

these decisions were based on determinations of incompetence or violation of university regulations, I believe that in many cases the motive was political.

Pak Kwan-sun is the president of Hangil Sa, the company that published *Idolatry and Reason*. Her husband, Kim On-ho, is also involved in this company, although he does not have an official position in it. He was a reporter for the *Donga Ilbo*, Seoul's most prestigious daily newspaper, until he was fired for his activities in the movement to establish freedom of expression.



Paik Nakchung, his wife and daughter during a visit in the States in the early 1970's.

The trial of Lee and Paik began on January 27 in the Seoul District Criminal Court. Ms. Pak was not indicted. The first session was attended by more than a hundred people, including many prominent in the movement to restore democracy in Korea.

After their almost inevitable conviction, Lee and Paik will appeal the case to the Appellate Court, then the Supreme Court. This process will probably take until fall. Their sentences could range from a suspended sentence to a substantial term of years.

I believe that these two men are being prosecuted, as many others have been, because of their opposition to the dictatorial *Yushin* System established by President Park Chung Hee. The *Yushin* Constitution and Emergency Decree No. 9 aim at preventing public dialogue critical of Park government policies. People like Paik, Lee, and Ms. Pak are dangerous to the Park government because they have the courage to discuss publicly topics the government has declared taboo and to oppose positions taken by the government. If they go unpunished, others will follow.

I also believe that Paik, Lee, and Ms. Pak have a right to freedom of expression. The Korean people, north and south, have a right to hear and participate in the free debate that is essential to democracy. I feel that as a fellow human being I, too, have a right to speak out against their persecution. As a citizen of the United States, which has given so much economic, military, and political support to the Republic of Korea, I have an obligation to do so. I hope that readers of this article who agree with me will express their concern to either or both of the following:

Ms. Patricia M. Derian, Assistant Secretary for Human Rights and Humanitarian Affairs, Department of State, Room 7802, Washington, D.C. 20520

The Hon. Yong Shik Kim, Embassy of the Republic of Korea, 2370 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20008

Edward J. Baker is on the staff of the House Subcommittee on International Organizations and is currently working on the "Koreagate" investigation. He lived in South Korea for six years, two as a Peace Corps volunteer and the other four connected with the Fulbright program.

EXCURSUS II

Yudha Lelana on

From Prison to Prison in Indonesia

My friend! Do you know the dream of every prisoner? Of course you do! Get out...be free, mix with friends, brothers, sisters, with everyone. Perhaps with you the words "get out" don't make an impression. But for the prisoner and ex-prisoner, oh, how those sweet words stir the soul! They are just as sacred as the national anthem [Pramudya Ananta Toer, Biora, 1952].

The Government of Indonesia released 10,000 political prisoners on December 20, 1977. Ninety per cent of them had been in jails and prison camps on Indonesia's outer islands of Sumatra, Kalimantan, Sulawesi, Maluku, the Lesser Sunda Islands, and Irian Jaya. Only a small portion of those held in the prisons in Java were released, but twenty-four residents of that county were returned from imprisonment in other parts of Indonesia. The government claims that it continues to hold only about 20,000 political prisoners, but there is considerable doubt about the accuracy of that figure. In the late Sixties perhaps more than a million Indonesians were arrested and held in overflowing prisons and prison camps for political reasons. Some 500,000 of those prisoners were released in 1971-72. Probably the difference between the 20,000 political prisoners the government claims it is holding and the 45-90,000 estimated by groups like Amnesty International can be partially accounted for by differences in terminology and classification of prisoners. The use of terms seems to be quite flexible, depending on the occasion. Some months ago President Suharto made a public statement that Indonesia had *no* political prisoners; what it has are criminals.

What have these prisoners been released from? British Ambassador Sir John Ford visited the infamous Buru Island (where 11,000 prisoners are held in twenty-one work camp units) and reported that Indonesia's prison camps cannot be compared to the Gulag Archipelago described by Solzhenitsyn. There is no barbed wire, and the prisoners, including

a famous Indonesian author, Pramudya Ananta Toer, had adequate food and the writers are allowed to write. (In fact only some are.) Such reports give a false impression of what Indonesian prisons and prison camps are really like. In the first place, Pramudya and tens of thousands of others have been imprisoned for twelve years without trial or the slightest suggestion of due process. (Solzhenitsyn was imprisoned for eleven years.) Most prisoners have no knowledge of their classification or status. Only a few hundred have ever been tried. Those tried are sure to be convicted.

