

274 AD, interview by SRK, August 4, 6, 13, 2006, Tulung Agung, transcript SRK.W7.

275 X, interview by SRK, August 15-16, 20-21, 2006, Madiun, transcript SRK.W1.

276 CK, interview by LTP, February 26, 2001, Lampung, transcript LTP.W29.

making the Moslem pilgrimage to Mecca, without written permission. To go overseas they had to fulfil the following conditions:

- i. *The applicant may not participate in politics*
- ii. *Must have employment*
- iii. *Have a certificate of good conduct issued by the Sub-district Administrator/Village Head in accordance with form E.*²⁷⁷

Any former prisoners, who wanted to travel overseas, or leave her or his village for longer than seven days, was required to have written permission signed by the sub-district administrator/village head. According to the standard form granting permission (MODEL G.3): "Upon arrival at the destination the applicant must report to the local government authorities. Upon his/her return, the applicant must return this written authorization to the Sub-district Administrator/Village Head who issued it."²⁷⁸

BC was detained for only a week, but upon her release she and other members of her village were required to present themselves once a day to the sub-district office for a period of two years. Every time BC went to present herself, she and other members of her village chose to walk across the rice fields. They were ashamed to walk on the main road because they would be targeted for ridicule. They would leave in the morning and only get back at lunchtime. In 1980, BC wanted to go to Jakarta. As a former prisoner, she had to request a travel permit from the village secretary, however the secretary refused to give it to her, so she went in secret.²⁷⁹



Denial of Political Rights

The denial of women's political rights started with the systematic destruction of *Gerwani*, an organization that supported women's rights, including their political rights. The destruction of *Gerwani* began just one month after the 1965 Tragedy took place:

It was stated . . . that from October 29th, 1965 Gerwani was expelled from the Indonesian Women's Congress, with the excuse that Gerwani had clearly been involved in the counter-revolutionary September 30 Movement. In addition, the Indonesian Women's Congress was united in its resolve to remove any members of

²⁷⁷ Attachment to Minister of Internal Affairs Instruction No. 32/1981, Implementation Guidelines, 17-18.

²⁷⁸ Ibid. Form, MODEL: G.3, 36.

²⁷⁹ BC, interview by LTP, January 20, 2001, Pati, transcript LTP.W21; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

other mass organizations who were accused of being involved in the counter-revolutionary September 30 Movement."²⁸⁰

Other women's groups also participated in the destruction of *Gerwani* by supporting the closure of schools that had been established by *Gerwani* and by expelling *Gerwani* from the Indonesian Women's Congress. According to the media, more than 30,000 women expressed their "demands" to President Soekarno:

*[They] appealed to his good conscience to save future generations from the influence of the moral decadence and savagery of the counter-revolutionary "September 30 Movement" that was masterminded by the PKI and its lackeys. . . . The Minister of Education was urged to immediately take over Gerwani schools across Indonesia because they were teaching our younger generation about immorality and atheism . . . In relation to the "September 30 Movement," the Women's Sub- coordination Unit is prepared to help the Minister of Education by taking in students from Gerwani schools that have been closed down and will provide teachers to teach our children how to embrace the Pancasila as good Indonesian citizens. They further declared they were prepared to carry out the tasks entrusted to them by the Executive Board of the National Front by implementing the Self Reliance Task Force across all fields. Finally they declared their full support for the decision issued by the Indonesian Women's Congress on October 30th, 1965 which, inter alia, expels Gerwani from its membership.*²⁸¹

On March 12th, 1966, Soeharto, on behalf of the President, disbanded and prohibited the *PKI*, including any organizations affiliated with it. A Presidential Decree dated May 31, 1966 lists *Gerwani* and *Melati* Kindergartens as prohibited organizations.²⁸²

An instruction from the Minister of Internal Affairs (1981) clearly states that former prisoners are only permitted to travel overseas if it can be established that the person concerned will not engage in political activity. The right of every citizen to actively participate in political life was denied to those victims who were released from detention. BD, for example, was released from the Plantungan Correction Facility in 1978 after being imprisoned for thirteen years, and was prohibited from participating

²⁸⁰ "Gerwani expelled from the Indonesian Women's Congress," *Berita Yudha*, November 2, 1965.

²⁸¹ "The Role and Demands of Women," *Berita Yudha*, November 9, 1965.

²⁸² Presidential Decree No. 1/3/1966 and Decree No. 85/KOGAM/1966.

in the general election because of her status as a former member of the *PKI*.²⁸³ AS' children always found it difficult to obtain needed documents at the sub-district level, for instance certificates of good behaviour, because their father was a former prisoner.²⁸⁴ Secretary II of the Riau People's Youth was tried on October 16, 1975 in the Pekanbaru District Court. He was sentenced to seventeen years of imprisonment, and his right to elect and be elected was suspended for twenty years.²⁸⁵

AK recalls that just before the political prisoners were released, the military authorities gave them a briefing. Political prisoners were asked to hold no grudges against the arbitrary detention they had been subjected to and to avoid any future involvement in any kind of political activity:

*They still gave us a warning, and some suggestions, that we should embrace peace, basically unity and integrity . . . [E]veryone who briefed us . . . reminded us: don't hold a grudge, etc, etc. All of this was just to teach you. They said, politics is dirty, they said . . . Politics is vulgar. Ya, that was my guideline. Until now we don't want to be approached by anyone, from anywhere.*²⁸⁶

The legal instruments that curbed the political rights of former prisoners were not just products of the New Order regime. A law on general elections, issued by the Parliament in 2003, prohibits any person "who was involved directly or indirectly" in the 1965 Tragedy from being a legislative candidate at the local, provincial or national level.²⁸⁷ Even though this article was annulled by the Constitutional Court in 2004 because it was deemed discriminatory and unconstitutional,²⁸⁸ several other discriminatory regulations were left standing, and still carry the force of law.²⁸⁹ This means that in a *de jure* and *de facto* sense the victims of arbitrary detention do not have the freedom to exercise their right to participate in political life.

²⁸³ BD, interview by LTP, August 30, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W22.

²⁸⁴ AS, interview by LTP, August 28, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W11; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

²⁸⁵ *Pelita*, October 22, 1975.

²⁸⁶ AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

²⁸⁷ Law No. 12/2003 on the General Election of Members to Parliament, the Provincial Parliament, and the District Parliament, Article 60 (g), http://parlemen.net/site/docs/UU_NO_12_2003.pdf

²⁸⁸ Decision of the Constitutional Court, Case No. 011-017/PUU-I/2003, contained in the Republic of Indonesia State Gazette, No 18/2004, 2 March 2004. <http://www.mahkamahkonstitusi.go.id>

²⁸⁹ See APPENDIX : LIST OF REGULATIONS THAT DISCRIMINATE AGAINST VICTIMS OF THE 1965 TRAGEDY INCLUDING FAMILIES AND EFFORTS TO END DISCRIMINATION

However, the denial of political rights has not necessarily destroyed the political vision of women. BF, a former member of the People's Youth, spoke about how she was monitored by the authorities to prevent her from reengaging in political activities or expressing her aspirations, even if her aspirations may only be realized by her children's generation:

[Even after] I had two children, I was still required to report to the authorities, but I didn't really adhere to it. "They already know where I am and that I'm not doing anything wrong, why bother reporting to them?" that's what I said. "If I run away, then I need to report it." . . . I said, "What would it be like if I was still there? I wouldn't aspire to this or that." . . . But while I still had to report to the authorities I felt like . . . it wasn't as if I felt apathetic, but I didn't engage in any political activities, I just kept quiet. If I meet up with a friend, I still find the time to enjoy talking about politics. It is enjoyable. Especially because this is our purpose. It feels invigorating to discuss things. . . . So the enthusiasm was still alive then. That's what it's like when I meet up with a friend. But we can't take it any further, you know.

But don't let your hopes fade, that's what I hold on to . . . Just accept it. We have been ordered to live like this, so I just accept it. I think no matter how long . . . if we wish to be happy, then the struggle to get happiness will never stop. No one can repress the struggle of those who have been hurt; no one. Even if it takes forever, I think so . . . Even if, for instance I struggle, I can't achieve my aspirations, maybe my children will in the future. Nowadays if people see the books I'm reading they say, "Oh, you are politician aren't you?" "Of course, every living person must be political. If we aren't political we don't have any ideas, we don't have any purpose, we don't have any plan," that's what I say.²⁹⁰

Denial of the Right to Work

Like a communicable disease, the denial of the fundamental rights of any person accused of being directly involved in the 1965 Tragedy or not having a clean background, has had an impact on every aspect of the person's life and has transverse generations. In addition to having restrictions imposed on their political lives, further restrictions on their employment and education have made it difficult for former prisoners to fulfil

290 BF, interview by LTP, February 26, 2001, Lampung, transcript LTP.W24.

prerequisites for permission to move. According to the Instruction of the Minister of Internal Affairs, the work of former prisoners needs to be restricted so they do not influence others such as teachers/lecturers, clergy, puppeteers, journalists, those who work in legal aid institutes, etc. The Instruction of the Minister of Internal Affairs also prevents former prisoners from engaging in community activities as their "mental attitude...could threaten and jeopardize the stability of the *Pancasila* ideology and the 1945 Constitution."²⁹¹ The wording of the Instruction is so general and broad that it can be interpreted and applied quite liberally. The laxity of the instruction helps to guarantee the ongoing persecution of former prisoners, and also their families and descendants.

G was rejected by the chairman of the neighbourhood association and was harassed by the community.

*The neighbours accused me of being "a cheap woman", "whore" and other foul words. They didn't want to talk to me... I tried selling food, but no one would buy it.*²⁹²

AO and her husband were teachers and also members of the Indonesian Teachers' Association. After her husband was arrested, AO was suspended from her school. "...at that time I was also suspended, luckily I wasn't sacked. I was suspended for six months, and then I was rehabilitated and re-employed. I was employed on the condition that I could not be promoted for a long time; it's only been these past few years that could I have my rank increased."²⁹³

When AZ's mother was first detained, AZ (who was about ten years old at the time) and her youngest brother lived on the street for three and a half years until her mother was released. When her mother was arrested for the second time, AZ went and stayed in detention with her mother until the Catholic Church took all children of prisoners out of detention and put them in a boarding school. When she was released from detention, AZ's mother rented a room and tried to make a living as a trader. Her father was released from Buru Island at the end of the 1970s and opened up a bicycle repair shop. When she reached adulthood, AZ found it difficult to gain employment because she did not own a document declaring her to be "clean." Finally she decided to run a private enterprise.²⁹⁴

²⁹¹ Attachment to Minister of Internal Affairs Instruction No. 32/1981, Implementation Guidelines, 18-19.

²⁹² IFN.W7.

²⁹³ AO, interview by LTP, September 7, 2000, Pati, transcript LTP.W7.

²⁹⁴ AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

Even though AJ was able to support her children's education through university, not one of them was able to work as a public servant because they were obstructed by the Instruction from the Minister of Internal Affairs No. 32/1981 and by Presidential Decree No. 16/1990 that stipulated that any person applying to the civil service, as well as the army, must "have had no involvement in the September 30 Movement/Communist Party of Indonesia or any other prohibited organization related to that."²⁹⁵

This one, my daughter, was sent to school in Surabaya, in the nursing department. She studied there for seven years. This one, she studied animal husbandry, and the youngest one went to Surabaya State Teachers' Training College. Because of that issue, when she graduated from the Teachers' College she was supposed to teach at a state high school. There was an announcement that the children of former PKI were not allow to work in—what?—in the government. So she had no choice, she couldn't teach, so she . . . and applied at a hotel. Now she works in the Information Centre . . . it's all private. This is how things are, we are afraid that she will be working one day and suddenly will get the sack, that would be a major hassle.²⁹⁶

One of CI's four children, a graduate of senior high school, was accepted into the police then was sacked after they found out that his father was a former prisoner from the 1965 Tragedy. Her son tried to have his termination revoked by producing his father's release papers to the sub-district administrator as well as meeting with the chief of police, but these attempts were not sufficient to make them change their decision. CI's son was traumatized by this experience and after that he had no further desire to be employed by the government.²⁹⁷

Some children of former prisoners were able to gain employment as civil servants, but they had to engage in deceit. Three of BD's children were able to become civil servants because the sub-district administrator of Kondokoro succeeded in have BD's name and place of origin changed. Her second child became a truck driver. After her release BD, moved to another sub-district in Purwodadi.²⁹⁸

²⁹⁵ Presidential Decree No. 16/1990 on Special Conditions of Inquiry for Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesian; 0559/2005; P-1990-NAS-DOK-0559. This decree was superseded by Presidential Decree No. 39/2000 on the Revocation of Presidential Decree 16/1990. Nevertheless, this revocation did not restore the fundamental rights of the victims.

²⁹⁶ AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

²⁹⁷ CI, interview by LTP, July 29, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W27.

²⁹⁸ BD, interview by LTP, August 30, 2000, Purwodadi, transcript LTP.W22.

→ Denial of the Right to Education

AD was an Indonesian Student Movement activist whose house was once used to hold a meeting. For that reason, AD was forced to spend seven months in a detention camp. After she left the camp, AD was once taken to the sub-district military headquarters where she was associated with Gerwani and stripped naked. After that incident, AD led a normal life except that from time to time she was ridiculed by the community. However the government made it difficult for AD when she wanted to register as a teacher at an institute of learning. AD carried the stamp of former prisoner on her identity card and she was prohibited from teaching in school, even though she had a teaching diploma from a university.²⁹⁹

Discrimination in relation to education was experienced not just by teachers, but also by the children attending school. *Komnas Perempuan* discovered cases where children whose parents were in detention were expelled from school. BA's oldest child, who was in class I of junior high school, was suspended from her school because of her parent's status. The school was afraid of being pressured by the police. BA's family used the proceeds from the sale of BA's house to bribe someone to handle all necessary matters to get BA's oldest child back into school again.³⁰⁰ While BE and her husband were in detention, one of their three children who had just started primary school in 1965 was expelled from school because of the status of his parents. That child was only able to go back to school after being "adopted" by a neighbour who was a member of the army.³⁰¹

Besides those who were directly expelled from school, others were expelled indirectly and the school authorities did nothing to intervene. AI's oldest child stopped going to school because she was ridiculed as being the child of communists.³⁰² Other students experienced different forms of discrimination. AZ was a district contest champion, but she was unable to collect her trophy because of her parent's status.³⁰³ AG testified to the *Komnas Perempuan* that:

After . . . I returned [from Pati Resort, Central Java], I didn't gain my freedom just like that. When we were in Pasungan [East Java] we were living, but it didn't feel like we were alive. It was like we

299 AD, interview by SRK, August 4, 6, 13, 2006, Tulung Agung, transcript SRK.W7.

300 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

301 BE, interview by LTP, July 19, 2000 and April 22, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

302 AI, interview by LTP, December 21, 2004 and January 4-5, 2005, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

303 AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

*were always being accused. This is how I can describe it. I was the centre of those accusations. We faced extreme discrimination. When our son sat the test, he received scores of 9-10, but he was not given a ranking. However the teacher's son was given a ranking. I wanted to take care of it, but my brother said not to, because then they will dig up the issue of PKI again.*³⁰⁴

At the start of the 1970s, AJ wanted to take her son to attend school in Surabaya, but she had to get permission from the regional military command, the district military command, the sub-district military command, the district administrator, and the village head.

*Oh gee, now things are slightly easier, aren't they? To go anywhere I had to have written permission. I had to seek permission from the regional military command; I had to tell them where I was going . . . I had to get permission to send my kids to school. They wanted to study in Surabaya; I had to get permission to travel. I was only allowed to travel if I had permission. Just to take my kids to attend school in Surabaya . . . I had to get permission from so many places – from the district administrator . . . the village head, the district military command, the sub-district military command. I had to go round and round to get permission. Five days before my departure I had already started seeking permission. That's how it was at the time. If I didn't have permission I would have been rearrested. Scary, don't you think?*³⁰⁵

→ Ostracism and Stigmatization by the Community and Family

The denial of fundamental rights directly by the state encouraged society's rejection of prisoners after they had been released. State authorities were directly involved in imposing the practice of mandatory reporting in person to the authorities as well as stamping identification cards with "ET" (former prisoner). At the same time, the real facts about what happened in the past were never revealed, so that rumours circulating about the cruelty of the *Gerwani* were never officially corrected. This provided locals with the opportunity and encouragement to copy the actions of the authorities and ostracize the victims of the 1965 Tragedy. The state was also negligent by not preventing and punishing civilians who committed violations against the victims.

304 AG, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K3.

305 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17th, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

One type of discrimination often mentioned in the women's testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan* was that women were not allowed to reside in a community or were expelled from a community where they already lived. In these cases, the expulsion was linked to the actions of the authorities. For example, S was a former prisoner whose torture and rape resulted in serious injuries that required hospitalization. She was saved by a male nurse who then married her. S returned to her village in 1980 after her husband died. An Islamic devotee who was previously involved in her capture reported S to the district military command and S was rearrested and detained for a month. Upon her release she was forbidden from residing in her village on the grounds that her former house had already been transformed into a village hall.³⁰⁶

After A was released in 1979 she stayed with her younger sister and her family.

The head of the neighbourhood association in the area where my relatives lived came and asked me to leave his region. His reasoning was that I was involved in the September 30, 1965 Movement, a member of the Communist Party, an atheist, and had killed the generals in Jakarta. The village where my younger sister lived was known to be a Muslim village. For the sake of my younger sister and her family, I left their house without any idea of where I would go.

A moved to her older sister's house. She helped look after the kiosk that was situated next to the house.

One day the head of the neighbourhood association and several youths visited us. They asked us to move out of that house and that village. They said they didn't want their village to be polluted by former Gerwani members . . . and general killers . . . One day my older sister and I left the house where I had been staying for eleven months. The two of us went back to our place of origin.³⁰⁷

D was released in 1975, but her husband remained in detention. D was asked to leave Medan immediately, because that city could not accept any former members of the PKI, so D went back to her village in Java. In her village she was accepted by the community because the head of the neighbourhood association was a civilian. But in the end the situation changed:

306 S, interview by IFN, September 2002, Jatiroto, Jawa Timur, transcript IFN.W19.

307 A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

The atmosphere in my village was fine and they never asked about me. When I had to report to the local authorities the head of the neighbourhood association actually helped me and simplified the procedure for me. But everything changed when the head of the neighbourhood association who was a civilian was replaced by a member of the army. The replacement was necessary because a lot of former political prisoners were residing in my village. One by one the former political prisoners were ordered to leave our village. But because I felt I didn't have any problems with the neighbours, I decided to stay in the village.

But one day I was summoned to the police office and . . . [I was accused] of organizing women so they would be sympathetic to the PKI. The police said they could not guarantee the safety of my siblings if a mob attacked them. For the sake of my siblings, I finally decided to go . . . to a place where not a single person knew me . . .³⁰⁸

After her release, BE was continuously summoned to the Municipal Office in Surakarta to be interrogated about whether she was still meeting with her colleagues. BE was not free to mingle with other people from her community because according to the local authorities former prisoners were prohibited from mixing with each other.³⁰⁹

Former prisoners who had been detained in relation to the 1965 Tragedy were so badly stigmatized that threats to reveal their identity were used as a tool of intimidation, as explained by X:

Actually, the majority of the local community has been labelled as PKI. No one . . . takes issue with me anymore, but one of our neighbours was a big mouth. In this village he . . . is head of the neighbourhood association and used to be a member of the army, he was sacked because he was caught committing armed robbery. His attitude was really hurtful. If I didn't do what he wanted he threatened to report that I was PKI. I was forced to buy a Golkar flag and had to pay instalments on it for one month. I was afraid

308 D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

309 BE, interview by LTP, July 19, 2000 and April 22, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W23; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

*to refuse because if I did, it would be reported that my younger brother, who was a civil servant, is a child of PKI.*³¹⁰

Not only former employees were ostracized; members of their families often suffered as well. After AZ's father was released, he was increasingly ridiculed and isolated by those in his local environment. They found it really hard just to get enough food to eat. Finally AZ's family decided to move to Jakarta.³¹¹ BA's mother suffered depression as a result of the ridicule aimed at her family and eventually died.³¹²

The children of former prisoners also experienced discrimination in their local environments and some were traumatized by this. AV's oldest child was ridiculed and fought with his primary school friends in Gianyar because of the status of his parents.³¹³ AY's children were often ridiculed for being *PKI* children and were ostracized. Her oldest children are still traumatized by those incidents. They prohibited their mother from participating in activities because they were afraid that they would also be detained and were worried that their status as civil servants might be threatened.³¹⁴

While some women were expelled from their communities, others "hid themselves away" and never tried to return to their villages. After being detained for a number of years in the Plengkung Correction Facility in Kalimantan, AE returned to Kalimantan, but not to her village. "Upon my release I did not go home because I certainly would have faced discrimination. People didn't want me near them."³¹⁵ In a number of cases, being ostracized by the community interfered with religious observances. As G recalls, "I never went to the temple because I [was said to be] a former communist prisoner and a whore."³¹⁶

For women prisoners, especially victims of sexual violence, there was the possibility that they would even be rejected by their own families because of the stigma attached to their experiences. B spoke about her close friend, another woman prisoner who was often raped during her imprisonment.

I was released one year before [my friend]. I was really sad. We promised each other that if her husband did not want to accept her, we would live together. Then it turns out that the husband

310 X, interview by SRK, August 15-16, 20-21, 2006, Madiun, transcript SRK.W1.

311 AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

312 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

313 AV, interview by LTP, July 12, 2004, Bali, transcript LTP.W14.

314 AY, interview by LTP, August 8, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W17.

315 AE, testimony before *Komnas Perempuan*, May 29th, 2006, Jakarta, transcript KP.K1.

316 G, interview by IFN, February 3-5, 2000, Surabaya, transcript IFN.W7.

[of my friend] had actually married another woman. A group of youths from the village where [my friend] was residing ordered her to leave her house. Her husband did not want to take her back. She was not even allowed to meet with her daughter. [My friend] went to the city where I was living after I was released.³¹⁷

R was released from prison because she was crippled and ill, and was rejected by her husband. However, her mother and younger sister accepted her back and took care of her.³¹⁸ K was rejected by her family when she arrived home carrying her two children, after she had been in a situation of sexual slavery for nine years.³¹⁹

E had a number of her rights denied because of the stigmatization she faced as a victim of sexual violence as well as being a former prisoner detained in relation to the September 30 Movement. While E was being detained at some military barracks in a particular city, she was repeatedly raped (see sub-section **Rape and sexual slavery during detention**). After E and her husband were released separately at the end of the 1970s, they got together once again, but their two children stayed with the family of her younger sibling. E worked in a food factory, but her husband was unemployed. During the first year they lived peacefully, but everything changed when E's husband found out what E had experienced in detention.

