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XANANA GUSMÃO SENTENCED TO LIFE

XANANA APPEARS IN COURT

ABC Radio & Radio Australia – composite report. by Ian Mackintosh in Dili.
April 15, ABC 6 pm & Radio Australia 10 pm AEST. – unabridged. [these reports are slightly different]

ABC Radio

Ian MacIntosh: Xanana Gusmão appeared as a witness for the first time at his trial which is now 10 weeks old. He was asked by the judge to confirm the earlier evidence given by a total of 19 prosecution witnesses and Mr. Gusmão did not object. You will recall that there were many instances during that evidence where he confirmed the testimony given or accepted responsibility for the actions of his followers. He was then asked if he knew that East Timor had been integrated into Indonesia. He was first asked whether he knew this in 1976 or 1977 and he paused a couple of times before he said 'No much later.'

He was asked why Fretilin and the other independence groups had resisted Indonesia. He said that was basically to achieve independence for ET. He was then asked a long series of questions about the evolution and structure of the independence movement and particularly about its structure since it was re-formed 5 years ago into the Maubere Council for National Resistance and he took the court through a lot of detail – the way that it was structured and why it had been set up. He said that was to pacify and unify the various arms

and legs of the independence movement, some of which had been at odds in the past. Finally he was asked who was the Supreme Commander of this movement. He said, in answer to two questions, 'I am.' Indeed the second time when he was asked this he chuckled and said 'That's me.'

Q: In the course of giving evidence did he give away any secrets about the nature of Fretilin ?

IM: Not on the basis of what we have already heard and on what is public knowledge both in this country and abroad. I think the significance of his testimony was one, that it was coming from his own mouth and, two, the court covered a lot of ground not only on the resistance movement and the independence movement but also on some of the other charges that he is facing – e.g. There was a considerable amount of questioning about some of the incidents that happened in the past, about some of the weapons had been captured and to what extent there had been overseas support. He was specifically asked if, apart from weapons captured from the Portuguese prior to 1975 and from the Indonesian army since then, whether weapons had been supplied from overseas.

He denied this. He was asked about his contacts overseas. He spoke of a meeting, he said in 1989 or 1990, with an Australian journalist. This, he said, had been in the context of presenting details to the outside world of the independence struggle and also to report on the progress of the armed struggle against Indonesia.

Q: This trial is set to drag on into next month. What are the options for the sentencing of Gusmão ?

IM: Interestingly we talked at some length with Gusmão's lawyer, Sudjono, and

his two expert legal advisers, a pair of highly respected Indonesian legal academics before today's hearing. They sounded a little more optimistic than they have in the past about the outcome of the trial.

Whilst they concede that a verdict of not guilty is almost certainly out of the question they talked about him possibly getting a sentence somewhat less than the maximum penalties of life imprisonment or 20 years that apply to the various charges. When we pressed them on this it was Mr. Sudjono who said that he thought it might well be less than 20 years.

Interestingly he also revealed that he had recently had contact with the Indonesian Chief Justice and the Minister of Justice. Now he and his advisers were very careful to point out that this was not unusual. No specific details about the case were discussed and certainly, he said, no plea bargaining. but in a rather enigmatic statement one of the two expert advisers said, 'He was simply talking to them in a Javanese way.' [He = Sudjono?]

What he was effectively saying to us was 'You work it out for yourself.' but it certainly leaves the question open – is there some sort of a deal being done or some sort of plea bargaining going on, albeit it in a Javanese way.

Radio Australia 10 pm

IM: Xanana Gusmão was questioned by the judges, then by the prosecutor and finally by his own defence lawyer. In essence there were no surprises. Much of the questioning followed the line of questioning of witnesses that has preceded in the previous 14 sessions of the trial and indeed nothing that Mr. Gusmão said came as a complete surprise.

Interestingly, I think though, the tactics taken by the various questioners should be watched carefully. For example they asked him in great detail about the way that the resistance movement within ET was structured. They asked quite a few questions about his possession of firearms, remembering that the firearms charge has the potential to be the most severe, it carries a maximum penalty of death.

They asked about his contacts with overseas people including East Timorese expatriates and also journalists. He mentioned that he had met an Australian journalist a couple of years back. I presume he was referring to Robert Domm. And finally there were some questions about his past travels overseas and he mentioned that he had been to Australia twice.

Q: How much information did he actually give about the operation of the resistance movement ?

IM A considerable amount of information about the structure of it. Again I don't think anything was there that wasn't already known from earlier hearings and testimony. I think what was interesting was the description he gave of the way that Fretilin ceased to exist in a sense or was folded into the CNRM in 1988. He said this was done because they needed to coordinate the independence movement and gave a considerable amount of detail about that, about its aims and goals and this led into some questions about such things as the Nov. 12 1991 Dili massacre.

Again as I said much of this questioning was similar to questions asked of witnesses before and testimony that Mr. Gusmão has already confirmed but the fact that they wrested much of the information from him I think is significant.

Q: He was expected to, or there was a slim chance that he could have made a final defiant stand against his captors when he took the witness stand today but that hasn't eventuated ?

IM Certainly not though it is by no means the final chance. This trial is now expected to drag on well into May. The defence could well call him again if it chooses to do so. There would be several more opportunities including on the final day of the trial when the verdict is handed down and the sentence pronounced.

So there are more opportunities really but nothing that was said today lead any of observers in the court, not only journalists but diplomats from the US, Australian and Dutch embassies and an observer, a Sydney lawyer, Tony Simpson representing the ICJ to believe that he is likely to take that tack.

Q: Specifically on Indonesia's claim of sovereignty over ET. Did Xanana Gusmão continue to accept that ?

IM Not specifically. In fact he was unlike on a previous occasion when he was asked if he was Indonesian and he said 'yes' and you may recall in an interview in December he specifically referred to the Indonesian integration. Today he was asked when he knew that ET had been integrated into Indonesia. There was a long silence. He was asked 'Was this in 1977 ? ', a long silence, '1976 ?' and his reply to that was 'No much later than 1976.'

The judge in question then spent a good deal of time questioning him about this but basically what he was saying was 'We conducted our opposition because we wanted our own government. We were fighting for independence and it was much much later before I knew about the integration.'

He didn't go as far as saying specifically 'it had been integrated'

Note: In a 3rd, shorter report on ABC, IM indicated that the trial continues next Monday.

XANANA QUESTIONED

Written by Mate-Bian News, 7th May 1993.

Introduction: This item is a detailed report of Mr. Xanana Gusmão's "trial" of the 15.4.93, in Dili, East Timor. We hope many of you can make good use of its content so that the propaganda propagated by the Indonesian agents abroad aimed at "character assassination" of Xanana Gusmão. The entire content was double-checked by well placed sources and declared to be very reliable.

NOTES ON THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRIAL OF XANANA GUSMÃO

(Dili: 15th April 1993) The interpreter, the Court appointed interpreter who we understand to be an official in the office of governor Abilio Soares told the bench that Xanana Gusmão knew a little bit of Bahasa Indonesia. Subsequent events would have prove he spoke very little but one drew the conclusion that he certainly understood a good deal of what was going on in Bahasa Indonesia.

The court began with the judge conferring with Xanana Gusmão checking that the statement of the witnesses and also the (berita acara), the police statement were correct, he sought confirmation from the defendant, Xanana Gusmão did not object. The judge asked him if the statement was true, he said yes, that he signed it, yes, was this his signature, yes.

The court went on with the judge asking Xanana Gusmão when he knew that East

Timor had been integrated into the Republic of Indonesia?

There was a silence. He asked, in 1977, another silence, in 1976, finally Xanana Gusmão replied that it was No, much later than 76. He was then reminded that in fact in his statement he said 1977, he acknowledged that was the case in his statement.

The judge then, through the interpreter sought some details from Xanana Gusmão on the nature of his involvement in the independence movement, he said, of the involvement of the independence movement, he said of course, those involved including those fighting for independence didn't accept that they had lost: that is, when the Indonesians took over so they engaged in opposition.

Q: What was your objective?

A: To achieve independence to East Timor.

Q: What ways do you resist? Did you conduct an armed struggle?

A: Yes, that was one way!

Q Did you also do through the reorganisation?

A: Yes.

Q: Did you reorganise your armed wing and also make a new local structure in different areas in which you became a local or the regional head? (presumably he meant the provincial head)

A: Yes, the head of a military region.

Q: And this was from 1976 until another reorganisation in 1981

(the defendant confirmed that)

Q: In 1981 you took a new initiative and became the National Commander of the opposition group which is known as the CRRN?

A: Yes.

Q: When was that?

A: March 81.

(A CRRN was identified as the National Revolutionary Resistance Council and Xanana Gusmão said it was composed of a few people. A more accurate translation might have been that a variety of people belong).

Q: Was there a Commander of the political and military arms of this CRRN?

A: Yes.

Q: Then in 1988 you formed a new group? Did you organise a new group with Council of Maubere National Resistance? (which is referred to as CNRM). Is this the same as the National Convergence movement?

A: They're related, the Convergence movement is related with the CNRM but they're not the same. The National Convergence movement is a coalition of Fretilin and UDT.

Q: Was there a structure to the CNRM?

A: Yes.

Q: What was it?

A: Well, the CNRM was the directing body, who commanded FALINTIL and included the Fretilin Directive Committee. It included armed groups, the Executive Committee was also part of it and the clandestine organisation. The Executive Committee was a group directly connected with the CNRM and the Committee directing Fretilin was the CDF (Comissão Directiva Fretilin).

Q: FALINTIL was the armed forces.

A: Yes.

Q: Clandestine was also involved?

A: Yes

Q: The Clandestine Front was linked to the Executive Committee.

A: Confirmed.

Q: Was the CDF (Fretilin Directive Committee) a part of the political front? (the interpreter, because there was some confusion with the interpretation, the interpreter said it was in effect the Diplomatic Front)

Q: Who was the Supreme Leader of the CNRM?

A: I am, said the defendant. (they then questioned about the activities of all the units)

Q: Were all the acts carried out by your members?

A: All these acts were carried under the orders of those involved. (we have agreed subsequently that the inference answer was that he meant under the direction of Xanana Gusmão).

Q: You, as the head of CNRM, you're also the Chief or Supreme Commander of the CNRM?

A: Well, some of the things were done by those with right to take their own initiative within the organisation because they have already been given general directions and they carried out individual acts.

Q: So, is it clear that you gave the orders and they carried out.

A: Correct.

Q: So they reported back to you.

A: Correct.

Q: Do you know the Commander of CNRM? Do you know him? (the interpreter by the way, at this point, interpreted CNRM as FALINTIL) Xanana Gusmão, paused, laughed and said that's me.

Q: In these organisations under you, was there a Secretary and members.

A: Yes.

Q: Was this true? FALINTIL as well?

A: Yes.

(the implication of this question and answer session may have been that all members of these different groups were part of the CNRM)

Q: In sudden situations did you have the right to decide, make decision without consulting your various staff, your various members.

A: Yes. (he was in question about statements made in court earlier in the trial by two defence witnesses M au Hodu and Mau Carlo. Mau Hodu is Jose da Costa, we don't have the name of Mau Carlo. These related to armed conflicts with armed forces in two places, Kraras and Laclo. And XG was asked, was he directly involved in these. He said not IN THE KRARAS CASE but in LACLO and other places. He then stressed again that "No" in the case of Kraras.

Q: Do you remember these other places? It was a long time ago?

A: 17 years ago. (He replied, by the way to that question with the words "tujuh belas tahun")

Q: Do you know how many deaths. How many guns were stolen and so on from those who died? We now know that there many deaths and that you're people stole guns from those who died. Did you also asked for guns from overseas? (the question was not – did you receive them – but did you ask for them?)

A: No.

Q: Since when did you have weapons, guns, pistol etc.

A: Since the civil war (that, we took to mean that period in East Timor in 1975)

Q: Where did you get them from?

A: Well, we've got them from the Portuguese army and from the Indonesian armed forces. (He was also asked for some details about the specific weapons, one was a "M" rifle the other was identified as FM pistol. These are exhibit in the court and they're all produced for them to check.

Might add they are been produced in just about every session in the preceding weeks.

He was asked about them. Were they his!

A: They were his last weapons. But he had others before that.

Q: Did you have permission?

A: No

Q: Did you have a permit?

A: No.

Q: When you were in the jungle did you meet with or done interviews with foreigners such as foreign journalists?

A: Yes. (he sighted and instance, he said in 89 or 90.

Q: Where was the journalist from?

A: Australia. (he did not name the journalist it was taken to be Robert Domm who is listed in the charges one of the two foreign journalists alleged to have met with Xanana around that time.

Q: In what context did you meet the journalist?

A: To make a picture about our efforts in the political context and also to report about the armed struggle.

Q: Did you meet with Jose Ramos Horta, Abilio Araujo, and a name that none of us knew.

A: Yes, I know them well.

Q: Where are they now?

A: They are abroad.

Q: Do they support your struggle in East Timor?

A: It depends on how you define support. I was involved in a different front. (in other words the implication may be they worked on a diplomatic front overseas). They created Fretilin, they had the same ideas.

Q: You have a representative overseas?

A: Yes, Ramos Horta is the representative overseas.

(there was some discussions here about finance from abroad and asking for finance from abroad. – did not transcribe that from the tape that was because the tape had run out)

The Falintil flag was produced by the prosecution and he was asked to identify it and he was asked where he obtained it from.

A: From Japan (he said)

He was then referred to police statement "berita acara" and information from the

witness Mau Hodu during his testimony in late February about the 12 November incident. He confirmed the details of the police statement and Mau Hodu is (also known as Jose da Costa) evidence about the November 12 incident.

Q: How did you give the instructions.

A: We gave instructions through the clandestine network.

Q: Did they go to Pinto.

A: Yes. (that's a reference to Constâncio Pinto who is now living abroad having escaped Indonesia last year.)

He was asked about clandestine being within the structure of CNRM.

A: Yes, it is; as is FALINTIL, RENETIL, etc.

Q: What were the aims of the 12 November 1991 demonstration in accordance with the directions of the goals of the CNRM?

A: Well, the tactical objectives were not the same but the strategic ones were the same. (we should perhaps note here that the interpreter, he interpreted here in Portuguese to Bahasa Indonesia, he gave it the other way around and said that the tactical objectives were the same but the strategic ones were not).

Then a question and answer exchange occurred which was a bit muddled but basically they were saying that there was a lot of the consequences that a lot of people were killed on the 12 of November and that many problems have been created;

Q: How did he feel and have he been conscious of what he had done over the last 17 years?

A: Yes. Very conscious.

(at this point there was a presentation of the physical evidence, a vast array of this were on the weapons that had, been produced earlier, the boxes of documents, video camera, flags, pamphlets, a whole variety of things, including reference to vehicles and other equipment allegedly used by the defendant, among them a car and a taxi whose number plates were read out; the exhibits (in that case) obviously were not produced. Letters were also produced in the court, among them a letter from the special operation military command in ET which we ascertained later was a summary of events and activities surrounding the 12 of November incident and the FRETILIN activities of the time. At this point, the defence council, Sudjono, asked a series of questions. He asked the defendant when he joined Fretilin?

A: May 1975.

Q: When did you leave (Fretilin)?

A: 1988. (the implication of that of course that being Fretilin became a part of CNRM IN 1988)

Q: When Portugal left East Timor, was there a government?

A: Yes. A government formed by FRETILIN.

Q: How long has Fretilin been in the Armed Struggle?

A: Since August 1975.

Q: Where did you get weapons (at that time)?

A: (we) seized weapons from Portuguese headquarters in East Timor (military installations).

(missed the next question)

presumably it was:

Q: why did you take the arms?

A: Fretilin took the arms to defend itself from the activities of UDT.

Q: Do you carry the Indonesian ID card?

A: No.

Q: Did you travel overseas to Australia.

A: Yes, 1968 & 1974.

Q: Under what passport?

A: A Portuguese one.

Then the judges asked some questions, asked for some more background to the CNRM)

XG said it was created to meet the demands of a changing situation and changing developments in East Timor. These made, the independence movement realised we needed a new organisation.

Q: What was the background to leave Fretilin and forming the CNRM.

A: Well, we thought it was beneficial, particularly as FALINTIL during that period had been seen particularly overseas as an armed force of Fretilin.

(the implications may have been that they wanted to bring all of the different arm of the independence movement in under one group) There was a question about the Commander of Falintil and Fretilin and about Fretilin relationship with Falintil but this merged into a question about the reason for the formation of CNRM and he said it was pacify and reunify parties which had had differences in the past and carried arms in the past. It unified Fretilin and UDT.

He was asked about the former members and those who are still members of the CNRM and he said he couldn't answer that,

the implication been, he didn't know the fine details.

Finally from the defence council there was a question about Xanana Gusmão involvement in October 1978 in Lospalos area in the arrangement for the transfer and protection and transfer of some young people in village, sick and old people during a time when the independence movement and the Indonesian armed forces were locked in armed exchanges. It was quite a long question to which XG basically replied Yes it took place, meaning that he had helped these people to protect them and transferred them away from the area. Could I just add that this was consistent with the tenor of the evidence given by the two defence witness during the preceding two sessions both of them gave testimony in support of the argument that Xanana Gusmão was a humanitarian and caring person etc, etc.

At that point there was little discussion the judge agreed to prosecution proposition that court adjourn until Monday 26 April next.

XANANA GUSMÃO TAKES RESPONSIBILITY FOR SANTA CRUZ DEMONSTRATION

*Sources: UPI/Jakarta and various Portuguese radio stations, 16 April 1993
Summarised and composited.*

Xanana Gusmão admitted today that he organised the demonstration in Santa Cruz in November 1991 that led to the massacre of civilians by Indonesian soldiers.

Reporting this statement made in his trial, the radio said this could cause him considerable damage as the prosecution had never sought to prove this, maintaining that resistance official Constâncio Pinto was responsible. Pinto told Portuguese Catholic Radio Monday that it was he who organised the demonstration.

The radio said the trial was adjourned till 25 April and would therefore resume after talks in Rome between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers.

Meanwhile, UPI reported that Xanana told the court that he opposed Indonesian control over East Timor since the territory's bloody invasion and annexation in 1976. "I opposed it and that's why I carried out resistance to achieve independence for East Timor," he said according to Suara Pembaruan.

He also said he sought financial backing from abroad for his independence movement but never sought arms from abroad. He confirmed ordering a flag for Falintil, the

armed wing of the resistance, from Japan through the clandestine movement in Dili.

He also told the court he met an Australian journalist in 1989 (sic) in the East Timor jungle for an interview.

LIFE DEMANDED FOR XANANA

*Editor 8 May 1993 By Totok Amin Soefijanto
Original language: Indonesian Original
title: Xanana, Life Sentence Abridged slightly*

Remark: The trial is unusual because it appears to be orchestrated by police rather than military. Not clear whether it was the journalist or the prosecutor who thought Xanana's embarrassing the state was his most serious crime.

Gerry van Klinken

Public prosecutor I Ketut Suara on 26 April demanded a life sentence for Xanana Gusmão in a 210 page indictment. Xanana was charged with rebellion against the Indonesian state [makar] and possessing illegal weapons. The court was filled with spectators, including Xanana's parents, and the Director of Police Headquarters Detective Force Brig-Gen. (Pol) Utoyo Sutopo from Jakarta.

Xanana was charged with attacking ABRI and village posts between 17 July 1976 and 20 November 1992, with his accomplices Jose da Costa (Mauhudu), Antonio Soares da Costa (Mauhunu), Antonio Campos, Luis de Oliveira, Mariano da Silva, Hendrique Belmiro, David Alex, Mutan Ruak, Lere Malai, and Constâncio Pinto – the last four still at large.

Xanana also formed the Concelho Revolucionario Resistencia Nacional as Fretilin's guerilla wing in East Timor.