Living conditions in Indonesian prisons are harsh. The food provided is considerably below the standards of quality and quantity necessary to maintain reasonable health. The administration of prisons is frequently inept and often corrupt. It is by no means certain that packages sent to prisoners by their families get through. Even clothing provided for the prisoners by social service organizations has often been taken by the prison staff and sold outside for personal profit. To prevent this from happening, some social organizations have resorted to having the clothing made to a very odd design so the prison staff can hardly market them outside. Usually prisoners are provided with no bed of any kind, not even a bamboo mat. They have to sleep on the cold, damp masonry or dirt floor. Medical services are extremely limited. Nurses assigned to look after the inmates usually have no medical supplies. Prisoners suffering ailments such as hernia or tuberculosis go for years without proper medical attention.

Perhaps it could be seen as an ameliorating fact that those still imprisoned and the more than half-million who have been released are at least still alive. It is estimated that an equal number were slaughtered in the aftermath of the 1965 coup attempt. Just as it is not known how many people are still in prison, no one—not even the government—knows how many were killed in those postcoup days. There seem to be no records of the activities of the shabbily rigged local military “courts” that ran untold numbers of people through their machine and then took them out by the truckload to some lonely beach or rubber plantation to be shot and buried in mass graves. Ironically those executions are now sometimes given as a reason for delaying the release of remaining political prisoners. The logic has it that many innocent people were put to death at that time and it was the leaders of the coup movement who escaped early execution and are now imprisoned. Were they to be released now, the relatives of executed innocents would likely take revenge on them, perhaps even killing them.

In the thirteen years since the attempted coup Indonesians have been harangued by the zealous hunters who claim to be seeking out the remnants of the Indonesian Communist party. Until very recently government regulation required anyone seeking employment to provide a letter from the village head or the police stating that the person had not been

involved in the 1965 coup attempt. Although the regulation has been rescinded, the practice of requiring such letters continues out of habit and fear. Many employers want nothing to do with anyone who has a questionable political record. At least three agencies of the government continue to make it their business to keep constant tabs on the nation's half-million ex-political prisoners. Such people can be summoned at any time on a day's notice to appear before the regional military command, justice department officials, the intelligence police, or township authorities to be interviewed, lectured, and questioned. These several government agencies apparently operate independently of each other because orders to appear sometimes come in close succession. Several of these agencies use detailed questionnaires to keep constant account of the political and social attitudes of the ex-prisoners.

Aside from this constant surveillance, ex-prisoners receive other regular reminders of their suspect status. In the decade after the coup attempt ex-prisoners were sometimes called away from their regular jobs and required to do forced labor, euphemistically termed *kerja bakti* (sacrificial labor). Sweeping the village streets is a common form of *kerja bakti*. During the 1977 election campaign, large red crosses were painted on the houses of ex-political prisoners in some areas so that their identity would be clear to all. Ex-political prisoners in some areas were instructed to vote for the government party and required to cast their ballots in separate ballot boxes. One vote for another party found in the box set aside for ex-political prisoners could mean the harassment of all ex-prisoners in that precinct.

The January, 1978, arrests of several hundred students, reporters, and others, and the sudden closing of Indonesia's seven leading national papers, gives further insight into the kind of society the recently released prisoners will experience. If persons imprisoned for relatively short periods a decade ago are still harassed as they are, what can be expected for those just released with so much fanfare? Numerous prisoners just released request reporters not to publish their names lest they and their families be put in further danger.

The international press criticizes the recent release of prisoners in Indonesia by saying that many of those released are just being transferred to resettlement areas on the outer islands. The resettlement areas, it is said, are but a new kind of detention. In many respects that criticism is true. Most of the recently released prisoners have been separated from their families for ten or twelve years. Some have had absolutely no contact with their families during this time. In some cases there has been no contact because the prison administration is very poor. But another reason is that people are afraid of repercussions if they make contact. Many wives remarried because they had no way of knowing

EXCURSUS III

John Heller on Eavesdropping on the Great

TIES ARE STRESSED AS CARTER WELCOMES RUMANIAN LEADER
—*New York Times*

Ever since I saw that famous picture of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin at Yalta, looking as if they were at a house party, I have wondered what heads of state say to one another when they are out of earshot of reporters, close advisors, and wives. Obviously we are not going to find out from the newspapers, though the *Times's* headline in this case is inadvertently right on the button. The headline deals only with Mr. Carter's welcoming remarks to Rumanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, which did stress good relations between our countries, yet it also goes unwittingly to the heart of the private conversation the two held following the public ceremonies.