Instead of feeling sorry for me, he accused me of performing obscene acts with other men and accused me of prostituting myself. After that, my husband often abused me by saying, "Whore, you are immoral." Then he told me I couldn't go out and earn a living, even though he himself was unemployed. He started to hit me, and this happened nearly every day. I could no longer accept this suffering. I ran away and stayed for awhile with the family of my younger sibling. When I realized that my two children were a burden on their family, and that my presence as a former political prisoner would make it harder for them, I decided to move to another city. Finally I moved to [another city] and worked as a babysitter for a rich family. I received a reasonable salary. I kept my identity secret. But when the family found out that I was a former political prisoner, they sacked me. I moved to [yet another city]. I worked there as a cook in a boarding house. Once more I tried to cover my tracks. I was able to work there for two years.

³¹⁷ B, interview by IFN, Marcy 6, 2000, Susilowati, transcript IFN.W2.

³¹⁸ R, interview by IFN, August 1997, Trenggalek, transcript IFN.W18.

³¹⁹ K, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W11.

But one day a retired security guard found out who I actually was. He blackmailed me by promising not to tell others who I was. Then he could do whatever he liked with me, and one day he raped me. I found out later that he was one of the rapists when I was imprisoned [in that city]. After the rape incident I moved to Jakarta.³²⁰

In 1965, A was arrested just several days after giving birth to a baby girl. She was released fourteen years later. A got on a bus with some other prisoners and was taken to her home city. They were assembled at the district police station where their relatives were waiting.

One by one our names were called out. When my name was called, I saw my younger sister and her husband. But I could not see my husband or daughter. My younger sister embraced me and wept. I could not say a word, and I certainly couldn't ask about my husband and daughter. I went to my younger sister's house and stayed with her family. After a short rest my younger sister started telling me about my husband and daughter. My husband had remarried and my daughter was now fourteen years old [She] was studying at junior high school, and was staying with her father and stepmother. I could only hold my breath. I told my younger sister that I wanted to see my daughter. She responded that my husband and daughter would come later that afternoon. They did. At about five that afternoon a motorcycle stopped in front of the house. I saw an old man and a beautiful young girl with long hair and creamy yellow skin. I cried. I wanted to hug my daughter, but my husband tried to stop me and said: "This is your aunty. My younger sister who transmigrated to Lampung." I suddenly fainted. [When I awoke] I was sitting on a bench. My husband and daughter had already left. I was being embraced very tightly by my two older sisters.

The following morning, I received a message from my husband. He asked me not to try to meet him and my daughter again. My husband did not want our daughter to know that I am a former political prisoner and that I was involved in the September 30, 1965 Movement. I was so sad; all I could do was cry for nearly a week. I felt so confused because I was not allowed to meet my

320 E, interview by IFN, January 1999, Sragen, transcript IFN.W5.

*daughter and I had been divorced by my husband who had not even consulted me . . .*³²¹

BA's children were often verbally abused by her husband's relatives because of their parent's status as detainees (their father disappeared while in detention).³²² X spoke about how her children had no hope of getting married because of their parents' status.

*One thing hurt me so much. My first child . . . who is now fifty-four years old has never married because she had no hope of getting married. When she was an adolescent, a man who worked in customs proposed to her, but when he found out that . . . [my daughter] was tainted by the PKI, he withdrew his marriage proposal. After that when she was asked about marriage, she would always answer, "Everything has been swept away the ocean."*³²³

AZ was just ten years old when her mother and father were detained. At that time AZ and her younger sibling lived on the street for several years, and then she followed her mother into detention when her mother was detained for the second time. Years later, when AZ was about to get married, her parents-in-law asked her about her parents' status. Until now the relationship between AZ and her in-laws is not very good.³²⁴

While some women fought the discrimination that confronted them, others used different strategies. Some women who were former prisoners and their families chose to sever all contact with their biological families, changed their identities and started new families. F, a victim of sexual slavery, spoke about her experiences:

*I have been living overseas for ten years. Two of my children are attending school and doing well . . . I hope that my family and friends have forgotten me and think I'm already dead. I deliberately changed my name and identity. But sometimes I miss my parents and relatives. I heard from someone that my family always says that I died in detention in 1965.*³²⁵

321 A, interview by IFN, February 8, 1999, Solo, transcript IFN.W1; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

322 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

323 X, interview by SRK, August 15-16, 20-21, 2006, Madiun, transcript SRK.W1.

324 AZ, interview by LTP, August 31, 2000, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W18.

325 F, interview by IFN, August 2-5, 2000, Bandung, transcript IFN.W6.

D was an educated woman who immersed herself in a community on the outskirts of a big city, severing contact with her family:

I asked my relatives not to look for me or to try and find me, and not to send any letters to me. I would send letters to them. Consequently, when my older sister died I received the news when it was too late. In this slum I met this two-year-old boy who had been abandoned by his parents. I adopted this child, I have supported his schooling and he graduated from a senior technical school.³²⁶

→ IMPACT

→ Introduction

Violations committed against women victims in relation to the 1965 Tragedy did not cause suffering just at the time these offences were committed, but they also left an impact on the victims that can still be felt many years later. Victims who experienced these violations more than thirty-four years ago still suffer the physical, mental, economic, and social consequences, and are haunted by their past experiences every minute of every day.

→ Impact on Physical and Mental Health

What is illustrated by the long list of violations experienced by women victims of the 1965 Tragedy is a situation where attempts were made to make these women submissive by breaking them both mentally and spiritually. The cases outlined below show how state authorities not only carried out and supported the commission of crimes, but was also negligent in its provision of minimal health services to victims who had been hurt by the violations committed against them.

Many women were crippled by the torture they endured. For example, J was taken by a group of youths and army on October 5, 1965 and was buried in the ground for two days because they failed to locate her husband. Her legs were paralyzed for one year as a result of this torture.³²⁷ R was crippled by the torture she experienced when she was arrested and detained in Kalisosok prison, which was exacerbated by the protracted malnutrition she experienced in detention. According to a doctor's report,

³²⁶ D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

³²⁷ J, interview by IFN, September 1997, Kediri, transcript IFN.W10.

her hip bone and back bone were crushed. When she was released from prison due to her crippled and sickly state, her husband rejected her, and later she was care for by her mother and her younger sister.³²⁸

In December 1966, T, her family and members of a sugar factory workers' union hid in a sugar cane plantation because they were being pursued by a mob. Many of them were burned to death, including T's husband and their only child. T suffered serious burns to her body. She survived, was scarred all over. Because she was ashamed and for the sake of survival, for ten years T lived and worked as a maid in the house of the Moslem cleric who found her and treated her injuries. Until now she still lives with the Moslem cleric's son, and still does not want to leave the house.³²⁹

In 1967, L was detained and tortured at the district military command headquarters in Tulung Agung because they could not find her husband, who was head of a *PKI* branch at the sub-district level. After one month, L was sent home with amnesia and a brain concussion. L received treatment for two months, but she is still disabled and unable to speak. According to her family, L suffered every kind of torture possible, both physically and spiritually. Now L's physical condition has improved. L likes to go outside and sit in the yard.³³⁰

Many other women victims spoke about the pain they suffered from the torture they experienced. AJ was subjected to a form of torture where she was placed under a continuous stream of water. Until now she often suffers from chills and is hard of hearing because of beatings she endured.³³¹ BA was struck on her back until her nose started bleeding. When she was released from detention, the doctor diagnosed her as having a damaged optical nerve and brain as a result of the beatings.³³²

The sexual torture experienced by some victims seriously affected their health. D spoke about the pain she endured when she was repeatedly raped by police officers:

I could not move, let alone stand up, because my whole body was sore and swollen. I thought I would die. I had no strength. I suffered an infection that caused my genitals to swell up. My cell mates took good care of me. They gave me a medicinal tonic to drink, which they had received from their relatives. I only got

328 R, interview by IFN, August 1997, Trenggalek, transcript IFN.W18.

329 T, interview by IFN, September 2002, Kediri, transcript IFN.W20.

330 L, interview by IFN, September 1997, Tulung Agung, transcript IFN.W12; interview in Javanese.

331 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

332 BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

better about one week later. I felt like I could move around a bit and the bleeding started to abate. Slowly I was able to sit up and talk. As soon as I could stand up I was summoned again to be interrogated by several officers. I faced another disaster. Every time they interrogated me, I was stripped naked, and if they didn't like my answer, I received electric shocks. Every time my interrogation was finished and I went back to my cell, someone had to carry me, because I wasn't able to walk by myself. I experienced this for two months.³³³

While in detention, H was given electric shocks on her reproductive organs until she fell unconscious.

My breasts were burned and my vagina was swollen and weeping. I felt an incredible pain. Two days later I was questioned again. They wanted to know the name of a person and my relationship with that person. They subjected me to the same torture. Because they were unable to get the answer they wanted, they repeated and repeated the torture, until finally one day I was crippled for one year . . . [W]hile I was crippled I received a food ration from the camp guard. I was also given some medicine. One day I was moved to [another city] because my condition deteriorated. Because . . . I couldn't get proper treatment, I was moved to [yet another] city. I was hospitalized for six months. When I recovered, I was released.³³⁴

It was also extremely difficult for people on the outside to overcome their feelings of longing and concern for family members who had been detained. A number of women told stories about how they suffered from depression or lost their memories because of this situation. Some male prisoners spoke about how their parents or wives died of heartache. Such serious trauma resulted in mental health problems. For example, AJ was a woman prisoner who was detained together with her baby. She fainted and was struck by amnesia when she received information that her husband was no longer being detained by the police in 1966, and her condition lasted for two years. According to her oldest child, when she visited her mother in detention, she saw that her mother was naked and did not recognize her. During that time AJ had to be assisted by her friends to shower, eat, and take care of her baby.³³⁵ AK also suffered serious trauma, lost her mind and tried to kill herself because she missed her family so

333 D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.

334 H, interview by IFN, (undated), transcript IFN.W8.

335 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

much.³³⁶ Members of BA's family were often ridiculed by the local community. BA's mother suffered from depression as a result of the ridicule before she finally died.³³⁷

AU did not understand why her husband was victimized because he had tried to prevent mass killings in 1965. After losing her husband, AU started to talk to herself and did not want to eat for two years. AU slowly improved thanks to the efforts of her family who sought the assistance of religious devotees and traditional healers to give her strength.³³⁸

Economic Impact

It was not only loss of income while their husbands were imprisoned, but ostracism and stigmatization also had an impact on victims and their families. AR was a housewife and her husband was an official with *Pertamina* (state-owned oil company) who was active in the Petroleum Workers' Union. Her husband was detained on several occasions. At the time of his last detention, AR had three small children not yet in school and she was about five to six months pregnant.

[My husband] wasn't there . . . he was in Pelengkung [a detention site in Kalimantan]. We sold goods . . . at 5:30 in the morning my children and I would start selling our goods . . . At 2:30 [in the morning] I would wake up to fry cassava, tempe, I would make it . . . my kids would carry it.

AR recalls that the challenges she faced in trying to provide for her children were exacerbated by her status as the wife of a *PKI* member.

*. . . we began selling at the schools. . . . For a long time we sold, sold, sold. That was how I took care of my three children who had such bloated stomachs, gradually they got bloated. We sold the cupboard, the bed, kept selling until, ya, we ended up sleeping on the floor. Luckily I had foster parents there . . . they often gave me rice. I didn't have anything there, not even any jewellery . . . I didn't think of myself at the time, I never thought I would be stuck in such a hole. At that time we sold behind the school, but people were already saying I was this—the wife of a *PKI* member. So only one or two people bought from me . . . I was broke again, I kept*

³³⁶ AK, interview by LTP, April 19, 2005, Solo, transcript LTP.W3; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

³³⁷ BA, interview by LTP, July 28, 2000, Ambarawa, transcript LTP.W19.

³³⁸ AU, interview by LTP, January 13, 2001, Bali, transcript LTP.W13.

*going like that so I could feed the children. Everywhere I went I was ridiculed by people that are how it was for me.*³³⁹

The economic status of more than a few victims changed drastically because of the 1965 Tragedy. AT, whose husband was a high-ranking official in Bali, lost everything, including their house, ice factory, and land.³⁴⁰ AJ's husband, who was an inter-island trader and a member of the *PKI*, disappeared around December 1965 or January 1966. AJ was detained several times and on the third occasion she was detained for about ten years. After her release AJ became a seamstress and knitter, and sold rice meals, while her children walked around selling kerosene to pay for their school fees.³⁴¹ AL was an intellectual (Indonesian language and history teacher) and a politician (a member of the District Parliament), and her husband was secretary of the district-level *PKI*. When the 1965 Tragedy occurred they had eleven children. AL's husband was arrested and died of a bleeding stomach ulcer in detention. AL's oldest child was exiled to Buru Island. AL was detained from 1968-1978. Now AL sells ice and meatball soup.³⁴²

Because G's husband and parents-in-law were members of the *PKI*, G experienced sexual violence by community members at the time of her arrest, then by soldiers every time she had to report to the authorities. G was rejected by the head of her neighbourhood association and was harassed by the community.

*The neighbours accused me of being "a cheap woman," "a whore," and other foul words. They didn't want to talk to me . . . I tried selling food, but no one would buy it.*³⁴³

After her release, D was taken back to her village, but her presence placed her relatives in a precarious position so D decided to move to Jakarta where she would not be recognized by a single person.

With a small amount of money my younger sister gave me, I rented a shack in a slum. This place was home to unskilled labourers, street prostitutes, pickpockets, and gangsters. When I arrived at my new home I changed my name and identity. Initially I felt awkward, but after a while I became accustomed to it. I started selling snacks and learned how to speak with an uncouth accent,

339 AR, interview by LTP, July 2, 2005, Argosari, East Kalimantan, transcript LTP.W10; interview in Indonesian and Javanese.

340 AT, interview by LTP, August 29, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W12.

341 AJ, interview by LTP, August 17, 2000, Bali, transcript LTP.W2.

342 AL, interview by LTP, July 23, 2004, Jakarta, transcript LTP.W4.

343 G, interview by IFN, February 3-5, 2000, Surabaya, transcript IFN.W7.

just like those around me. I also had to change my lifestyle; I had been a Javanese aristocrat. I pretended that I couldn't understand Dutch. Basically I had to change my lifestyle 100%!³⁴⁴

The suffering of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy did not end when they, or their family members, were released from detention. On the contrary, they suffered ongoing persecution after their release. This persecution was actively perpetuated by the state and it resulted in the emergence of discrimination and ostracism by local communities.

More than forty years later, women victims of the 1965 Tragedy have survived. They have overcome social exclusion, economic sabotage that has undermined their ability to seek a living, and aggressive interference at the hands of state authorities. They have worked tirelessly to support themselves and their families, even though they still carry the impact of all kinds of violations: physical and mental disabilities, reproductive health problems, deep psychological anguish that can be categorized as “post-traumatic stress disorder,” and the destruction of their family and social lives. It is fair to say that the violence experienced by women victims of the 1965 Tragedy and the ongoing persecution they face until now, means that their lives continue to be full of vulnerability and suffering.

³⁴⁴ D, interview by IFN, March 3-7, 1999, Jakarta, transcript IFN.W4.



→ B. KEY FINDINGS: WOMEN AS VICTIMS OF CRIMES AGAINST HUMANITY

Komnas Perempuan is not a judicial institution, and it cannot replace the task of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission that has had its legal basis cancelled.³⁴⁵ Yet the complaints *Komnas Perempuan* has received from women victims of the 1965 Tragedy encourage *Komnas Perempuan* to try to understand patterns of violence that occurred as well as the role of state institutions and non-government organizations in the systematic execution of violence.

Komnas Perempuan has examined 122 testimonies and acknowledges that these testimonies represent just a small portion of the large-scale violence committed against thousands of victims. Nevertheless, armed with a sincere commitment to hear the voices of these victims, *Komnas Perempuan* has been able to compile findings that are outlined below.

Based on the 122 testimonies received and examined, as well as a number of complaints received directly, *Komnas Perempuan* concludes there is a strong indication that the violations women experienced in relation to the 1965 Tragedy fulfil the elements of crimes against humanity.

Crimes against humanity are international crimes of the gravest nature, whereby specific acts (murder, torture, rape, etc.) are carried out in the context of a widespread

³⁴⁵ Justice Maruarar Siahaan (Indonesian Constitutional Court), "Important Decisions of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, December 2006-September 2007" (lecture, Fifth Conference of Asian Constitutional Court Judges, Seoul, Republic of Korea, October 11, 2007), <http://www.ccourt.go.kr/home/english/introduction/pdf/12.pdf>.

and systematic attack against a civilian population. In essence, crimes against humanity occur when a state³⁴⁶ mobilizes its forces to attack its own citizens. Crimes against humanity were first cited during the prosecution of war crimes during the Second World War. In 1950, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Nuremberg Principles, which included a definition on crimes against humanity. Two ad hoc (provisional) international tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda (1993 and 1994) further established jurisprudence on crimes against humanity. In 1998, an international accord known as the Rome Statute established a permanent criminal court.

Crimes against humanity, as set out in Article 7.1 of the Rome Statute, are acts committed as part of a systematic and widespread attack directed at a civilian population, in the form of:

- a. murder;
- b. extermination;
- c. slavery;
- d. deportation or forcible transfer of population;
- e. imprisonment or other severe deprivation of physical liberty in violation of fundamental rules of international law;
- f. torture;
- g. rape, sexual slavery, forced prostitution, forced pregnancy, forced sterilization, or any other form of sexual violence of comparable gravity;
- h. persecution against any identifiable group or collectivist on political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender or other grounds that are universally recognized as impermissible under international law;
- i. forced disappearance of persons;
- j. the crime of apartheid;
- k. other inhuman acts of a similar character intentionally causing great suffering, or serious injury to body or to mental or physical health.



Applicable Law and Statute of Limitations

In relation to the legal principle *nullum crimen sine lege*,³⁴⁷ it cannot be denied that crimes against humanity have been recognized as international crimes since the Second World War, especially after the Nuremberg Military Court held trials in 1945-1946, and

³⁴⁶ According to the Rome Statute, any state or organization that has the competency to act as a state can commit crimes against humanity. Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 1998, <http://www.un.org/law/icc/statute/romeefra.htm>.

³⁴⁷ *Nullum crimen sine lege* is Latin for “no crime without law” and means that criminal law cannot be enacted retroactively. See The Principles of Legality: *Nullum Crimen Sine Lege* and Related Concepts in Steven R. Ratner and Jason S. Abrams, *Accountability for Human Rights Atrocities in International Law: Beyond the Nuremberg Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 19-23.

in Tokyo (May 1946 until November 1948). It should be noted that acts contained within the meaning of crimes against humanity are criminal acts recognized by all legal systems. The compilation and formation of crimes against humanity is a legal breakthrough that conveys the viciousness and tyranny of such crimes.

In 1950, the United Nations General Assembly adopted the Nuremberg Principles. These principles accepted the predominant breakthroughs from Nuremberg and guaranteed that these principles would form part of international customary law, namely: 1) individual criminal responsibility for international crimes; 2) international law is more assertive than domestic law for international crimes of a grave nature; 3) no immunity for the heads of state; 4) defendants cannot use the excuse that they committed a crime “at the order of a superior” to avoid responsibility; 5) and, definitions of crimes against humanity already established in international law at that time.

Therefore, as a member of the United Nations, Indonesia already recognized these principles, and as a member of the international community was bound by existing international customary law. This means that in 1965, international legal provisions on crimes against humanity were in force all over the world, including in Indonesia. Indonesia’s duty to try the perpetrators of crimes against humanity became even more pronounced with the adoption of Law No. 26/2000 that established a legal basis for a human rights tribunal in Indonesia. Law No. 26/2000 grants jurisdiction to try past crimes based on the principle that there is no statute of limitations for international crimes of such a grave nature.



The Application Of International Law Based On Findings That Meet Threshold Conditions For Crimes Against Humanity

Data examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, in the form of direct testimony of victims as well as secondary data collected, have given sufficient indication that the thresholds for crimes against humanity have been met.³⁴⁸

³⁴⁸ *Pedoman Unsur-unsur Tindak Pidana Pelanggaran Hak Asasi Manusia Berat dan Pertanggung-jawaban Komando* [Guidelines on Elements of Serious Violations of Human Rights and Command Responsibility], Supreme Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2006.

The element of a widespread attack on a civilian population³⁴⁹

Victim testimony examined by *Komnas Perempuan* describes mass murder, violence, and detentions that were carried out in a number of regions in Java, Sumatera, Bali, East Kalimantan, and Buru Island. Based on existing historical sources, *Komnas Perempuan* concludes that at least hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed in relation to the 1965 Tragedy (see **Introduction of Section Right to Life and Right to Protection from Forced Disappearance** above). Testimony heard and examined by *Komnas Perempuan* represents only a small portion of the violations that were committed from 1965-1979, however the descriptions in these testimonies clearly portray that there were thousands of other victims.

Attacks did not just take the form of murder, but there were also arrests and detentions; forced disappearances; torture, including sexual torture; arson and the looting of houses and property; demotions; forced removal and forced labour; and ongoing discrimination and persecution.

The element of a systematic attack against a civilian population³⁵⁰

Victim testimony describes a consistent pattern where agents and resources of the state were mobilized to kill, kidnap, and detain thousands of people considered to be affiliated with the *PKI*. The findings of *Komnas Perempuan* in 122 cases of violence against women during the 1965 Tragedy, especially violence against women who were active or were accused of being active in *Gerwani* and other organizations, revealed evidence of repeated violations (murder, arrest, sexual torture, and rape) over a wide area, which shows a pattern of criminality. For instance, victims from different regions reported the same method of violence where they were stripped naked with the excuse of looking for a “symbol of the hammer and sickle” as well as rape that occurred during detention, and attacks on the reproductive organs of women during interrogations.

Military, police, and even civilian officials, were involved in these operations. Civilian officials involved ranged from the local to the national level. Police officers involved

349 Kunarac Appeal Judgment, paragraph 94. An attack is considered “widespread” when several requirements are fulfilled: frequent and large-scale, multiple perpetrators, committed with considerable seriousness, and directed at a multiplicity of victims, in *Prosecutor v Akayesu* (Judgment) ICTR-96-4-T, paragraph 580 (September 2, 1998).