He also made contact with the outside world via Ramos Horta, João Carrascalão, Abilio de Araujo, and Mario Alkatiri.

Most seriously, Xanana planned a big demonstration to greet a UN Special Rapporteur on human rights on 12 November 1991. This incident smeared Indonesia's good name internationally, reversed the diplomatic successes achieved by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, and led to the demotion or dismissal of two senior military officers, Brig-Gen. Warouw and Maj-Gen Sintong Panjaitan.

Xanana was assisted by translator police-woman Isabella Ribeiro.

XANANA VERDICT MAY BE 'HEAVIER': SINGGIH

Jakarta Post 1 May 1993. Abridged

Formally speaking, the Attorney-General is only stating the obvious, that it's up to the judge. It's alarming though that he should have decided to "state the obvious," to warn what can happen in this trial.

There is a pressing need for a world campaign at this critical moment in the Xanana trial, to stop the farce and save Xanana's life.

Jakarta is showing unusual sensitivity to international attitudes. There are many examples, the most recent being Suharto's dressing-down of Syafei after he said he wanted to close down the ICRC in Dili. Suharto knows how disastrous that would have been for his image.

If enough outrage is expressed about the gross violation of Xanana's right to speak in Portuguese, the judge may be forced to reverse his decision. This at least would make sure he can make his statement in Portuguese and everyone can know what he really wants to say. Our own statement issued yesterday, calls for a halt to the trial, the intention being to present the situation in the starkest possible terms.

(Jakarta) Attorney General Singgih says the East Timor court may convict Fretilin leader, "Xanana" Gusmão and hand down a sentence "heavier" than the life imprisonment sought by state prosecutor.

"The judge could decide a heavier or lighter sentence," Singgih was quoted as saying by the Antara news agency. It is entirely up to the court to decide on the most appropriate and just sentence for the East Timor rebel leader, he said.

The state prosecutors on Monday demanded that the Dili district court hand down a term of life imprisonment for Xanana because of his role in leading an armed rebellion in the former Portuguese colony.

The prosecutor also accused Xanana with illegal possession of fire arms, a charge that carries a maximum penalty of death.

Observers said the government refrained from pushing for the death sentence because Xanana has been very cooperative since his arrest in November and throughout his trial. He even urged the remaining few Fretilin members to surrender.

Singgih said the state prosecutor reached their sentence demand independently without pressure from any party. "If anyone says to the contrary, that's a lie. Nobody influences the attorneys in making their demand."

XANANA'S TRIAL THROWN INTO CONFUSION

ABC international report Time: 4 am 6th May 1993. Transcript

The trial of the East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has been adjourned for a week a midst confusion over a statement he was said to have made to the court. Reports from Dili say Mr. Gusmão insisted he would be allowed to testify in Portuguese. He is also reported to have denied been an Indonesian citizen. Our correspondent Ian MacIntosh has been covering the trial is talking to Tom Pale.

Ian MacIntosh: It is very difficult to tell precisely what the proceedings on day 17 of the hearing of the case against Xanana Gusmão means. It has been difficult to get independence confirmation of some aspects of the day's proceedings. I suppose most interestingly we would like to know more about why Mr. Gusmão repeatedly insisted that he be allowed to make defense statement which is a formal part of the trial process in Portuguese. Indeed for that matter what he was planning to say we certainly don't know what he was planning to say. What we do know is that the court has decided to adjourn for a week to allow the defendant time to have his defense statement translated into Bahasa Indonesia, the official language, not only of the trial but of the country.

The other important, I think, would be to find out a precisely what Xanana Gusmão said in Portuguese, which a number of eye witnesses in the court have told us, that it was translated into Indonesian in these terms **"I am not an Indonesian citizen, and I withdraw Mr. Sudjono,"** (that is his lawyer) **authority to defend me.**" It would be interesting to ascertain precisely whether the translation was firstly, accurate, and secondly what it meant, particularly given Mr. Gusmão previous admission that he considered himself an Indonesian citizen before the court.

Q: There has been criticism of the court translation in the past, hasn't it?

Ian MacIntosh: It has indeed, independent observers have raised a number of questions about the quality, the scope and the accuracy of the translation from time to time, at the sessions that I've attended the interpreting has not always been verbatim, in other words it hasn't covered every word spoken during the proceedings. Certainly in the direction from Bahasa Indonesia to Portuguese. And for that matter the other important language in East Timor, the major local language Tetum has also been a problem for some of the Timorese witnesses, who prefer to speak in that language.

So, I think, yet again we have an illustration of problems involved in such a trial where we are looking at possibly three languages and it has raised the question which independent observers seem more certain to raise in their end of trial report about the reliability of translation.

Q: If the report that Xanana Gusmão comments are accurate, do you think it dignifies the changed of tactics by the East Timorese resistance leader?

Ian: There is simply no way of knowing. There has been rumours from time to time, that perhaps Xanana Gusmão may not have fully capitulated the authorities that some of his statements may have been with a strategy or plan in mind. This is not backed up by any firm evidence that anybody has at the moment. And all we can do is speculate on this particular statement or the statements made during the court session until such time as I said earlier we can get independent confirmation of the accuracy of what was said and of the translation. I am reminded however, of a statement that Xanana Gusmão made to reporters last February the 3rd, that was the second day of his trial, in which he said you must attend this process until the end. It is a statement which those of us who have been covering the trial continue to ponder.

XANANA GUSMÃO TRIAL MUST NOT CONTINUE

TAPOL issued this press release on 6 May

The refusal of the Dili district court yesterday to allow East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão to read his defence plea in Portuguese is a grave violation of his right to address the court in the language of his choice. By insisting that the defendant deliver his plea in Indonesian, the judges have shown that the trial is a farce and should not be allowed to continue, said TAPOL today in protest.

Xanana Gusmão, 46, has been on trial since 1 February this year, charged with rebellion and with illegal possession of firearms. The juridical basis of the trial has been deeply flawed from the start as many of the defendant's rights have already been violated, including his freedom to choose a lawyer. At yesterday's court hearing, Xanana also announced that he had withdrawn his power of attorney to Sudjono, the Indonesian lawyer who had privileged access to Xanana while he was being held at the police headquarters in Jakarta.

Xanana was scheduled to present his defence plea yesterday after the prosecutor asked the court on 26 April to sentence him to life imprisonment.

At yesterday's hearing, Judge Hieronymus Godang said that the defendant could not speak in Portuguese even though Xanana has spoken in Portuguese throughout the trial, assisted by interpreters. The hearing was adjourned and presentation of his statement was postponed until it has been translated into Indonesian.

Xanana hardly speaks any Indonesian and is not likely to be able to, or to want to, use the language of his oppressors. Moreover, the court requirement is in violation of Article 14(f) of the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that anyone charged in a court of law, shall "have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court."

The court's decision to set up this language barrier probably stems from the fear that Xanana will present a strong condemnation of the proceedings. For months, the Indonesian authorities have sought to convince the international community that Xanana was "collaborating" with them and had effectively betrayed his seventeen years' struggle against Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor.

TAPOL calls on all solidarity groups, parliamentarians and human rights organisations around the world to condemn the trial as unlawful, to call for an end to the farce and call for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão.

XANANA WANTS TO CONTROL HIS OWN DEFENSE

Jakarta Post, 7 and 8 May 1993

Dateline: Dili, Abridged

Comment: Building up a picture of what happened at the Xanana trial hearing on 5 May, it is now clear that Xanana kept secret, from his lawyer and from everyone else, his intention to present a defence statement of his own. From a protected source, we know that he produced from his pocket a two-page hand-written document in Portuguese, apparently while Sudjono was reading out his defence plea as Xanana's lawyer. What happened later is explained in the following items.

It is also clear that Xanana does not want Sudjono to defend him. If, as appears from reports, he agreed during the recess in Wednesday's hearing to withdraw his announcement to dismiss Sudjono, this is because he may have been told that the trial could not continue without a lawyer. At this point, Xanana's main concern is to be able to read out his statement in court. The issue of Sudjono's status is of secondary importance at this moment.

The danger now is that the authorities may try to falsify his statement by presenting something in Indonesian which distorts his own statement.

If Xanana turns up in court on 12 May with his statement in Portuguese and an English translation, the judge may try to prevent either from being read out and only allow Sudjono to read his defence statement. This will mean gagging Xanana and will render the trial even more unlawful than it already is.

It is only to be hoped that more foreign journalists attend this week's hearing than were present on 5 May; apparently only AFP (an Indonesian stringer?) and Ian MacIntosh of ABC were there.

From JP, 8 May:

The lawyers defending Xanana Gusmão said yesterday they are troubled by their client's refusal to allow his defense statement to be translated [into Indonesian]. Sudjono who is leading the defense team said Xanana now intends to translate his statement written in Portuguese into English by himself.

Xanana who is charged with leading an armed rebellion forced (sic) the court to postpone his trial when he surprised the judges and his own lawyers by insisting that

he present his own closing arguments in Portuguese.

The court adjourned until May 12 to give the defence lawyers time to translate Xanana's statement into Indonesian.

Sudjono told reporters shortly before embarking for Jakarta that he had no knowledge of the contents of a two-page hand-written statement which Xanana had prepared.

Sudjono said yesterday that Xanana had retracted a statement he made to the court Wednesday in which he appeared to dismiss Sudjono and his team of lawyers. According to Sudjono who later consulted with his client (sic), Xanana did not mean to discharge his lawyer, but simply wanted to be allowed to present his own statement to the lawyers.

JP, 7 May

The Dili court was forced to adjourn the trial of Xanana Gusmão after the defendant surprised the courtroom by requesting to read his defense in Portuguese. The trial was adjourned to allow Xanana's lawyer to translate the defense statement into Indonesian.

"In today's session, it was the defendant and his lawyer's turn to deliver their defense and on this occasion, Xanana wished to read it in a foreign language, Portuguese," said a court official.

Xanana's action took many by surprise. He had been very cooperative since he was indicted on 1 February for rebellion.

A source who wishes to remain anonymous told Jakarta Post that the trial was already underway with Xanana's lawyer reading his defense when "a small incident" occurred and the presiding judge adjourned the session. No further information is available about the incident. [*Why? It was an open session so why be so mysterious?*]

In Jakarta Frans Winata [*an LBH lawyer who stoutly defended East Timorese defendants last year in Jakarta*] strongly opposed the life sentence demand, saying it was too harsh for Xanana who had not only fought against Jakarta but also against the colonial administration of Portugal. He pointed out that there had been more prosecution witnesses that the defense.

Winata said that trial had been going on excessively long and had been bogged down in trivialities.

OBSERVERS KEPT FROM XANANA'S TRIAL

Radio Australia, PACNEWS ED-1, MAY 12 1993

The hearing of charges against the captured East Timorese independence leader, Xanana Gusmão, resumed today.

But a number of foreign observers who had planned to be in the Dili District Court for the 18th day of the trial have not been able to travel there.

Shortly before the departure of yesterday's direct flight from Bali to Dili, six passengers with boarding passes were told the aircraft was overbooked and there were no seats left.

Three were diplomats from the Japanese, British and US embassies in Jakarta. The others were a United Nations official, his interpreter and a Japanese journalist.

All had planned to attend today's court session.

There was no immediate explanation of the incident, but a US embassy spokesman last night said Ambassador Robert Barry had taken up the matter with the Indonesian government. The spokesman said Jakarta had agreed to facilitate the trip of a US official who will be going to East Timor today.

But today's regular flight was not due in Dili until several hours after the court's normal starting time.

Today's court sitting follows an adjournment last Wednesday to give Mr. Gusmão time to translate his defence statement from Portuguese into Indonesian.

UN CONCERN AT XANANA TRIAL

The Guardian, London, 11 May 1993

By Margaret Coles, Unabridged

(London) Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader who is being tried for rebellion, had been refused permission to read his own defence statement in his own language of Portuguese, in violation of United Nations rights.

The prosecution in the trial in Dili, the capital of East Timor, has asked for Mr. Gusmão to be given a life sentence.

He was due to present his defence last Wednesday. Judge Hieronymus Godang said that Mr. Gusmão must speak Indonesian, of which he has little knowledge, although he had used Portuguese throughout the trial. The hearing will resume tomorrow, when Mr. Gusmão is due to read his statement in Indonesian.

The court's action violates article 14 of the UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that the accused shall "have the free assistance of an interpreter if he cannot understand or speak the language used in court."

The UN Secretary-General's office has privately expressed dismay at the ruling and may approach Indonesia on the issue.

XANANA HANDS 26-PAGE DEFENSE PAPER

13 May 1993 Radio Australia Time: 1am news (international news), Unabridged/transcript by ETRA.

Newsreader: A defense lawyer for East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has asked for a lenient sentence for his client according to a report by the AFP newsagency.

According to the report Gusmão's lawyer Sudjono asked for a light sentence sighting lack of evidence on two main charges plotting against the State and the illegal possession of firearms.

During the court session on Wednesday Gusmão handed over his own 26-page defense statement in Portuguese to chief judge Hieronymus Godang during the session on Wednesday.

Early it was unclear whether the plea would be made public or only the judge would be allowed to read it, but the Antara newsagency quoted Godang as saying the defendant would be allowed to read it translated from Portuguese into Indonesian.

Godang adjourned the previous court session last week to allow the defendant time to prepare his plea in Indonesian, but Sudjono said they had only succeeded in translating six pages of the plea from Portuguese.

The court is scheduled to resume on Thursday, with the prosecutor reading his counter plea.

Four observers, a United Nations representative and three diplomats from the United States, Japan and Britain are expected to attend the court session on Thursday.

XANANA DEFENSE STATEMENT WILL NOT BE MADE PUBLIC

TAPOL report, 12 May 1993

The following is based on reports received so far from UPI, AFP, and the Dutch daily, NRC Handelsblad, all filed from Jakarta, regarding the session on 12 May of the trial of Xanana Gusmão in Dili:

1. Xanana was not allowed to read out his defence plea, a hand-written document in Portuguese which, according to one report, is 26 pages long. He handed the document to the judge who announced that it would be included in the trial documents **but would not be made public.** (NRC Handelsblad)

2. This is the first hearing in the trial since it commenced on 1 February at which no foreign observers at all were present,

diplomats, journalists or independent observers. (NRC-Handelsblad)

3. A UN representative, Mr. T. Samuel (who accompanied Amos Wako, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, on his trip to Dili last month), and diplomats from the US, Japan and Britain were all barred from leaving Denpasar for Dili the night before the hearing so were prevented from attending Wednesday's session. AFP reports that Indonesian security men barred them from leaving for Dili. Two journalists, one Dutch (from NRC-Handelsblad) and one Japanese (from the Tokyo Broadcasting System, TBS), were also prevented from going to Dili, despite having official permission.

4. The UN representative and the three diplomats who returned to Jakarta Tuesday night left for Dili again on Wednesday, but only after their respective ambassadors had intervened with the Indonesian government. By the time they arrived in Dili, the Wednesday session had ended. They all, diplomats and journalists, had been told on Tuesday that the flight they were to board had been overbooked. (AFP)

5. A spokesman for the US embassy told AFP that "an American diplomat and some other foreigners were stopped from boarding the Denpasar-Dili flight. The US ambassador discussed the matter with the government and the ambassador sent an embassy representative to Dili this morning (Wednesday). The Indonesian government agreed yesterday to clear the way for his trip to East Timor," the diplomat added, on the understanding that security police would not again block him in Bali, the boarding point for Dili.

Another western diplomat in Jakarta said the Indonesian attitude "could perhaps be explained by the fear that Xanana Gusmão would present a lively defence." Another diplomat said: "The Indonesian security service move won't go down well. Indonesia has said the trial is open, and yet they've tried to ensure that it isn't, even blocking a UN representative."

6. The UPI report which is devoted mainly to outlining the defence statement by the lawyer, Sudjono, said that the session was attended "by hundreds of spectators, several military and government officials."

7. The trial was adjourned to Thursday, 13 May.

The following are additional remarks from TAPOL:

8. TAPOL has heard that the British embassy also "made representations" with the Jakarta government about their diplomat being prevented from going to Dili for the Wednesday hearing.

9. With Xanana gagged and Sudjono having completed the presentation of his statement, the 13 May session will presumably be the occasion for the prosecution to present his 'replik,' a counter to the defence arguments. The defence is then formally given the chance to present a 'duplik,' countering the prosecution statement. This is the last stage before the verdict. This is the session that the diplomats will attend, one of mere formalities, it would seem. It is not clear whether foreign journalists will again try to be present.

10. The authorities plan to have the court announce the verdict on Monday, 17 May. This is the day on which a group of Portuguese journalists have been granted permission to attend the trial. They have permission to be in Dili for one day only and are required to leave the capital immediately after the trial ends. Some sought to get permission to be in Dili on 12 May to hear Xanana's defence but the terms of their visit to Indonesia and Dili were not altered to allow this to happen. The Portuguese journalists have in fact only been allowed to witness the opening sessions and now the closing session, when the entire proceedings consist of official presentations and formalities.

11. What a stage-managed farce!

[NB: Some points in this report conflict with the previous report filed by Radio Australia. Hopefully in the next day or two, we will get a fuller picture of what actually happened, especially Judge Godang's ruling about Xanana's document. TAPOL]

INTERPRETER FORCED ON XANANA

Publico, 13 May 1993

Dateline: Lisbon

By São Jose Almeida

Original Lang.: Portuguese, Unabridged

Indonesia stopped a UN representative, and three diplomats – American, Japanese and British – from going to Dili to hear Xanana's final statements, which in the end were not read out just in Portuguese. Preparations for a meeting are underway, between Boutros Ghali and the Timorese. In Lisbon, Ramos-Horta promises that an independent Timor would amnesty the "collaborators," and accuses Sudjono of being in Indonesia's service.

According to Bishop Ximenes Belo, who spoke on the phone to Publico, yesterday the Dili court continued to hear an interpreter's translation into Indonesian of Xanana Gusmão's final statements. In this way, it was impossible for the defendant to address the judge only in Portuguese, as had

been Xanana's intention. This information was confirmed by later telephone calls to Dili. The Bishop of Dili was unable, however, to give any details of the content of Xanana's intervention, and could only suggest it would be "better to ask the court."

The restrictions imposed by Indonesia on the trial hearing, which went on yesterday and today, also extended to four diplomats. An envoy from the UN Secretary General as well as the Secretaries from the US, Japanese and British embassies were stopped on Tuesday from entering the place which would take them from Denpasar, the Bali capital, to Dili, where they wanted to be present for Xanana's defence.

Yesterday, the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) representative Ramos-Horta assured a press conference in Lisbon that this prohibition was justified by the excuse that there were no seats left on the flight.

Ramos Horta went on to explain that, after diplomatic protests, namely from the US, the diplomats were told that they could continue their journey to Dili the following day. According to the CNRM representative, they were stopped because "Indonesia is afraid of the (Xanana's) statement." Ramos Horta said that the Eritrean diplomat, M.T. Samuel, who is "Alvaro de Soto's assistant," was in Dili last week, and had gone to Jakarta for the weekend, and was meant to return to be the UN's representative at the trial.

The CNRM representative added that he had appealed to the UN to obtain Xanana's testimony, so that impartial experts could check the handwriting and signature do, in fact, belong to the former leader of the Timorese resistance.

Ramos-Horta emphasised the fact that "nobody heard Xanana Gusmão's voice" state at the trial that he was "an Indonesian citizen." He added that both the Portuguese journalists and the diplomats only confirmed that what "they heard had been the official interpreter translating Xanana's alleged reply." He also underlined that Xanana Gusmão "dispensed with his defence lawyer's services."

Meanwhile, a telex made public yesterday by Lusa, based on an Associated Press telegram originating from Dili, presented Sudjono as still being Xanana's defence attorney, saying that yesterday the lawyer had refuted all the accusations made against the former Resistance leader. The same Lusa telex stated that Xanana had spent 12 hours on Tuesday with Sudjono translating his testimony into Indonesian, only managing to translate one-fifth of its 27 pages – for which the former Resistance leader is said to have apologized to the court.