I wonder no longer. I now know what high-level statesmen say to each other when they are alone, or *think* they are alone, because I have a friend who has a job in the White House, and he was there. He happened to be in the Oval Office exchanging a full box of tissues for the empty one on the president's desk when Mr. Carter and Mr. Ceausescu walked in. Instead of politely taking his leave, as he usually does when dignitaries surprise him at his tasks, my friend panicked and ducked into a nearby corner, where he remained unobserved throughout the interview. He later gave me the gist of the leaders' remarks, which I pass along.

Mr. Ceausescu said in excellent English that he liked Mr. Carter's tie. He thought the yellow polka dots on the dark blue background produced a very cheery effect.

Mr. Carter thanked him and offered him the tie.

Mr. Ceausescu asked what the tie was made of.

Mr. Carter said it was made of silk, but an examination of the label proved it to be 100% polyester. Mr. Carter apologized and said he hoped the error wouldn't jeopardize his credibility with the Rumanian people. He then pointed out that the advantage of polyester is that you can wash it.

Mr. Ceausescu said that ties in his country generally could not be washed and the colors were very somber.

Mr. Carter expressed his sympathy, removed his tie, and again offered it to Mr. Ceausescu, urging him to accept it as a gift from the American people.

Mr. Ceausescu said he would be pleased to do so on that basis and put the tie in his pocket.

Mr. Carter said he had dozens more ties in his closet that he could give to Mr. Ceausescu, if Mr. Ceausescu would like to come upstairs and have a look.

Mr. Ceausescu said he would be delighted, and the two leaders left the room.

What happened after that is anybody's guess, but presumably the tie-selecting process went along on the same homey level as the Oval Office conversation. Barring a global catastrophe, it is likely that our relations with Rumania will be in fine shape for as long as Mr. Ceausescu is around to put on one of Mr. Carter's ties. Maybe Mr. Carter and Mr. Brezhnev should be left alone to try on each other's jackets.

John Heller is a Brooklyn-based freelance writer.

whether their husbands were alive, or they just got tired of waiting. Many prisoners and their families lost houses and other property that were taken over by military personnel. The chances of getting anything back are remote. Then, too, many prisoners have no idea of what kind of reception they will receive when they are released. Can they expect real freedom from a society whose government has treated them as it has for so long? Will they be able to get a job? Probably not. Some ex-prisoners try to deal with the situation by maintaining official residence in one county but living and working in another county where government officials and neighbors are not aware of their political background. This can work if a friend who lives at the person's official residence can be counted on to deliver the frequent summonses. But it is not hard to understand why some of these newly released prisoners might choose to live in resettlement camps, where their neighbors will also be political suspects like themselves, instead of trying to reenter the mainstream of Indonesian society.

Perhaps upwards of ten thousand Indonesian families migrate each year from overcrowded Java and Bali to outer islands under the government's transmigration program. There are also special transmigration settlements for retired military personnel. The resettlement areas for ex-political prisoners are physically not unlike the transmigration settlements. Each family is given a simple house and two hectares of land. But there the similarity ends. The transmigration areas for the general public have little government security apparatus. Resettlement areas for ex-political prisoners have tight security.

Just how tight the security in resettlement areas really is was indicated by a recent article in *Tempo*, Indonesia's weekly newsmagazine. It reported that a prisoner by the name of Sukarmo had been living with his family in a prison camp on the island of Buru. They were informed that they would be among the 10,000 prisoners released in December. But then Mr. Sukarmo was called and informed that the announcement that they would be released had been a mistake. Needless to say, the news was cruel and shocking. But the point is that, according to *Tempo*, the place where this family is now being detained is itself a resettlement area! Obviously there is no more freedom of movement in or out of this resettlement area than in any other place of imprisonment.

Whether the released prisoners go to the resettlement camps or back to their old communities, one thing is tragically clear: The freedom they will experience upon release will be very compromised, hardly worthy of the name of freedom. The vision of "getting out" for Indonesian political prisoners has become badly tarnished. For years to come they will be summoned, watched, and harassed.

Yudha Lelana is the pseudonym of a writer with first-hand experience of Indonesia.