350 According to the ICTR (*International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*), the word “systematic” means “organized acts that follow a set pattern, originating from a public policy, involving public and private resources on a large-scale . . . The element of a preconceived plan or policy must be present.” *Prosecutor v Musema* (Judgment) ICTR-96-13-T, paragraph 204 (January 27, 2000). A “systematic” policy or plan must be formally declared; the plan or policy can be established from the prevailing circumstances, including “the scale of the violence committed,” in *Prosecutor v Blaskic* (Judgment) IT-95-14-T, paragraph 204 (March 3rd, 2000).

began at the sub-district level. Various branches and units of *ABRI* actively carried out these violent operations. Everything was carried out under the command of Command for the Restoration of Security and Public Order. These operations of violence, carried out on a massive scale, also used state resources, for instance the use of military transport to arrest and relocate victims from one detention site to another, the use of military installations and public buildings as detention and interrogation sites, and the use of state and public facilities, and the use of state funds to carry out these crimes.

One element that must be proven in crimes against humanity is the existence of a policy, plan, or design that underlies these crimes. However, according to international jurisprudence, such a policy does not have to exist in written form. *Failure* to take action to address widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population is sufficient to establish that there is a policy, plan, or design.³⁵¹ The scale of attacks experienced by women victims in 1965 clearly shows that the state failed to take action to stop widespread and systematic attacks. The involvement of officials and the use of state resources in the commission of crimes clearly establish the systematic element. The fact that so many crimes could be committed simultaneously in different locations shows the existence of a design to coordinate crimes on a massive scale.

351 "Proof of policy, plan or design is generally considered to be a necessary element of a prosecution for crimes against humanity. The failure to take action to address widespread or systematic attacks against a civilian population can be sufficient to establish the requisite element of policy, plan or design." United Nations Commission on Human Rights (Sub-Commission), *Contemporary Forms of Slavery*, Report by Special Rapporteur Gay J. McDougall (1998) UN Doc E/CN.4/Sub.2/1998/13. Also see T. Meron, "Rape as a crime under international humanitarian law," *American Journal of International Law* 87 (1993):428.



The Application of International Law Based on Findings That Meet the Elements of Gender-Based Crimes Against Humanity

Gender-based Persecution³⁵²

Komnas Perempuan concluded there are strong indications that gender-based persecution as a crime against humanity was carried out and coordinated by Indonesian security forces, together with groups that had been armed and empowered to do so. Persecution against women members and those accused of being affiliated with *Gerwani* and other political groups took place during the 1965 Tragedy and has continued until now, due to the existence of discriminatory regulations and behaviour that denies the fundamental rights of victims. Campaigns of violence directed at women victims have been sexual and misogynistic in nature.

Denial of Fundamental Rights in Violation of International Law

Victim testimony clearly describes how the denial of fundamental rights occurred on a systematic and widespread scale (the right to life, right to livelihood, right to be free from arbitrary detention, right to be free from torture, as well as social-economic rights, and the right to family life).

Individuals or Groups Targeted Based on Group or Collective Identity (political, racial, national, ethnic, cultural, religious, gender)

The perception that members of *Gerwani* were directly involved in the murders that took place in Lubang Buaya, which was accompanied by a tale of how women carried

³⁵² ICTY (*International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia*) stated that persecution is "the gross or blatant denial, on discriminatory grounds, of a fundamental right, laid down in international customary law [legal principles put into practice by the majority of civilized countries that are, therefore, binding on all countries] or treaty law [law that binds the countries that have signed a treaty, such as a human rights convention], reaching the same level of gravity as the other acts prohibited in Article 5 [crimes against humanity]" [*Prosecutor v Kupreskić* (Judgment), IT-95-16-T, paragraph 621 (January 14, 2000)]. In cases *Prosecutor v Stakić* (Judgment) IT-97-24-T (July 31, 2003), *Prosecutor v Todorović* (Judgment) IT-95-9/1-T (July 31, 2001), and also *Prosecutor v Krstić* (Judgment) IT-98-33-T (August 2, 2001), the ICTY trial chamber found that sexual assault and rape had been committed, and decided that these acts supported the charge of persecution. In *Prosecutor v Kvočka* (Judgment) IT-98-30/1-T (November 2, 2001), the trial chamber stated that sexual violence can be classified as persecution if it is committed with discriminatory intent. However, the discriminatory intent must be shown in order to establish the crime of persecution before the International Criminal Court. <http://www.un.org/icty/cases-e/index-e.htm>.

out sexual torture while they danced in circles, established a motive for the targeting of individuals based on their political identity (communist) and gender (women).

→ Rape and Sexual Torture as Crimes against Humanity

Cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan* show a pattern where the security forces were able to carry out sexual torture and rape against women from the moment they were arrested. There were no attempts from their superiors to prevent or punish the perpetrators of these crimes. These sexual crimes took place in the context of a widespread and systematic attack on a civilian population. The perpetrators knew that their actions were part of this attack and felt certain that their actions would not be prevented or punished, rather that these acts would be supported.

Among others, *Komnas Perempuan* found evidence of the following acts:

- Women were stripped naked, sometimes in public places, in offices, or at detention sites. In a number of cases, the security forces forced the women to dance or stand for hours while they remained naked. Some women were stripped naked with the excuse that officials were looking for the “symbol of the hammer and sickle” on their bodies.
- Rape was committed by security forces, in groups, and repeated over long periods. Rape was committed at detention sites or victims were taken to other locations. Rape was committed at the headquarters of security forces or at locations under their control. Rape victims included pregnant women and women who had just given birth.
- Rape included the insertion of a penis into a victim’s vagina, or by the insertion of an object into a victim’s vagina or anus. Rape was also committed by the insertion of a penis into a victim’s mouth.
- Rape also resulted in pregnancy during detention. One pregnant victim was released because the perpetrator did not want to take responsibility; another victim experienced violence at the hands of the security forces as part of an attempt to commit forced abortion.
- Breasts and vaginas received electric shocks during interrogation.

→ Sexual Slavery as a Crime against Humanity

From the testimonies examined by *Komnas Perempuan* there is evidence of instances where security forces treated women under their control as possessions that could be treated arbitrarily, including treating them as sexual commodities. These forms of sexual slavery occurred during detention and after release.

Once again there were no attempts by superiors to prevent or punish the perpetrators of such crimes. Sexual slavery took place in the context of a widespread and systematic attack on a civilian population. The perpetrators knew that their actions were part of the attack, and were certain that their actions would not be prevented or punished.

Among others, *Komnas Perempuan* found evidence of the following acts:

- Women prisoners were treated as personal possessions who were repeatedly raped over long periods. In several cases, sexual slavery resulted in pregnancy. In one case a woman who had just given birth was forcefully separated from her biological child.
 - Women who had just been released from detention, especially those without relatives or resources, were forced to be “accommodated” in locations where the perpetrator could regularly use the victim for sexual purposes.
 - Sexual slavery also affected the wives and children of husbands/fathers who were imprisoned, whereby the military authorities and paramilitary agents treated these wives/children as their personal possessions.
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C. RESPONSIBILITY

Komnas Perempuan has a mandate to eliminate violence against women, and at the same time to contribute to the healing of victims. The 1965 Tragedy is one instance in Indonesian history where human rights violations and violence were committed against women in a widespread and systematic fashion. For this reason, *Komnas Perempuan* is obliged to gain a sound understanding of this issue, to examine responsibility for the violence that has been committed, and to recommend a process of healing for the victims.

Three levels of responsibility need to be considered in the contexts of the violations that occurred in relation to the 1965 Tragedy: individual, institutional, and state.



The Rights of Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations According to International Human Rights Law

The rights of victims of gross human rights violations are protected by international law. The decisions of the United Nations Human Rights Commission have consolidated the state's obligation to try those who violate the right to life (Article 6.1 of the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights). Security Council Resolution 1325, which emphasizes the strong link between the establishment of peace and gender-based justice, states that it is the responsibility of all states "to put an end to impunity and to prosecute those responsible for genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes including those relating to sexual violence against women and girls, and in this regard *stresses* the need to exclude these crimes . . . from amnesty provisions."³⁵³

³⁵³ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 (October 31, 2000) UN Doc S/RES/1325.

The obligation of the state to combat impunity for serious crimes under international law is further consolidated in the principles to combat impunity that were compiled and submitted by the Independent Expert to the UN Human Rights Commission.³⁵⁴ Victims have three rights: the right to justice, the right to know, and the right to reparations. Basically, these three rights are inseparable and collectively form the basis for restoring the dignity of the victim. In addition, civil society has continued to push for universal jurisdiction (meaning that all states are obliged and able to try perpetrators of crimes against humanity) to try perpetrators of serious crimes.³⁵⁵ The former UN Secretary General, Kofi Annan, during a discussion with the Security Council about transitional justice, also emphasized that “. . . in the face of widespread human rights violations, States have the obligation to act not only against perpetrators, but also on behalf of victims—including through the provision of reparations.”³⁵⁶



Individual Criminal Responsibility

Every violation is committed, ordered, or condoned by someone. Therefore, according to international criminal law, individual responsibility can be attributed for every crime that occurs. An individual is responsible when it has been proven that he or she has committed a crime that violates domestic law and international criminal law that was applicable at the time the violation occurred. Individual criminal responsibility arises when a person deliberately commits, plans, or supports the planning, preparation, or commission of a crime. A person can be held individually responsible when he or she is involved in a joint plan or conspiracy to commit a crime. Finally, a person is responsible for any crime committed by subordinates under that person's control, when he or she knows or should know about that crime, and fails to prevent or punish them. This type of responsibility is called command or superior responsibility.

As part of comprehending the pattern of crimes committed against victims of the 1965 Tragedy, *Komnas Perempuan* did not issue findings about individual responsibility in relation to specific perpetrators. Although many victims mentioned the names of perpetrators in their testimonies, this research is not meant to be an investigation

354 UN Human Rights Commission, *Promotion and Protection of Human Rights: Impunity*, Report of the Independent Expert to Update the Set of Principles to Combat Impunity (February 18, 2005) UN Doc E/CN.4/2005/102, <http://daccessdds.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G05/111/03/PDF/G0511103.pdf?OpenElement>.

355 Amnesty International, “14 Principles on the Effective Exercise of Universal Jurisdiction” (May 1999) AI Index: IOR 53/01/99; “Brussels Principles against Impunity for International Justice” adopted by the Brussels Group for International Justice (Brussels, March 11-13, 2002); University of Princeton Program in Law and Public Affairs, “Princeton Principles on Universal Jurisdiction” (2001), http://lapa.princeton.edu/hosteddocs/unive_jur.pdf.

356 UNSC, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-conflict Societies*, Report of the United Nations Secretary-General to the Security Council (August 3, 2004) UN Doc S/2004/616, para. 54, <http://www.ipu.org/splz-e/ungao7/law.pdf>.

geared towards prosecution. However, in the interests of justice and respect for the rights of victims, the state is obliged to try the perpetrators most responsible for these crimes against humanity.

Attributing this kind of responsibility is important in terms of releasing this nation from its sinister past. If we don't understand what happened and don't attribute responsibility to the actions of particular parties, then the entire Indonesian nation continues to be morally responsible for these crimes.

→ Responsibility of Non-State Institutions

Komnas Perempuan believes that organizations and institutions have moral responsibility as institutions for violations committed by their members at the time they were carrying out institutional activities, even if those activities were not official policy. The fact that their members were able to simultaneously mobilize themselves to commit violations in a number of separate regions reveals that there was complicity at the institutional level that resulted in these violations being committed.

As many of the institutions mentioned in the testimonies received by *Komnas Perempuan* were non-state institutions that still exist and still contribute to the life of the nation, *Komnas Perempuan* believes these institutions should take institutional responsibility.

Members of these non-state institutions were involved in many types of crimes, including: sexual violence, murder, arrests, detention, torture, interrogation, theft, arson, and defamation. Even though there are strong indications that the members of these organizations were mobilized and coordinated by security forces, *Komnas Perempuan* believes that these organizations also have a moral responsibility for the crimes that occurred.

→ State Responsibility

It cannot be denied that the state has a moral and legal responsibility, a responsibility that does not disappear with the passage of time, for the institutions and officials who were granted authority by the state to act against the people it was supposed to protect and serve. The state bears responsibility for any violation committed by an official, a state institution, or by individual whose acts are controlled by the state, when such acts conflict with the state's obligations under treaty laws or international customary law. This responsibility arises because the state, through the officials, institutions or individuals under its control, *has directly* committed the offence. This responsibility also arises when the state *fails to prevent, or stop* such offences, or *fails to investigate and try* those responsible.

According to international law, the state is responsible for any act that violates international law and causes damage to another party. This responsibility sits side by side with the culpability of an individual found guilty of committing an international crime. The state is responsible for giving reparations proportionate to the offence committed.

From the data examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, it is clear that the state was directly involved in these crimes. The state acted through its official institutions and its officials. In addition to its direct involvement in the commission of these crimes, the state also neglected its obligation to control actions taken by its officials. Besides murder, detention without trial, and torture against women, violations of fundamental rights by state officials is clearly evident in cases of sexual violence where camp commanders and military leaders sexually assaulted women prisoners or the family members of male prisoners, including underage girls (see sub-section ***Sexual violence upon release*** in the section entitled **Women in Detention** and the sub-section ***Sexual slavery on Buru Island*** in the section entitled **Experiences on Buru Island**).

That the state did not prevent, stop, or punish the perpetrators of these crimes that were carried out simultaneously, in multiple locations, and followed similar patterns, clearly demonstrates the existence of a policy behind the commission of these crimes.³⁵⁷

In relation to this, the acts committed by civilians (not officials) or by non-government institutions, can also be attributed to the state if the person or institution in question was acting on behalf of the state, was ordered by state officials, or if the actions of the institution were condoned by the state. In the cases examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, state security forces did not prevent such violence, but actually mobilized non-state institutions to carry out the violence. From the testimonies compiled by *Komnas Perempuan*, it is evident how youth organizations, religious-based organizations, and individuals were organized by state officials to act as an extension of the state. Only by mobilizing such huge numbers of people could such widespread attacks claim hundreds of thousands of victims.

Ongoing Persecution

Even now, regulations that discriminate against former prisoners and their families—for instance, ID cards marked with “ET” (former political prisoner), former prisoners unable to get ID cards valid for life, and restrictions on work opportunities—have not been revoked and are still valid in Indonesia. This shows that the state continues to violate the rights of victims of the 1965 Tragedy. Women victims, especially former members of *Gerwani*, still experience severe discrimination. Former *Gerwani* members are

357 See McDougall, *Contemporary Forms of Slavery*, and Meron, “Rape as a crime,” 428.

ostracized and stigmatized by the community due to a version of history that remains uncorrected until this day. The diorama at Lubang Buaya that portrays women dancing naked and helping men to torture the kidnapped generals has absolutely no historical accuracy.³⁵⁸

Ongoing Denial

The right to truth is also a part of victims' rights. The state not only continues to deny that human rights violations were committed on a massive scale, but it also has made no attempt to reveal the truth, or to release official documents to the public that describe how violations were committed. There has been no serious attempt to replace Law No. 27/2004 on a Truth and Reconciliation Commission that has been annulled.

No Follow-up to Previous Apologies

Indonesian President, Abdurrahman Wahid, publicly apologized to the victims of the 1965 Tragedy in an interactive dialogue that was broadcast directly by TVRI. He stated, "I apologize for all the murders against individuals branded as communists."³⁵⁹ During a meeting with the National Commission on Human Rights, President Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono also signalled his intent to provide reparations and compensation to victims who were detained in 1965.³⁶⁰ However, the fact that various legal provisions that discriminate against victims of the 1965 Tragedy have not yet been revoked and the fact that there have not yet been efforts to reveal the truth and provide reparations, indicate that the state has not yet pledged or demonstrated any remorse.

358 This diorama is part of the Holy *Pancasila* (State Ideology) Monument. The construction of this monument began in 1967 and it was dedicated in 1972 with the hope that visitors would gain an understanding of the national tragedy purportedly carried out by communists, as well as heighten their vigilance towards the dangers of communism. According to the *Buku Panduan Monumen Pancasila Sakti Lubang Buaya* [Guidebook for the Lubang Buaya Holy *Pancasila* Monument], (p. ii), this monument was built for the purpose of:

- "1. Commemorating the heroes who died defending the state, the nation, and the *Pancasila* until their last drop of blood
 - 2. Fostering *esprit de corps* among TNI soldiers
 - 3. Commemorating the national struggle
 - 4. Reflecting the struggle of the Indonesia nation to the international community.
- To achieve these objectives, it was decided that every year on October 1 a ceremony would be held called "Sacred *Pancasila* Day or Commemorating the National Tragedy that Occurred Due to Betrayal of the *Pancasila*."

359 This interactive dialogue was mentioned in an article entitled "*Gus Dur: Sejak Dulu Sudah Minta Maaf*" [Gus Dur: I Apologized Long Ago], *Kompas*, March 15th, 2000.

360 "*Presiden Ingin Rehabilitasi dan Beri Kompensasi Tapol*" [The President Wishes Rehabilitation and Compensation for Political Prisoners], *Kompas*, March 17th, 2005.

Ongoing Impunity for Perpetrators

According to international customary law, crimes against humanity are crimes that have universal jurisdiction and carry no statute of limitations. Until now the state has made no legal effort to investigate or try those most responsible for the crimes against humanity that were committed, even though Law No. 26/2000 can provide a judicial framework for handling these crimes. The inability and unwillingness of government agents and the Parliament to break new ground by ending impunity for the perpetrators of the 1965 Tragedy means the rights of victims continue to be violated.

Victims Continue to Suffer Without Reparations

Until now the government has made no genuine attempt to give reparations to the victims. What we refer to are wide-ranging reparations (not merely the provision of compensation through judicial mechanisms) as reflected in international jurisprudence. On March 13, 2002, Government Regulation No.3/2002 on Compensation, Restitution, and Rehabilitation for Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations was established.³⁶¹ However, this regulation contains an ambiguous interpretation on international norms that relate to reparations.³⁶² Regulation 3/2002 applies a multilevel approach to culpability for damage suffered by victims. According to this regulation, "Restitution is compensation granted to a victim or the victim's family by the perpetrator or a third party, which can include the return of property, payments of compensation for loss or suffering, or compensation for specific expenses incurred" (Chapter I, Article 1, No. 5). However, there is an explanation that "Compensation is a payment provided by the state because the perpetrator is unable to pay the full amount of compensation required" (Chapter I, Article 1, No. 4). Therefore, according to this regulation, state responsibility is only secondary; meaning the state only takes responsibility for the inability of the perpetrator but is not based on the state's negligence to fulfil its duties. According to this regulation, responsibility for compensation is only recognized when there is a court ruling.³⁶³

Of the data examined by *Komnas Perempuan*, there are several cases where victims have taken the initiative to have their rights restored by filing claims with the courts.

361 PP RI No. 3 Thn 2002 tentang Kompensasi, Restitusi, dan Rehabilitasi terhadap Korban Pelanggaran HAM yang Berat [Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia No. 3/2002 on Compensation, Restitution, and Rehabilitation of Victims of Gross Human Rights Violations], at <http://www.depukumham.go.id/NR/rdonlyres/4769B910-739B-4096-80CE-082F3FC426A6/0/PERATURANPEMERINTAHREPUBLIKINDONESIANO3TAHUN2002.pdf>

362 *Reparation for Torture: A Survey of Law and Practice in 30 Selected Countries (Indonesia Country Report)* (May 2003), http://www.redress.org/country_indonesia.html.

363 *Associated government agencies are obliged to execute the provision of compensation and rehabilitation pursuant to a decision from the Human Rights Court, which carries the full force of the law.* Govt. Reg. No. 3/2002, Chapter II, Article 3, No. 1.

For example, in one case a former prisoner won the right to have her land returned via a decision issued by the local civil court,³⁶⁴ and an administrative court ruled in favour of a former woman prisoner's right to an ID card valid for life.³⁶⁵

In another case, a civil claim filed by victims with the Jakarta District Court in March 2005 was rejected. This claim was addressed to five Indonesian Presidents on behalf of 20 million victims of the 1965 Tragedy and their descendents who are yet to have their fundamental social and economic rights restored and protected. They demanded compensation for material and immaterial losses suffered; a written apology broadcast to the public; and the revocation of laws and regulations that discriminate against victims of the 1965 Tragedy and their families. During the first hearing of this claim, about 300 demonstrators organized a protest in front of the Central Jakarta District Court demanding that the trial be cancelled because they felt it was the first step towards resurrecting a communist movement in Indonesia. The demonstrators occupied the premises of the Central Jakarta District Court and entered the court room. They also chased one of the lawyers who were representing the plaintiffs. During the trial the demonstrators did not stop singing and chanting slogans until the panel of judges adjourned the hearing. The victims' claim was eventually rejected by the panel at the end of 2005 on the grounds that the court did not have jurisdiction.³⁶⁶

Once again, the obligation to provide reparations should not depend on a court ruling, but rather the state should be proactive and acknowledge that such reparations are mandatory.

³⁶⁴ The Civil Court issued decision No. 17/pdt-5/2002/PN.Kdl on June 22, 2003, the Central Java Court of Appeal issued decision No. 268/Pdt/2003/PT.Smg on August 27, 2003, and the Supreme Court issued decision No. 788.k/Pdt/2005 on April 25, 2005.

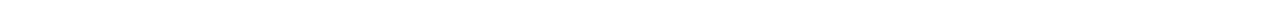
³⁶⁵ Nani Nurani, a dancer and former prisoner, took the sub-district administrator of North Jakarta to the State Administrative Court because he refused to give her an ID card valid for life. The Court granted her request. The Panel of Judges stated that the Minister of Internal Affairs decision No. 24/1999 (that contains provisions on ID cards valid for life) "must be bypassed because it is in conflict with Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights . . . They have acted arbitrarily. They have violated Law No. 39/1999 on Human Rights. They have also violated the Constitution, especially Article 28 that emphatically states that the state is obligated to provide constitutional guarantees as well as guarantees on legal protection and certainty for every citizen." "*Perjuangan Nurani Seorang Penari Presiden*," [The Struggle of Conscience of a President's Dancer], *Kompas*, July 23, 2003.

³⁶⁶ A class action suit on behalf of the victims of the 1965 Tragedy demanded compensation via Claim No. 341/SK/LBH/IV/2005 that was registered at the Central Jakarta District Court in Case No. 75/Pdt.G/2005/ PN.JKT.PST. The plaintiffs were organized into groups based on seven different categories for losses incurred, and each group was represented by several victims, all of whom were male.

Failure to Protect Human Welfare and Dignity

By continuing to deny justice, the truth, and reparations for victims, the state has failed in its obligation to protect the integrity and dignity of its citizens. It has been negligent by allowing certain groups to commit violence and intimidation.