Still referring to Xanana, Ramos-Horta assured that he had been "injected and tortured," just as "Stalin's prisoners" had been. But he thought that Xanana would not be charged on account of the statements he made during the recording with Abilio Osorio, which reached Portugal on 1 December. He considered that if Ma'Huno has not been pressured to make a similar kind of public statement, it must only be because of the bad impression Xanana's "interview" caused internationally, and which has "discouraged" Indonesia.

Boutros Ghali with the Timorese

During yesterday's press conference, Ramos-Horta also gave out the news that, in the last meeting with Durão Barroso, "Ali Alatas finally agreed on the Secretary General taking appropriate initiatives towards more formal meetings with Timorese representatives." He went on to explain that this acceptance included a meeting between Boutros Ghali and Timorese leaders.

Recognizing that this meeting "is not absolutely definite," Ramos-Horta said that "it should only take place at a certain stage in the negotiations, not necessarily before the next meeting between the ministers" Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas. And he underlined the need for the UN to "create conditions for representatives of the internal Resistance to be present at the meeting, and for Bishop Ximenes Belo to take part in it.

He rejected Abilio Araujo's proposal that a meeting between Timorese in favour of and against annexation should be held. "If the solution for Timor were a meeting between Abilio Araujo and the Pablo Escobar of Indonesia (Abilio Osorio Soares), then the UN would wash its hands of the matter. For the love of God, you must be joking!"

Ramos-Horta promises an amnesty

But, although he believes that talks between Resistance and pro-annexation Timorese are not viable in the current situation, Ramos-Horta said that, "when Timor were independent, the collaborators and those favouring annexation would have to be amnestied. It would not be right for us not to forgive our greatest adversaries."

With regards Portuguese diplomacy, he thought it had had a "positive impact," namely its insistence on vetoing the signing of the agreement between the European Community and ASEAN. Referring to the difficult position internationally in which Indonesia has been placed, especially following the UN Human Rights Commission's condemnatory resolution, Ramos-Horta alerted that President Suharto could be in Tokyo during the G-7 meeting. Officially, this would be to lobby the richer nations with a view to North-South rela-

tions, but the real reason would be "to regain legitimacy" for his regime, assured Ramos-Horta.

Outraged by Suharto's presence in Tokyo, Ramos-Horta asked: "Why don't they invite Saddam Hussein or Ghadafi to the G-7 summit as well?" But he appeared to have hopes in the Clinton Administration, referring to the "statements of commitment" to the struggle of the Timorese which Constâncio Pinto "heard from the mouth of Vice-President Al Gore."

CONFUSION OVER JUDGE'S RULING

TAPOL report, 13 May 1993

Following our report last night, we received an AFP report filed from Dili on 12 May. The report carries no byline, unlike the AFP report from Jakarta which was bylined Pascal Mallet, the AFP French office chief. The report is internally inconsistent. It is probably filed by an Indonesian stringer.

Regarding Xanana's defence statement, the report says:

Gusmão handed over his own 26-page defence statement in Portuguese to Chief Judge Hieronymus Godang during the 90-minute session. A reliable source said the plea would not be made public and that only the judge would be allowed to read it, but the Antara news agency quoted Godang as saying that the defendant would be allowed to read it, if it was translated.

"The defendant Xanana is still given a chance to read his defence statement if he or his defence lawyer asks the panel of judges to," Antara quoted Godang as saying. [The report does not specify whether Godang said this during the trial hearing or afterwards, outside the court.]

It is important to note that the diplomats went to Dili by chartered plane supplied by the government, an indication that Jakarta decided to bypass Syafei in Bali who might have stopped them again.

The clash of interests between the army/Syafei and Suharto/Alatas helps to explain the extraordinary events in the courtroom as well. Normally, judges hearing political trials are used to having their instructions from the executive. Nothing new about that. But Godang is being buffeted between two forces, the army going for the total gagging of Xanana, Alatas et al knowing that this would have serious repercussions internationally. This probably explains the contradictory signals he has been giving about whether or not to make Xanana's statement public.

He will try to use legalistic arguments to exclude sections of Xanana's defence. The

big problem now is to get the true version of what Xanana wants to say in court.

JUDGE WARNS XANANA RE DEFENSE

TAPOL Report, 13 May 1993

Here is a round-up of reporting of the Xanana trial hearing of today, 13 May 1993. Our sources are AFP, UPI and Radio Australia, all filing from Jakarta which seems to mean that no foreign journalists attending today's hearing:

1. Presiding Judge, Hieronymus Godang announced after a 30-minute adjournment, that the trial was adjourned till Monday, 17 May to give the defendant the chance to read his defence plea in Indonesian (sic). "The two state-appointed translators are expected to complete translating Gusmão's handwritten plea not later than Friday," Dili court spokesman Firman Simanjuntak told AFP by phone.

2. Radio Australia reported that Judge Godang informed Xanana that he would have the chance to read his statement, once the 26-page statement had been fully translated into Indonesian. But the defendant was warned that his plea must address the prosecution charges and legal issues. "Other matters raised would be regarded as irrelevant to the case."

3. Three foreign diplomats and a UN official were present at today's hearing.

Comment:

1. The tussle over the diplomats' presence at the trial has for now been won by Jakarta over Major-Gen. Theo Syafei in Bali who, as Udayana commander, must have been the one to order that the diplomats not be allowed to continue to Dili Tuesday evening in time for Wednesday's session. No doubt Suharto was behind Alatas in insisting that they go to Dili, probably as a result of pressure from the UN in New York.

2. It is probable too that there was pressure on Godang to rescind his ruling that the statement would not be made public. This may have come through the Supreme Court, though Suharto would have been behind this too, to avoid an international diplomatic disaster. However Godang is still intent on gagging parts of the statement.

3. Clearly the critical question now is to gain access to the Xanana document as written in Portuguese. Only that can be regarded as his true statement. He can have no way of affirming that the translation into Indonesian is a correct version.

4. Now we know for sure why Godang refused to allow him to read his statement in Portuguese. Only after there is a translation

can Godang possibly know which parts of the statement need to be excluded.

JUDGE WARNS XANANA

14th May 1993, Radio National, 4.15am (international report)

Reporter: Ian MacIntosh, Dateline: Jakarta

NEWSREADER: East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has been told he will be able to present his own defense plea to the Dili district court where he is currently trial charged with separatism, rebellion, conspiracy and firearms offenses.

On Wednesday, Mr. Gusmão defense read the court a 67-page plea which argued that the Indonesian Government had not proven key aspect of its case against the defendant.

Xanana Gusmão's personal plea handwritten in Portuguese was not read out merely handed to the court, but as Ian MacIntosh from Jakarta the judges yesterday confirmed that the defendant would be able to make his statement.

IAN MACINTOSH: After the defense council Sudjono on Wednesday finished reading his lengthy plea questioning Jakarta's case against Xanana Gusmão and asking for leniency, it appeared the Dili district court adjourned for 24-hours would next hear the prosecution's response or counter-plea. Whilst doubts persisted about the fate of Mr. Gusmão's Portuguese language defense statement, the official Indonesian newsagency Antara late Wednesday quoted the court chairman judge Hieronymus Godang, as saying the defendant would be allowed to read it out once it had translated into Indonesian and Mr. Gusmão or his lawyer had asked permission to do so. And that, after some confusion at the start of the 19th trial session yesterday was how the court ruled.

The prosecution first told the judges it had only just received the copy of Mr. Gusmão handwritten statement and was not ready to answer it. And the defendant said he still wanted the chance to read his plea to the court. So, as well as warning Xanana Gusmão that his statement should stick to questions of law and the charges against him judge Godang told the accused the plea could be read to the court after its translation was completed.

Trial observers expect that process to be finished at the weekend and Mr. Gusmão to make his defense statement during the next sitting scheduled for Monday. Although it was not specifically stated the sources said the ruling implied that Xanana Gusmão's plea would be heard in Portuguese, the language of East Timor's former colonial masters and of many of its current popula-

tion including those oppose to Indonesia's rule in the disputed territory.

That prospect has raised speculation the defendant who has shown few signs of defiance during his long trial, might use the occasion to make a strong political statement or give supporters of East Timorese independence some new rallying cry.

The counter view is that, if the authorities have seen the written argument and having it translated, Mr. Gusmão has little room for such maneuvering. Whatever the outcome the trial continues to fascinate observers. Among their number at recent sessions has been T. Samuel from the political affairs dept. of the United Nations Secretariat in New York. UN officials have confirmed that Mr. Samuel who visited Jakarta and Dili last month was Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali's personal envoy Amos Wako has been attending the trial this month under an agreement reached at the recent Rome talks on East Timor attended by Dr. Boutros Ghali and the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal. He was also one of the small group of diplomats and journalists off loaded from a flight to Dili last Tuesday. That incident which brought quick protests from the British, US and Japanese embassies in Jakarta, saw Mr. Samuel his interpreter and diplomats from the three countries affected flown to East Timor early the next morning on an aircraft chartered by the Indonesian Government.

Whilst every effort has been made to minimize any damage arising from Tuesday's events diplomats say there were a serious embarrassment to the Suharto administration. With the high profile Dili trial nearing its end and further UN sponsored talks on the future of the former Portuguese scheduled for New York in September.

CNRM: XANANA'S TRIAL, INDONESIA'S SHAME

The National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) issued the following press release in Lisbon on 14 May 1993:

The trial of the Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, has been a farce and requires immediate international scrutiny and denunciation.

Since his capture in November 1992, he has been visited only once by delegates of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC).

The reputation of his military-appointed lawyer, Mr. Sudjono, is very low among colleagues and has given rise to cynicism and serious concern.

Attempts by Xanana's immediate relatives in East Timor and Australia to engage the services of well-known human rights lawyers from the prestigious Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute (LBH) were opposed by the military who preferred the more pliable, inexperienced and obscure Mr. Sudjono.

The president of the ICRC, Mr. Sommaruga, stated last week in Jakarta that ICRC access to East Timor and prisoners in the occupied territory has not been satisfactory. Indonesia's deliberate actions to undermine the mandate of the Geneva-based humanitarian organisation has been in violation of its obligations under international humanitarian law.

The Special Representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM), Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta, a leading international human rights expert, stated in Lisbon today:

"The Indonesian authorities have no jurisdiction over East Timor under international law. Indonesian leaders responsible for the conduct of the war in East Timor are guilty of war crimes and crimes against humanity."

Referring to the legal charade leveled against Mr. Xanana Gusmão, Mr. Ramos-Horta said:

"The Indonesian military authorities are a law unto themselves and have not had even the pretense of according the defendant the appearance of a fair hearing. They have refused him the right to speak Portuguese which is his first language. The judges' behaviour in this matter has exposed their lack of respect for the independence of the judiciary."

XANANA GAGGED. VERDICT ON FRIDAY

Sources: AFP and Reuter, both filing from Jakarta, not Dili, 17 May 1993

Abridged by TAPOL.

The East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão was only allowed to read three pages of his 28-page defence in court today. Judge Hieronymus Godang stopped him after the prosecutor had protested three times, complaining that "his statements were not relevant to the charges."

His lawyer Sudjono, speaking by phone to AFP in Jakarta said: "It is not a fair decision because there are no rules in the Indonesian criminal procedures code saying that the defendant's defence plea should be in accordance with the prosecutor's charges."

Sudjono did not elaborate on the content of Gusmão's defence but said it was about East Timor's integration into Indonesia

which the defendant said he did not recognise.

Witnesses contacted Monday said security was more strict than on previous days and those attending the trial had to produce a permit from the police. The sound system which usually relayed the court proceedings to people listening outside was also not working.

Reuter, in Jakarta, quoted an official in Dili, contacted by phone as saying: "He was stopped after a few minutes. His defence was considered irrelevant by the judges."

Neither AFP nor Reuter said whether foreign observers were present at the trial today. According to our own sources, several diplomats from Jakarta were expected to attend, including an Italian diplomat attending on behalf of the European Community.

The court announced that it will pass its verdict on Friday, after the prosecutor read out his counter-plea.

END THIS COURTROOM FARCE, FREE XANANA GUSMÃO!

INDONESIAN COURT SILENCES THE DEFENDANT

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign today, 17 May 1993, issued the following press release:

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader on trial in an Indonesian court in Dili, the capital of occupied East Timor, was prevented from reading his defence today. After only eight minutes, as he reached page three of his 28-page statement, Xanana was ordered to stop by presiding judge, Hieronymus Godang, who alleged that his defence was "irrelevant to the case."

The prosecutor had already protested three times that Xanana was "not addressing the prosecution charges." There is nothing in Indonesian law to require the defendant to restrict himself to answering the charges.

The trial has no foundation in law as Indonesia's annexation of East Timor has not been recognised by the UN. The decision to charge the resistance leader with rebellion against the illegal occupation of his country is farcical. The prosecution also charged Xanana with unlawful possession of firearms for which the maximum penalty is death. After preventing the defendant from reading his defence, the court said it will pass its verdict on Friday, 21 May. At an earlier session, the prosecutor asked the court to give Xanana a life sentence; later the Indonesian Attorney-General declared that there is nothing to stop the court from sentencing him to death.

Xanana told the court in the few minutes he was allowed to speak that the court has no jurisdiction to try him, that he rejects Indonesia's claim to have integrated East Timor and that he is not an Indonesian citizen. Hence claims that Xanana adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Indonesia following his capture are shown to be fabrications.

Speaking after hearing the news of today's developments, Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL said:

"The trial has been a farce from start to finish. The court's decision to prevent him from reading his defence means that it was a resounding indictment of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The trial should not be allowed to continue. Xanana must be freed without delay. His life is now in danger. Everything must be done to protect Xanana from his captors."

She called on the British Government and the European Community to protest strongly over today's events to the Indonesian Government and to press for Xanana's immediate release.

Additional comment:

A point not made in this Press Release is, I think, very important for any planned protests. I have monitored political trials in Indonesian courts for many years but have never known a case where the court refused to allow the defendant to present his defence. I have always regarded a court-room as the one place in Indonesia where a political opponent can speak his/her mind freely during the defence statement, without interruption, and almost invariably heard too over the public sound-system. I cannot remember a case where this has not happened. Certainly, defence statements when later published have been banned, but never to my knowledge halted in court.

Almost any defence statement made in a political trial relates only partially, if at all, to the prosecution charges. Going back to the major PKI trials in the 1960s (I recall in particular Sudiman's trial) as well as the major student trials in the 1970s as well as the East Timorese trials in 1992, the defence statements have been clear political statements. Hence the argument that Xanana had to address only prosecution charges and legal issues is an unlawful restraint.

The restraints on Xanana are therefore unprecedented.

COMMENT ON LEGALITY OF XANANA'S GAGGING

From David Bouchier, May 18.

As far as I know, Carmel is right that Xanana's gagging is unprecedented. Judges do rule that some statements are 'irrelevant,'

but this happens mostly during the cross-examination of witnesses, not during the defence speeches of defendants (either the *eksepsi* or *pleidoi*). Even where defence speeches have gone into considerable detail about issues as sensitive and 'irrelevant' as Suharto's role in the 1965 coup, judges have not intervened. Such statements were often made in the context of subversion trials. If anything, a criminal trial such as Xanana's ought to offer more protection. Whatever the precise legal basis of the right to speak freely in court was before 1981, it would appear to have been strengthened after that year with the introduction of the new Code of Criminal Procedure (KUHAP) which contains at least two relevant articles:

Art 52: During the process of examination, both at the level of investigation and during the trial, the suspect or the defendant has the right [berhak] to speak freely to the investigators and the judge.

(The official elaboration [*Penjelasan*] of article 52 reads: In order that the examination reveals the true facts, the suspect or the defendant must be protected from intimidation [*dijauhkan dari rasa takut*]. Therefore any kind of force or pressure on the suspect or the defendant must be prevented.) Art 153 (2) b) The head judge must ensure that nothing occurs and that no questions are asked which obstruct either the defendant or the witnesses from speaking freely [during the trial]

Also, for the record, article 177(1) of the Code of Criminal Procedure ensures the right of the defendant to the assistance of an interpreter free of charge if he/she cannot understand or speak the language used in court.

Judge Godang's ruling Xanana's speech 'irrelevant' is not only out of line with Indonesian practice, but also with the above articles of the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure. This point ought to be stressed in any protests or diplomatic representations made to the Indonesian government.

DEFENCE PLEA OF XANANA GUSMÃO (EXCERPTS)

These are excerpts from the 28-page defence plea, hand-written in Portuguese, that was presented in the Dili district court on 17 May 1993 by the defendant, Xanana Gusmão. After reading the first two pages, the court ordered him to stop.

These translated excerpts were made available to the press and others on 21 May 1993 by TAPOL.

First of all, I would like to thank you for the opportunity you have afforded me to express myself freely, without coercion of any kind.

I have always insisted in all my conversations with everyone, including my conversation with the Indonesian ambassador to the United Nations, Mr. Nugroho, that considering the circumstances under which my earlier statements in Jakarta were made, they cannot be construed as being credible.

This is the appropriate moment for me to explain everything. I hope that Indonesian intellectuals will understand my frame of mind at this moment when I am making use of my freedom of expression as a result of the rights which I have.

I hope that the new Indonesian generation, or to be more precise, the Indonesian youth will appreciate the importance of the law on freedom both as a fundamental aspect of human life today and in the modern society in which we live.

I hope finally that the international community will appreciate the worth of all my declarations, considering the time and place in which they were made.

I thank you once again, honorable judge, for allowing me to speak in my own defence.

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I am resistance commander Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Maubere resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of the 7 December 1975 and the criminal and illegal occupation of ET for the last 17 years.

On 22 November last year in Denpasar, I signed a document in which I affirmed that according to international law, I continue to be, like all Timorese, a Portuguese citizen and before my own conscience I am a citizen of East Timor.

It is in these terms that I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me, and particularly the jurisdiction of this court which has been imposed by force of arms and crimes against my homeland, East Timor.

I believe that the international press has not failed to notice the massive political stage-managing has occurred. In case this has gone unnoticed, I now want to draw the attention of everyone to the fact that I feel like a foreigner in my own land. In prison at Polwil [the regional police command] I am completely surrounded by Indonesians; officers from BAIS [the Strategic Intelligence Agency] and men from Kopassus [the red-beret elite troops] are my warders. I asked for a visit from the Bishop and they sent me an Indian priest who is a defender of integration.

Here in this so-called court, I see only Indonesians and above all, Indonesian military from Kopassus and BAIS. According to Indonesian law, trials of this nature are, or should take place in, public.

Every time that I enter this courtroom, the public that I see are these same military authorities, some of whom have been the main actors in my case, throughout my imprisonment. The Timorese, my compatriots, are out in the street under strict surveillance. This is the blatant rule of the occupier. This is the display of foreign oppression, foreign domination which flaunts the arrogant contempt of the colonisers.

The question of East Timor is the responsibility of the international community, a question of international law. It is a case in which universal principles are at stake, a case where the decolonisation norms of the UN have been manipulated, a case where Indonesia has disregarded the resolutions of the UN, a case therefore of the flagrant violation of the principles of the Non-Aligned Movement, and of the universal pattern of law, peace and justice.

Every Indonesian is bound to the policy of their own nation, and their understanding of East Timor is the product of how their government sees it, unless they listen to their own consciences and commit themselves to the universal principles of justice, freedom and the rule of law.

For 17 years, East Timor, the other side of the coin, has been the story of the great Indonesian farce. For almost four months I have been used as part of this shameful farce. Whether cleverly or unfortunately is not for me to judge.

This court claims that it is trying me for crimes committed against the Indonesian state and for the illegal possession of firearms. I know that everything has been arranged for me to be acquitted...