Chapter IV
**CONCLUSION and
RECOMMENDATION**



Chapter IV

CONCLUSION and RECOMMENDATION



→ Conclusion

Komnas Perempuan views the 1965 Tragedy as the most controversial problem in Indonesia's national life that has given rise to national trauma and a crisis of trust among its citizens. Consequently, the space in which to take a position towards the 1965 Tragedy is limited and is not conducive to the fulfilment of human rights.

Therefore, *Komnas Perempuan* stresses the importance of space to take a position, a space that is safe, constructive, and effective for all national elements in the framework of: (1) the fulfilment of victims' rights to truth, justice, and healing; (2) state responsibility for upholding human rights; and (3) healing of national life.

→ Recommendations

Komnas Perempuan's recommendations are made within a human rights framework that includes the state's obligation to provide reparations to victims of gross violations pursuant to the rules of international law. This is in accordance with the United Nations resolution that states:

"a State shall provide reparation to victims for acts or omissions which can be attributed to the State and constitute gross violations of international human rights law or serious violations of international humanitarian law."³⁶⁷ Reparations provided must be "appropriate and proportional to the gravity of the violation and the circumstances of each case, [and] be provided with

³⁶⁷ United Nations General Assembly Resolution 60/147 (December 16, 2005) UN Doc A/Res/60/147, Article 15.

full and effective reparation . . . which include . . . restitution, compensation, rehabilitation, satisfaction and guarantees of non-repetition."³⁶⁸

Thus, *Komnas Perempuan* recommends as follows:

I. In Regard to Reparation of Victims' Rights

The Government adopt the decision of the United Nations General Assembly of December 2005 regarding "Basic Principles and Guidelines on the Right to a Remedy and Reparation for Victims of Gross Violations of International Human Rights Law and Serious Violations of International Humanitarian Law" as the foundation for a national reparations program for victims of the 1965 Tragedy. In this program, the concept of reparations would include the right to *restitution*, namely to restore the victim to her condition before the violation occurred, including the restoration of liberty, fundamental human rights, identity, family life, citizenship, residence, work, and possessions; *compensation* for economic damages proportionate to the violation suffered; institutional reform to ensure *non-recurrence of violations*; and *satisfaction* that includes cessation of violations, admission of the truth, the search for the whereabouts of the disappeared—including the exhumation of mass graves—an official declaration or judicial decision that restores the dignity of the victim, an official apology, sanctions against the perpetrators, and respect for the victims through commemorations and monuments.

II. In Regard to State Responsibility

1. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** follow-up on a statement of apology and commitment to provide rehabilitation and compensation to victims of the 1965 Tragedy through a comprehensive policy that covers:
 - a. An **admission** that these violations occurred and a declaration based on law that restores dignity to the victims
 - b. **Support** and **guaranteed security** for all people's initiatives to reveal the truth about the 1965 Tragedy and open dialogue for reconciliation among people
 - c. **Revocation of** all legal instruments that discriminate against victims, such as the Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No. 32/1981 on Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and Criminals of the September 30 Movement/*PKI*, Minister of Internal Affairs Letter of November 17, 1981, No. 200/4652 (further explanation regarding Implementation Guidelines of Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No. 32/1981), and Minister of Internal

³⁶⁸ Ibid, Article 18.

Affairs Letter of April 26, 1982, No. 200/1550 (instructions for the form used in administration of former detainees and criminals of the September 30 Movement/PKI)

- d. **Elimination** of all discriminatory acts directed at former detainees of the 1965 Tragedy
 - e. **Restoration** of all civil, political, economic, and social-cultural rights of all victims of the 1965 Tragedy, including:
 - Initiation of a process to guarantee the settlement of issues relating to the looting/destruction/confiscation of land and property
 - Provision of social security for victims, including, but not limited to, a pension;
 - Restoration of the rights of victims, their families, and their descendants to engage in any type of work they choose
 - Directing health and social institutions to provide free services to victims who are now senior citizens
 - Funding and working together with civilian organizations to provide psychological, medical, legal, social, and other services that need to be guaranteed according to the needs of victims
 - Guarantees for education, including scholarships and skills training, for the descendants of victims
 - Guaranteed access to institutions of geriatric care and the availability of other living facilities for victims
 - Development of a mechanism under the appropriate state department or institution, so that civilians are involved in all rehabilitation processes for the sake of transparency
 - In coordination with civil society and in consultation with victims, development of a special mechanism to overcome economic problems of the most vulnerable women ex-detainees, wives of ex-detainees, widows whose husbands were murdered or disappeared, and their children
2. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** take the initiative to involve women human rights defenders across generations to produce an official historical writing on Indonesian women that integrates all the violence and discrimination women have experienced, including the findings of this report, as a formal and informal reference for history education.
 3. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** ensure that the revised law on the Commission for Truth and Reconciliation now being drafted is a mechanism for telling the truth about past violations, which includes telling the truth about the 1965 Tragedy, provides access to information that has been kept secret all this time, and integrates the findings of this report.
 4. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** ensure that the process to reform institutions in the state's security sector includes the guarantee that human
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rights violations committed by the state, including gender-based human rights violations, will never recur.

5. **The President of the Republic of Indonesia** take concrete steps to improve conditions in detention sites and guarantee that facilities for detainees comply with international human rights instruments regarding treatment of criminals, and guarantee that women and underage detainees/criminals receive special protection.
6. **The National Human Rights Commission** fulfil its mandate to carry out *pro-justicia* investigations of gross human rights violations related to the 1965 Tragedy and that it integrate the findings of this report in such investigations.
7. **All state authorities in executive, legislative, and judicial fields** develop mechanisms for the protection and support of human rights defenders as guaranteed by the 1945 Constitution, including women human rights defenders who are especially vulnerable because of their identity as women.

III. In Regard to National Healing

1. **All elements of the nation** take concrete steps to free themselves from the shackles of stigma regarding *Gerwani* and all other stigmas related to the 1965 Tragedy.
 2. **Civilian organizations** which influence the formation of public opinion, including religious institutions, involve themselves in:
 - a. Grassroots reconciliation efforts between victims and their communities
 - b. Efforts to reveal the truth about the role of civilians in the 1965 Tragedy in their respective circles
 - c. Strengthening the commitment to principles of non-violence and breaking the chains of hate in society
 3. **All state authorities and elements of the nation** support and create a sense of security for civilian efforts in carrying out reconciliation, including, but not limited to, the development of memorials and documentation centres that honour victims, along with serving as a symbolic guarantee that these crimes, including gender-based crimes, will not recur.
 4. **The international community** take all steps and measures needed to ensure and support the Indonesian government in carrying out its obligations to reveal the truth, uphold justice, prevent a recurrence of human rights violations, and guarantee the rights of women victims, including the granting of reparations.
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EPILOGUE



The human rights violations experienced by women around the 1965 Tragedy are the legal and moral responsibility of the Indonesian nation. Neglect in acknowledging the truth, providing reparations to victims, and justice in relation to those perpetrators most responsible has produced a link in the continuation of violations. It is not only women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who continue to experience violations via ongoing denial of rights and persecution, but the pattern of violence experienced by women victims is repeated in regions of conflict like Aceh, Papua, and East Timor.

The denial of rights and the absence of justice have preserved fear and silence that hold victims in check and obstruct a process of true healing. However, some of the women victims of 1965 violence, with exceptional courage, have broken the silence by raising their voices. This courage is an inspiration to the movement for democracy in Indonesia, including for the young generation of women activists who rise up issues of violence against women that are committed and permitted by state agents.

The future of the Indonesian women's movement depends on the ability to learn from the history of women's struggles. The experiences of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy are an integral part of this history that cannot be ignored.

Therefore, the next generation cannot continue to be silent and sit on its hands. The moral strength already demonstrated by the women victims of the violence of 1965 demands that the government accept responsibility, heal social relationships that have been ruined by a system of repressive power, and free the next generation from the cycle of violence and violations that have continued to inhibit this nation.

With this report, *Komnas Perempuan* wishes to honour to women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who, once again armed only with truth, break the silence and challenge impunity by telling what has happened to them.

APPENDICES

1. Letter of Complaint from Women Victims of the 1965 Tragedy

**Letter of Complaint of Women Victims of the 1965 Tragedy to
National Commission on Violence Against Women
(*Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan Terhadap Perempuan*)
Jakarta, May 29th, 2006**

Commissioners of National Commission on Violence against Women that we respect,

First of all, we are grateful for the Commissioner's willingness to accept our delegation today.

We, the delegation that present here, consist of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy from West Java, Central Java, East Java, Special Region of Yogyakarta, Bali and East Kalimantan, together with the associate, namely *Syarikat Indonesia* and *Lingkar Tutar Perempuan*.

The women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who present in this opportunity consist of women activists who for years were put in jail without legal process by government of *Orde Baru*, wives, children, and family of ex-political criminals who suffers as the result of arrest, torture, and arbitrary killing of our husbands, fathers, brothers, and family. We come today, to represent the fate of thousands women victims of the 1965 Tragedy who don't have a chance to be here on this opportunity.

For these couple last years, we, women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, who facilitated by *Syarikat Indonesia* and *Lingkar Tutar Perempuan*, have already built and developed women victims of the 1965 Tragedy networks. That network has a goal to strengthen and build the relationship bond with fellow women who have the same fate, in which apparently its amount is abundant and scattered in various regions in Indonesia. Various meetings and discussions have been held in various regions, start from Java, Bali, until Kalimantan. Those meetings have been a space for us to share each others' experiences about state violence that we have experienced since the 1965 Tragedy, about our struggle experiences to survive until today, and also to formulate

our thoughts also hope on the 1965 Tragedy matter, especially the fate of its victims and families.

In connection with that, today, we would like to submit our thoughts and hopes in the presence of Commissioner Members of National Commission on Violence against Women.

WHO ARE WE

When the 1965 Tragedy happened, some of us were:

- Veteran of freedom fighters of this republic. Until the 1965 Tragedy happened, we always carry out events of national commemoration, such as Independence Day celebration, Kartini Day, and International Labour Day. We are obedient to carry out government's instruction to protect this state and nation sovereignty, among other things by joining volunteer's training for the Campaign to grab West Irian and anti *nekolim* (*neo-colonialism-imperialism*) campaign.
- Women activists in various organizations that recognized by government, such as *Gerwani*, *PGRI*, *Lekra*, *IPPI*, *PKI*, *Pemuda Rakyat*, *CGMI*, *HIS*, *BTI*, and *SOBSI*. We were involved in social activities through *TK Melati*, *PBH* (*Pemberantasan Buta Huruf*), skilled courses, and art studios that were carried out independently. We fought for equality and justice for women to be free from shackle of feudalism.
- Housewives with daily activities to take care of families. At that time, we were young couples, newly marriage, pregnant, breast feed, or young moms with small children.
- Students who were still in schools.

PATTERNS OF STATE VIOLENCE

Before we and/or our families got arrested, even until the arrest and killing of some military officers in year 1965, there was none of us known about *Gerakan 30 September* (30 September Movement). However, that incident has changed our lives suddenly: from a women activist, housewife, teacher, student, or artist, we suddenly were considered and treated as amoral women, criminals of the nation. State security

apparatus and various anti communist organizations executed many propagandas and violence actions to us.

1. As women activists, we were arbitrary caught and arrested. We never received a warrant of arrest or detention. State security apparatus never explained the reasons of our arrest and detained. We were also caught and interviewed by parties who are not authorized, such as paramilitary groups that supported by state security apparatus.
 2. As wives, we never received explanations why our husbands were kidnapped, afterwards removed by force, caught, arrested, or even killed.
 3. As wives of political detainees, we were also faced yelling, terror, till had sexual harassment when visited their husbands in detention, or been raped while their husbands were in jail. There were some of us who married with the state security apparatus or paramilitary by force in order to survive and save our families.
 4. As wives or family members, we had to bear our husbands lives or family members while their in detention or jail.
 5. As family members or relatives of mass organizations' activists who were allegedly involved in *G.30.S*, we were arbitrary caught and arrested.
 6. State security apparatus were also caught and arrested under age children.
 7. The caught and arrest were often accompanied by seizing properties, such as houses, lands, money, jewelleries, valuable letters.
 8. After we or family members were arrested, we or our families were discharged from our jobs, so we lost source of family earnings.
 9. We were arrested for years without trial. Our detention place were moved all the time, begin from temporary detention place, in forms of state security apparatus' posts, private houses or schools that has been seized by state security apparatus, theatres, churches, government buildings, that has been changed its function as detention places.
 10. Together we were sent to jail. Part of us was removed to force labour camps, as in Plantungan – Central Java, Buru Island – Maluku, and in Argosari – East Kalimantan.
 11. During the detainment time, we were interrogated which accompanied by torture: beaten with empty hand or with tools, hair was cut off, electrocuted,
-

and been forced to see prosecution towards other criminals. Some of us experienced sexual harassment, in fact been raped for several times.

12. There were women who pregnant and delivered their babies in jail.
 13. The manager of detention place did not provide sufficient live facilities for us, such as food portion and nutrition that were not enough for living on. Whereas some of us who were forced to bring their children under five, because there was no relatives who could take care of them. Our cell width was disproportionate with the number of criminals, so we have to sleep in crowd. The manager of detention did not give us the sleeping facility, so some of us had to sleep on cardboard, leaves, or a plaited mat. During the detention time, we were able to survive, only because of the consignment from family.
 14. Some of our colleagues were executed in arbitrary, either by state security apparatus or by paramilitary groups. They were buried in mass or thrown away to the river.
 15. Beside the physical violence that we have been through, state security apparatus was also destroyed our efforts to promote Indonesian women. They prohibited and dismissed our organizations and activities.
 16. After we have been released, we still also have to do the mandatory report routinely. State security apparatus oftentimes used mandatory report as an extortion source to the ex-political criminals.
 17. Our identity card was signed *ET/eks-tapol* (ex-political criminals). It made us difficult to get a job, to continue study, to manage administration of residence, and lose freedom to move, and be involved in political activity. There were a lot of our children who have to drop out from school and work in early age.
 18. Until now, not all of us got the lifetime identity cards.
 19. Our family and we were also difficult to get a job, because there was Minister of Internal Affairs Directive No. 32/1981 on Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and Criminals *G30S/PKI* who prohibits former political criminals and their families to work in sectors that relates with public.
 20. Some of us who were arrested in young age had lost opportunities to enjoy the youth, forced to drop out from school, and to reproduction.
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THE 1965 TRAGEDY' IMPACTS ON FAMILY AND SOCIETAL LIVES

We were not only faced violence and pressure from state, but also suspicion, excision, and discrimination from family and society.

1. The 1965 Tragedy made our families separated, because we have been forced to separate for years with our husbands, children, and family. Family relation in our big family were broken, because of the suspicion and fear caused by terror and black propaganda which continuously done by state apparatus through various media and institutions.
2. When we were free from prisons, our relationship with children became distance, even some of them did not recognized us as their mothers, because we had to let them in others upbringing.
3. Our children were forced to drop out or move from school, because they got mocked, was insulted, as well as discrimination from friends, teachers, and the institution of education. It made our relations with children worst. Children felt that they have been neglected and blamed us for the tragedy that fallen on family.
4. Children were difficult to find life partners and get married, because they were considered not clean.
5. Some of us had to omit identities and cover our activities in the past in front of the family or children, because *Orde Baru* government had placed us as traitors of the state, enemies of the nation. Our children who studied history on *Orde Baru* version at school, finally against us and considered us as criminals. We have done that in order not to arise our children trauma and so they will not get difficulties in their work place.
6. After free from prisons, we were difficult to get jobs, so finally we were depends ourselves on children whom in average live a simple life.
7. Until now, we were still suspected and differentiated in getting along with the social – societal organization. We were oftentimes made as the black goats of problems that happened in the society, with the accusation as *Gerwani* or *PKI*.

OUR DEMANDS

It has been 40 years that we have been silenced and faced many violence, pressures, and discrimination in silent. In this opportunity, we want to submit our demands to State through National Commission on Violence against Women.

We demand State to:

1. Give explanation why we were victimized on the 1965 Tragedy.
2. Make a mechanism on revealing the truths which give chances to the victims for telling their life experiences, especially the 1965 Tragedy women victims.
3. Create a mechanism on enforcing justice which is able to demand for accountability on state violence operation that been run systematic and widespread against people who were allegedly involved in *G.30.S*.
4. Admit the existence of state violence and apologize officially to all victims of the 1965 Tragedy on violence, stigmatization, and discrimination that been fall on victims.
5. Revoke the provisions, law, and rules that discriminative against the 1965 Tragedy victims.
6. Restore our rights and our children's rights in economic, social, cultural, and political sectors, such as:
 - a. To rehabilitate the reputation of victims and their families.
 - b. To restore our rights, our families, also descendants' rights to have jobs and participate in any social organization that we want.
 - c. To make efforts on recovery in forms of developments in social welfare facilities, such as health service, house for the elders, and education, for victims and their families.
 - d. To return our properties that been taken over.
 - e. To give the natural resources management rights to the society for the victims' welfare.
7. Revise the history books on the 1965 Tragedy based on researches, investigations, and truths. Those results are also need to be disseminated, so it will be known by public.
8. Arrange many regulations to the local level to prevent the recurrence of violence against women who got involved in political activities.
9. Guarantee the freedom of women victims to gather, give opinions, and join organizations, either in social, political, economical, or cultural sectors, that uphold the principles of diversity, justice, and humanity.

Hence, those are our demands and expressions. Thank you for the National Commission on Violence against Women's attention to our problems. We hope that

National Commission on Violence against Women's commissioners are willing to, according to its mandate, express and defend our demands to the State.

Jakarta, May 29th, 2006

Sincerely yours,

Delegation of the 1965 Tragedy Women Victims



2. KOMNAS PEREMPUAN'S POSITION ON THE TESTIMONIES OF WOMEN VICTIMS OF THE 1965 TRAGEDY

Komnas Perempuan's Position on the Testimonies of Women Victims of 1965 Tragedy

On Monday, May 29th, 2006, *Komnas Perempuan* was accepted the coming of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy in its office, to listen testimonies of some representatives from victims' communities in East Java, Central Java, West Java, Bali and East Kalimantan. Below is the position of *Komnas Perempuan* based on discussion on April 13th and 25th, 2006.

CONSIDERATION

Refer to *Komnas Perempuan's* mandate as a national mechanism formed by the President of the Republic of Indonesia to create a conducive situation for the elimination of violence against women and the enforcement of women's rights, as listed on President's Regulation No. 65 Year 2005.

Refer to *Komnas Perempuan's* task to disseminate the understanding about all forms of violence against women, which is the basis for the efforts of tackling and accountability on violence that occurred, also for the effort of prevention on recurrence of the violence pattern.

Consider the historical of *Komnas Perempuan* itself, which its establishment was born from community's encouragement to demand State's accountability on the incidents of violence against women in mass scale, in the middle of a large-scale attack that targeted on specific groups of community that is China's ethnic community, in May 1998.

Uphold the *Komnas Perempuan's* work guidelines to defend the fulfilment of victim's rights on truth, justice and recovery, also believe that the three rights were mutually influenced and related each other.

Reaffirm the importance of the 1965 Tragedy as a part that not separated from the steps of Indonesia's nation that, in its turn, will continue has influenced on nation's future, so it needs a whole and brighten learning from it, especially for Indonesia's women movement, considered how the roles, body and sexuality of Indonesia's women were broken into pieces as the result.

Reaffirm that all forms of the stillness against women is a human rights violations that can not be kept quiet by State or community.

Consider that the first step of sincere justice and reconciliation is the revealing of the truth, and in order that the revealing of the truth has the real social political value, so the official recognition was required on that revealing on behalf of the State and community.

Refer to Law No. 27 Year 2004 on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission which is stated that gross human rights violation in the past has to be reinvestigated to reveal the truth, uphold the justice, and establish cultural that respect human rights, so reconciliation and national unity can be actualized.

POSITION

Komnas Perempuan will punctilious and recite the testimonies that submitted by women victims of the 1965 Tragedy, either directly or through its assistants, in order to build an intact and brighten understanding about violence and systematic discrimination experiences against women related to the incident, along with its causes and consequences.

Komnas Perempuan will facilitate the establishment of understanding and recognition from relevant elements of State's institution, including but not limited to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in which at this time is in process of establishment, as well as on the community's environment, including women's organizations, about the all experiences of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy as well as its causes and consequences, as the basis for the tackling, accountability, prevention of the incident recurrence and as the early step towards nation's reconciliation.

Komnas Perempuan will take special steps that was possible by its mandate to create a conducive situation for the rights fulfilment of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy on truth, justice and recovery in a broad meaning.

Komnas Perempuan will issue an official report, which covers special recommendations directed to the competent institutions based on the testimonies of women victims of the 1965 Tragedy in order to urge the realisation of responsibility on the enforcement of human rights.

Jakarta, May 29th, 2006

3. MRS. NANI NURRACHMAN'S OPEN LETTER (DAUGHTER OF LATE MAJ. GEN. SOETOJO)

In November – December 2006, *Komnas Perempuan* organized a series of events that confronted the women human rights defenders from various generations and from various regions to open space that unite fellow women, and to share experiences and look for ways, so all forms of violence and discrimination against women will not happen again. In the limited discussion “*Merajut Kembali Kebersamaan*” (Knit Back the Togetherness) on December 15th, 2006, in order to celebrate the Mother Day, one of the discussion participants that can not attend, that was Mrs. Nani Nurrachman (daughter of late Maj. Gen. Soetojo, the high officer of Indonesian national army that was murdered in the 1965 Tragedy), sent an “Open Letter” below:

Nana, with the big apology, I apparently can not present on event “Merajut Kembali Kebersamaan” (Knit back the Togetherness) that organized by Komnas Perempuan today, because of the various constraints that can not be solved. Nevertheless, I want to be in the middle of the ladies, to listen and open my heart to the pain and screams of their heart all these years. Hopefully my presence abroad, in a country that ever experienced humanitarian disaster deeply with women and children in whom they became victims (but now become survivors), will not reduce my togetherness experiences with these ladies.

Because of that, I ask for your help to read my letter openly in front of them, either victims/survivors or ladies that with sincerity come also to open their selves to listen others voices, but with the different fate. However in this matter, I will not distinguish the ladies who come, because today, we, all ladies, are coming to knit the togetherness, a series of women’s experiences during this time in this land that we love together: a place where we as women were born/raised by our mothers; a place where we alone give birth to/raise children and family with love that can not be measured and exchanged; but ironically, a place that part of us had lost our beloved ones accompanied with various feelings, either anger, poignant, and the grief that does not linger until now.

In such milieu, there is a question that across my mind: will we still stuck to such milieu, although on this day, there are some women who want to express their sympathies by knitting their hearts with others? It just will it stop until here? Or is there any final goal that we want to achieve together in order to restore the dignity and pride as women, as human, as mothers in this homeland?

Nana, what I want to express through this letter can be considered as 'other' voice, that different with which we normally hear in expressing women voices. I did not intend to ignore those voices. No, not at all! Even I still recognize and appreciate those voices. I want to express this 'other' voice through the side of humanity life that I have learned from human, woman or man, who had the same fate with the ladies in front of you. I realized that for this I will face various prejudices and questions: how it possible that Nani Nurrachman capable of and is willing to say that, does not she belong to those who 'win'? Does not she belong to the group who is 'right'? Even, what is the matter and what for does Nani Nurrachman say that, does not it mean she 'betrays' his father's fight? Let those voices still fills the air. The storm vociferous of various voices, at the end, I am sure will be faded, even disappear, along with the clear mind, also the silenced inner heart that will be used to understand this expression.

Ladies,

Allow me beforehand, to tell two true stories that come from two different countries, but ever have similar experience with our country, namely South Africa and Cambodia. The first tells about a woman victim who were confronted with her husband and children murderer when apartheid era was taken place, when the Truth and Reconciliation Commission was in progress. This woman asked the perpetrator: Did you know that the guy you killed was my husband? With head bowed, perpetrator said: Yes. Then continued by the woman: Did you know that people you killed were my children as well? The perpetrator answered again: Yes. The woman still continues her question: Did you know that

because of it I had lost people I loved and it destroyed my future? Felt that can not avoid with what happened to the woman victim, perpetrator said: Yes; while continuing his words that he is willing to bear its consequences and accepting the punishment that been condemned to himself. Listening to this statement, that woman asked the perpetrator again: If that so, will you be my foster child to replace my children that you killed?!

The second story reveals about a child who has returned from its exile, after a long time, he can escape from an era that full of inhumanity and live a free and decent life. He wants to return to his homeland for some time, to track the presence of his mother whom in a long time never had communication with him, and he himself does not attempt to contact her mother, because he still keeps the anger that mixed with curiosity. He wants to go back to meet his mother to ask why when he was arrested and tortured in front of his mother, his mother is only silenced, just looked at him without any expression in her face; whereas when the mother is tortured, this boy is screaming so his mother will not be tortured, let it be him. When he was face to face with his mother and asked her, his mother was still silent in thousand languages. Felt not responded, so this child expressed his angry and irritated. But his mother remained silent. Finally this child stood up, and said that he will return to his 'new' homeland and will not come back. Listening to this, his mother was only answered: "Go, and do not come back!" Listening to his mother, then this boy left, while still expressed his anger towards his mother to his assistant who assisted him. With wisdom, his assistant gives her responses: "Don't you understand your mother? What does her mean by acting like that? Can you understand, that she kept silent when you have been tortured, until both of you met, it is because she wanted the pain that she felt can be buried deeply for her self? That if she cried when you and she were tortured, that is what the perpetrators desired, as the sign of self-weaknesses? Your mother did not drive you out; it does not mean she did not admit you as her son any longer, but so you can start a new life just like what you have and feel right now!

Ladies,

The two stories above were only a little part of many stories of pain and poignant that women experienced as the result of violence, injustice, more over with many ways which did not show humanity. Those stories hopefully can add nuance of women's life experiences whose are in the same fate. Honestly, the two stories are more strengthening the answers that I gave when my children asked about the death of their grandfather whom they never met and only known from various stories. At that time, he was 8 years old and watched the movie of G30S/PKI until finish (so what it called at that time). After it finished, he asked me who were with him: "Mom, what is a communist? Was it them who killed eyang Toyo? (This question was in English because that was the language we use after several years live in abroad accompanied my husband/his father in duty). That question was brought up suddenly out of my thought, so it made me leap up and stunned for a while. For a while, I remained silent with spinning thought to find the right answer: "What should I say? What should I say to the 8-years old child? And how can I say it well, wisely, considering his age, he won't be satisfied with the answer I gave? Realizing this, then I said that the question is difficult to be answered immediately and I promised that one day I will answer it. After he felt asleep, I did a prayer and asked for enlightenment from Allah Swt. Fall out all degrees, knowledge and skills that I have already achieved and developed through the weary of education that has been taken. I also realized that my child was not asking for his self curiosity, because he possibly could get it from others. I realized that I was the one who been asked by Allah Swt, me as Nani, as a mother. What and how can I answer that question as a mother? And how can I answer it, if I am not finished with shock and feelings of inner struggle which is still in progress at that time? Basically, I am the one who were asked by Allah Swt.

This awareness also makes my self think, if and if I can answer it well and that opportunity I admitted was opened for me, because during this time, I was seen as the part of the winner group, the right group, then

how can I answer it if I put myself in position of the ladies who are in the opposite position, opposed? Can I answer it easily? Of course not! At this point, my recognition and appreciation for the ladies were started to develop: endurance, willpower, and patience in the post tragedy of life. Then I realized that 'heroism' is not derived as well as their parents' mistakes/political sin was not inherited. Allah Swt is not so easy in determining destiny of His creation.

Ladies,

What I want to say through those stories that there is the fact of a side, there is another voice that was aroused and claimed from ourselves as women, as mothers. The past can be remarked as the resistance between the losers and the winners, between the wrongs and the rights. This is a historical assessment that, of course, tends to be written by those who win. What often forget, even not written is how the history caused a tragedy and victims. Who become the victims? All of us, without exception! And this is a moral assessment! Because it means we have to rebuild the humans from the ruins of humanity itself. Women, as mothers, have contribution in deciding; from women that the moral voice, for the first time, was heard, when she raised her children in early life; is possibly the same voice that was listened to cut off the chains of violence and hatred.

I remember Raden Ajeng Kartini's words that were written in one of her mails: "to feel the pain, to feel the difficulty, is increasing the sense of humanity. Voice and attitude that were taken from those stories above are indeed different from one another, but out from the same source: women as mothers who bear the moral values of life and humanity.

Ladies,

The voices from those stories that I want to say, on this occasion, as a together reflection, without ignoring the voice that already exist. The voice that expressed through those stories does not have pretension as the absolute truth in expressing women's voice. There are many forms of

women's voices. But if there is something which can relate all of us, so that is women's life experiences with mothers' voices inside her.

Thanks for your willingness and openness to listen to my open letter. Insya Allah, we can meet to speak and listen for strengthening our together knitting. Hope Allah Swt will brighten the common sense and strain the conscience of those people who are unwilling to listen to our voices together in facing their own fears of the dark past. May Allah Swt bless us. Amen.

Phnom Penh, December 15th, 2006

Nani Nurrachman

4. MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS DIRECTIVE NO. 32 YEAR 1981 ON GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION OF FORMER DETAINEES AND FORMER CRIMINALS OF *G.30.S/PKI*

DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

FOREWORD

According with Government's policy, at the end of 1979 all detainees of *G.30.S/PKI* and some of criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* were released and returned into the middle of community. Along with the personality of Indonesia's nation which based on *Pancasila* whereas humanity is considered as a supreme value, so the residents who made mistakes and fallibilities of ideological political were tried to, so they will realize again on their mistakes and fallibilities.

Bring those residents into the community will be successful if community can accept them properly, so they can show their social responsibilities and good deeds into community, nation and country according with *Pancasila* and Constitutional 1945.

In the meantime, community guidance towards the creation of national stability in which social-political stability including one of elements in it and is a target that must be achieved for the succeed development. In order to guide political stability, the main program is to increase people's political awareness in positive meaning, especially awareness of the life of democracy of *Pancasila* that responsible and awareness of country's life regularly based on the constitution, which such thing is also expected on the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* whom have been already returned into community.

In the reality of history's journey, Indonesia's state and nation always undermine by left and right extreme movements. And as we known, left extreme movement has reached it tops with the national tragedy of *G.30.S/PKI* rebellion. That movement was cursed by all Indonesia's nation, because it contrary to *Pancasila* in which has been affirmed with *TAP MPRS No. XXV/66*, *TAP MPR No. V/73* and *TAP MPR No. IX/78* that dissolved the Communist Party of Indonesia (*Partai Komunis*

Indonesia) and prohibited the teaching of Communism – Marxism – Leninism across the region of the Republic of Indonesia.

Avoid the same incident to be repeated for the second time, government of *Orde Baru* through the Minister of Internal Affairs who is responsible on political guidance in the country, always try to watch over and break the left extreme movements, including latent danger of communist party of Indonesia in which obviously are in the stronghold of former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.

In series of those efforts, Minister of Internal Affairs issued the Instruction o. 32 Year 1981 also with the Implementation Guideline No. 188.52-3609 about Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and Former Criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.

The instruction is an effective and integrated policy of the Minister of Internal Affairs that forwarded to the subordinate echelons, to handle the Guidance and Supervision of Former Detainees and former Criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.

With the instruction, presumably can be used as a demography map, to oversee the mobility of former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* which in its turn will become a consideration in determining the next policy in order to break and avert the danger of Communism, Marxism and Leninism in Indonesia.

On behalf of Minister of Internal Affairs
Director – General Social – Political

Prpto Prajitno

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS DIRECTIVE

NO. 32 YEAR 1981

ABOUT

GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION OF

FORMER DETAINEES AND FORMER CRIMINALS OF *G.30.S/PKI*

MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

Consider : a. That communism remains a latent danger for the Indonesian nation and incompatible with the state ideology/philosophy of life of Indonesian nation;

b. That after the release of detainees of *G.30.S/PKI*, in the framework of national stability guidance (security and orderliness maintenance) especially in increasing awareness of the dangers that may arise as a result of the release, it needs to carry out the guidance and supervision on former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* who are in the middle of community;

c. That for the implementation of guidance and supervision of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* needs to set the Minister of Internal Affairs Directive.

Remember : 1. Presidential Decree Number 44 Year 1974 about the Principals of Department's Organization;

2. Presidential Decree Number 45 Year 1974 about the Formation of Department's Organization;

3. Law Number 5 Year 1974 about the Principals of Regional Government;

4. The Instruction of Implementation Number : JUKLAK-04/KOP KAM/II/1974, date February 21st, 1974 about the Supervision of Former Detainees and Former Criminals *G.30.S/PKI* who were returned to the community and the increasing of community's

awareness;

5. The Instruction of Implementation Number: JUKLAK-02/KOP KAM/VI/1980 about the Security Patterns of Life of *Pancasila* from the latent danger threats of communist;

INSTRUCTS

To : All the Governors of Regions in Indonesia

In order to :

First : To improve the implementation of guidance and supervision on former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* WHO DOMICILED in their respective regions.

Second : In the implementation of guidance and supervision to the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, conduct a cooperation and coordination with the Special Implementer of Commander-in-Command of Local Security and Orderliness also other Law Enforcers.

Third : Revoke the Instruction of Minister of Internal Affairs Number 3 Year 1968 jo. Number 16 Year 1969, to set the application of the Implementation Guidelines Number: 188.52-3609 about the Guidance and Supervision on Former Detainees and Former Criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* as attached.

Fourth : All cost that required in referred implementation, will be charged on the budget of state's revenue and expenditures.

Fifth : Report periodically the implementation and development of this Instruction.

Decided in : Jakarta

Date : August 22nd, 1981

MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS

AMIRMACHMUD.

Copies submitted to :

1. President of the Republic of Indonesia (as a report).
 2. *PANGKOPKAMTIB*
 3. *SEKJEN DEP. DALAM NEGERI* (GENERAL-SECRETARY OF MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS)
 4. *IRJEN DEP. DALAM NEGERI* (INSPECTORATE-GENERAL OF MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS)
 5. Director- General and Head of Units in the environment of Department of Internal Affairs
 6. Archive.
-

**DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

**ATTACHMENTS OF INSTRUCTION OF
MINISTER OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
NUMBER : 32 YEAR 1981 DATE 22-8-1981**

**IMPLEMENTATION GUIDELINES
NUMBER : 188.52 -- 3609**

ABOUT

**GUIDANCE AND SUPERVISION OF
FORMER DETAINEES AND FORMER CRIMINALS OF G.30.S/PKI**

I. PREFACE.

1. As we know that communism is really against *Pancasila* in which is the nation's life view and the state principle of Indonesia, so its dissemination and development activities are prohibited and qualified as subversion activity.
 2. Community thought that communism is an ideology which is carried out with an aggressive revolutionary movement, also used by its followers to justify themselves in its effort to seize power in any ways. The followers of communist ideology do not believe in Religion and *Ketuhanan Yang Maha Esa* (the Divinity of the Great One) (atheist).
 3. History has proved that the realization of communist concept in strategy, tactic, technique and its actions were dangerous to the safety and viability of nation and Indonesia which is based on *Pancasila*.
 4. The rest of *PKI* that recently in the latent stadium with strategy and tactic, also certain technique can consider that tried to reappear with a goal that does not change, i.e. to seize power and implement communism in Indonesia.
 5. With the implementation of legal process towards them who were involved in *G.30.S/PKI* and Government's policy to release and return the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* into the community, there is
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always the possibility that they will be used it for the efforts and activities in order to bring back *PKI* in Indonesia.

6. In effort to prevent those things, it needs to do, periodically, steps on guidance and supervision of former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, also to increase the community's awareness of the latent danger of communist.

II. BASICS

In order to conduct the guidance and supervision to the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, herewith the basics as follows:

1. Presidential Decree Number 44 Year 1974 about the Principals of Department's Organization;
 2. Presidential Decree Number 45 Year 1974 about the Formation of Department's Organization;
 3. Minister of Internal Affairs' Decree Number : 72 Year 1981 about Basic Tasks, Functions, and Organization's Formation of Ministry of Home Affairs;
 4. Law Number 5 Year 1974 about the Principals of Regional Government;
 5. The Instruction of Implementation of *KOPKAMTIB* Number: JUKLAK-04/KOPKAM/II/1974, date February 21st, 1974 about the Supervision of former Detainees and former Criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* who were returned to the community and the increasing of community's awareness;
 6. The Instruction of Implementation of *KOPKAMTIB* Number: JUKLAK-02/KOPKAM/VI/1980 date June 26th, 1980 about the Security Patterns of Life of *Pancasila* from the Latent Danger Threats of Communist;
 7. Presidential Decree Number : 28 Year 1975 about the treatment towards those who were involved in *G.30.S/PKI* Group C jo. *PANGKOPKAMTIB*'s Decree Number : K-19/KOPKAM/I/1978, date January 11th, 1978 about the Guidance and Supervision of former Criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* who were returned to the community;
 8. Letter of Minister of Internal Affairs Number : Pem.19/2/26 date June 30th, 1978 about the further instructions on the implementation of the citizen's registration;
 9. Letter of telegram of *PANGKOPKAMTIB* Number : STR-33/KOPKAM/III/1975 jo. Letter of Telegram of *PANGKOPKAMTIB* Number : STR-109/KOPKAM/VIII/1979;
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10. Letter of telegram of *PANGKOPKAMTIB* Number : STR-110/KOPKAM/VI/1978 date June 22nd, 1978.

III. PURPOSE AND GOAL

This instruction of implementation is used for :

1. As the guidance and supervision for Officials of Local Government in implementing its tasks and obligations related to the return and liberation of detainees and criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* to the community, also in order to increase the guidance and supervision towards them.
2. Directing efforts and activities in the implementation of guidance and supervision towards former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, so it can be known clearly to which the development and their adaptation process in life in the community.

IV. PRINCIPALS OF POLICY

1. General :

- a. That the sustainability of *Pancasila* and the journey safety of nation and state of Indonesia in reaching its ideal, that is fairly and prosperous community based on *Pancasila* from the threats of communist latent danger, it still has to enforce and fight for. Therefore, symptoms and activities that estimated can be possibly brought back the communist/*PKI*, it must be prevented and destroyed.
 - b. Government's Policy in returning and releasing the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* to the community in which was predicted can increase the possibility of the reappearance of communist/*PKI*, should be accompanied with the efforts of guidance and supervision that directed and continued.
 - c. Government's Policy that based on principle of humanness gives opportunity and freedom to the former detainees and former criminals *G.30.S/PKI*, however for them, it is important to give guidance and supervision on the development and life adaptation process in the community.
 - d. Basically, the treatment for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* after return to the community, it is the same with other
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residents, but to keep things that are not desired, it needs the guidance and supervision in their daily life, such as attitude, behaviour, act and activities in terms of socio-political, socio-cultural and socio-economic.

- e. Although the guidance and supervision of former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* were addressed to the performance of endurance and national stability, but in the implementation, it should be carried out with flexible and effective ways, so it can help positively towards the achievement their lives adaptation process in living in the community.
- f. The implementation of guidance and supervision of former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, basically in the hands of Government Apparatus, assisted by means of state's law enforcer and community in which it coordinated.

2. The Characteristics of Guidance and Supervision

- a. The guidance and supervision that has general characteristic, are the guidance and supervision as implemented towards all residents in general, just in this matter, there is a certain emphasis in the terms of residents'/citizen's administration.
- b. The guidance and supervision that has a special characteristic are the guidance and supervision that valid for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* who are in the community, with the limitations in certain spaces.

3. The Objective of the Guidance and Supervision

The objective of the guidance and supervision is the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.

4. The Implementer of the Guidance and Supervision

The implementation of the guidance and supervision toward the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* hold by the Local Government with its apparatus, work together with *LAKSUS PANGKOPKAMTIB* and others law enforcers.

V. IMPLEMENTATION

1. The Sector of Guidance

In order to accelerate the transformation of mental attitude of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* from the communist

orientation/*PKI* to the *Pancasila* and Constitution 1945 orientation, it needs to do the effective and sustainable guidance on religious sector (religious life), mental sector (state's ideology) and physical sector (social and economy), so they have awareness and resilience:

- a. As followers of God The Great One,
- b. As political human of *Pancasila*,
- c. As economics human of *Pancasila*,
- d. As cultural human of *Pancasila*, and
- e. As the citizens of Indonesia who are kind and sturdy (*pinaka baladika*).

The implementation of the guidance for the formers detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, as follows :

- a. At the Level of Region Provincial Level I, Governor acts as the coordinator and supervisor of the implementer of the guidance in which in its implementation can appoint the Official who is functionally handle the problems.
 - b. At the Level of District/Local Municipality Level II/Administrative City, Regent/Mayor acts as the coordinator and supervisor of the implementer of the guidance in which in its implementation can appoint the Official who is functionally handle the problems.
 - c. At the Level of Sub-district, the Head of the Sub-district (*Camat*) acts as the coordinator and supervisor of the implementer of the guidance by working together with local *TRIPIDA*. The forms and natures (methods) of the guidance are, *Santiaji Santikrama* in forms of groups per Sub-district that was hold periodically minimum one times in one month.
 1. The spiritual sector, its forms and natures are the deepening of religion's teaching that aimed to create God's followers who are loyal and godly.
 2. The mental sector, its forms and natures are *Santiaji Santikrama* with the materials of *Pancasila*, Constitution 1945, the Big Line of State's Directions (*Garis-garis Besar Haluan Negara*) and speeches.
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3. The physical sector, in forms of education and skill and provision of the employment opportunities.
 4. As long as the situation of the Region enables them to join in social activities (*PKK* and others).
- d. At the Level of *Kelurahan/Village* or with the same level, the *Lurah/Village* chief with the help from Head of *RW/RK/RT* has responsible to arrange the guidance which is in general aimed to life/daily mental attitude in the neighbourhood of local *RW/RK/RT*, that is in the case :
1. The resident's mental attitude towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
 2. The mental attitude of the fellow residents.
 3. The attitudes of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in daily social life.
 4. The effort activities in the sectors of socio-economy, socio-cultural and socio-political.

2. The Sector of Supervision

In order to prevent the possibility of reappearing communist/*PKI* in Indonesia, so Government's policy to release and return the detainees and criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* to the community needs to be synchronized with supervision actions such as administration, domicile changes, travel in the country, travel abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*), jobs, social activities (socio-economic, socio-cultural, socio-political), ideological mental attitude.

The implementation of supervision towards former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, as follows :

- a. At the Level of Region Provincial Level I, Governor of the Region do :
 - 1) Coordinate the implementation of supervision towards former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in the region.
 - 2) Carry out the coordination with the concerned Governor of the Region in order to give approval on the request of domicile changes inter-Provinces for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
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- 3) Give permission of domicile changes to other Provinces for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: G.1.
 - 4) Carry out the coordination with local *LAKSUSDA* in order to give approval on the request of travelling abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
 - 5) Give permission of travelling abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: G.2.
 - 6) Receive lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* from Regent/Mayor in their respective regions to the amount of 2 (two) exemplars. Make recapitulation on those lists by using the model form: B.2 and forward it to Minister of Internal Affairs along with 1 (one) exemplar of the mentioned list of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
- b. At the Level of District/Local Municipality Level II/Administrative City, Regent/Mayor do :
- 1) Coordinate the implementation of the supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in their regions.
 - 2) Carry out the coordination with the concerned Regent/Mayor in order to give approval on the request of domicile changes inter-District/Local Municipality/Administrative City in one Province for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
 - 3) Give permission of domicile changes to District/Local Municipality/Administrative City in one Province for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: G.1.
 - 4) Receive from the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*), the request of domicile changes inter-Provinces of the former detainees and
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former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, examine those requests and forward it to Governor of the Region by using the model form: C.