The ones who should be standing before an international court are, in the first place,

- the Indonesian government for crimes committed in the past 17 years in East Timor;
- the US administration which gave the green light to the invasion on 7 December 1975 and have since given military aid and political support for Indonesia's genocide in East Timor;
- the governments of Australia and western Europe for their policy of complicity towards Indonesia;
- and finally, the Portuguese government for its grave irresponsibility in the decolonisation of East Timor.

The UN recognises as legitimate all means of opposition to the colonial presence in any part of the world where people are fighting for liberation. My struggle and the resistance of my people and of Falintil [the armed forces of the East Timorese resistance movement, the CNRM, the National Council of Maubere Resistance]

should be placed in this context, standing above Indonesian law.

Mr. Sudjono, in his demurrer [eksepsi] tried to adopt a more liberal position when he questioned the 'Balibo Declaration,' but he did not deal with the fundamental problem – the illegality of the annexation of East Timor by means of force. The key question in this court is the so-called "process of the integration of East Timor."

I remind you here that in Denpasar I was compelled to make statements apologising to the Indonesian army for the massacre of Santa Cruz, a massacre which was perpetrated by the Indonesian army and not by me. I remind you as well that in Jakarta, I declared, on the specific instructions of the puppet governor, Abilio Osorio, that I was prepared to surrender.

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This court must surely agree with me that it went too far in saying that Fretilin "dared to impose its will on the people" and that the afore-mentioned Bali Beach proclamation [the 'Balibo Declaration,' purportedly signed in Balibo, East Timor, by several East Timorese on 30 November 1975, was in fact signed in Bali, Indonesia at the Bali Beach Hotel] expressed the genuine will of the people of East Timor. The court omitted the political element which would have given it the juridical validity on which everyone insists: representation of the will of the majority of the people. This is the *conditio sine qua non*.

Until this very moment, the UN does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, a sovereignty which was imposed by the means of force, by the practice of violence and the systematic violation of the most fundamental human rights.

This court mentioned the date 17 December 1975 as the day of the formation of a provisional government and a local assembly. And since all the Indonesians have forgotten, it is my duty to recall here the tragic day, 7 December of that same year. The 7 December 1975 which witnessed the cowardly and shameful Indonesian invasion, the day on which Indonesian troops indiscriminately massacred the defenceless population of Dili, causing thousands of deaths among the elderly, women and children, including an Australian journalist.

While the Balibo statement was signed with the blood of four Australian journalists who were murdered by Indonesian troops during the attack on the village of Balibo, the so-called Indonesian provisional government was formed over the corpses of the Timorese massacred between the 7 and the 17 of December of that year.

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A government which was established to the accompaniment of the sound the sea and land shelling of the defenceless population, to the sound of advancing tanks and canons, can such a government claim any juridical standing? In my opinion, it has the same standing as the advance of the Iraqi troops in Kuwait, the same dimension as the advance of Russian tanks into Kabul, the same character as the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia.

The court said that Fretilin was opposed to the referendum, should the people choose integration. However, quoting the so-called petition, the court mentioned that Arnaldo de Araujo, Guilherme Goncalves, and the president, General Suharto, convinced Parliament to approve in haste integration without any referendum. After all, who was it who did not want a referendum, Fretilin or Indonesia?

On behalf of which people was that so-called petition signed? Today, the Indonesian government can show the world its de facto control of the territory, and claims to be developing the territory which is occupying, while at the same time condemning the ones who were not able to do this, namely Portugal. Is it that because Portugal failed to develop East Timor for four hundred years, we Timorese have had to pay for the errors of one colonizer while also paying for the crimes of the other colonizer?

The lies of the Indonesians

I have been lectured a lot about the backwardness of Portuguese colonialism as if I did not lived under that colonialism. They want to show me the development in East Timor as if this were just a matter of statistics, to be compared with the Portuguese colonial period. I should ask whether colonialism can be quantified as good or bad.

I have been in contact with Irian Jayan officers who spoke to me about the great Indonesian family and I was disgusted with these men. I met a Sumatran, a translator from BAIS who speaks Portuguese and had nothing but praise for his Javanese brothers, and I felt repulsion. I have met officers from Sulawesi who told me about Indonesian "standards" and I felt an emptiness inside me.

The concept of realpolitik has acquired a new dimension for me. Political realism is political subservience, the denial of the individual conscience, the death of the conscience of a people.

I understand very well what scares Indonesia today, like yesterday. The ideological anachronism/orthodoxy of ethnic groups which has motivated the war in Yugoslavia and in the republics of the former Soviet Union. The theories are not proving history to be right, it is history which is validating genuine and false theories.

The facts described by Mr. Sudjono originate from the misconceptions which he has as an Indonesian citizen who is bound to the policies of his government. By the way, he was appointed by BAIS and therefore by the Indonesian government. On 22 December, I read a letter that was addressed to me by the LBH [the Legal Aid Institute]. On 23 December I replied to that organisation, accepting a lawyer. But I was compelled to renounce it. On the 30 of the same month, I had to write a letter to the LBH refusing their offer. My initial letter which had been intercepted was returned to me.

BAIS is a powerful machine of the Indonesian secret police, and Kopassus are their sinister tentacles. The Indonesian military don't accept any other policy other than the one dating from 7 December 1975. In my case, both BAIS and the Indonesian government decided to play it by taking the least possible risks, manipulating the entire proceedings. To be able to be here today and to be able to talk as I am now doing, I also chose to take risks inherent to my struggle. I have always told everyone: "You are talking with Xanana and not with one of his 'anggotas'" ('members' or subordinates).

My own situation in which all my movements were rigorously controlled reminded me of the total control that followed in the wake of the cowardly massacre of Santa Cruz against the population of Dili and in particular against the heroic youth of East Timor.

In Polwil where they try to flatter me with exaggerated attention, the inscriptions written by the prisoners, my companions, on the prison walls, remind me constantly of the sufferings of many of my compatriots, victims of all kinds of torture and also remind me constantly of the unforgettable 12 November 1991. What did the peaceful demonstration of 12 November want? To remind Jakarta and to remind the world of the need for dialogue, to remind Jakarta and remind the world that there is something profoundly wrong in East Timor.

On the day of my capture, in the meeting I had with General Try Sutrisno, I men-

tioned the question of dialogue with representatives of the people of East Timor. One of the twenty generals who were present and were congratulating each other for the imminence of their easy victory, asked me, furiously: "Rakyat mana?" [What people?] and when I answered: "Let's have a referendum," the Indonesian generals had to swallow their own arrogance. On the next day, 21 November – I was already in Denpasar – when the wife of the local panglima [military commander], surprised by the extent of the support I had, said, "after all, many people support him," a high-ranking officer said, "possibly all the people of East Timor."

During the period of interrogation by BAIS in Jakarta, I realised the following:

The war in East Timor is in essence a matter for BAIS, it is not a political issue for the government in Jakarta as one might have thought.

Mr. Pieter Kooijmans was the rapporteur of the UN sent to East Timor with the agreement of Jakarta to investigate in loco violations of human rights in the territory, violations which had always been denied by Indonesia at the UN. During his visit, a massacre was perpetrated in cold blood...

The corpses have disappeared to this day or rather, were thrown into mass graves. Where? Only the forces of occupation know. Many of the murderers are present in this room, men from Kopassus, intel [intelligence] men, the men in whose hands the entire political life in East Timor and also of Indonesia rests.

What or who are the Indonesian forces of occupation afraid of? Of the defenceless population, of a population that you, gentlemen, say are satisfied with integration? Whom do you want to terrorise?

In the UN, Jakarta cannot suppress the fact that Portugal is an interested party in the solution of the problem. And so, Jakarta should also never forget that the Maubere people [the people of East Timor] have already demonstrated that the idea, the objective for which they have fought and resisted to this day can never die. People die but ideas stay alive.

If the Indonesian government does not know this, BAIS knows it very well. The witness, Saturnino da Costa Belo, is a clear example of the heroism of these people. The farce of the hastily drafted medical certificate stating that Saturnino was ill should make you blush with shame, all you gentlemen here present, because you know very well that the question rests here with you.

On the first day and on the following days, they asked me whether I considered myself to be an Indonesian and I always replied in this way: If I say yes, the *bapaks* [the mock deferential word meaning 'fathers' by which the East Timorese address Indonesian troops] will not believe me. First they laughed but then they gritted their teeth.

The Indonesian generals do not care about the spirit, the conscience of the people. They are quickly satisfied when we just do what they want. I don't know if this is because of naiveté or because of the culture of their military training.

I know that BAIS made the necessary arrangements for me to be spared the death penalty and if I were to praise integration, I would be acquitted.

I remember once while in Jakarta, in order to make a change from recording all my movements in jail, they took me handcuffed for a tour of the city and they showed me the gold of Monas, the national monument of Indonesia. I felt like shouting to my warders that I would never sell my soul for the crest of gold Monas, and still less would I ever sell my people. I cannot betray the hope of my people to one day live free and independent.

I can never recognise the criminal occupation of East Timor only in order to be able to live for a few more years. My struggle is superior to my own life. The people of East Timor have sacrificed their lives and continue to suffer.

I continue to recall the need for dialogue, with the participation of the East Timorese. I have always said to all those who wanted to listen to me that the Maubere people don't like the word, '*pembangunan*' [development]. The problem is that it is not free. Freedom is what my people value, the aim of their struggle. Dom Ximenes Belo put it very clearly when he wrote to the UN Secretary-General: "We are dying as a people and as a nation."

The Indonesian ambassador to the UN came to ask for my cooperation. He asked me to be consistent in what I said. I noticed that the Indonesians have completely forgotten that I fought for 17 years and, in order to be consistent, I must be consistent towards my people and never towards the assassins of my people, towards the invaders of my homeland.

Minister Ali Alatas in a speech last January said the following: "If we don't accept, if Jakarta, won't accept a referendum, it is not because we are afraid of losing the vote but because many people have already suffered so much."

The ambassador to the UN told me: "The problem is that dialogue as it is conceived by us (and therefore by Jakarta) has its parameters. We do not accept a referendum."

In 1983, during the ceasefire, the then Majors [name illegible] and Gatot told us clearly: "We don't accept a referendum because we know that all the people belong to Fretilin!"

Many witnesses who were brought here were inhibited from saying what they wanted to say. All the defendants had to declare that they surrendered of their own free will.

This court condemned the victims who were held in Polwil, the prisoners were inhumanely maltreated. It is enough to take a look at the witnesses who were brought here and who are still in jail. They are so thin.

Were those responsible for these murders ever brought before this court to answer for their crimes? What is the worth of a law which closes its eyes to the ghastly crime of 12 November? Which moral value, which pattern of justice, do the Indonesian uphold, to declare criminals to be heroes and condemn the victims.

All the proceedings connected with my trial are a matter for BAIS and Kopassus, and their officers fill this room, watching everything and everybody. Jakarta should be ashamed of its criminal behaviour in East Timor and should, since long, have recognised that it has lost in East Timor.

The Indonesian generals should be made to realise that they have been defeated in East Timor. Here, today, as the commander of Falintil, the glorious armed forces of national liberation of East Timor, I acknowledge military defeat on the ground. I am not ashamed to say so. On the contrary, I am proud of the fact that a small guerrilla army was able to resist a large nation like Indonesia, a regional power which in a cowardly fashion invaded us and want to dominate us by the law of terror and crime, by the law of violence, persecution, prison, torture and murder.

The moment has come for Jakarta to recognise its political defeat on the ground. I don't know if it was to impress me that they placed armed tentaras [soldiers] on the route from Polwil to the court.

I have been flattered in all kinds of ways in order to convince me to behave here like a docile Indonesian. I have had to behave like one, and the witnesses brought here have also had to behave in the same way. I know

that behind me, the men from BAIS and Kopassus are gritting their teeth with rage. They should be doing it for being the real murderers of the Maubere people.

Who is afraid of a referendum? Why are they afraid of the referendum? I am not afraid of a referendum. And if today, under international supervision, the Maubere were to choose integration, I would make a genuine appeal to my companions in the bush to lay down their arms and I would offer my head to be decapitated in public.

Whoever is afraid of the referendum is afraid of the truth.

Why is there all that military apparatus in front of this disgusting court? Why are their armed soldiers posted along the route with their arms held at the ready?

I appeal to the new generation of Indonesians to understand that the people of East Timor attach much more value to freedom, to justice and to peace than to the development which is carried out here with the assistance of Australia, the United States and other European countries who maintain close economic relations with Jakarta.

I appeal to the people of Indonesia to understand that according to universal principles and international law, East Timor is considered to be a non-autonomous territory in accordance with the norms that govern decolonisation. I appeal to the Indonesian people to understand that East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia or a factor threatening Indonesia's security. The story they tell you, that East Timor is communist, is old [stale]. We don't want to dismember Indonesia. The fact is that East Timor was never part of Indonesia.

I appeal to the international community to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will bring to an end the situation inherited from the past.

- I appeal to the European Community to be consistent with its own resolutions and also to be consistent with all the resolutions adopted regarding East Timor.
- I appeal to all the friends of East Timor, parliamentarians from Europe, America, Japan and Australia, to go on pressing their own governments to change the double standards applied to similar cases where systematic violations of UN resolutions occur, as in the case of Indonesia's behaviour regarding East Timor.
- I appeal to President Bill Clinton to reconsider the problem of East Timor and

to press Jakarta to accept dialogue with the Portuguese and the Timorese in the search for an internationally-acceptable solution.

- I appeal to the Portuguese Government never to abandon its responsibility towards East Timor.
- I appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN to ensure that the solution he seeks for East Timor is based on universal principles and international law.
- Finally, I appeal to the government of Indonesia to change its attitude and to realise that the moment has come to understand the essence of the struggle in East Timor.

From today, I will start a hunger strike, as a practical way to appeal to the EC, the US government and the government of Australia.

No agreement can be reached between a prisoner and his warders.

To the Secretary-General of the UN, I would like to say that I am ready to participate in the negotiating process at any moment or in any place. I will however never accept to be a part of the Indonesian side in the negotiations because I am not willing to participate in the farce of integration and in the criminal repression of my people.

As a political prisoner in the hands of the occupiers of my country, it is of no consequence at all to me if they pass a death sentence here today. They have killed more than one third of the defenceless population of East Timor. They are killing my people and I am not worth more than the heroic struggle of my people who, because they are a small and weak people, have always been subjected to foreign rule.

Dili, 27 March 1993

(signed) X. Gusmão,
Member of CNRM
Commander of Falintil.

SEE AMOS WAKO SECTION ON ACCUSATIONS OF HIS INTERFERENCE IN THE TRIAL

INDONESIAN LAWYERS CRITICIZE DILI COURT

Media Indonesia, Jakarta, via UPI, 19 May 1993. Abridged

Indonesian lawyers said there appeared to be no legal basis for a judge's decision to prevent East Timorese independence leader, Xanana Gusmão, from reading a public statement during his trial.

The defendant is free to express his views before the court through his plea," Luhut Pangaribuan, director of the Jakarta-based legal Aid Foundation, said in remarks carried Wednesday by the Media Indonesia newspaper.

"If the statement contradicts the law, the defendant can be sanctioned and processed according to existing law," Pangaribuan said.

The presiding-judge in Dili, Hieronymus Godang on Monday stopped Xanana from reading his plea after less than five minutes, saying it contained only political theory that was not relevant to the charges.

Pangaribuan and another lawyer, Juwono, said that regardless of Xanana's motivations, the judge's action in silencing him violated the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure.

"If the content of Xanana's plea is considered contempt of court, then the defendant can be tried according to the existing law," said Juwono. He said the definition of contempt of court is "clearly" stipulated in the country's Criminal Code.

MORE FROM LBH VIA OTHER MEDIA:

After years of stonewalling on human rights, Indonesia is trying to polish its tarnished reputation. Some of the changes are notable for Indonesia. Domestic human rights advocates and student protesters now get a hearing. Their pleas still go unheeded, but are at least publicized in the controlled media. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said an independent national commission is planned to promote human rights in the world's fourth most populous country. It was announced in December, but has yet to be inaugurated. Alatas says the commission's purpose will not be to counter Western accusations of human rights abuses.

Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, chairman of Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute, said the government "is the major human rights violator." "We don't reject a strong state," he added. "What's wrong is that a strong state is no longer controllable by its people."

ICJ LAWYERS CONDEMN GUSMÃO DECISION

*The Age (Melbourne) 19th May 1993
By Mark Baker (foreign editor)*

All references to the 'Indonesian criminal code' should read the 'Indonesian code of criminal procedure,' a separate code.

- David Bourchier

The Australian section of the International Commission of Jurists has condemned the refusal of an Indonesian court to allow the former East Timor resis-

tance leader, Jose "Xanana" Gusmão, to complete his defence evidence.

A spokesman for the body, Mr. Rodney Lewis said the move appeared to have breached both the Indonesian criminal code and the universal declaration of human rights.

"The Indonesian military and regrettably the justice authorities have shown their hand and their anxiety about the content of the long-awaited defence statement of Xanana Gusmão," Mr. Lewis said.

It is reported that Mr. Gusmão told the court in Dili on Monday that it had no right to try him and that the trial was illegitimate because East Timor's annexation by Indonesia in 1976 had not been recognised by the United Nations.

His defiant stand will severely embarrass Indonesian authorities who earlier claimed that he had repudiated the guerrilla movement and acknowledged Indonesian control of the territory.

The defence lawyer, Mr. Sudjono, said the chief judge had allowed Mr. Gusmão to read only three pages of a 28-page defence statement after protests by the prosecution that it was not relevant to the charges. HE protested that the decision was unfair and against the rules of procedure in the Indonesian criminal code.

A court official said: "He was stopped after a few minutes. His defence was considered irrelevant by the judges."

The trial was suspended earlier this month after Mr. Gusmão insisted on reading his defence plea in Portuguese. Witnesses said he had also contradicted an assertion at the start of the trial in February that he was an Indonesian citizen.

It is believed authorities had been warned of the contents of Monday's statements.

Security at the court was reported to have been more strict than on previous days and those attending the trial had to produce a police permit. The sound system which usually relayed the court proceedings to people listening outside was also not working.

The trial of Mr. Gusmão, who led the East Timor resistance from 1979 until his capture last November, is due to end on Friday.

He has been charged with rebellion conspiracy and trying to set up a separate state - all of which carry a maximum penalty of life imprisonment. A further charge of illegal possession of firearms carries can mean the death penalty.

The prosecution has requested a life prison sentence, but Mr. Sudjono last week asked for the lightest possible sentence, saying there was not enough evidence to prove two of the charges.

Mr. Lewis called on the court of admit the defence statement into evidence and to release the full text in Indonesian and Portuguese. He said it was wrong for the judge to disallow the statement on the grounds that it was "irrelevant."

"For the court to do so before it has heard the whole speech gives concern to any fair-minded person as to its independence and impartiality," he said.

Mr. Lewis, a Sydney lawyer, was refused a visa by Indonesian authorities in March to attend the trial on behalf of the International Bar Association and the Law Council of Australia.

"It is important to recall that article 10 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights provides that everyone is entitled to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal," he said.

Perhaps just as importantly, article 153 (2) of the Indonesian criminal code obliges the head judge to ensure that nothing occurs during the trial which obstructs the defendant from speaking freely."

ASIA WATCH: XANANA GUSMÃO DENIED FAIR TRIAL

*Press Release from Asia Watch
May 20, 1993, 22:00 EDT*

As the verdict in the trial of East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão was about to be announced by an Indonesian court in Dili, East Timor, the human rights organization Asia Watch said the Indonesian government had violated Gusmão's rights to freedom of expression and a fair trial. It also expressed concern about the physical safety of both Gusmão and other East Timorese detainees once the international attention that the trial has generated recedes.

On May 17, after a battle between the judges and the defense team over whether Gusmão could read his defense plea in Portuguese, the judges allowed him to read only two and a half pages of the 27-page handwritten document. They then said his argument was irrelevant to the charges against him and prevented him from reading further. The Gusmão statement among other things rejected Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

"This is the first Indonesian political trial in memory where the defense statement has been censored by the judges," said Sidney Jones, Executive Director of Asia Watch, a division of Human Rights Watch. "Usually, a courtroom is the only place in Indonesia where unfettered freedom of expression is possible, because the defendants no longer have anything to lose. In this case, it was clearly the Indonesian government that felt

it had something to lose by Xanana's speaking freely."

She said that the government's efforts not only to muzzle the defense but to obstruct efforts of diplomats and journalists to attend the final sessions of the trial and hear the defense statement left the impression that earlier moves to appear open were premised on Gusmão's following an approved script. "Asia Watch was permitted to send an observer to the trial, and we regarded this as a breakthrough, an indication that the government was allowing more scrutiny of its legal system," Jones said. "But at the time, Xanana was quietly accepting all the charges against him. Had he been defiant and outspoken from the outset, I wonder if we or any other human rights organization would have been allowed access."

Asia Watch called on the international community to insist on regular and frequent access by the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to Gusmão and other detainees from the moment the verdict is handed down. "We're concerned that the Indonesian military may decide to punish Xanana or his relatives or those arrested in connection with his case because he refused to play by the Indonesian rules," Jones said.

Asia Watch said it was also disturbed by statements in the Indonesian press that Gusmão's sudden shift toward the position many expected him to take from the outset – rejecting the "integration" of East Timor with Indonesia – was due to the visit of UN special envoy Amos Wako in April. Wako, now the attorney-general of Kenya, was able to meet with Gusmão privately when he visited Dili at the request of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros Ghali.

"These charges about the Wako visit are ominous," said Jones. "They suggest that any confidential interview with a prisoner will be treated with suspicion by Indonesian authorities, and that the prisoner may suffer negative consequences as a result." She noted that Asia Watch turned down an offer by the Indonesian military to meet with Gusmão because the military would not guarantee access immediately afterwards by the ICRC. "There is always the danger that without regular access by outsiders afterwards, the government will try to force the prisoner into revealing what he or she said in the private interview," Jones said. "These charges about Wako combined with restricted access by the ICRC make us concerned that Xanana may be subjected to ill-treatment as soon as the trial is over."

An Asia Watch report on the Gusmão trial published in April raised concerns about the treatment of witnesses in the Xanana trial and questioned whether Xanana himself had been allowed to choose his own

defense counsel. While giving the Indonesian government credit for allowing human rights organizations access to the Gusmão trial, Asia Watch also noted that the trial strictly speaking was not open to the public because only those whose names appeared on a pre-approved list were allowed to attend. The report, entitled *Remembering History in East Timor: The Trial of Xanana Gusmão*, also examined steps taken by the Indonesian government to follow up on the Dili massacre of November 1991. It concluded that insufficient effort had been made to find out what happened to those still listed as missing; to find and identify bodies of those killed; and to bring to justice those responsible for the initial shootings and the disposal of bodies thereafter.

XANANA GETS LIFE

ABC Radio News – Australia 21 May 1993

Comment: Composite of 7pm and 8pm news. This was the leading item.

The East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has been sentenced to life imprisonment by an Indonesian court in Dili. The three judges took turns to read out the 210 page verdict which took more than six hours. They found him guilty of separatism, rebellion, conspiracy and fire-arms offences. Among the court were a United Nations representative and diplomats from the United States, Australia, Britain and Japan. Ian MacIntosh in Dili:

"After the summing up which has lasted seven hours the verdict from chief judge Hieronymus Godang was brief. The prosecution's case against XG was found to have been proven, the defendant pronounced guilty and sentence to life imprisonment. Sources outside the courtroom said the 46 year old rebel leader proclaimed 'Viva Timor Leste, Long Live East Timor,' as he rose to leave the room, escorted away by a police security detail. Outside, members of his family were besieged by reporters. Asked about Mr. Gusmão's chances of having his life sentence reduced by President Suharto, one said that only pressure from the outside world would bring that about."

The East Timorese resistance group Fretilin says it is not surprised XG has been given a life sentence. Australian spokesperson Alfredo Ferreira says the whole process of the trial has been a big joke:

"I think Indonesia decided to put an end to the big farce they have been carrying on for about two months. And the life sentence doesn't surprise me because from the beginning they were seeking to put Xanana away for ever."

PRESS RELEASE OF THE BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR

21 May 1993

The British Coalition for East Timor deplores the trial and life sentence passed today on the East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão in an Indonesian court. East Timor is illegally occupied by Indonesia, which therefore has no authority to put him on trial.

Moreover, since his capture in November last year, Xanana Gusmão has been consistently denied access to representatives of the International Red Cross and other outside observers. He was prevented from appointing a lawyer of his choice.

On Monday, 17 May, Xanana was prevented from reading his defence statement, contrary to Indonesian law. The 28-page defence plea which is now available in full is a powerful indictment of the illegal Indonesian occupation of his country. After the sentence was announced, Xanana stood up in court and shouted: "Long live East Timor!"

The BCET calls on the British Government to condemn the verdict passed against Xanana and to demand his immediate release. The international community should demand immediate international access and protection for Xanana from the International Red Cross. The BCET fears that he could now be subjected to maltreatment, placing his life in danger, because of his defiant stand at the trial.

Please Note: The British Coalition for East Timor will be holding a protest demonstration at 5pm today, outside the Indonesian Embassy, 38 Grosvenor Square, London WC2.

For further information, contact Colin, 071 609-1852 or Carmel 081 771-2904

XANANA FACES LIFE

The Age (Melbourne), 22 May 1993

by Mark Baker, foreign editor

The East Timorese resistance leader, Jose (Xanana) Gusmão, has accused Indonesian officials of forcing him to make false statements and manipulating his trial for propaganda purposes.

Xanana was yesterday sentenced to life imprisonment after a court in Dili found him guilty of leading a separatist movement and illegally possessing weapons.

"The reason the punishment is so heavy is that the defendant's actions disturbed stability in East Timor" Judge Hieronymus Godang said.

In a hand-written statement smuggled out of Indonesia, Xanana denounced the court, reaffirmed his commitment to the struggle

against Indonesia's "cowardly and shameful" invasion of East Timor, and said he was beginning a hunger strike.

He said Indonesia's 1975 invasion of East Timor was illegal and therefore its courts had no authority to try him. "My struggle and the resistance of my people ... is higher than Indonesian laws," he said.

"Rather than myself being tried by this farcical court, those who should be tried are, firstly, the Indonesian Government for the crimes committed in East Timor during 17 years and, secondly, the United States Government for giving the green light to the invasion."

Xanana was silenced by the court on Monday after reading three pages of the 28-page statement – a decision which brought strong criticism from international human rights groups.

A copy of the document was obtained by 'The Age' yesterday. It has been authenticated by Timorese familiar with Xanana's handwriting.

The defiant stand by Xanana is highly damaging for the Indonesian authorities, who had paraded him on television soon after his arrest last November, showing him disowning the resistance and acknowledging Indonesian control over East Timor.

In his statement Xanana said he was "forced" by officials to make false statements and to accept a defence lawyer chosen by the Indonesian intelligence agency, BAIS.

"I am the leader of the Maubere resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of 1975 and the criminal and illegal military occupation of East Timor for 17 years," he said.

"In my own conscience I am an East Timorese citizen. On that basis, I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to judge me, and more so the jurisdiction of this court, imposed by the force of arms in East Timor."

Xanana said that after his arrest he had been forced to make a statement apologising to the Indonesian army for the November 1991 massacre in Dili, "a massacre committed by the Indonesian army, not by myself."

Later, in Jakarta, he had been coerced into making statements that he had willingly surrendered. After accepting the offer of an independent legal aid group to represent him, he had been "forced to write that I rejected their offer" and accept a government lawyer, Mr. Sudjono.

"The facts presented by Mr. Sudjono originate in the falsified interpretations... He was appointed by BAIS, that is by the Indonesian Government," he said.

Xanana was said he had been made to feel "like a foreigner in my own homeland" in a

prison where he was surrounded by military guards. "In the prison where they try to conquer me with exaggerated attentions, I see the inscriptions on the walls of the prisoners who have preceded me and suffered so greatly," he said.

"From today I'm beginning a hunger strike as a practical way of appealing to the European Community and the American and Australian governments."

A leading US human rights group, Asia Watch, yesterday accused Indonesian of denying a fair trial to Xanana by refusing him the right to complete his defence statement.

"This is the first Indonesian political trial in memory where the defence statement has been censored by the judges," the executive director of Asia Watch, Ms Sidney Jones, said.

"Usually, a courtroom is the only place in Indonesia where unfettered freedom of expression is possible... in this case it was clearly the Indonesian government that felt it had something to lose by Xanana's speaking freely."

STATEMENT BY MR. JOSE RAMOS-HORTA

Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), at a Press Conference at the United Nations Headquarters in New York

21 May 1993

I thank you, ladies and gentlemen, for your presence here today. I thank the Permanent Mission of São Tome and Principe for being so gracious in sponsoring this Press Conference. The Republic of São Tome and Principe, along with Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique have been on the side of our people's long struggle for self-determination. We are forever indebted to your peoples and governments.

Before I address the issues that prompted this press conference I will put the situation of East Timor in its historical and diplomatic perspective. As you know, East Timor remains on the United Nations General Assembly's list of Non-Self-Governing Territories to which General Assembly Res. 1415 (XV) and 1541 (XV) are fully applicable. I wish to draw your attention to the fact that the General Assembly has adopted eight resolutions and the SC two on the question of East Timor without the Indonesian authorities making any serious effort to comply with them.

Quite the contrary, 18 years have elapsed, over 200,000 East Timorese have lost their lives, tens of thousands of people have been uprooted from their ancestral

lands, there are over 30,000 orphans in East Timor, thousands of families have been torn apart. Adding to this, Indonesia is attempting to depopulate East Timor through forced sterilization of women, natality control and population transfer of non-East Timorese into East Timor, destruction of our forests and mountains through rapacious exploitation of our sandalwood, coffee, marble, oil, and the burning of forests. This is what Indonesia calls progress since its colonization of East Timor in 1975. This is not Stalin's Russia of 1930's, this is not Cambodia of the 70's. This is East Timor and this is 1993.

In September and December 1992 in talks in NY under the auspices of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Indonesian Foreign Minister agreed to a series of so-called "confidence building measures" by improving the human rights situation and de-escalating its military actions in East Timor. Instead, the Indonesian military intensified its repressive policies with indiscriminate arrest and torture and an escalation in its "scorched earth" operations.

The Resistance Leader of East Timor, Mr. Xanana Gusmão, was captured on November 20 1992, was subjected to psychological and physical torture and displayed on Indonesia's National TV with forced statements purporting to renege the 18 year history of his struggle for independence.

A "kangaroo court" was set up to try the Resistance Leader. The judges are pathetic stooges of the military. An obscure official defense counsel of dubious reputation was imposed on the defendant. Not one single defense witness was called to testify. All prosecution witnesses were prisoners forced to testify against their leader.

As the trial drew to a close and the inevitable truth begins to surface, the Indonesian authorities became even more daring in their efforts to manipulate the court proceedings and by making it more difficult for international observers to monitor the trial. Three Western diplomats and a UN official with boarding passes and seat allocations were prevented from boarding the plane in Denpasar, Bali, with the excuse that the plane was full.

A protest by the US and the UN led the Indonesian authorities to back down but only 24 hours later when a vital court session had ended. Upon their arrival in Dili to attend subsequent sessions, the diplomats were seated in a room adjacent to the main court room, where they had previously been allowed to sit, and heard nothing of the court proceedings as the sound system that usually serves that room had been turned off.

Diplomats and other interested individuals have had to seek approval from the local police station to attend the trial.

The official interpreter was either incompetent and not conversant with legal terms or was purposely adulterating Xanana's words. Observers conversant with both Portuguese and Indonesian languages noted the constant discrepancies in Xanana's words and those of the interpreter.

On Monday, May 17, Xanana Gusmão began to read his defense plea in Portuguese, the only language he uses besides his native East Timorese language, Tetun. He had prepared a 50-page handwritten statement. As Xanana began to read, he was interrupted several times by the prosecutor, and the judge ordered him to stop, ended the session, declaring that Mr. Xanana's statement was "irrelevant."

Even in Indonesia's own shameful legal history, defendants were always given the opportunity to make a defense plea. Xanana was denied the most basic and fundamental right of a defendant.

The Indonesian regional military commander Brig.-Gen. Theo Syafei attacked Mr. Amos Wako, Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General, Attorney-General of Kenya, who visited East Timor in late March and met with Mr. Xanana Gusmão. Indonesia's Foreign Minister Alatas joined in the attacks on Mr. Wako, claiming that it was the Kenya Attorney-General who influenced Mr. Xanana Gusmão into changing his stand. Mr. Xanana Gusmão never changed his convictions. He is a man of courage, integrity, intelligence and charisma. His hand-written defense plea was written in his cell over several weeks, page after page, hidden from his captors, and long before Mr. Wako's meeting with him.

Having claimed for several months that Xanana had changed his views, the Indonesian authorities actually began to believe their own propaganda and now find themselves in a most embarrassing situation and are now resorting to unwarranted attacks on the UN itself.

Fortunately, the Secretary-General had made an intelligent choice in appointing an outstanding African jurist as his Personal Envoy. Had the Secretary-General chosen a Western jurist or diplomat, Mr. Alatas would have accused the Envoy of being an arrogant Western colonialist. What can he accuse Mr. Wako of now? A false black? A Western liberal jurist?

Ladies and gentlemen: I have in my possession the full text of Mr. Xanana Gusmão's statement. His is a plea from a man in prison in a remote island in the Far East, cut off from the rest of the world, whose voice is stifled by a "kangaroo

court," whose aspirations and dreams are those of his people who have been murdered, raped, uprooted, dispossessed, exiled.

I appeal to you to disseminate this eloquent plea for justice.

I thank you.

[At the press conference, Mr. Horta made the following additional comments and answers to questions (selected paraphrases from my notes – Charlie Scheiner):]

Even in Indonesia's shameful legal history, never before has a defendant been prevented from reading his statement.

[Regarding assertions that Wako influenced Xanana:] On November 22, two days after he was captured, Xanana Gusmão wrote a statement rejecting Indonesian citizenship, rejecting integration, and rejecting the jurisdiction of the court to try him. The accusations from Indonesian officials are "a sign of desperation." Xanana's documented is dated March 27, before Amos Wako got there. He was not influenced by anyone.

Xanana's Defense Statement is similar to the statements of Nelson Mandela from court in the '60s.

We strongly protest the sentence – and would even if it was 5 years or one year – because Indonesia has no jurisdiction in East Timor. Indonesia has no right to try anyone in East Timor.

We thank the Secretary-General for his work on East Timor.

Xanana is not expected to appeal the verdict, as the court has no jurisdiction.

At the Tokyo G-7 conference in July, the heads of state of several countries will raise the East Timor issue with Suharto.

It is not confirmed if Xanana is on a hunger strike, although he does say in his statement that he plans to start one.

We would like to see the same standards and level concern of the United Nations currently regarding Bosnia applied to East Timor.

The countries most responsible – the United States, also Great Britain and France, should take steps to impress on Indonesia that East Timor should be allowed self-determination.

We understand Indonesia's concerns, national pride, and dignity, and we are prepared to bend backwards as much as possible to accommodate them.

The resistance is no longer just armed resistance, it encompasses the entire population of East Timor.

What the United States could do is very simple. This issue involves only East Timor and Indonesia; it is much less complex than other crises. It would be a simple, quick change to resolve it – they should use a carrot and stick approach. Indonesia receives \$5 billion per year from Western countries.

They could say, we will give \$6 billion in 1994 if you begin to disengage from East Timor; if not, we cut it by half.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ADVICE TO EDITORS

ASA 21/WU 02/93, 21 May 1993

EAST TIMOR: XANANA TRIAL A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader, was sentenced to life-imprisonment today (21 May 1993) after a blatantly unfair trial. The District Court of Dili found him guilty of rebellion and illegal possession of firearms. Amnesty International deplored the outcome but said it came as no surprise since a guilty verdict is a foregone conclusion in political trials in Indonesia and East Timor.

In view of the fact that Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor has not been recognized by the United Nations, the competence of Indonesian courts to try Xanana Gusmão, and other East Timorese, is open to question. It is especially doubtful whether an East Timorese can legitimately be charged with rebellion against the Government of Indonesia which occupies the territory illegally. Nevertheless, Amnesty International believes that, when such trials do take place, every effort must be made to ensure that they comply fully with international standards of fairness.

Following strong international criticism of its appalling human rights record in East Timor, the Indonesian Government made an unusual effort to make Xanana Gusmão's trial appear both open and fair. Selected foreign journalists, diplomats and some international human rights organizations – not including Amnesty International – were permitted to attend as observers. However, like all political trials in East Timor and Indonesia, this one failed to meet international standards of fairness, or even to comply with Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure.

Even before proceedings began on 1 February, practices highly prejudicial to a fair trial were already evident. After his capture on 20 November 1992, Xanana Gusmão was held in secret military custody for 17 days before the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representatives were permitted to see him. Apart from being unlawful, this prolonged period of incommunicado detention gave rise to fears that he may have been psychologically or physically ill-treated. Such fears were heightened by the fact that, in violation of both domestic and international standards, he was denied access to a lawyer while under interrogation. There were also doubts

about whether he had been free to appoint legal counsel of his choice as required by Indonesian law. Lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (LBH) were not permitted to visit him, despite having been given power of attorney by his relatives. A defence lawyer was finally appointed on 26 January 1993 just six days before the trial began, but doubts remain over the circumstances of his appointment and about his motivation for accepting the case.

The trial itself was also marked by the violation of basic international and domestic standards. Prosecution witnesses, many of whom were themselves political detainees, appear to have been subjected to undue pressure from military authorities, making their testimony unreliable. Some who refused to comply were reportedly subjected to intimidation and sanctions. One witness, Saturnino da Costa Belo, who unexpectedly shouted "Long Live East Timor!" was hustled out of the court-room, placed in an isolation cell and declared unfit to testify. A legitimate fear of official reprisals also ensured that few witnesses could be found to testify for the defence. In some respects, the defence case also appeared to have been inadequately prepared. A further problem was that neither Xanana Gusmão nor many of the witnesses were fluent in Indonesian, the language used in the court, while translation services provided were neither complete nor accurate. Perhaps the most blatant contravention of fair trial standards came in one of the final sessions when Xanana Gusmão was due to read his final defence plea. After he had read two pages of a 29-page statement, the presiding judge ordered him to stop, claiming that his remarks were "irrelevant."

In addition to these procedural concerns, Amnesty International believes that the general political atmosphere within which the trial took place – one of undisguised official hostility to the defendant, and repeated interference in the judicial proceedings by military and executive authorities – made a fair trial virtually impossible.

The trial of Xanana Gusmão has justly attracted widespread international attention. But it is hardly unique. With this verdict, Xanana Gusmão joins thousands of political prisoners sentenced in blatantly unfair trials in East Timor and Indonesia since the New Order government of President Suharto came to power in the mid 1960s. Virtually unnoticed by the international community, similar political trials continue today in the province of Aceh, where government forces have conducted a brutal counter-insurgency campaign since 1989. And despite government claims that the human rights situation in East Timor has improved in the

past year, serious violations continue to occur while past violations remain unresolved. Scores of East Timorese arrested for their non-violent pro-independence activities in the past two years remain in custody, some of them not yet charged, others serving sentences up to life imprisonment. Meanwhile, the fate of more than 200 people who "disappeared" after the Santa Cruz Massacre in November 1991 remains unresolved.