- 5) Receive from the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*), the requests of travelling abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, then examine those requests and forward it to Governor of the Region, by using the model form: C.
- 6) Receive lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* from the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*) in their respective regions to the amount of 3 (three) exemplars. Make recapitulation on those lists by using the model form: B.2 and forward it to Governor of the Region along with 2 (two) exemplars of the mentioned lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.

c. At the Level of Sub-district, the Head of Sub-district do :

- 1) Coordinate the implementation of supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in their regions.
 - 2) Carry out the coordination with the concerned Head of Sub-district (*Camat*) in order to give approval on the request of domicile changes inter-Sub-districts in one District for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
 - 3) Give permission of domicile changes to other Sub-districts in one District for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: G.1.
 - 4) Receive from *Lurah*/Village Chief, the request of domicile changes inter-Districts and inter-Provinces of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, examine those requests and forward it to Regent/Mayor by using the model form: C.
 - 5) Receive from *Lurah*/Village Chief, the requests of travelling abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, then examine those requests and forward it to Regent/Mayor, by using the model form: C.
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- 6) Receive lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* from *Lurah/Village* Chief in their respective regions to the amount of 4 (four) exemplars. Make recapitulation on those lists by using the model form: B.2 and forward it to Regent/Mayor along with 3 (three) exemplars of the mentioned lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
- d. At the Level of *Kelurahan/Village*, *Lurah/Village* Chief do:
- 1) Carry out the supervision in general and specific towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in their regions.
 - 2) Perform the administration control for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* including:
 - a. Make a cartotic by using the model form: A.
 - b. Code inclusion – ET on Identity Card of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*. In putting the code – ET, it done quietly.
 - c. Make lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in the regions by using the model form: B.1 doubled 5 (five).
 - d. Send the lists of the number of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* to the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*) in doubled 4 (four), by using the model form: B.1.
 - 3) Carry out the process of domicile changes for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* including:
 - a. Receive the requests of domicile changes by using the model form: D.1.
 - b. Carry out the coordination with the concerned *Lurah/Village* Chief in order to give approval of domicile changes of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* inter-*Kelurahan/Village* in one Sub-district.
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- c. Give permission of domicile changes to other *Kelurahan/Village* for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: G.1.
 - d. Forward it to the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*), the requests of domicile changes inter-Sub-districts/Districts/Local Municipality/Administrative City/Province for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: C.
- 4) Give permission of travelling abroad for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* who leave the *Kelurahan/Village* of their domiciles more than 7 (seven) days by using the model form: G.3.
- 5) Carry out the process of travelling abroad, including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, including :
- a. Receive the requests of travelling abroad including hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* by using the model form: D.2.
 - b. Examine the requests of travelling abroad by observing the requirements as follows:
 - i. The requester did not participate/active in political sector
 - ii. Have a job.
 - iii. Have a *konduite*, either given by *Lurah/Village Chief* by using the model form: E.
 - iv. Have a written guarantee from someone/agency which is accountable, that the individual concerned will be back to the origin region/domicile, will not do travelling to the other countries or cities, except the purposed place, also to not do the forbidden activities.
 - c. Specifically for hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*), needs to see requirements as follows :
 - i. Qualify the religious requirements.
 - ii. Not participate/not active in political sector.
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- iii. At least 2 (two) years have been freed and received *Santiaji* from the local Official or Officer.
- iv. Have a job.
- v. Have a *konduite*, either given by *Lurah*/Village Chief by using the model form: E.
- vi. Have a written statement that strengthened by a guarantor to return to origin Region/domicile and will not travel to other Countries or cities, the model form: F.
- d. Forward to the Head of Sub-district (*Camat*), the request of travelling abroad/hajj pilgrimage (*ibadah haji*) from the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* along with the annexes such as *konduite* and a letter of guarantee/statement, by using the model form: C.
- 6) Carry out the working limitation for the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* as follows :
 - a. Nature of the work that can be used to influence other, either directly or indirectly for the development of communism, such as work as Teacher/Lecturer, Priest, Puppeteer, Legal Aid Foundation, Reporter and so on.
 - b. The work implementation that is the concentration power like a company which almost its workers consist of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
- 7) Prevent the social activities from the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in which it might disturb in socio-political, socio-economic, socio-cultural and *KAMTIBMAS* sectors.
- 8) Prevent mental attitudes of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in which may be threatened and endanger the sustainability of *Pancasila* ideology and Constitution 1945.

VI. The Cost of Implementation

All the cost that needed in the implementation of the guidance and supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* is charged to the Budget's of State's Revenue and Expenditure.

VII. Miscellaneous

1. If in implementing the guidance and supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, there are some cases, the concerned Official ought to report to the higher Echelon Officials and carry out the coordination with *LAKSUS* and *Polri*.
2. Every three months, the concerned Official should report to the higher Echelon Officials about the implementation of the guidance and supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*.
3. In order to carry out the guidance and supervision towards the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI*, the concerned Official always need to hold a consultation, either horizontally or vertically.
4. The concerned Official in any times can hold a direct examine towards the implementation of guidance and supervision of the former detainees and former criminals of *G.30.S/PKI* in their regions.

VIII. Closing

Therefore this guidance guideline was created to be conducted well.

Issued in Jakarta

On date : 22-8-1981

Minister of Internal Affairs

Amirmachmud

**5A PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NUMBER 16 YEAR 1990 : SPECIAL
CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY FOR CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE REPUBLIC
OF INDONESIA**

0559/2005 P-1990-NAS-DOK-0559

COPY

**PRESIDENT
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

**PRESIDENTIAL DECREE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
NUMBER 16 YEAR 1990**

**ABOUT
SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY FOR THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF
THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

- Consider** : a. that in the implementation of the national development which is increasing, it needs steps to safe it from all threats, challenges, obstacles and interferences, and at the same time providing a guarantee for maintaining the national stability in order to achieve the national development goals;
- b. that by noticing the roles of Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia in the Implementation of the national development, it also needs effort to continuously maintain and stabilize trustiness and obedience of the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia towards *Pancasila*, Constitution 1945, State and Government;
- c. that steps on maintain and stabilize trustiness and obedience of the State Apparatus towards *Pancasila*, Constitution 1945, State and Government, while the efforts to increase the national
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awareness towards threats, challenges, obstacles and interferences from the communist latent danger;

- d. that with respect to it, and has been associated with the establishment of the Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security, it needs to specify provision about the special conditions of inquiry for the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia on their involvements in *G.30.S/PKI* and other forbidden organizations;

- Remember** : 1. Article 4 subsection (1) Constitution 1945;
2. Law Number 8 Year 1974 about the Principals of Officialdom (State' Sheet Year 1974 Number 55, Additional State' Sheet Number 3041);
3. Law Number 2 Year 1988 about the Soldiers of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia (State Sheet Year 1988 Number 4, Additional State Sheet Number 3369);
4. Presidential Decree Number 29 Year 1988 about the Agency For Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security;

DECIDE

By revoking the Presidential Decree Number 300 Year 1968;

- Determine** : **PRESIDENTIAL DECREE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA ABOUT THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY FOR THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA.**

Article 1

In this Presidential Decree, the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia, hereinafter called Civil Servants, are the Civil Servants and the Soldiers of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

Article 2

- (1) For receiving new Civil Servants, it has to conduct special conditions, that the applicants do not involve in *Gerakan 30 September*/Communist Party of Indonesia and forbidden organizations which related to it, furthermore in this Presidential Decree was abbreviated as *G.30.S/PKI* and other forbidden organizations.
- (2) For receiving new Soldiers of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia, the Commander of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia can decide additional requirements based on needs.
- (3) The fulfilment of provisions referred to the subsection (1) and subsection (2) is part of the fulfilment of the receiving requirements as specified in Law about Officialdom and Law about the Soldiers of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia along with its implementing regulations.

Article 3

The special conditions will be conducted again if then obtain new evidences or clues about the involvement of the applicants of Civil Servants or related Civil Servants in *G.30.S/PKI* and other forbidden organizations.

Article 4

The result of special conditions as referred to in Article 2 and Article 3 is also used as materials whenever consider promotion of the Civil Servants in certain position.

Article 5

- (1) The special conditions as stipulated in this Presidential Decree were held functionally by the Department, or the Non-Department Government Institution, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Agencies, or the concerned Local Government.
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- (2) The conditions of inquiry as referred to in subsection (1) was held by the implementer official who are appointed and dismissed by the Minister or Head of Non-Department Government Institutions, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Institutions, or the concerned Governor/Regent/Mayor Head of Region by still noticing the career guidance of the implementer official.
- (3) Minister, or Head of Non-Department Government Institutions, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Institutions, or the concerned Governor/Regent/Mayor Head of Region are responsible in the implementation of the special conditions at it mentioned in subsection (1).

Article 6

- (1) In the matter of clues about the involvement of Civil Servants in *G.30.S/PKI* and other forbidden organizations, the Minister, or Head of Non-Department Government Institutions, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Institutions, or the Governor/Regent/Mayor Head of Region send the result of special conditions to the Commander of the Soldiers of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the Head of the Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security (*BAKORSTANAS*) in order to coordinate the determination of groupings or classifications of their involvements.
 - (2) Minister, or Head of Non-Department Government Institutions, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Institutions, or the Governor/Regent/Mayor Head of Region determine the groupings or classifications of the Civil Servants' involvement in *G.30.S/PKI* and other forbidden organizations, also to take actions based on applied
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legislations in accordance with the groupings or classifications.

- (3) The Commander of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia take actions as referred to in subsection (2) if the concerned Civil Servant is a soldier of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia.

Article 7

- (1) The implementation guidance of special conditions in Department, or the Non-Department Government Institution, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Agencies, or the Local Government held by the Commander of Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the Head of *BAKORSTANAS*.
- (2) In the matter of guidance as referred to subsection (1), the Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the Head of *BAKORSTANAS* use the organization units in the environment of the Headquarters of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia in which all this time functionally carry out the centralized administration in sectors of controlling and cleaning of Government/State Apparatus from *G.30.S/PKI*.

Article 8

In the matter of guidance as referred to Article 7 subsection (1), the Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the Head of *BAKORSTANAS* determine its implementation guidelines.

Article 9

Concerning the Civil Servant in which based on the conditions of inquiry result that apparently get involved in the movement as referred to Article 2 subsection (1), will take the administrative measure.

Article 10

All cost that be needed for the conditions of inquiry implementation in which was stipulated in this Presidential Decree was charged to the budget of the Department, Non-Department Government Institution, or the Secretarial of State Highest/High Institutions, or other Government Agencies, or the concerned Local Government.

Article 11

- (1) All the results of the controlling and cleaning of the Government/State Apparatus that related with *G.30.S/PKI* in which have been there before this Presidential Decree, stated remain valid.
- (2) The results of the controlling and cleaning as referred to subsection (1) used as the consideration materials to decide the result of the special conditions based on this Presidential Decree.
- (3) The guidance of documents and files on the results of the controlling and cleaning as referred to subsection (1) and the results of the special conditions as referred to Article 2 was held in centralized by the organization units in the environment of the Headquarter of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as referred to Article 7 subsection (2).

Article 12

- (1) The provision about the special conditions as stipulated in this Presidential Decree was also valid for :
 - a. filtering or suggesting the promotion of the State official, as part of the requirements that was determined in the legislations that stipulated it;
 - b. the employees of state-or-region-owned certain business entities that defined by the Minister or
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Governor /Regent/Mayor Head of Region who guided it.

(2) The implementation of the special conditions as referred to in:

- a. subsection (1) letter (a) stipulated by the Commander of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia as the Head of *BAKORSTANAS*;
- b. subsection (1) letter (b) held by the official who appointed by the concerned Minister or Governor/Mayor/Regent Head of the Region.

Article 13

The provision about these special conditions is also applied towards the Civil Servant who by the valid of this Presidential Decree was never held the conditions of inquiry based on the Presidential Decree Number 300 Year 1968.

Article 14

This Presidential Decree came into force on the date specified.

Defined in Jakarta

On date April 17th, 1990

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Signed

SOEHARTO

The copy is accordance with its origin

The Secretariat Cabinet of the Republic of Indonesia

Head of Legal Bureau and Legislations

Bambang Kesowo, S.H., LL.M.

**5B PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NUMBER 39 YEAR 2000 : THE
REVOCATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NUMBER 16 YEAR 1990
ABOUT THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY FOR THE CIVIL
SERVANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

**PRESIDENTIAL DECREE OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA
NUMBER 39 YEAR 2000
ABOUT
THE REVOCATION OF PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NUMBER 16 YEAR 1990
ABOUT
THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY FOR THE CIVIL SERVANTS
OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA**

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

- Consider** : a. that Indonesia is a law country, therefore every citizens of Indonesia has the same position in law and government including in the activities of acceptance and guidance of civil servants;
- b. that the activity of special conditions in the acceptance and guidance of civil servants that carried out; was based on the Presidential Decree Number 16 Year 1990 that was aimed for looking information related with the involvement of an applicant or civil servants in *Gerakan 30 September/PKI* or other forbidden organizations;
- c. that the activity of special conditions as referred to letter (b) is not appropriate with the principle of law country, therefore it needs to be vanished;
- d. that in accordance with those things in letter (a), (b), and (c), it needed to revoke the Presidential Decree Number 16 Year 1990 about the Special Conditions of Inquiry for the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia;

Remember : Article 4 subsection (1) Constitution 1945;

DECIDE :

**Determine : PRESIDENTIAL DECREE ABOUT THE REVOCATION
OF THE PRESIDENTIAL DECREE NUMBER 16 YEAR
1990 ABOUT THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF INQUIRY
FOR THE CIVIL SERVANTS OF THE REPUBLIC OF
INDONESIA.**

Article 1

To revoke the Presidential Decree Number 16 Year 1990 about the Special Conditions of Inquiry for the Civil Servants of the Republic of Indonesia.

Article 2

This Presidential Decree came into force on the date specified.

Defined in Jakarta

On date March 10th, 2000

PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

Signed

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID

**6 DECREE NUMBER KEP-009/KOPKAM/2/1969: THE ESTABLISHMENT
OF BURU ISLAND AS A TEMPORARY RESIDENCE FOR PRISONERS
DETAINED IN RELATION TO THE 1965 TRAGEDY**

TRANSCRIPT

**THE COMMAND OF RECOVERY OPERATION
OF SECURITY AND ORDERLINESS**

DECREE

Number : KEP-009/KOPKAM/2/1969

**THE COMMANDER OF THE COMMAND OF RECOVERY OPERATION
OF SECURITY AND ORDERLINESS**

CONSIDER :

1. That the activity of *G.30.S/PKI* elements in the community especially in Java Island is still continues, so it needs to take security measures that more intensive, either towards persons of *G.30.S/PKI* who are still in the community, or who are in the detention places.
2. That therefore it needs to decide the Buru Island as a temporary residence for the prisoners of *G.30.S/PKI*.
3. That therefore it needs to appoint the Attorney General to carry out the relocation/preservation of the prisoners of *G.30.S/PKI* in Buru Island.

CONSIDER :

1. Decree of *M.P.R.S.* (Temporary of People's Consultative Assembly) Number XLIII/MPRS/1968;
2. Presidential Decree Number 179/KOTI/1965 about the establishment of *KOPKAMTIB*.

DECIDE :

DETERMINE :

1. The Buru Island as a temporary residence for the prisoners of *G.30.S/PKI* group “B”.
2. Appoint the Attorney General to carry out the relocation, preservation and utilization of the prisoners of *G.30.S/PKI* in that island.
3. The cost of this Decree is on the budget that was allocated for the High Attorney.
4. In carrying out this Decree, the Attorney General is responsible to *PANGKOPKAMTIB*.
5. This Decree came into force on the date specified.

Defined in Jakarta

On date : Feb 26th, 1969

On behalf of THE COMMANDER OF
THE COMMAND OF RECOVERY
OPERATION
OF SECURITY AND ORDERLINESS

CO-COMMANDER

Signed

M. PANGGABEAN

GENERAL – *TNI*

(INDONESIAN NATIONAL ARMY)

TO :

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

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For the transcript

SECRETARY OF *KOPKAMTIB*

Signed

BOEDIJONO

BRIG. GEN - *TNI*

8 MAP: THE LOCATION OF DETENTION AND INTERROGATION IN SOLO

1. POLICE OFFICE SECTION I BARON

ADDRESS: Polsektabes Laweyan, Jl. Dr. Rajiman No. 343, Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

Before the 1965 Tragedy: Police Office Section I Baron – Laweyan.

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: A detention and interrogation place for political detainees who come from the sub-district of Laweyan – Surakarta.

Now: Police Office of Big City Sector of Laweyan.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

On January 1st, 1965, the amount of political detainees was increasing, so that they have to sleep in crowd inside of the four cells, even some of the political detainees have to sleep in sitting position at the office yard.

FORMS OF VIOLENCE:

1. The arbitrary detention
2. The torture in interrogation process (was aimed to gain confessions)
3. The force elimination
4. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard

2. POLICE OFFICE SECTION II BANJARSARI

ADDRESS: Polsektabes Banjarsari, Jl. R.A. Kartini No. 65, Surakarta, Telp. 644400.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: A detention and interrogation place, especially for political detainees who came from the sub-district of Banjarsari and Serangan.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: Police.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The arbitrary detention, torture in interrogation process, sexual violence towards women political detainees during the interrogation (insert the barrel of fire weapon into vagina), force elimination towards some political detainees.
2. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

3. *PUL BUS EVA/GPTP*

4. *KANDANG MENJANGAN*

5. *MARKAS AURI PANASAN*

6. LOJI GANDRUNG

ADDRESS: Jl. Slamet Riyadi, Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: After the arrest of the Mayor Oetomo Ramelan, the foyer of Loji Gandrung was used as the interrogation place.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE INTERROGATION PLACE:

Mass organization, such as *Masyumi* and *GPTP* (*Gerakan Pelaksana Tjita-Tjita Proklamasi*); organization that was formed by ex- members of Students' Soldiers) and Military.

VIOLENCE:

1. The interrogation by the non-authorities.
2. The torture in interrogation process (was aimed to gain confessions).

7. STATE SECURITY POLICE DEPARTMENT OFFICE

ADDRESS: Polisi Wilayah Surakarta, Jl. Brigjen Slamet Riyadi, No. 376, Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: A detention and interrogation place of women and men political detainees.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: Police.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The torture during the interrogation process (was aimed to gain confessions)
2. The torture out of the interrogation process: sexual violence: the camp's authority yelled at the political detainees, especially towards women political detainees, with dirty words.
3. The rape of political detainees and children of political detainees.
4. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

8. CITY HALL OF SURAKARTA AND MEETING ROOM OF *DPRD* LEVEL II SURAKARTA

ADDRESS: Jl. Arifin, Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon, Solo – Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: The detention and interrogation place.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: *RPKAD*, The authority of local military of Central Java was helped by some paramilitary groups.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

All the political detainees who arrested in the City Hall were men. It does not clear precisely how many their numbers are. But there was a testimony from a political detainee, while he was moved to *Sasono Mulyo* in December 1st, 1965; they were transported with many military trucks. Some political detainees were arrested directly in City Hall after been caught. Some others have been arrested for a while in the temporary detention places, such as *Hanra* posts, *kelurahan*, *kecamatan* (sub-districts), or, in police offices before moved to City Hall.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The arbitrary detention.
 2. The torture during the interrogation process (was aimed to gain confessions).
 3. The torture out of interrogation process.
 4. The force elimination towards the political detainees.
-

5. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

9. BUILDING OF *UPKS*

ADDRESS: Jl. Arifin, Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon, Solo – Surakarta. Located inside the complex of Church St. Antonius Purbayan, on the south side of the church building, in front of BNI '46 building. On the south side of *UPKS* building, there is a city hall building.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

The military authority changed the function of *UPKS* campus to become a head-quarter of *Tim Pemeriksa Pembantu (Timperban)*, Surakarta, also as a detention and interrogation place since second term of October 1965 until the middle of 1968. The first floor was used as the detention place for the women; meanwhile upper floor was used as the interrogation place. It is possible in 1966/7, some men political detainees who will be released was moved first to the *UPKS* former building and was placed in cribs that was built on the back of the building.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: *Timperban* was helped by guard troops. *Timperban* consists of elements: *CPM*, retired *CPM*, *GPTP*, attorney, police, *Kodim*, *LP*, and *Mahasura (Resimen Mahasiswa Surakarta/Students' Regiment of Surakarta)*. The guard troops in this detention place were changed all the time from the Police, Army, Air Forces, with help from *Manra*, *KAMI*, and *KAPPI*.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

All detainees in *UPKS* building were women political detainees. The amount was approximately 200 people. The military authority detained all women political detainees with accusation of become members of *Gerwani*, go to Jakarta, get military training, and get involved in the murder of generals in Lubang Buaya. The political detainees were often drawn for interrogating, in other places, such as *CPM* head-quarter. Four political detainees were drawn from *UPKS* detention and then disappeared.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The arbitrary detention.
2. The torture, rape and sexual assault during the interrogation process (was aimed to gain confessions and to mention names/show their partners).
3. The torture out of the interrogation process.
4. The drawn and force elimination towards four women political detainees, it was possible in the end of December 1965.
5. The forced labours.
6. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

10. HEAD-QUARTERS OF MILITARY POLICE OF MILITARY AREA IV OF DIPONEGORO DETASEMEN IV/4 SURAKARTA

ADDRESS: Jl. Arifin, Kecamatan Pasar Kliwon, Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

In October 1965 until at least May 1968, the head-quarter of *CPM* Surakarta became the office of *Teperca* (*Tim Pemeriksa Cabang*) Surakarta, also the detention and interrogation place of the political detainees from Surakarta and Klaten.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: *Teperca* Surakarta.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

Beside as the detention place, the head-quarters of *CPM* were also functioned as the interrogation place for the political detainees from Surakarta and Klaten.

Teperca was not only interrogating the political detainees who arrested in the head-quarters of *CPM* Surakarta, but also the political detainees who drawn from other detention places, such as from the city hall of Surakarta or from *LP* Surabaya.

The numbers of detainees who were arrested in the head-quarters of *CPM* were not known in definite. But one of the women political detainees said that she was arrested in one room with almost 50 people.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The arbitrary detention.
-

2. The torture, rape and sexual assault during the interrogation process (to gain confessions/force the political detainees to sign *BAP*).
3. The torture out of the interrogation process: forced labours (at least) for men political detainees.
4. The force elimination and/or the possibility of brief execution, at least towards five political detainees.
5. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

11. *PAMARDI KARYA*

ADDRESS: Pajang Laweyan.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

After the 1965 Tragedy: An investigation and detention place for the suspected of *PKI* or *G.30.S*.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: *RPKAD*.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

Political detainees who arrested in *Pamardi Karya* were those who came from Solo, either men or women. For the women political detainees, *Pamardi Karya* camp can be called as the transit camp. Because after arrested in this camp, the women political detainees was sent to *Plantungan* camp.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

The arrest and detention is out of the law procedures.

12. CORRECTIONAL INSTITUTION OF SURAKARTA (*LEMBAGA PEMASYARAKATAN SURAKARTA*)

ADDRESS: Rutan Negara Klas I, Jl. Slamet Riyadi 16 Surakarta, Telp. (0271) 642220/632530.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: A prison for men and women political detainees, beside as a prison for criminal criminals.

Now: A prison for criminal criminals.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: Military was assisted by the *LP* staffs.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

Political detainees in *LP* Surakarta especially were those who considered as the figures or leaders of organizations or government, including Mayor of Surakarta, Oetomo Ramelan.

On August 24th, 1970, some of the political detainees in *LP* Solo, were moved to *LP* Nusakambangan and then removed to the Buru Island.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The arbitrary detention
2. The political detainees in *LP* Surakarta were often drawn for interrogating in other places.
3. The torture out of interrogation process.
4. The force elimination.
5. The force labours.
6. The distribution of life allotment (meals and accommodation) is under the minimum standard.

13. SASONO MULYO

ADDRESS: Kecamatan Baluwarti, Surakarta. Located in the region of *Kraton Surakarta*, in the west side is *Pintu Gapit*; the north side is *Bangsas Kemandungan*.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

Before the 1965 Tragedy: It was the official residence of prince of *Kasuhanan Surakarta*.