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LORD AVEBURY WANTS UK ACTION ON XANANA

Lord Avebury, Chair of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group, sent the following letter to Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs on 21 May 1993:

Dear Douglas,

I have just heard on the 7 o'clock news of the savage sentence meted out to Xanana Gusmão by the illegal 'court' set up by the Indonesians. This followed proceedings from which foreign observers were excluded, including the British, US and Japanese diplomats and the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative, and the judges' refusal to allow the defendant to make his statement. This ruling was a violation of Indonesian law, but since the occupation of East Timor is unlawful under international law, the Indonesians have no jurisdiction over the territory, and the trial itself is ultra vires.

The Maubere people have the right to oppose Indonesian aggression by armed force, and member states are bound to support their struggle for self-determination. According to General Assembly Resolution 2787 (XXVI) of December 6, 1971, for instance, "it is the duty of every State to contribute through joint and independent action to the principle of self-determination, while GA Resolution 32/154 of December 19, 1977 "reaffirms the legitimacy of the struggle of peoples under colonial and alien domination to achieve self-determination and independence and urges States to increase their support and solidarity with them and their national liberation movements and to undertake urgent and effective measures for the speedy implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples."

The Security Council and General Assembly not only expressed their will on the right of peoples to oppose colonial and

alien domination in general, but specifically condemned Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The Security Council, for instances, in Resolution 384 (1975) of December 22, 1975, deplored the intervention of the armed forces of Indonesia in East Timor and called on the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces in the territory. The Resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly on East Timor remain in force since they have never been repealed, as the former Secretary-General agreed when some Parliamentarians from Portugal, Japan, Holland, Australia and Britain met him in March 1991.

The effect of these decisions by supreme bodies of the United Nations is that Xanana Gusmão will be recognised by history as the heroic leader of a legitimate resistance against a foreign aggression, which was contrary to the United Nations Charter and the rule of international law. Indeed, Indonesia's military action against East Timor was no different in law from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, as Foreign Office Ministers conceded. It follows also that States are obliged to support him and his colleagues in their war of liberation. The illegal imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão must be contested by the United Kingdom individually and collectively with our EC partners. I call upon you to consult immediately with the Government of Portugal, the *de jure* administering power, with a view to raising this matter in the EC Council of Ministers, and in the UN Security Council. I also call upon you to suspend all arms sales to, and military cooperation with, Indonesia, until Xanana Gusmão is released.

Yours,
Eric Avebury

MEDIA COVERAGE

TAPOL report, 22 May 1993

Media coverage of Xanana Gusmão's life sentence in the UK has been exceptional. The Guardian on 22 May 1993 reproduced lengthy extracts from Xanana's defence in court in a feature presentation covering more than half a page, with a powerful photograph of Xanana entering the court, escorted by two soldiers. The introductory news report is by John Gittings, deputy foreign editor, and the quotes from the Xanana defence, across eight columns, are reproduced under a heading which goes right across the page, "Putting the prosecutors in the dock before the court of world opinion." TAPOL was credited as the source of the translation.

Channel Four's News at Seven had a six-minute news item on 21 May with shots of the courtroom on the same day, showing

Xanana looking grim and dishevelled, as John Gittings wrote in his piece. There were shots of President Mario Soares and Prime Minister Cavaco Silva protested in Lisbon against the sentence and interviews of João de Deus Pinheiro, Portugal's former Foreign Minister, now an EC Commissioner, and Geoffrey Robinson of Amnesty International. The item included several direct quotations from Xanana's defence statement, quoted against the background of scenes from the trial and of the Santa Cruz massacre.

The BBC World Service also gave the verdict prime coverage, which included an interview of the new Indonesian ambassador to London, J.E. Habibie, revealing his ignorance of the issue. He even said that the government of Indonesia could not comment on a trial decision which is "solely a matter for the courts."

Sky Television broadcast an item, and the verdict was even reported on the BBC domestic news. Other newspapers, including The Times and The Independent reported the verdict, along with illustrations.

OZ COVERAGE OF XANANA

Edited extracts of Xanana's defence plea appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald, 28 May and The Age, 27 May 1993. The Age with the heading: *They Are Killing My People* and the Sydney Morning Herald: *The Fighting Speech From The Dili Dock That Never Was*.

IAN MACINTOSH ON XANANA TRIAL

'Report from Asia,' ABC Radio National (Australia), 23 May, Slightly abbreviated

The conviction of Xanana Gusmão brought quick and angry reactions from the international community. ... He is currently being held at an undisclosed location.

Indonesian sources say he is expected to be serving his sentence at a prison well away from East Timor. Ian MacIntosh meanwhile, reporting from Dili, reports that events surrounding Mr. Gusmão's trial have generated even more controversy:

"That Xanana Gusmão was found guilty surprised no one close to the trial process. At no stage during its 21 sittings was the prospect on an acquittal seriously entertained by observers. But for most of first three months there was speculation that Mr. Gusmão would receive a lighter sentence than the maximum prescribed for the charges he was facing. Terms of 15 and 20 years were mentioned and in mid April his defence counsel Mr. Sudjono seemed confident a life sentence could be avoided. But it was a more assertive Xanana Gusmão who sat in

the dock during the last days of his trial. His insistence that he be allowed to read his own defence plea in Portuguese, an action eventually approved but then cut very short by the judges, was seen as an indication that Mr. Gusmão had remained defiant despite months of having seemed cooperative and compliant. The issue of him being able to make the statement and a series of recent incidents in which foreign diplomats and journalist were obstructed in their efforts to observe the Dili trial added further uncertainty to a process that had previously had seemed, from Jakarta's point of view, to be proceeding smoothly. Matters came to a head last week when several local officials, including Major General Theo Syafei, commander of the military region which includes East Timor, claimed Xanana Gusmão's change of attitude resulted from the influence of a visiting United Nations envoy. The envoy, Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako, visited East Timor early in April as the personal representative of UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali. He was permitted confidential meetings with Mr. Gusmão and other detainees during his brief stay in Dili. The accusation leveled at the UN visitor prompted Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who is involved in on-going talks about East Timor's future sponsored by the Secretary General, to urge caution.

XANANA SENTENCED TO LIFE BEHIND BARS

Japan Economic Newswire

(JAKARTA, May 21 Kyodo) An Indonesian court in East Timor's capital of Dili on Friday sentenced Xanana Gusmão, the captured leader of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, to life in prison, official sources in Dili said by telephone.

The life sentence given to rebel leader Xanana Gusmão was the maximum penalty demanded by Indonesian prosecutors.

"The punishment is heavy because he disturbed the life of East Timorese," Presiding Judge Hieronymus Godang said after reading the verdict, according to an official in Dili reached by telephone.

Foreign radio reports from Dili said that at the end of the sentencing, Xanana chanted in Portuguese, 'Viva Timor L'Este' or 'Long live East Timor.'

The reports said some foreign journalists were abused and threatened by members of the crowd outside the courtroom, which was under tight security.

Earlier Indonesian news reports from Dili said the authorities have tightened security amid rumors the Fretilin independence

group might stage a demonstration. There were reportedly additional security forces at strategic spots and main entry points to Dili.

Xanana, taken to court in February three months after he was captured in Dili, was prevented from reading most of his Portuguese-language defense plea.

The court judges allowed him to read only two and a half pages of the 27-page handwritten statement, the Asia Watch human rights group said in a release received in Jakarta on Friday.

'This is the first Indonesian political trial in memory where the defense statement has been censored by the judges,' said Sidney Jones, executive director of Asia Watch.

'Usually, a courtroom is the only place in Indonesia where unfettered freedom of expression is possible because defendants no longer have anything to lose. In this case, it was clear the Indonesian government felt it had something to lose by Xanana's speaking freely,' he said.

In the defense, Xanana rejected the authority of the Indonesian court to try him, saying the United Nations has yet to recognize Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

East Timor military commander Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei accused Xanana, who reportedly said at the trial's outset he was an Indonesian citizen, of shifting his position on the matter because of the visit in April by U.N. envoy Amos Wako.

U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said in a statement Friday, 'The idea that Mr. Wako might have played any active role, let alone provide encouragement to anyone toward any particular course of action, is entirely without foundation.'

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 after an invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

DEFIANT XANANA REJECTS APPEAL

The Age (Melbourne) 23 May 1993

Dateline: New York by Reuter, Unabridged

East Timorese rebel (sic) leader Xanana Gusmão, jailed for life by an Indonesian court, would not appeal against his sentence, a spokesman for the opposition to Indonesian rule over the territory said yesterday.

"Consistent with his position that he rejects the competence and jurisdiction of the Indonesian court, he will not seek appeal from the higher institution (court) in Indonesia nor from President Suharto himself, as has been suggested by his lawyer," Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta told a news conference at the UN.

Mr. Ramos-Horta, a special representative of the National Council of Timorese Resistance, said he hoped President Suharto would be compelled to "redress" the wrongs done to East Timor out of Indonesia's own interest."

A number of leaders attending a July meeting of the Group of Seven (G7) industrialised countries in Tokyo were likely to raise the issue, he added.

Indonesia occupied East Timor in 1975 after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers, and annexed it the following year.

The UN does not recognise Indonesia rule over the territory and still considers Portugal the legal administering authority pending an internationally acceptable settlement.

Mr. Ramos-Horta Gusmão, who was captured last November and alleged by Indonesia to have recanted his views, was prevented from reading more than three pages of a lengthy prepared statement to the court last Monday.

According to the speech, which had been smuggled abroad, Gusmão said he was beginning a hunger strike, Mr. Ramos-Horta said, although he had no confirmation.

"Even in Indonesia's own shameful legal history, defendants were always given the opportunity to make a defence plea. Xanana was denied the most basic and fundamental rights of a defendant," he said.

The US, as "the party most responsible for the problem of East Timor" because, along with Britain and France, it had supplied Indonesia with arms over the years, should impress on Indonesia "that it has to begin to disengage itself from East Timor."

"We are not asking for any multinational force to go East Timor. And we understand Indonesia's security concerns... (and) national pride and dignity," he said, while calling for a gradual withdrawal.

Unfortunately, he said, the US and European Community members "give only lip service support" to the UN Secretary-General's mandate to try to resolve the issue.

Mr. Ramos-Horta, who was due to see a senior UN official later, said he hoped the next round of talks on East Timor involving Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal would go ahead as scheduled in September.

Portugal expressed outrage yesterday at the life jail sentence handed down by an Indonesian court on an East Timor rebel leader, saying it would make talks about the future of its former colony difficult.

"This was a trial organised by a dictatorship and therefore it was a travesty which showed that there is no justice in Indonesia,

"President Mario Soares told reporters, commenting on the jail term given to Xanana Gusmão.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International deplored the outcome, but said it came as no surprise.

"A guilty verdict is a foregone conclusion in political trials in Indonesia and East Timor," Amnesty said.

Portuguese Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva denounced the three-month trial as "a farce" and said the life sentence was "brutal."

XANANA GUSMÃO CONTINUES TO BE A SYMBOL OF RESISTANCE BEHIND PRISON BARS

Gema Warta, Radio Nederland, 23 May 1993

Original language: Indonesian

The case of Xanana Gusmão which Jakarta was initially able to use to claim that East Timorese resistance was at an end, has now boomeranged. They have shot themselves in the foot [senjata makan tuan], and damaged Indonesian diplomacy.

The whole world is again criticizing Jakarta. Xanana's defence statement which is now circulating throughout Europe condemns the way the Indonesian security forces have treated him.

Portugal says that the case will create problems for the negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal in September. Observers say that as long as Jakarta's diplomacy continues to be disrupted by the hard-liners, the East Timor issue will be a pebble in Indonesia's shoe that will grow and grow. The following is an editorial analysis in Hilversum:

Shouting 'Viva Timor Leste,' Xanana Gusmão left the courtroom after being sentenced to life imprisonment. He was blindfolded and taken away in an army vehicle to an unknown destination. From the start, the former Fretilin leader has been an international issue. When he was captured, western countries sent urgent cables seeking assurances that his life would be protected. Jakarta realised that if he were sentenced to death, they risked an upsurge of anger among the local population which would be of considerable significance, like a time-bomb.

People are asking why, now that Kolakops has been disbanded, are eight battalions still needed, some 8,000 troops, to cope with a guerrilla movement that is said to consist of not more than one hundred guerrillas. In other words, Jakarta still must

take account of the resistance of the people of East Timor.

Xanana's defence counsel Sudjono was picked by Jakarta. He says he was hoping for a sentence of 15 years, but the prosecution demanded and got a life sentence. Strange to say, another East Timorese prisoner, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, was also sentenced to life imprisonment for leading a peaceful demonstration, whereas Xanana who led the armed resistance got the same sentence.

Jakarta is caught in a dilemma. Since the day he was shown on television last November, Xanana gave the impression that he accepted integration. But at the trial on 5 May, he showed that he was determined to reveal his true self and his real intentions. So lawyer Sudjono and military commander Major-General Theo Syafei came up with the issue of UN interference, accusing the UN Secretary-General's special envoy Amos Wako of inciting Xanana. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was forced to promise that he would investigate the charge but also warned people to be careful about making accusations against outside forces. Wako enjoys the confidence of the UN Secretary-General, the man who has been entrusted to find a solution in the question of East Timor. A UN spokesperson, Hazel Burnett denied the charge about Amos Wako. But Major-General Syafei who is seen abroad as representing the headline position in Jakarta, some time ago proposed that negotiations about East Timor should be held with the Vatican not the UN, and even tried to prevent the International Red Cross from operating in East Timor.

Then Major-General Syafei tried to prevent Xanana from presenting his defence in Portuguese. An Indonesian source told Radio Nederland that the former Kolakops commander frankly admitted in February that the statements that had been made by Xanana had all been engineered by him. He admitted that he had spread the stories about Xanana being hyper-sexual. Unfortunately for Syafei, Xanana kept his promise to reveal his true self later in the trial.

His defence statement is now circulating in Europe in Portuguese. He says that the entire case of East Timor goes back to the Indonesian invasion of 7 December 1975. This question was not raised by his defence counsel even though he, like Sudjono, said that the court was not competent to try him.

Xanana turned the case round, condemning Indonesia and the USA who should, he said, be tried before an international tribunal. He accused the Indonesian government and army of carrying out atrocities in East Timor for the past seventeen years. He ac-

cused Washington of giving the green light to the army's invasion on 7 December 1975. As for his recent experiences, he said that BAIS and Kopassus now had total control over him. He called on Indonesian people to look at the question of East Timor according to their consciences. East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia, it does not want to dismember Indonesia, he said in his defence.

Indonesia hopes to settle the question of East Timor and normalise its relations with Portugal by means of a vote at the UN General Assembly but since the Rome talks last month, the two sides are committed to taking confidence-building measures in order to restore confidence between the two sides. Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, reacting to the sentence against Xanana, said that it would not make the negotiations in September any easier.

The case of Xanana Gusmão means that both sides in the dispute must consider the question of giving the people of East Timor the right to determine their own future.

GUSMÃO IN JAIL BUT BATTLE IS FAR FROM OVER

Canberra Times, unabridged

(Dili, 24 May, AFP): The sentencing of East Timor's guerilla chief might discourage others from carrying on their armed struggle, but Dili residents said yesterday that Indonesia's battle to win over Timorese was far from over.

An Indonesian court in Dili sentenced Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão on Friday to life imprisonment for his 17 year fight to set up an independent state in East Timor.

Gusmão's lawyer, Sudjono said on Saturday that Gusmão would not appeal against his sentence but would seek presidential clemency this week.

Mr. Sudjono said the request for clemency could mean a request for a shorter sentence (in Indonesia, life imprisonment means natural life).

Military officials said they expected the punishment to help snuff out resistance to the Indonesian Government, which invaded the territory in 1975 after the Portuguese colonial rulers had left.

"Militarily (the rebels) may have been crippled, but our homework is much more on developing the local economy," a local official said.

There was little debate among Timorese on the sentence handed down to the rebel leader. Dili itself was quiet.

The 3 and a half month trial refocused the world's attention on Indonesia's questionable human-rights record in the small community.

Diplomats estimate that up to 200,000 East Timorese, or close to a third of the population, have died from execution, disease and starvation since Indonesia's invasion and annexation of the territory.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's claim to the eastern half of Timor Island, the west of which has always been part of Indonesia, and Portugal has led international calls for a referendum on self-rule in its former colony.

Indonesia's efforts to improve its international standing over East Timorese have backfired several times, the latest in 1991 when troops fired into a crowd of mourners at a Dili cemetery.

Gusmão was accused of backing the demonstration, in which witnesses say up to 180 people died.

Human-rights groups have said his trial was a travesty accusing Indonesia official of intimidating witnesses, not allowing Gusmão to choose his own lawyer and of preventing him from reading more than a few pages of his defense plea.

But the verdict did little to alter life for Dili residents, whose attention is focused on the struggle to feed their families.

Most East Timorese rely on farming and fishing to bring in an income of about 200,000 rupiah (\$A144) a year, lower than anywhere else in Indonesia.

On average, Indonesians across the country earn \$S866 a year.

Although new roads, schools, electricity and other facilities have been built since Portugal walked out, investors stay away because, they say, red tape and a lack of skilled workers are among the headaches of doing business in Timor.

"Security reasons are often cited for the complicated way of doing business in the area," one business-man said.

Indonesia has sought to reduce its military presence in the territory from 10 battalions to six, announcing last month it would disband the special military command there.

But road blocks and security checks are still in place in some areas, and one group of journalists traveling by car to the eastern town of Baucau was turned back after soldiers told them they need permits.

Plain-clothes security officials loitered in the lobby of the Turismo Hotel where foreign journalists and diplomats stayed during the trial.

Military officials said armed resistance was almost over and that many guerrillas had given up after Gusmão's capture in November.

Gusmão's successor, Antonio Gomez da Costa, was captured last month.

Analysts say that although the struggle of the rebels has dwindle, it will take time for Indonesia to wipe out resentment against

its rule, not least because most of the plum jobs in the territory go to immigrants from Indonesia dominant island of Java.

TAPOL: ICRC MUST PROTECT XANANA

TAPOL, addressed this letter to Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on 24 May 1993.

Dear Mr. Hurd,

I write as a matter of urgency to implore Her Majesty's Government to take steps to ensure the personal safety of Xanana Gusmão who was sentenced to life last Friday. As you will know, Mr. Gusmão himself stated that he does not recognise the jurisdiction of the court, and it was of no concern to him whether they sentenced him to death. Clearly, this means that he will not appeal against the verdict, regardless of what the lawyer, Mr. Sudjono, may be saying.

This means that there can be no further process in the courts.

Indonesian sources have informed us that when he was taken out of the court after sentence had been passed, he was blindfolded and taken to an unknown destination. It is very possible that the military authorities may take revenge on him for having confounded their efforts to portray him as compliant.

We believe that his life is in grave danger. Everything must be done to give him full protection, in the first instance by the ICRC being given immediate and regular access to him.

We would urge you, please, to take the necessary action, along with our EC partners, to protect Mr. Gusmão.

We would also urge you to express publicly your dismay at the sentence passed, by a court which, under the Fourth Geneva Convention, had no jurisdiction to try him in the first place.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

XANANA: VIVA TIMOR LESTE

Radio Australia, 4am international report 22 May 1993 by Ian MacIntosh

NEWSREADER: East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has begun serving a sentence of life imprisonment following his conviction by an Indonesian court on separatism, rebellion, conspiracy and firearms charges. The verdict by three judges hearing the case in the Dili district court followed the trial which began almost four months ago. Ian MacIntosh report from Dili on the outcome and implications of the much publicized case.

After a marathon final court sitting of more than 7 hours chief justice H. Godang sentenced the man who has led the East Timorese independence struggle for more than a decade to life imprisonment. The court 210-page of the case against Xanana Gusmão ended with the defendant pronounced guilty on all counts. 46-year-old rebel leader captured nearby 6 months ago was not given the opportunity to make a final statement to the packed courtroom. But as he prepared to leave he said softly "VIVA TIMOR LESTE," Long Live East Timor before being whisked away by a police escort.

Outside the heavily guarded courthouse some members of the Gusmão family who sat through the trial's 21 sessions wept. One asked about the chances of the life sentence being reduced by Indonesia's President Suharto says that would only happen if there was pressure from the outside world. And whilst the long final sitting had preceded without there was tension away from the court. A Portuguese television conducting interviews on the streets outside was briefly roughed by unidentified man before security personnel put them into a passing vehicle. There were emotionally scenes elsewhere too. A local taxi driver told of the verdict burst into tears. Members of his family had died during East Timor's trouble years. He wandered what these 17-year long of those oppose to Indonesian rule in former Portuguese colony now meant.

(..) were immediately clear whether Xanana Gusmão would appeal against his sentence. But if (...) certain he will be serving his prison term well away from East Timor. But Mr. Gusmão had been compliant through much of the long trial, his recent more assertive posture in the courtroom was seen by observers as an indication that he would still prepare to be defiant. That conduct and the tough he is now receive have probably ensure that the wider issue of East Timor's status and future will remain the subject on international attention. As such it will also continue to be an important factor in the carriage of Indonesia's foreign policy.

The final conclusion of those international observers allowed to attend to portions of the Gusmão trial, some of them have already criticize aspects of his conduct could also play a part. Meanwhile the ministry insists East Timor is now stable, calm and under control but if it stays that way Jakarta's troops will be progressively pull out over the next couple of years. But incidents earlier this year have shown that some armed opposition continues or be it at a low level. And by his words and actions over the past 10 days the questions they have raised but not conclusively answered Xanana

Gusmão may also have ensured that he will start his life sentence as a martyr in the eyes of his supporters here and further(..)

Note: (...) unclear recording.

RADIO AUSTRALIA, 1 AM NEWS 22 MAY 1993

Newsreader: Portugal has vowed to rouse international protest against the life sentence handed by an Indonesian court against East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão.

Portugal's president Mario Soares said Gusmão's conviction and sentence were a mockery of justice. And warned the sentence would make talks about the future of the former Portuguese of East Timor more difficult. Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva said Lisbon would urge the European community, the United States and other allies to exert pressure on Indonesia.

Gusmão received a life sentence on charges of rebellion conspiracy to set up a separate state and the illegal possession of firearms.

Ian MacIntosh: Sources outside the courtroom said the 46-year-old rebel leader softly proclaimed VIVA TIMOR LESTE (Long live East Timor) as he raised to leave the room escorted away by a police security.

Outside members of his family were besieged by reporters. Asked about Mr. Gusmão's chances of having his life sentence reduced by President Suharto, one said that only pressure from the outside would bring that about.

The London based human rights group Amnesty International deplored the outcome of the Gusmão trial but said it came as no surprise.

INDONESIAN PAPERS REACTION TO SENTENCE

*ABC TV The world today 24 May 1993
Dateline: Jakarta by Ian MacIntosh*

READER/John Lombard: Foreign Minister Gareth Evans is expected to make a statement in Parliament today about the life sentence given to East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão.

Last Friday the 46-year-old Gusmão was found guilty of plotting against the Indonesian State and illegally possessing firearms. Its a decision that has caused uproar in some quarters, Portugal's President Mario Soares described the trial as a mockery of justice.

Gusmão has now two choices – to launch an appeal or seek presidential clemency. Our Indonesia correspondent Ian MacIntosh was in the courtroom last week when the

sentence was handed down and joins me by phone from Jakarta.

Q: Ian, as I mentioned there has been deal of international uproar about this both, in Portugal and in Australia. What is the level of debate in the Indonesian media.

Ian: The verdict got modest coverage in the Indonesian press on Saturday. I think in part because it came so late in the day that the deadline was hard to make for the Indonesian journalists indeed. But over the weekend there has been a good deal more comment and again this morning, we see headlines reading such as "Xanana will ask Suharto for clemency" this is all to do with the statement by Sudjono, the Jakarta criminal lawyer who represented Xanana Gusmão during the trial that in fact they decided not to seek an appeal, to make an appeal but to seek clemency from the President.

Q: Now, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has raised this as a possibility too. What should we draw from this. How seriously should we take the possibility of clemency?

Ian: One sees signs that this might be the route that they will take. I stress that the lawyer Sudjono's comments were his own. There is obviously no way of independently confirming with Xanana Gusmão what he wants to do. But we do know that members of the Gusmão family agree with this idea of seeking clemency and certainly Mr. Alatas's comments on the weekend particularly his statement that the process, the legal process was not yet over for Xanana Gusmão, and his comments "let us now wait and see what happens," all pointed to this idea, if a clemency plea is lodged within a week as Mr. Sudjono is suggesting then we may well see some action, some move by the President after he has consulted with his senior law officers.

Q: I guess one of the problems is that under Indonesian law a life sentence is just that isn't it? For the term of your natural life.

Ian: Well as one often finds in this country. The answer to the question is yes and no. There are plenty of Indonesians including lawyers who will say to you that they regard a life sentence as around 20 years, but you've only got to look at some of those in prison who have been in prison for a lot longer than 20 years to realise that it can mean either or both things. Clearly, if President Suharto, and I stress IF he granted clemency and say

made the term 20 years that would be something of a hollow victory for MR. Gusmão. It would have to be a significantly lower sentence than that I think before people would take the clemency seriously.

Q: Is there any indication any feeling in Jakarta that the Indonesians now have a martyr on their hands?

Ian: I think that whilst that has not admitted publicly there has certainly been understanding among people in official places who have given a thought. There was certainly an indication midway through the trial when Mr. Gusmão appeared to be co-operative, and compliant and was accepting responsibility and admitting to the evidence given suggesting that perhaps the tide had turned. But his behaviour over the last 10 days of the trial particularly his insistence that he would be allowed to read his defence plea in Portuguese and his statement right at the end after his life sentence when he said quietly "Viva Timor Leste" (Long Live East Timor). All indications that in fact he hadn't turned or hadn't changed and I think a life sentence taking into consideration there is properly help make him a MARTYR in the eyes of his supporters.

CNRM: XANANA ON HUNGER STRIKE; CONCERN FOR HIS HEALTH

The following Press Release was issued in Stockholm today, 25 May 1993, by the National Council for Maubere Resistance:

Reports from Dili appear to confirm that Mr. Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned Resistance Leader of East Timor, has refused any food since the Indonesian court condemned him to life in prison. The information first appeared in the local Dili paper quoting Xanana's defence lawyer. This followed Xanana Gusmão's own statement that he would begin a hunger strike. Fears for his health and safety have been compounded by the fact that he has not been allowed visitors since May 21 when he was removed from the court blindfolded.

In another development, the family of the East Timorese resistance leader denied claims that it has instructed his court-appointed lawyer to appeal to President Suharto for clemency.

When asked to confirm a statement made earlier by Mr. Sudjono, the official defence attorney, that relatives of Mr. Xanana Gusmão had instructed him to seek clemency from President Suharto, family

members of the imprisoned leader said in Dili today. "We have no knowledge of this and no intention to ask clemency from President Suharto." In an earlier TV interview from Dili, Xanana's relatives stated: "He is not an Indonesian citizen and under international law, the court had no right to try him."

In a defence statement which he was prevented from reading but was smuggled out of Dili prior to the sentencing, Mr. Xanana Gusmão made the following points: "I am resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Maubere Resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of the 7 of December 1975 and the criminal and illegal occupation of East Timor of the last 17 years. I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me, and in particular the jurisdiction of this court which has been imposed by force of arms and crimes against my homeland, East Timor. I can never recognise the criminal occupation of East Timor only in order to live for a few more years. My struggle is superior to my life. The people have sacrificed their lives and continue to struggle."

Jose Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), visiting Stockholm, called "on the European Community, the Clinton administration, and the Australian Government to impress upon the Indonesian dictatorship to release Mr. Xanana Gusmão and all East Timorese prisoners immediately."

"The Indonesian military should accept the challenge of a UN-supervised referendum as the only democratic means to ascertain the wishes of the people of East Timor and to settle this conflict."

HUNGER STRIKE CONFIRMED

TAPOL report, 26 May 1993

Relatives of Xanana Gusmão in Dili today confirmed that he is on hunger strike and said he began his strike 'about seven days' ago. They said also that their source says that he is 'sick.' No further explanation was given, nor was it known whether he is refusing only food or is also refusing liquids. According to the family, Xanana is still in Dili.

The most urgent thing now is to demand that the ICRC have immediate access, in order to be able to report on his health.

We must now start pressing governments to respond to his hunger strike. Announcing his hunger strike in his defence statement last week, Xanana described it as "a practical way to appeal to the EC, the US government and the government of Australia."

A Reuter report filed from Sydney, based largely on the CNRM release of 25 May saying that Xanana Gusmão was almost certainly already on hunger strike, quoted a military spokesman in Jakarta as denying the story. "The report is not true. Xanana is not on hunger strike. Ramos only made up the story to show the world Fretilin is not weak," he said.

According to Reuter, diplomats in Jakarta were not able to confirm the report of the hunger strike. But one who follows events there said it was not even sure that Xanana remained in Timor and he could well have been transferred to elsewhere in the Indonesian archipelago. He noted prisoners were often transferred in cases where the authorities feared that leaving a rebel in his home 'province' could act as a focus for anti-government sentiment.

AI: FEAR OF TORTURE

AI Index: ASA 21/06/93

UA 173/93 Health Concern/ 27 May 1993

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Xanana Gusmão, 45, leader of East Timor's independence movement

Amnesty International is concerned at reports that Xanana Gusmão, leader of East Timor's independence movement, is in poor health after being on hunger-strike for about a week. These reports have been difficult to confirm because neither representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) nor family members have been permitted to visit him since his plan to begin a hunger-strike became known. In view of concerns that Xanana Gusmão's health may be at risk, Amnesty International believes that it is essential for ICRC representatives, physicians and relatives to be granted immediate and regular access to him.

Xanana Gusmão had planned to announce that he was going to go on hunger-strike in his defence plea before the Regional Trial Court in Dili on 17 May 1993.

However, after he had read only two pages of his statement the presiding judge ordered him to stop, claiming that his remarks were "irrelevant." As a result, his intention to begin a hunger-strike did not become known internationally until 21 May when his defence plea – which was smuggled out of prison – became available.

Xanana Gusmão was last seen by his family when he was taken out of court on 21 May 1993. However, to Amnesty International's knowledge, he has not received visits from anyone except his court-appointed lawyer since his trial began on 1 February 1993.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Amnesty International regards Xanana Gusmão's trial – at which he was found guilty of rebellion and illegal possession of firearms – as blatantly unfair. Like all political trials in East Timor and Indonesia, his trial failed to meet international standards of fairness, or even to comply with Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure. In addition to procedural concerns, Amnesty International believes that the general political atmosphere within which the trial took place – one of undisguised official hostility to the defendant, and reported interference in the judicial proceedings by military and executive authorities – made a fair trial virtually impossible.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

PLEASE SEND telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters either in English, or your own language:

- expressing concern that Xanana Gusmão is reported to have been on hunger-strike for about a week and that he may be in ill-health;
- noting that he is reported to have begun his hunger-strike to focus international attention on the plight on East Timor
- urging the government to allow the ICRC and relatives immediate, and thereafter frequent and regular, access to him in detention;
- urging that physicians be given immediate and regular access to Xanana Gusmão to assess his medical condition and to provide proper medical care in accordance with agreed international standards.

APPEALS TO:

Ali Alatas
[Salutation: Dear Minister Alatas]
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Kementerian Luar Negeri
Jl. Taman Pejambon 6
Jakarta, Indonesia
Telegrams: Minister Foreign Affairs,
Jakarta, Indonesia
Faxes: +62 21 36 7781 +62 21 36 7782

Major General Theo Syafei
[Salutation: Dear Major General Syafei]
Commander, KODAM IX/Udayana
Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Major General Syafei, Kodam IX, Denpasar, Bali

Haji Utoyo Usman S.H.
[Salutation: Dear Minister Usman]
Minister of Justice
Ministry of Justice
Jl. Rasuna Said Kav. 6-7
Kuningan

Jakarta Selatan Indonesia

Faxes: + 62 21 32 1625

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF APPEALS

TO: His Excellency Teuku Mohammad Hadi Thayeb, Embassy of Indonesia, 38 Grosvenor Square, London W1X 9AD

AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

The Editor
Jakarta Post
Jalan Palmerah Selatan 15b/c
Jakarta 10270 Indonesia
Faxes: + 62 21 549 2685

The Editor
Forum Keadilan
PO Box 4279/KBY
Jakarta 12042 Indonesia
Faxes: + 62 21 720 7458

PLEASE SEND APPEALS

IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send appeals after 8 July 1993.

Additional note from Richard Koch:

The Indonesian Ambassador to the United States is Abdul Rachman Ramly, and his telephone number is (202)775-5200, fax (202)775-5365. The Indonesian Embassy is at 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036.

XANANA GETS LIFE SENTENCE

Greenleft News, May 25

By Jana D.K. in Jakarta and Mitchell Hamilton in Sydney

East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment by an Indonesian court in Dili on May 21. The three judges found him guilty of separatism, rebellion, conspiracy and firearms offences.

In the court were a United Nations representative and diplomats from the United States, Australia, Britain and Japan.

Xanana's handwritten defence document was smuggled out of his cell. In it, he denied he was an Indonesian or subject to Indonesian law. He said he was coerced into recanting his views for Indonesian video cameras and was forced to refuse offers of help from the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute.

"The circumstances of my previous statements in Jakarta cannot allow them to be seen as credible," Xanana said. "I reject the competence of any Indonesian tribunal to judge me and much less the jurisdiction of this court, installed by force of arms and criminal acts in my country, East Timor."

Amnesty International said the sentence was a "travesty of justice." "In view of the fact that Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor has not been recognised by the United Nations, the competence of Indonesian courts to try Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese is open to question ... It is especially doubtful whether an East Timorese can legitimately be charged with rebellion against the government of Indonesia, which occupies the territory illegally."

Prevented from speaking

The court had earlier reneged on its decision to allow Xanana to present his own defence in Portuguese. At the May 18 session he was able to read only three pages of his 19-page defence before he was stopped and forced to hand over the remainder to his court-appointed lawyer, Sudjono.

On May 17 the Jakarta daily Kompas had quoted Sudjono as saying that although Xanana's speech was "full of politics," he had the right to present his defence as he pleased. Professor Dr. Sahetapy, a respected legal commentator from Airlangga University, Surabaya, who had until then refrained from commenting on the case, defended Xanana's right to discuss political issues in his defence.

Throughout the trial, the authorities made every effort to prevent Xanana from making any clear statements on either his trial or the issue of East Timor, enabling the government and the press to present a more "palatable" interpretation of Xanana's position to the Indonesian public.

The domestic reporting of such topics has become a more significant issue since the Dili massacre in November 1991. At that time, East Timor for the first time became the subject of open, public discussion in the Indonesian press.

Hendardi, head of the special division of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute (YLBHI), told Green Left Weekly that the current carefully orchestrated campaign by the government is aimed at both placating the international community and convincing the Indonesian population that the situation in East Timor is now under control.

Hendardi added that "the government wants to create the impression that with the arrest of Xanana the problems in East Timor have been resolved. The court may have been worried that the content of the speech would undermine these efforts and expose the trial as little more than a sham."

Students arrested

Meanwhile, Amnesty International is concerned over the fate of three East Timorese university students reportedly arrested by Indonesian security forces in Dili for their alleged political activities. The

whereabouts of Rui "Los Palos" and two others are unknown, and Amnesty fears that they may be subjected to torture.

Political detainees in East Timor are commonly held incommunicado and subjected to torture in order to extract confessions and political intelligence. During interrogation, authorities routinely deny lawyers and representatives of the Red Cross access to political detainees.

Amnesty is urging people to send express and airmail letters expressing concern for the safety of Rui "Los Palos" and the two other students reportedly arrested to: Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kementerian Luar Negeri, Jl. Taman Pejambon 6, Jakarta, Indonesia or faxes to 62 21 36 7781.

EAST TIMOR, A VICTIM OF DESPAIR

*NRC-Handelsblad 25 May 1993 Dateline:
Dili by Dirk Vlasblom Unabridged*

Vlasblom's reports on East Timor are usually skeptical and unsympathetic.

After the life sentence on the resistance leader

"My God, life!" said a Dili inhabitant. Following the verdict handed down against Jose Alejandro 'Xanana' Gusmão at the end of last week, sentencing him to life, Dili is dominated by fear and despair.

The strict security that has surrounded Xanana's trial and the lingering memories of the bloodbath of 12 November 1991 has restrained even the most rebellious young people from open protest. But there is also a deep sense of defeat. A free Xanana was for most East Timorese a sign of hope, of not accepting fate. Now that he has been put away for the rest of his life, a feeling of powerlessness had taken over.

While it is still unclear whether Xanana's lawyer will appeal, the deeply religious people are flocking to the churches to appeal to the Highest Judge.

East Timorese who still have some faith in world leaders, are looking abroad. "Write, write!" is all that Manual Gusmão, Xanana's grey-haired father wanted to say to the foreign journalists, after rushing out of the courtroom following the verdict.

Many have now turned their hopes to far away New York. No-one failed to notice the presence of Tamrat Samuel, a UN observer who attended the last three sessions of the trial. Even illiterate Timorese know that the UN Secretary-General is presiding over difficult diplomat talks between Portugal and Indonesia which have so far been a dialogue of the deaf. The Portuguese who left their colony in haste in 1975 in a state

of civil war will only recognise Indonesian sovereignty if the East Timorese have accepted to this by means of a referendum. But the Indonesians don't want to risk putting the status quo which followed the annexation of 1976 to a referendum.

Foreign journalists were criss-crossing Dili after the trial, looking for reactions to Xanana's verdict, but all they could find were closed doors and military control posts. The one most sought after for comment was Bishop Ximenes Belo, the leader of the East Timorese Catholic church, who enjoys the high esteem of the population and is seen as suspect by the Indonesian military, but the church leader had left for Baucau, east of Dili, for an indefinite period.

Not only foreigners feel the pressure of the security apparatus. A village head in a small hamlet outside Dili initially kept a distance but as soon as his minder and the crowd of people had gone, he started to speak: "You can trust nobody," he said in a whisper. "The network of informers in East Timor is even greater than the army's battalions." He seemed re-assured by the news that Xanana responded to the verdict with a militant "Long live East Timor!" He says: "He is indestructible" and speaks full of hope about "a diplomatic solution" and "some kind of autonomy."

To achieve relative peace in East Timor, a price will have to be paid. After the military shot at an anti-Indonesian demonstration on 12 November 1991, the new commander has restored discipline in the garrison, but at the same time, the pressure on the population has intensified.

Florentino Sarmiento heads a private foundation which receives foreign aid to implement development projects in rural East Timor. He admits that the Indonesians have done more for the region's development than the Portuguese who left the colony in a state of poverty, with twenty kilometres of asphalted road, a handful of primary schools and a seminary for priests. But he sees development as something relative. "Hundreds of kilometres of road have been constructed, hundreds of schools have been built and the telecommunication system has improved enormously but this is purely physical; the souls of the East Timorese have not been touched. What is lacking is good education and a well-functioning judicial system. The government and the armed forces of Indonesia are developing East Timor without the population, who look at the asphalt and cement with apathy. The people are patronised, distrusted, and they are not given the chance to improve their own destiny. As long as East Timor is governed from a narrow security perspective, there will be no such thing as real development."

XANANA CONFIRMED ON HUNGER STRIKE AND ILL

Press release from CNRM, Stockholm on 26 May 1993

Reliable East Timorese resistance sources have just confirmed that Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader, is on a hunger strike in prison in Dili. The source who also confirms that "Xanana is ill" and "has not been visited by anyone including the ICRC," cannot for security reasons be identified.