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: Since December 1st, 1965 until May 30th, 1967, *Sasono Mulyo* is became a relocation camp for men political detainees.

Now: *Sasono Mulyo* is often rented as a place for events, such as weddings.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: Military.**POLITICAL DETAINEES:**

All political detainees who arrested in *Sasono Mulyo* camp were men who may considers by the military authority as not one of the ‘left’ organization’ figures. On March 9th, 1966, based on the camp administration records, the number of detainees who arrested in that place is 1931 people. They were divided in 33 groups.

TORTURE IN THE DETENTION PLACE:

1. The political detainees of *Sasono Mulyo* were often drawn for interrogating and tortured in other places, such as in the City Hall.
2. The force elimination.
3. The force labours.
4. The life facility is under the minimum standard.

14. POLICE OFFICE SERENGAN**BUILDING FUNCTION:**

Before the 1965 Tragedy: Police Office of Serengan Sector.

After the 1965 Tragedy: After the 1965 Tragedy, police office of Serengan Sector was used for arresting the political detainees. The limited space did not enable this police office to arrest, the political detainees then were arrested in one of inhabitants’ house in which its location is next to the police office Serengan.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE DETENTION PLACE: Police.**POLITICAL DETAINEES:**

Political detainees who got caught and arrested were those who came from Solo in general or those who domiciled in Kelurahan Serengan, specifically.

**15. OFFICE OF PUBLIC HEALTH – COMMAND OF *MALARIA*
ERADICATION (*KOMANDO PEMBERANTASAN MALARIA*)**

ADDRESS: Jl. Slamet Riyadi, Laweyan – Surakarta.

BUILDING FUNCTION:

Before the 1965 Tragedy: The Office of Public Health – Command of *Malaria* Eradication.

When the 1965 Tragedy happens: An interrogation and torture place for the political detainees of 1965.

Now: Grand Mall Solo.

POLITICAL DETAINEES:

Political detainees were drawn from other detention places, such as Section I Baron. They were carried with vehicles in closed eyes.

VIOLENCE:

The torture during the interrogation process (to gain confessions), in forms of beating (target: face; back part of the body; hands were ordered to put on the table then be beaten).

Department of the Army
Directorate of Health
Central Hospital

Copy of Copy

Visum et Repertum
Number: H. 103

At the orders of the KOSTRAD COMMANDER as COMMANDER OF THE OPERATION FOR THE RESTORATION OF SECURITY AND ORDER to the HEAD OF THE CENTRAL ARMY HOSPITAL in Jakarta, by written instruction per October 4, 1965 number PRIN-03/10/65, signed by Major-General TNI SOEHARTO, transmitted by the HEAD OF THE CENTRAL ARMY HOSPITAL to us the undersigned:

1. ROEBIONO KERTOPATI, doctor, Brigadier-General TNI, senior officer seconded to the Central Army Hospital.
2. FRANS PATTIASINA, doctor, Colonel, Army Medical Corps Nrp. 14253, Health Officer of the Central Army Hospital.
3. SUTOMO TJOKRONEGORO, doctor, Professor at the Medical Faculty of the University of Indonesia, expert in Pathology and Forensic Medicine.
4. LIAUW YAN SIANG, doctor, Lecturer in Forensic Medicine, University of Indonesia.
5. LIM JOE THAY, doctor, Lecturer in Forensic Medicine, University of Indonesia.

At from 4:30 p.m., October 4, 1965 to 12:30 a.m. October 5, 1965, in the Dissection Room of the Central Army Hospital, Jakarta, have carried out an external examination of a corpse [djenazah] which, according to the above-mentioned written order, is the corpse of:

Name: ACHMAD YANI.
Age/Birth Date: 43.
Born: 19 - 6 - 1922.
Sex: Male.
Nationality: Indonesian.
Religion: Islam.
Rank: Lieutenant-General TNI.
Office: Minister/Commander of the Army/Chief of Staff of Koti.
Address: Taman Suropati 10, Jakarta.

Victim of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965, during what is called the affair of the "September 30th Movement."

The corpse [majat] was identified by Major SOEDARTO of the Military Police Corps, adjutant to the Minister/Commander of the Army, and by Colonel ABDULLAH HASAN of the Army Medical Corps, personal physician to the Minister/Commander of the Army, as the corpse of Lieutenant-General ACHMAD YANI by the scar on the back of the left hand and by the clothes, as well as by an extra, conical tooth in the middle of the upper front row (mesiodens).

Results of the external examination are as follows:

The corpse was clothed as follows:

- a. blueish pyjama bottoms with a dark blue vertical seam. On the left front of these pyjama bottoms, 15 cm below the upper hem and 6 cm from the outside seam, there was a hole one and a half centimeters square. Around it were a number of smaller holes scattered across an area measuring 19 cm by 11 cm. On the left front also, 2 cm below the upper hem and 12 cm from the outside seam, was a hole measuring 8 mm by 9 mm. On the right front of the pyjama bottoms, 6 cm from the upper hem and 5 cm from the outside seam, was a curving tear one and a half cm long.
 - b. a pair of Standard Master 32 underpants. At the upper front hem, exactly by the buttons, was a tear measuring one and a half by one and a half centimeters. The brand-mark was pierced. On the left front, 3 cm below the upper hem, 8 1/2 cm from the buttons, was a hole measuring 1 1/2 by 1 cm. On the left front, 17 cm from the upper hem and 15 cm from the row of buttons, was a hole measuring one and a half by one centimeter. Around it were smaller holes scattered across an area nine by nine and a half cm square with a large hole below the center of the scatter; at the rear center of the underpants, 17 cm from the upper hem, was a hole measuring 8 mm by 9 mm.
1. The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, about 40 years old; skin-color undeterminable as putrefaction far advanced; epidermis no longer in existence. Nutritional condition hard to establish. Penis circumcized. Height of the corpse was 175 cm high, weight 45 kilograms.
 2. Rigor mortis was no longer present. Subcutaneous discoloration was indeterminable because of putrefaction.
 3. Most of the hair on the temples was gone; color black, growth fairly thick. Eyebrows and eyelids gone. So also the whole moustache, except for a few hairs on the upper lip. Black beard-growth about two and a half mm long. Of hair on the limbs only a little remained, on the lower portion of the legs.
 4. Both eyes were open, with the eyeballs liquescent, protruding outwards.
 5. The dental condition was as follows:
 - a. An extra tooth (mesiodens) between the two first-series teeth of the middle upper jaw.
 - b. On the upper left jaw, the eighth tooth missing.
 - c. On the upper right jaw, the eighth tooth missing.
 - d. On the lower left jaw, the fifth tooth missing.
 - e. On the lower right jaw, the eighth tooth missing.
 6. No emissions from bodily orifices.
-

On the back of the index finger of the left hand there was a blackish scar 1 cm long, running from the first joint towards the lateral.

The following wounds [vulnera] were found on the body:

- a. On the left chest, 3 1/2 cm from the midsternal line, 2 cm below the medial end of the clavicle, an entering gunshot wound measuring 8 mm by 8 mm.
 - b. On the left chest, 5 cm from the midsternal line, 3 cm below the medial end of the clavicle, an entering gunshot wound, spherical in form, measuring 3 cm by 3 cm; at the base muscle tissue; within the wound, palpation indicated fracture of the first rib at its lower edge. Around this wound were a number of small, shallow wounds; from one of these an opaque crystal was extracted.
 - c. On the lower right chest, 2 cm from the midsternal line, at the height of the seventh rib, an entering gunshot wound measuring 3 1/2 cm by 2 1/2 cm; at the base muscle tissue.
 - d. Seven cm below and to the right of wound c. (above) an exiting gunshot wound. Wounds c. and d. connected to each other.
 - e. On the inner side of the upper right arm, 3 cm above the elbow fold, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 2 cm by 2 cm.
 - f. On the rear right arm, 6 cm above the elbow, an exiting gunshot wound, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm.
 - g. On the midabdominal line, 15 cm below the navel, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 3 cm by 2 cm.
 - h. Six cm below and to the right of wound g. (above), palpation detected a solid object beneath the skin; on removal it turned out to be a divided metal button, yellowish-white in color, evidently originating from the corpse's underpants. Wound g. (above) was probably caused by this button being hit by a bullet. The bullet itself, tipless, and about 13 mm long, was located 5 cm away from the site of the button.
 - i. On the lower left abdomen, 10 cm from the midabdominal line, 7 cm above the inguinal fold, an entering gunshot wound measuring 2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
 - j. On the lower right abdomen, precisely at the crest of the pelvic (sacroiliac) bone, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 2 1x2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
 - k. On the outer side of the upper left thigh, 8 cm below the crest of the sacroiliac bone, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 2 cm by 2 cm. Around this wound were a number of smaller shallow wounds; from some of these opaque crystals were removed.
 - l. On the left back, 10 cm from the mid-dorsal line, 5 cm below the shoulder, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 3 1/2 cm by 2 cm.
-

- m. Three centimeters inwards (medial) of wound l. (above), an exiting gunshot wound, measuring 2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
- n. On the right back, 11 cm from the mid-dorsal line, at the height of the eighth rib, palpation detected a bullet beneath the skin.
- o. In the lumbar (gluteal) region, 4 cm above the coccyx, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 8 mm by 8 mm.

CONCLUSION:

- 1. The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.
- 2. On the corpse were discovered eight entering gunshot wounds on the front, and two to the rear.
- 3. On the abdomen were discovered two exiting gunshot wounds, and one on the back.

Carried out fully in accord with the oath of office,

- 1. ROEBIONO KERTOPATI
sealed/signed
signed
- 2. FRANS PATTIASINA

Copied faithfully to the original
Copyist
SECRETARY

signed

HAMZIL RUSLI Bc. Hk.
Captain CKH - Nrp. 303840

- 3. SUTOMO TJOKRONEGORO
sealed/signed
signed
- 4. LIAUW YAN SIANG
signed
- 5. LIM JOE THAY

Copied faithfully to the copy

SECRETARY IN THE CASE OF EX-AIR FORCE
LIEUT.-COL. HERU ATMODOJO

(SOEDARJO Bc. Hk.)
Air Force First Lieutenant/473726

the first.]

Name: R. SOEPRAPTO.
 Age/Birth Date: 45
 Born: 20 June 1920
 Sex: Male
 Nationality: Indonesian
 Religion: Islam
 Rank: Major-General TNI
 Office: Second Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army
 Address: Jalan Besuki 19, Jakarta

time of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965, during what is called the affair of the "September 30th Movement." The corpse was identified as KHOO OEN THIAN, dentist at the Central Army Hospital, as that of Major-General Soeprapto, based on dental evidence.

Results of the external examination were as follows:

The corpse's face was swathed in a plaid sarong, covering the mouth and nose and looped round to the rear; the sarong of blue and maroon checks, was torn and perforated. Both wrists were bound behind the back with black and white strips of cloth. The corpse was clothed as follows:

- a. Long-sleeved shirt with rolled up sleeves, O'KENNEDY brand, with black and brown squares on a white background. On the back, 1 1/2 cm to the right of the center line, 20 cm below the collar (*kraag*), was a tear measuring 20 mm by 13 mm. On the upper right arm, 1 1/2 cm from the seam, and 15 cm below the shoulder, a tear measuring 2 cm by 1/2 cm. On the upper right arm, to the front, 8 cm from the armpit seam, 9 cm from the sleeve seam, a tear measuring 13 mm by 5 mm. On the left side of the shirt, precisely on the lefthand vertical seam, and 6 cm from the lower hem, a tear measuring 2 cm by 2 cm; and 12 cm higher up, another tear measuring 5 cm by 1 1/2 cm; between these two perforations 4 holes, the smallest measuring 4 mm by 4 mm, and the largest 7 mm by 7 mm. At the front right, 25 cm from the lower hem, 8 cm from the vertical seam, a tear measuring 2 cm by 1 cm; and, 3 cm higher up, a tear measuring 2 cm by 2 cm.
- b. A white singlet, KINGSTON brand. On the back of the singlet, 10 cm below the neckline, 1 1/2 cm from the centerline, a tear measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm. On the back, by the centerline, 4 cm above the lower hem, a tear measuring 1 cm by 1 cm, and to the left of this tear three holes measuring between 5 mm by 5 mm and 7 mm by 7 mm, with the distance between the holes roughly 2 cm. On the rear left, 6 cm above the lower hem, 5 cm from the centerline, two adjoining tears, measuring respectively 1 1/2 cm by 1 1/2 cm, and 2 cm by 2 cm.
- c. White drill underpants, with the letters PR embroidered in white, on the upper front. On the back of these underpants, 7 cm from the center-

line, 7 cm from the lower hem, a tear measuring 3 cm by 1 1/2 cm. On the right rear, 2 cm above the lower hem, 13 cm from the side seam, a tear measuring 2 cm by 1 1/2 cm. On the ring finger of the right hand a gold ring inscribed: JUUL 4/5 - '46.

The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, about 40 years old. Skin-color undeterminable; nutritional condition undeterminable. Penis uncircumcized. Rigor mortis not apparent. Subcutaneous discoloration undeterminable. Height of the corpse was 172 cm, weight 37 1/2 kilograms.

Symptoms of putrefaction were as follows: epidermis completely gone. Body swollen. Hair also gone. Skin on the abdomen, chest, and armpits greyish brown. Both eyeballs collapsed. No emissions from bodily orifices.

The dental condition was as follows:

- a. On the upper left jaw, at the eighth tooth, an amalgam filling.
- b. On the upper left jaw, the sixth tooth missing.
- c. On the upper right jaw, the sixth and seventh teeth missing.
- d. On the lower left jaw, the seventh tooth missing.

The following wounds were found on the body:

- a. On the right side of the head, 8 cm above the ear, an irregular laceration, measuring 2 cm by 1 cm; at the base subcutaneous connective tissue.
 - b. On the right temple, 4 cm beyond the corner of the right eye, a cut (*Luka tusuk*) 1 1/2 cm long, pointing downwards.
 - c. On the left forehead, 3 cm from the midline, at the hairline, an irregular laceration, measuring 4 cm by 1 1/2 cm; at the base the cranial membrane: palpation indicated that the cranial bone itself was intact.
 - d. On the back, on the mid-dorsal line, at the height of the fourth vertebra, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm.
 - e. In the lumbar (gluteal) region, at the center line, 13 1/2 cm above the coccyx, an entering gunshot wound measuring 9 mm by 8 mm.
 - f. On the right side of the lumbar (gluteal) region, 4 cm from the center line and 3 cm below the wound e. (above), an entering gunshot wound measuring 8 mm by 8 mm.
 - g. Three cm below wound f. (above), slightly to the center (medial), an entering gunshot wound measuring 7 mm by 7 mm.
 - h. To the left rear lumbar region, 4 cm from the center line, a gunshot wound with sharp edges, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm, the whole wound slanting downward.
-

In the right gluteus, at the height of the base of the coccyx, 16 cm from the center line, an entering gunshot wound measuring 13 mm by 9 mm.

Ten cm above wound i. (above), an exiting gunshot wound measuring 5 cm by 3 cm.

Towards the middle front of the right thigh an entering gunshot wound measuring 14 mm by 8 mm.

On the rear right thigh, 6 cm from the center line of the thigh and 9 cm above the fold of the knee, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 18 mm by 9 mm; the path of the wound was connected to entering gunshot wound k. (above).

On the outer rear of the right calf, 9 cm below the knee and 6 cm from the center line, a cut (luka tusuk) measuring 2 1/2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.

One and a half cm in front of wound m. (above) a gaping, irregular laceration measuring 6 cm by 3 1/2 cm; at the base muscle tissue.

On the lower rear of the right leg, 20 cm above the heel, an entering gunshot wound measuring 14 mm by 10 mm; the tibia splintered at this height.

At the lower rear of the left arm, 13 cm above the wrist, an entering gunshot wound measuring 15 mm by 10 mm; the ulna splintered at the height of the wound.

Five cm above and to the rear of the left wrist, an entering gunshot wound measuring 9 mm by 9 mm.

One cm above wound q. (above), slightly to the center (medial), an exiting gunshot wound measuring 10 mm by 7 mm. Wound q. and r. form a single connected wound.

On the right chest, at the height of the third rib, 3 1/2 cm from the midsternal line, an entering gunshot wound measuring 13 mm by 10 mm; from within the wound-hole protruded the exterior casing (mantel) of a bullet tip, pointing downwards; in the region of this wound palpation detected that the sternum was fractured, and above the sternum were metal fragments of the bullet.

On the abdomen, 4 cm from the midabdominal line, an exiting gunshot wound, measuring 17 mm by 12 mm.

On the left side of the abdomen, 8 cm from the midabdominal line, and 3 cm below the horizontal median, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 24 mm by 16 mm.

At the right inguinal fold, next to the testicles, a gaping wound measuring 11 cm by 6 cm; at the base, muscle tissue. The head of the right thighbone (caput femeris) broken and fractured; the pelvis and pubic bones also fractured.

- w. One and a half cm below wound v. (above) a wound parallel to the above measuring 7 cm by 2 1/2 cm; at the base, thigh muscles.
- x. Two cm below wound w. (above), slightly to the rear, a parallel wound, measuring 4 cm by 1 1/2 cm; at the base, adipose tissue.
- y. On the abdomen, below the navel, subcutaneous bleeding, reddish-brown in color, covering an area 9 cm by 9 cm.
- z. On the upper front right arm, 9 cm below the armpit, an entering gunshot wound measuring 16 mm by 7 mm. Palpation detected fractures of the humerus at the height of the wound.
- aa. On the left cheek, at the level of the mouth, 9 cm from the center line, an irregular laceration measuring 2 1/2 cm by 3/4 cm; at the base muscle tissue.
- bb. Two and a half cm below the left earlobe a regular-shaped wound measuring 1 cm by 3 meters [sic].
- cc. Palpation indicated fracture of the nose bone.
- dd. Above the cheekbone subcutaneous bleeding and a chafing laceration measuring 3 1/2 cm by 2 1/2 cm.

Conclusion:

1. The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.
2. On the corpse were discovered:
 - a. Three entering gunshot wounds on the front (wounds k, s, z above).
 - b. Eight entering gunshot wounds to the rear (wounds d, e, f, g, i, o, p, and q).
 - c. Three exiting gunshot wounds on the front (wounds r, t, u).
 - d. Two exiting wounds to the rear (wounds j and l).
 - e. Three cuts (wounds b, h, m).
 - f. Wounds and fractured bones caused by dull trauma, around the head and face (wounds a, c, aa, bb, cc, dd).
 - g. One wound caused by dull trauma on the right calf.
 - h. Wounds and fractured bones resulting from a very severe, dull trauma in the lumbar region and on the upper right thigh (wounds v, w, x, and y).

[The signatures and copyists on this and all following autopsies are exactly as on Yaní's visum et repertum.]

Visum et Repertum
Number H. 105

Name: M. T. HARJONO
 Birth Date: 41
 Date: 20 - 1 - 1924.
 Sex: Male
 Religion: Islam
 Rank: Major-General TNI
 Office: Third Deputy to the Minister/Commander of the Army
 Address: Jalan Prambanan 18 Jakarta

of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965, during what is
 the affair of the "September 30th Movement." The corpse was identified
 as MOELJONO, younger brother of the victim, employee of the "Gaya Motor"
 Enterprise in Jakarta, inter alia by the gold wedding-ring inscribed:
 M

Results of the external examination were as follows:

The corpse was clothed in a pair of white underpants. On the ring-finger
 of the right hand a severed (?) gold ring, inscribed: MARIATNA

The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, about 40 years old. Skin-color
 and nutritional condition undeterminable. Penis circumcized. Height of
 the corpse was 159 cm, weight 44 1/2 kilograms.

Rigor mortis no longer present. Subcutaneous discoloration no longer
 determinable. Symptoms of putrefaction were as follows:

The whole body was swollen.

Epidermis completely gone.

Hair also completely gone.

Protruding tongue.

Eyeballs liquefied; corneas opaque, pupils not visible.

The skin in the region of the upper arms, the abdomen, and both legs a
 greenish-grey.

Mouth condition was as follows:

the upper left jaw, the sixth, seventh, and eighth teeth missing.

the lower left jaw, at the sixth tooth, only the root remaining.

the lower right jaw, the seventh and eighth teeth missing (???)

lower right abdomen, the scar of an earlier operation, about 13 cm
 (post-apendectomy).

The following wounds were found on the body:

- a. On the left of the abdomen, 6 cm from the midabdominal line and 12 cm above the navel, a transverse cut measuring 3 1/2 cm; the edges of the wound sharp; 15 cm of the large intestine protruding from it.
- b. On the back of the right hand, aligned with the middle and ring fingers, 4 cm below the wrist, a gaping wound measuring 8 cm by 3 cm. The bones of the palm and the middle and ring fingers were shattered, and the muscles torn.
- c. On the left wrist by the thumb a gaping wound measuring 14 cm by 6 cm, located 6 cm above the base of the index finger. The edges of the wound irregular; at the base, fragments of the shattered bones of the palm, the index finger, as well as the radius.
- d. On the left back, 8 cm from the center line and 22 cm below the shoulder, a cut running from lower left to upper right, measuring 48 meters [sic] long and 27 mm wide, the path of wound pointing upwards.

CONCLUSION:

The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.

On the abdomen, a cut caused by a sharp object, penetrating to the abdominal cavity.

On the back, a cut caused by a sharp object, not penetrating to the sternal cavity.

On the left hand and wrist wounds caused by dull trauma.

Visum et Repertum
Number H. 106

Birth Date: S. PARMAN.
47
4 - 8 - 1918.
Male
Islam
Major-General TNI
First Assistant to the Minister/Commander of the Army
Jalan Serang 32 Jakarta

of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965, during what is the affair of the "September 30th Movement." The corpse was identified ABDULLAH HASSAN of the Army Medical Corps, doctor, Health Officer of the Military Territorial Command/DJAYA, as the corpse of Major-General PARMAN, inter alia from the clothing, and various objects on the corpse: ring inscribed SPM, Army badge, driving license, and photographs in a

Results of the external examination were as follows:

corpse was clothed as follows:

Green regular army uniform (Pakaian Dinas Harian), short-sleeved, with the insignia of a Major-General, a big star on the right hand shirt-pocket. On the lower left front, 7 cm from the vertical seam, a tear measuring 2 cm by 1 cm.

Green uniform trousers, with green belt (? ban). To the front of the right trouser-leg, 5 1/2 cm from the right-hand seam, 45 cm above the lower hem, a tear measuring 1 cm by 1 cm. To the rear of the right trouser-leg, 30 cm above the bottom hem, 9 1/2 cm from the inner seam (medial), a tear measuring 3 cm by half a centimeter. Precisely by the lower hem of the right-hand trouser-leg, 6 cm from the inner seam (medial), a tear measuring 2 1/2 cm by 1 cm. On the left front, 6 cm below the upper hem, 8 cm from the outer seam, a tear measuring 2 cm by 6 mm, through the left pocket. On the left posterior, 22 cm from the upper hem, 8 cm from the inner seam (medial), a hole measuring 2 cm by 1 cm. Four cm above this hole a diagonal tear measuring 1 cm by 1/2 cm, with the horizontal threads in the hole undamaged.

A white singlet, Schlessor brand, size 4/42. On the front middle, right by the hem, a tear measuring 2 cm by 1 cm.

White underpants. On the left front of the underpants, 2 cm from the upper hem and 11 cm from the outer seam, a tear measuring 2 1/2 cm by 1 cm. At the left rear, 12 cm from the center line and 22 cm from the upper hem, a tear measuring 2 1/2 cm by 1 cm. Three and a half cm above this tear, an angled tear, 2 1/2 cm long.

A pair of black socks.

- f. A gold ring, inscribed SPM, on the ring finger of the right hand.
 - g. An Eterna wristwatch, not working, with the hour hand at the number 11, the minute hand just past 2, and the second hand almost at 3.
 - h. In the pockets of the green uniform shirt and trousers were found: a black Pentel pen, made in Japan; a Rewenta-soab lighter from Germany; a Sansi/Sanai Kaiki meteran (? meter?); a metal cigarette case with Kents inside; a comb-case containing a plastic comb and a small mirror; a plastic wallet containing photos of the deceased; an Army badge; a driving license for civilian and military vehicles; all in the name of SISWONDO PARMAN, Major-General TNI.
2. The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, aged approximately 40 years. Skin-color and nutritional condition undeterminable. Penis circumcized. Rigor mortis no longer present. Subcutaneous discoloration undeterminable. The body was 162 cm high, weight 33 kilograms.
 3. Signs of putrefaction were as follows:
 - a. Epidermis completely gone.
 - b. The body already softened, palpation detected putrefaction gas under the skin.
 - c. The left eyeball no longer visible; the right eyeball collapsed, and the cornea opaque.
 4. The dental condition was as follows:
 - a. The upper row of teeth intact, but with several amalgam fillings.
 - b. On the lower left and right jaws, the eighth tooth out of alignment.
 - c. On the lower right jaw, the third tooth missing, because the jawbone was broken.
 - d. On the lower right jaw, a gold bridge between the fourth, fifth, and sixth teeth.
 - e. On the lower right jaw, the seventh tooth missing.
 - f. On the lower left jaw, the sixth tooth had a gold cap.

No emissions from the bodily orifices.
 5. The following wounds were found on the body:
 - a. On the right temple, 4 cm from the center line and 2 cm above the margin of the orbital socket, an entering gunshot wound measuring 9 mm by 8 mm. The perforation in the cranium around this wound measured three quarters of a cm by 1 cm.
-

- b. Just below the margin of the right orbital socket and 1 cm from the center line an entering gunshot wound measuring 13 mm by 10 mm; at the base fragments of cranial bone.
 - c. On the palebra superior [upper eyelid] of the left eye, 2 1/2 cm from the center line and 1 1/2 cm below the margin of the orbital socket an entering gunshot wound measuring 12 mm by 9 mm, penetrating the bones at the base of the orbital socket.
 - d. In the area of the left fontanel, 7 cm above the base of the ear (?), 9 cm behind the margin of the orbital socket, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 17 mm by 15 mm; at the base fragments of cranial bone.
 - e. Beneath the skin, on the center edge (medial) of wound d. above, was found a flattened bullet, 2 cm long, its base measuring 19 mm by 4 mm (?).
 - f. Precisely behind the left earlobe an irregular, gaping wound measuring 7 1/2 cm by 5 cm; at the base, fragments of cranial bone.
 - g. Towards the back of the left earlobe a 2 1/2 cm diagonal laceration.
 - h. On the rear of the head, upwards from the hairline on the neck and to the left of the rear center line, an irregular, gaping wound measuring 12 cm by 6 cm; in the area if this wound the cranial bone was splintered, and there was brain tissue, already liquescent, of a greyish brown color, protruding from it.
 - i. The lower jaw was broken precisely by the left canine tooth; on the skin above the break, no visible abnormalities.
 - j. The upper jaw was also broken between the left canine and incisors and by the molars on the right and left side; the skin above the breaks showed no abnormalities.
 - k. On the left gluteal region, at the height of the tip of the coccyx, 6 1/2 cm from the center line, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 15 mm by 9 mm. The path of the wound projected forward, and palpation indicated fracture of the pelvic bone.
 - l. On the left abdomen, at the height of the navel, 13 cm from the mid-abdominal line, an exiting gunshot wound, tapering, measuring 27 mm by 16 mm.
 - m. On the outer side of the lower left leg, 7 cm above the ankle, a gaping, irregular wound, measuring 6 cm by 5 cm; at the base torn muscle tissue.
 - n. On the front of the left tibia, 8 cm above the ankle, a gaping longitudinal wound, measuring 9 cm by 2 1/2 cm; at the base splinters of the tibia were found in an area from a height of 6 cm above the ankle up to 10 cm above the ankle.
 - o. On the front of the right thigh, 10 cm above the knee and 2 cm outward
-

from the center line of the thigh, an entering gunshot wound measuring 2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.

- p. On the rear of the right thigh, 5 cm above the fold of the knee, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 2 cm by 1 cm. Palpation indicated fracture of the right femur at the height of wounds o. and p. above.

CONCLUSION:

The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.

On the corpse were discovered:

- a. Three entering gunshot wounds to the front of the head (see a, b, c above).
- b. One entering gunshot wound at the front of the thigh (see e).
- c. One entering gunshot wound at the left buttock (see k).
- d. Two exiting gunshot wounds to the head (see l ??)
- e. One exiting gunshot wound at the back of the right thigh (see p).
- f. Lacerations and bone-fractures to the head, the jaw, and the lower left leg (see g, h, i, j, m, n), each the result of heavy, dull trauma.

Visum et Repertum Number H. 107

Name:	D. I. PANDJAITAN
Age/Birth Date:	40
Sex:	Male
Nationality:	Indonesian
Religion:	Protestant
Rank:	Brigadier-General TNI
Office:	Fourth Assistant to the Minister/Commander of the Army
Address:	Jalan Hasanuddin 53, Kebayoran, Jakarta

victim of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965, during the affair known as the "September 30th Movement."

The corpse was identified by COPAR PANDJAITAN, younger sibling of the victim, a businessman in Jakarta, and SAMUEL PANDJAITAN, President-Director of the Agung Concern, Jakarta, as the corpse of Brigadier-General TNI D. I. PANDJAITAN, from the clothes on the body, the gold ring on the left ring-finger with the name D. I. PANDJAITAN inscribed on it, and the dental evidence.

results of the external examination were as follows:

The corpse was clothed as follows:

- a. Green army shirt (Semiformal Dress) with the insignia of a Brigadier-General and Bhineka Tunggal Ika buttons.
- b. Green trousers.
- c. White undershirt, La Parlana brand, size 3 (?)
- d. Bluish pyjama bottoms.
- e. White underpants, La Parlana brand, size ?
- f. Gold ring on left ring-finger, inscribed D. I. PANDJAITAN.

On the green shirt (a. above), at the left rear, 13 cm from the center line and 24 cm from the shirt-tail, a long horizontal tear, measuring 10 cm by 2 cm.

The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, approximately 40 years old; skin-color impossible to determine. Nutritional condition also undeterminable. Penis uncircumcized. Rigor mortis no longer present; subcutaneous discoloration undeterminable. Height of the corpse 168 cm, weight 41 kilograms.

The corpse showed the following signs of advanced putrefaction:

- a. Epidermis of the whole body no longer present.
- b. The whole body swollen.
- c. The hair on the head, eyebrows, and armpits all separated from the body.
- d. The two eyeballs collapsed and damaged (?)
- e. On the inner right ankle, skin damage caused by putrefaction covering an area 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm.

The dental condition was as follows:

- a. On the upper right jaw, the eighth tooth missing.
- b. On the lower right jaw, an amalgam filling on the buccal part of the seventh tooth, and an occlusal amalgam filling at the eighth tooth.
- c. On the lower left jaw, an amalgam filling at the seventh tooth; the eighth tooth misaligned, and with an amalgam filling.

No emissions from the bodily orifices.

3. The following wounds were found on the corpse:

- a. At the middle (.....) of the right eyebrow an entering gunshot wound, 1 1/2 cm from the center line, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 18 mm; at the base, splinters of cranial bone facing inward.
- b. On the right side of the head, 3 1/2 cm from the midcranial line and 4 1/2 cm above the right eyebrow, an entering gunshot wound measuring 13 mm by 10 mm piercing the cranial bone in an area the size of the tip of the index finger.
- c. On the left crown, 3 1/2 cm from the midcranial line and 15 cm above the left eyebrow, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 4 cm by 1 1/2 cm; irregular lacerations at the edges of the wound; fragments of splintered cranial bone protruding from the surface.
- d. Above the base of the left ear-lobe an exiting gunshot wound measuring 18 mm by 15 mm; at the base, a perforation of the cranial bone measuring 2 cm by 2 1/2 cm.
- e. At the left rear of the head, 7 1/2 cm from the midcranial line and 10 cm above the hairline on the neck, an entering gunshot wound measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm; a perforation in the cranial bone measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 1/2 cm. From this perforation protruded liquefied encephalitic tissue of a reddish-grey, brown color.
- f. On the back of the left hand, parallel to the middle finger and 3 1/2 cm below the wrist, a slit 3 cm long, running diagonally from upper left to lower right; at the base, tendons also lightly slit.

CONCLUSION:

1. The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.
 2. On the front of the head two entering gunshot wounds (see 5a. and 5b.)
 3. On the back of the head, one entering gunshot wound (see 5e.)
 4. On the left rear of the head two exiting gunshot wounds (see 5c. and 5d.)
 5. On the back of the left hand a slit-wound (see 5f.)
-

Visum et Repertum
Number H. 108

Name: SOETOJO SISWOMIHARDJO
 Age/Birth Date: 43, 28-8-1922
 Sex: Male
 Nationality: Indonesian
 Religion: Islam
 Rank: Brigadier-General TNI
 Office: Provost-Marshal, also Legal Inspector of the Army
 Address: Jalan Sumenep 17, Jakarta

Victim of shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965 during the affair known as the "September 30th Movement." The corpse was identified by Veterinary doctor SOETOPO, elder brother of the victim, as that of Brigadier-General TNI SOETOJO SISWOMIHARDJO, inter alia from the absence of the big toe on the right foot, the clothing, an Omega wristwatch, and 2 gold rings, inscribed respectively S.R. and S.S.

The results of the external examination were as follows:

- a. A Batik kimono, dark flowers on a white background.
- b. White underpants.
- c. White singlet, Hing's brand, size 36.
- d. Omega wristwatch, stopped at 6:21, 41 seconds, 31st [of the month].
- e. Two gold rings on the ring finger of the right hand, inscribed respectively S.R. and S.S.

The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, aged about 40 years old. Skin-color undeterminable. Penis circumcized. Rigor mortis not apparent. Subcutaneous discoloration undeterminable. Height of the corpse was 172 cm, weight 41 kilograms.

The corpse was in a state of advanced putrefaction. The hair, color of face, mostly already missing; length about 10 cm. Eyebrows no longer evident. Right eyeball collapsed; left eyeball no longer evident. Hair in armpits and groin already missing.

The dental condition was as follows:

- a. On the upper right jaw, the sixth tooth missing.
- b. On the lower right jaw, the sixth tooth missing.
- c. On the lower left jaw, the sixth tooth missing. Teeth otherwise normal.

5. The following wounds were found on the body:

- a. On the outer side of the lower right leg, 9 cm below the joint of the knee, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm.
- b. 4 cm below wound a. another entering gunshot wound, measuring 1 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
- c. 5 cm to the rear of wound a. palpation detected bullet fragments below the skin; on removal these proved to be fragments of greyish metal.
- d. On the inner side (medial) of the right calf, 14 cm below the fold of the knee, a gaping exiting gunshot wound, measuring 8 cm by 5 cm; at the base, severed shin muscles were visible; the path of this wound was connected to wounds a. and b. above.
- e. The bases of the index, middle, ring, and little fingers of the right hand so shattered, such that these four fingers were connected to the palm only by an irregularly torn piece of skin measuring 8 cm by 3 cm. The bones at the bases of these fingers fractured and splintered.
- f. Seven cm above the right ear an entering gunshot wound measuring 8 mm by 9 mm; the channel of the wound pointing forward; and exiting 4 cm in front of the former. This exiting wound measured 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm. The cranial bone below struck in an accidental fashion [*setjara tangan sial*] with a perforation 4 cm long and 1 cm wide.
- g. On the left forehead, 6 cm from the center line, at the height of the hairline, an irregular, gaping wound measuring 2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
- h. On the left temple, 10 cm from the center line, at the height of the upper margin of the orbital cavity, an irregular wound measuring 4 1/2 cm by 2 1/2 cm.
- i. On the lefthand of the parietal bone, 6 cm from the midcranial line, 3 cm above the temple hairline, an irregular gaping wound, measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 1/2 cm.
- j. The cranial bone shattered in the region of the left forehead, and crushed inward; from wounds g., h., and i., oozed already liquescent emphatitic tissue.

CONCLUSION:

1. The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.
 2. On the corpse were found:
 - a. Two entering gunshot wounds to the front of the lower right leg (see 5a. and 5b).
-

entering gunshot : id to the right side of the head, pointing
ard (see f.)

entering gunshot wound on the inner side of the right calf (see d.)

entering gunshot wound to the front of the head (see f.)

right hand and the cranium crushed as a result of heavy, dull
as.

Visum et Repertum Number H. 109

P. TENDEAN
Date: 26, 22-2-1939
Male
ity: Indonesian
Protestant
First Lieutenant, Corps of Engineers. Nrp. 18681.
Adjutant to the Coordinating Minister of Defense and
Security/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces
Jalan Imam Bondjol 72, Jakarta.

shooting and/or violent assault on October 1, 1965 in the affair
"September 30th Movement."

was identified by Colonel AMONO GONDOUTOMO, Nrp. 14242, Health
Directorate, personal physician to the Coordinating Minister
and Security/Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, as that of First
Corps of Engineers, P. TENDEAN, from the clothing, dental condition,
ring with a blue stone.

of the external examination were as follows:

corpse were found the following articles of clothing and personal
ions:

ered blue jacket, with brown flannel lining. Five cm to the right
the zipper, 21 cm below the collar, a tear measuring 4 cm by half a
imeter. Eight and a half cm below the above, another tear measuring
2 cm by 1 cm. On the right back, 15 cm from the centerline, 25 1/2
below the shoulder, a perforation measuring 2 1/2 cm by 1 cm.

en trousers.

underpants, CLUB-MAN brand.

- d. Green handkerchief with red and white stripes, in the right pocket of the trousers (see b. above)
 - e. A condom.
2. The corpse was that of an Indonesian male, approximately 30 years old, probably of partial European descent. Skin-color and nutritional condition undeterminable. Penis uncircumcized. Rigor mortis no longer present. Subcutaneous bruising undeterminable. The height of the corpse was 176 cm, weight 65 kilograms.
3. The corpse showed signs of advanced putrefaction, as follows:
- a. The entire epidermis gone.
 - b. The abdomen swollen; on both legs and chest the vein pattern transparent.
 - c. The hair on the top and front of the head, eyebrows, and armpits all gone.
 - d. Both eyeballs collapsed. Hair color brown, about 5 cm long. Groin hair also brown; of average growth (?).
4. The dental condition was as follows:
- a. On the upper left jaw, the second tooth is false, and the tooth to its right missing.
 - b. On the upper right jaw, the sixth tooth missing.
 - c. On the lower left jaw, the fifth tooth missing.
 - d. On the lower right jaw, the seventh tooth missing.
- No emissions from the bodily orifices.
5. Both hands were bound tightly at the wrists; both hands were twisted behind the corpse's back and drawn upwards, with the rope coiled round the chest and back. The cord was colored red.
6. The following wounds were found on the body:
- a. In the middle of the forehead a graze measuring 8 cm by 4 cm (letjet?)
 - b. On the exact center line of the head, 4 cm behind the front hairline, a gaping, diagonal wound, measuring 2 1/2 cm by 3/4 cm; at the base, subcutaneous tissue, with the whole circumference of the wound showing connective tissue (??)
 - c. At the top of the head, 11 cm behind the front hairline, running from the midcranial line to the right, a gaping wound measuring 4 1/2 cm by
-

34

- d. In the region of the left parietal bone (?), 7 cm above the ear, a gaping wound with irregular edges, measuring 5 cm; at the base, muscle tissue.
- e. To the rear left of the neck, 4 cm from the hairline, an entering gunshot wound measuring 9 mm by 8 mm.
- f. On the right back, at the height of the third vertebra and 7 cm from the center line, an entering gunshot wound, measuring 8 mm by 7 mm.
- g. On the right back, at the height of the fourth vertebra and 14 cm from the center line, an entering gunshot wound measuring 8 mm by 8 mm.
- h. On the right lumbar region (gluteus), 2 cm from the center line and 12 cm (above) the coccyx, an entering gunshot wound measuring 1 1/2 cm by 1 cm.
- i. On the right chest, at the height of the second costal interstice (sela?) and 7 cm from the midsternal line, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 5 cm by 5 1/2 cm; at the base, a rib was fractured at a point 12 cm from the midsternal line.
- j. On the right chest, 1 cm from the midsternal line, at the height of the lower margin of the first rib, an exiting gunshot wound measuring 4 cm by 3 1/2 cm; at the base, palpation indicated that the sternum and first rib were fractured. This wound pierced the chest sternal cavity.
- k. On the back of the base of the ring and middle fingers of the left hand, a graze measuring 4 cm by 3 cm.

CONCLUSION:

The corpse was already putrescent; death had occurred approximately four days previously.

On the corpse were discovered:

- a. Four entering gunshot wounds to the rear (see 6e., 6f., 6g., and 6h.)
 - b. Two exiting gunshot wounds to the front (see 6i. and j.)
 - c. Graze wounds on the forehead and left hand (see a. and k.)
 - d. Three gaping wounds resulting from dull traumas to the head (see b., c. and d.)
-

**KANTOR POLISI
SEKSI I BARON**

Robert L. Lamer, J. D., Professor Emeritus, JAL

Polisi Sakti Kota Besar Lampung.

... dan tidak menimbulkan ancaman terhadap kesehatan masyarakat.

**KANTOR POLISI
SEKSI II
BAHARSARI**

Students Benjamin, J. R. A. Martins No. 6
44400

1965, tempat pendidikan dan tempat tinggalnya. Setelah selesai dari sekolah menengah pertama, ia melanjutkan ke sekolah menengah atas. Setelah selesai dari sekolah menengah atas, ia melanjutkan ke sekolah menengah atas. Setelah selesai dari sekolah menengah atas, ia melanjutkan ke sekolah menengah atas.

LOJI GANDRUNG

el (Spide, Kecamatan Puar Raya, Surabaja).

KLANTOR DJAWATARA
POLISI KEAMAMAN
NEGARA

Indonesien, Surakarta, J. Region: South East Asia

GETTING UPKs

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Kabupaten Garut 38, Arwana Purban, di
dalam rumah berhadapan dengan gedung B
dan gedung UNIS terdapat gedung Iskandar

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**KANTON POLISI
SEREMBANG**

di 65 Nomor Pabel Sektor Semarang, dan 66 Stasiun Jember 65 Nomor Pabel Sektor Jember, dan 67 Stasiun Semarang 65 Nomor Pabel Sektor Semarang.

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the authors conclude that the results of the present study suggest that the use of the present research may be useful in the future for the development of a new type of research on the use of the present research.

PAULARDI KARYA

55. Central nervous system (CNS) is the part of the nervous system that is located in the brain and spinal cord. It is responsible for processing and coordinating information from the rest of the body.

**KESERHATYAN RAKYAT
KOMANDO
PENBERANTASAN**

[illegible]

**BAKARUOTA
SURABAKARTA DAN
RUANG SIDANG DPRD
TK. II SURABAKARTA**

erfa, Kecamatan Ponorogo, Kabupaten Ponorogo, Jawa Timur, Indonesia.

SASANO MUYUO

1960) merupakan tindakan resmi dari
negara Singapura.
50. Sejak 1965 sampai 20 Mei
1969, menjadi lampiran pengantar para kapal
ke Malaya, Indonesia yang disediakan sebagai
tempat tinggal, seperti acara pernikahan,
perkawin, pernikahan, lahir

**LEMBAGA
PENASTYARUKATAN
SURABAYA**

Project Riser, a Secret Report 16 Summary
by [redacted]
[redacted]

L. BUS EVAKPTP
 ANDANG MENJANG
 PRKAS AURI PANU
 EC. PASAR KLING
 EC. JEBRES
 EC. SERENGAN
 EC. LAWETAN
 EC. BANJARSARI

ASPIRASI PENANAN & INTEROGASI DI SOLO

Listening to the Voice of Women Survivors of 1965

Listening to the Voice of Women Survivors of 1965

The events which took place in September 1965, are still clouded by uncertainties, and are beyond the scope of this report. However, *Komnas Perempuan* notes that the official version of history omits to describe the wave of violence perpetrated by the state, in the aftermath of the murder of the seven military officers. This omission, which continues until today, constitutes an official denial –at the heart of the continued discrimination of victims.

By the mid-60s, Indonesia was in the midst of highly charged political turmoil, with tensions between conservative Muslim groups, the army and groups aligned with the Indonesian Communist Party, PKI. On September 30, a group of middle-ranking military officers, with alleged links to the PKI, kidnapped and murdered six generals and one officer.

In response, Major-General Soeharto was appointed to lead the military operation to crush the rebellious group. Mass killings began, in the islands of Java, Bali, and other parts of the country, in October 1965. To date, the numbers killed in this carnage is still undetermined, estimated between 500,000 to a million deaths. At least another million were incarcerated, subjected to torture and ill-treatment, without any legal recourse or court trial. Prisoners from the events around 1965, which included men, women and children, were gradually released by 1979, although they were closely monitored and required to report to the authorities, their civil and political rights never fully restored.

KOMNAS PEREMPUAN

Jl. Latuharhary No.4B, Jakarta 10310, Indonesia
Telp: 62-21 390 3963, Fax: 62-21 390 3922
Email: mail@komnasperempuan.or.id
Website: www.komnasperempuan.or.id



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