In his defence plea which he was prevented from reading by the presiding Indonesian judge, Xanana Gusmão had stated the following:

"From today, I will start a hunger strike as a practical way to appeal to the EC, the US government and the government of Australia."

Because he was not allowed to read his statement some confusion arose as to whether he would begin the hunger strike as originally planned.

Mr. Jose Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the leading non-partisan umbrella organization comprising all East Timorese opposition groups based inside East Timor, and headed by Xanana Gusmão, said today:

"I have no reason to doubt the source of the information. I am deeply worried about the well-being of Mr. Xanana Gusmão. The Indonesian armed forces who are holding Mr. Xanana Gusmão are responsible for his well-being. If any further harm is caused to Xanana Gusmão, the Indonesian armed forces will pay a price. The US Administration, Australia the EC and the UN, must bear responsibility for what is happening," Mr. Ramos-Horta said.

RAMOS-HORTA INTERVIEW WITH ABC/AUSTRALIA

ABC radio national, Ramona Kavel show, 5.30pm, 26 May 1993

Unabridged/transcript

Ramona: There are growing fears for the health and safety of the East Timorese independence leader Mr. Xanana Gusmão. Is reported that he began a hunger strike following the announcement of his life sentence earlier this week. There are also reports that his family had instructed his court appointed lawyer to appeal to President Suharto for clemency. But Jose Ramos-Horta the Special Representative of the

Timorese movement says that this isn't the case and he joins us from Stockholm.

Q: Well news here in Australia reported that Gusmão is planning to appeal for clemency you say this is wrong.

J Ramos-Horta: Yes, that is absolutely incorrect, first it would be inconsistent with his position which has been made public – that he does not recognise the Indonesian court jurisdiction to try him. Second, I have heard that (formal confirmation) from his relatives inside East Timor that they did not give any instruction, they did not ask the Indonesian government appointed lawyer Mr. Sudjono to seek amnesty or pardon from President Suharto, so whatever information that came out that Mr. Xanana's relatives had ask him to appeal are not correct.

Q: So where did these reports come from do you think?

JRH: Well the report initially came in fact from Mr. Sudjono himself. The Indonesian appointed lawyer to Xanana Gusmão. It was Mr. Sudjono who said a few days ago in fact the same day of trial, that although he agreed, he confirmed Xanana Gusmão did not want him to request an appeal or clemency from President Suharto. He had received instructions from Mr. Xanana's relatives to do so. However, having contacted Mr. Xanana's relatives not of course directly but via other people they deny that they ever ask Mr. Sudjono to appeal because they understood Mr. Xanana Gusmão's position.

Q: What about Sudjono. Are you happy with the representation he gave Xanana Gusmão?

JRH: I am certainly not happy, Mr. Sudjono was always an obscure, mediocre attorney. He was chosen over a lawyer from the Legal Aid Foundation (LBH) (— Nasution— Hakim and—), very respected prestigious lawyers. The Indonesian military security turned down Xanana's request to have the aid of the LBH in favour of Mr. Sudjono. That alone indicate the, sometimes, too friendly relationship Mr. Sudjono has with Indonesian military intelligence.

Q: Do you think that – would that be possible to ask for a retrial an appeal to the international court of jurists?

JRH: Certainly, we would not contemplate asking for a retrial because the court, no

court in Indonesia have a jurisdiction over East Timor or for Mr. Xanana Gusmão. What we are hoping now is the international community begin to take certain punitive actions against Indonesia. It's becoming increasingly difficult for instance for the European Community to increase any formal aid to Indonesia. Public opinion in Portugal is of – magnitude at the moment that if any of the European partners were to attempt to renew aid to Indonesia, to increase aid to Indonesia I could tell you it could be the end of the European political cooperation in the field of human rights.

Q: Do we know what Xanana Gusmão's physical condition is?

JRH: We are very very worried. First, by the reports we have received in the last 48 hours that Mr. Xanana Gusmão has refused any food since the day of the verdict, the sentence. And these information first appeared in Dili, East Timor through the local newspaper which is of course a government control newspaper. The paper quoted Mr. Sudjono as saying that Xanana Gusmão has refused to take any food, we are extremely worried that so far the International Commission Red Cross has had no access to him, he was last seen Friday taken from the court blindfolded into an unknown prison, unknown destination, right now we don't whether he is Dili or he is in Denpasar only the ICRC will be able to tell and credibly where Mr. Xanana is and how his condition is.

Q: And what is the Indonesian government response to his hunger strike?

JRH: I am certain that Indonesian authorities would not be terribly impressed and would not care whether Mr. Xanana Gusmão continue on with the hunger strike. We hope that Australian government particularly Mr. Gareth Evans who find it always very kindly and go to great length to explain away Indonesian crimes in East Timor. For instance, he said that a life sentence imposed on Mr. Xanana Gusmão was in fact light in view of the charges that the military put against him. Just imagine you know someone accusing a person saying that you rob, without any proof, without any legitimacy and then give the person 10 years in prison and comes Mr. Gareth Evans say well because you rob and they tell you, they told us that you rob so 10 years is not much. It is just outrageous

and I am more and more appalled how low, how far Gareth Evans and other Australian Government leaders can go in defence of Indonesia.

Q: What would you like Gareth Evans to do?

JRH: Listen, you asked me a question, I am tempted to say something else, but at least if Gareth Evans doesn't have any courage, he has no sense of dignity or morality to stand up for basic decency in the region, well at least, you know, do like the ostrich, dig his head in the sand and let the problem go by if that – can happen.

MILITARY CHIEF WANTS GUSMÃO OUT OF TIMOR

The Weekend Australian 30th May 1993 by AFP Dateline: Jakarta unabridged

Indonesia's military chief in East Timor wanted rebel leader Xanana Gusmão to serve the life sentence he received last week outside the former Portuguese colony, the Jawa Post newspaper reported yesterday.

The newspaper quoted Commander Colonel Suntoro as saying: "It would be better if he were jailed outside East Timor so that there would not be things that we would not wish to happen."

On May 21, the State court in Dili, the main city in East Timor, condemned Gusmão, 46, to life imprisonment for rebellion, separatism and illegal possession of firearms. He was captured in Dili last November.

Since 1979, Gusmão had headed the pro-independence movement Fretilin, which has been fighting against Indonesian troops since they invaded East Timor in 1975.

Colon Suntoro cited as his reason for wanting Gusmão out the existence of what he called "two-headed" people in East Timor, a term used by Indonesian authorities in East Timorese who are secretly pro-independence.

But the military commander added that a judicial authorities should decide where Gusmão would serve his sentence.

Meanwhile, the Antara news agency reported that the Supreme Court had upheld a life sentence on another East Timorese, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, charged with leading the anti-Indonesian demonstration that led to the Dili massacre in November 1991.

IAN MACINTOSH REPORTS ON XANANA

June 7, 1993, Radio National. Sandy McCoucham

Today on the program we want to turn our attention to that vexed question of East Timor, which has long been a thorn on side of Foreign Affairs. While the Government has had to walk the diplomatic tightrope sections of the community, especially of the East Timorese have refused to let it go away as an issue. And now the gap between the public concern and foreign affairs pragmatism is as wide as ever. In 1975 Indonesia annexed East Timor and for the past 17 years a guerrilla movement has kept a war against the Indonesian authorities. The future of that resistance is now in some doubt, with the life sentence given to the leader the Resistance movement Xanana Gusmao. Appeals for clemency for Gusmão have already come from Portugal, the former colonial ruler of East Timor, and the Australian has belatedly joined the chorus. But there are few signs that the Indonesian authorities will bend to international protest. So today we ask the question, is this the end of the fight for independence in East Timor. And there is anything more Australian can do? Should we agree with the pragmatist that time for resistance is past and accept the status quo.

We would like to hear your views.

From Jakarta the ABC's correspondent Ian Macintosh.

Q: Well look, you spent many hours at the trial of Gusmao, do you agree with his decision to try clemency, rather than a retrial?

Ian: I think the first question to ask Sandy, is whether that is his decision. We have no independent confirmation that Xanana Gusmão himself wanted to seek clemency, after all as his supporters point it would be tan..... To recognizing Indonesian jurisdiction in the former Portuguese colony. I think we've got to discover firstly, whether or not he does want clemency. The lawyer that represented throughout the trial Sudjono, a Jakarta based criminal lawyer, says that his client does want to plea for clemency, he says that Xanana Gusmão's family had been quite active in wishing to seek clemency, but as yet there has been no plea for clemency lodge. We understand now that lawyer Sudjono is contemplating doing sometime in the next fortnight, immediately after the trial he told us he would do it last week, so, really we just got wait and see.

Q: So what was the opinion of the international press? Did observers come

away from the trial feeling that some sort of justice had been done?

IAN: Well, for a start I think international press was a bit of misnomer. In fact I was one of the few foreign press that made regular visits throughout the course of the trial. There was a large number of press there for the opening including 9 Portuguese journalists. There was a slightly smaller group including 4 Portuguese at the final session of the trial. But for of the most of trial, the gallery at least as far as foreigners, apart from a few diplomats from Jakarta and the odd legal observers from overseas such as from international commission of jurists, they made up the total international observation. As far as the fairness of the trial goes, I think one needs to make a couple of points, firstly, this trial was been judge by the legal observers in terms of 1. its adherence to establish Indonesian law. 2) whether it met certain international standards for fairness and impartiality and so on, I think it had to be said that particularly in the latter stages of the trial, there were number of what seem to me, to be quite obvious breaches of both those standards of fairness. I mean these are Indonesian own criminal procedure codes. For example, as I understand it, a defence has the to deliver his or her own defence statement, you recall that when Xanana Gusmão was finally given permission to read his hand-written defence statement he was cut-off after a few minutes. So that, was one example of the kind of problem. On a more procedural level we have such problems as the difficulties in translation. I think it is now widely agreed that the translation was at best patchy and at worst quite misleading, there was varying examples of mistranslations and there were long periods in the trial where there was no translation. For example during the final session when the judges read for a marathon six-half hours their 210-page summation. I was sitting at the back of the court admittedly, but I could see no evidence of the court-appointed translator was translating their Bahasa Indonesia into Portuguese for Xanana Gusmao.

Q: How important is international opinion do you think in persuading the Indonesian authorities?

IAN: important and it is also I think delicately poised. I think there is a long history if you look into Indonesia since it became independent in 1945 to show that when Indonesia pushed too hard and too far it has a negative impact here. That the country, the people, get their backs up and are inclined to dig their heels and do nothing. I think the problem for the international is just how far it can pressure Indonesia and

the ways by which it goes about exerting that pressure.

Q: We often hear the sort of comments from people like yourself and the other experts who have been around the What about the people in the street, in Jakarta. I mean has the trial reached them, do they have opinions about it. What is the buzz on the street?

IAN: Well, certainly the trial reaches them by way of routine reporting, and I mean routine, basic coverage of the trial not awful a lot of opinion given. I found it interesting last week talking to people and these admittedly not people on the street but army officers. The number of military people who thought Xanana Gusmão was lightly treated and this includes people that I come to regard fairly moderate and liberal in their views came of something of a perhaps a surprise to me it may not surprise other people. But on the street itself, there is an awful lot of very vague opinion. Jakarta in many ways is further away from East Timor in every respect than say Darwin or somewhere. It is just surprising how little real feeling for and knowledge of East Timor there is in this capital city.

Q: Ian, what future do you see for FRETILIN?

IAN: Very difficult question. I think you made reference in your introduction earlier too, the that it waged a war for the past 17 years. That war is very much ceased in recent years. And whilst we have getting evidence even in the last few months of continuing skirmishes of armed clashes, we had two clashes for example in March which took at least 8 Indonesian soldiers lives. I think that, its generally agreed even by Fretilin's most ardent supporters that the armed struggle is really little more than nuisance value. What is important and difficult to gauge is the battle if you like for hearts and minds in the population centres, Dili, Baucau and so on. And we saw evidence of that of course in 1991 in that demonstration which ended in the tragic killings at the Santa Cruz cemetery. I think there is certainly evidence from my various visits down there and contacts with people there to suggest that whilst publicly there are no great displays of strong support for independence there is very little doubt in mind that it burns very strongly in the souls of many East Timorese.

Q: Finally, Portugal said it would take this issue to international forums. Do you think we are likely to see any action at all as a result.

IAN: One would like to think this might be the case. My own view is somewhat more pessimistic. I think however, that is really the international arena which will

ultimately determine the fate of this whole question and the events of the last few weeks in a number of important areas have not really helped the Indonesian case. For example, we had the situation where a group of diplomats and journalists including an official from the United Nations Secretariat in New York were off-loaded from a plane on their way to attend the trial in ET, that same UN official on a second occasion was unable to reach Dili for a trial session. We have diplomats been placed in a back of the court on the day that XANANA GUSMÃO was reading his defence statement without a loud speaker, they couldn't hear it. A number of instances of that kind which really did the Indonesian cause very little good diplomatically and as recently as the weekend we've had confirmation that the ICRC is suspending its visits to prisoners in ET because it says the Indonesian authorities there are not meeting all the conditions it requires in all of its visits around I think that there has been a lot these incidents if you like in recent weeks which really haven't done Jakarta's case much good at all.

XANANA SENTENCE: REACTIONS

IN PORTUGAL

*Publico 22 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon
Original Lang.: Portuguese Abridged*

"Long live East Timor," they heard him murmur when the sentence condemning him to life imprisonment was passed. No one saw him again: a van took him from the back of the courthouse. In Portugal and abroad the trial was called a farce. Caution and apprehension in Dili. Voices are heard, hopeful, calling him Timor's Mandela. Attacked journalists go home earlier.

The Timorese, familiar with Indonesian political intrigue, were not surprised by the heavy hand of the judges. "Anything less than life imprisonment would contradict what Gregorio Saldanha received, just for peacefully demonstrating in the Santa Cruz cemetery," Jose Amorim a member of the Maubere Resistance National Council, who managed to escape from Timor last year, told *Publico*. What happens now, he believes, depends on the way in which the Indonesian President manages his own interests. "Suharto has political and personal interests to safeguard, and he will therefore bear in mind what happened to Marcos of the Philippines. Timor has become the big international problem of the end of his family's reign.

International indignation

Portugal awoke with the news and, immediately, Mario Soares, Cavaco Silva, Parliament, and political parties condemned the sentence. The Prime Minister announced a plan of international action drawn up by the government.

Durão Barroso, the Foreign Minister currently on an official visit to China, spoke of a "farce" and said the sentence "only demonstrates that Indonesia's stated intentions to find a solution for East Timor have no basis whatsoever," while the government department he heads stated that "it is the Jakarta Government which should be on trial for what it has done in East Timor."

The Foreign Office believes that "Indonesia has no political, moral or legal legitimacy to try" Xanana. It concluded that, with the final testimony which Xanana was not allowed to read out in Court, but which is already circulating outside Timor, "the whole process in Dili ended up by having the opposite effect to the one intended by the occupying authorities."

There is a mixture of indignation and pride in the reactions of the **Timorese** themselves. Mari Alkatiri, a Fretilin leader living in Mozambique, thought that "This is a day of great sadness for the Timorese people, but it is at the same time thrilling: our leader continues to maintain his political firmness and coherence, and remains loyal to his to the end." The guerrilla organization's representative in Portugal, Abilio Araujo, said in Lisbon that he does not even recognise the Dili court's legitimacy to try Xanana and emphasised that "Fretilin appeals for Xanana Gusmão's unconditional release, and appeals to the UN to safeguard his physical and moral integrity."

Another Timorese political force, the **UDT**, now seems to be betting on Xanana's release. For the UDT's Vice-Chairman, João Carrascalão, living in Australia, "sooner or later the Indonesian Government will come up with an amnesty as a propaganda maneuver." Zacarias da Costa, the UDT's Committee for Portugal Chairman, shares this idea: "It is not in the interests of the Indonesians themselves to keep Xanana imprisoned for long, because that would be an incentive to the Resistance to continue fighting." And he recalled that "Nelson Mandela also resisted almost thirty years in prison and, in the end, was released and saw his fight against apartheid become triumphant."

While the last Portuguese Governor of Timor, **Lemos Pires**, believes that the life sentence reflects Indonesia's being "cheated of its expectations" by Xanana's final defence plea, the National Association of Portuguese Municipalities ordered a day of

mourning for 28 May, and the Portuguese Human Rights League writes to Bill Clinton requesting his intervention.

For **Barbedo de Magalhães**, Chairman of the Justice and Peace for East Timor Commission, the sentence is a "victory for the resistance and its commander, and a defeat for the Indonesian regime," since Xanana was "an extremely skillful guerrilla, who outmaneuvered his captors, co-operating at first so that the trial would be public, to deliver a crushing blow in the end to the Indonesian regime." Fernando Sylvan, Honorary Chairman of the Freedom for Xanana Commission, thought the sentence "a reflection of Indonesia today." Allan Nairn, the journalist who filmed the Santa Cruz massacre, sees the length of the sentence as a translation of the "recognition of the enormous importance of Xanana and the international movement for Timor's independence," and he is convinced that its effects in the US are going to be unfavorable for the Suharto regime.

In London, where demonstrators protested yesterday outside the Indonesian Embassy, Tapol and Amnesty International spokespersons questioned the competence of the Indonesian courts to try Xanana. Amnesty International recalled that the international observers had been "chosen" by Indonesia, and that for several months Xanana was held in conditions which did not meet international standards, and that there were strong suspicions that he had been tortured.

Boutros Ghali, UN Secretary General and mediator in the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia on the question of Timor, said he was "concerned," and "thinking about the case," but that he had "nothing to say to the world" for the time being. Trust in God, Defender of the Oppressed

Father Jose Antonio da Costa, Secretary of the Ecclesiastic Chamber of Dili, was present when Xanana's sentence was passed. "The Church, here, is still an observer," he cautiously stated to Publico, in Bishop Ximenes Belo's absence due to his visit to Baucau.

Optimistic regarding the future of the former guerrilla leader – "Xanana will be given a pardon" –, the sentence did not surprise him: "If others were sentenced to life imprisonment on lesser charges, then it is not surprising that Xanana was convicted."

Portuguese Catholic Reactions

In Portugal, reactions in Catholic circles were equally hard. Manuel Magalhães, Salesian father who spent 22 years in Timor and confesses he is "an admirer and friend" of the "hero" Xanana, expressed his "outrage and indignation at such an offen-

sive sentence, – truly hypocritical." He added that "the Church ought to carry on denouncing (Indonesian despotic power) and supporting" the people of Timor.

Equally critical of the occupying authorities were the words of Father Manuel Mourao, Provincial of the Jesuits, who are also active in the territory. "I trust in God, the defender of the oppressed, and hope that in the end the forces of reason will defeat the (un)reason of force, with the aid of international political pressure, starting with Portugal's," he said, adding that "Xanana was the spokesman for the people of East Timor, who want to be who they are, without selling their identity, whatever the price may be."

Lisbon's Patriarch, through his spokesman Father Jose Serrazina, pointed out the "lack of respect for human life" revealed by a sentence "based purely on politics," while Judge Orlando Afonso, member of the National Commission for Justice and Peace, underlined the "punitive and repressive" nature of the sentence passed yesterday morning by the Dili court.

ROUND-UP OF OTHER RESPONSES TO THE XANANA VERDICT

[Comment: Some responses, like that of Gareth Evans, are, not surprisingly, contemptible but it is very worrying that Kooijmans, the Dutch Foreign Minister, refuses to acknowledge the illegality of the trial and highlights the possibility that Xanana will appeal. Everything that happened in court shows that he will do no such thing. TAPOL]

Many news agencies in Jakarta have filed reports yesterday and today about the flood of responses to the trial of Xanana Gusmão and the life sentence passed on Friday:

Dutch Foreign Minister Pieter Kooijmans

Saturday condemned the sentencing of Xanana to life imprisonment as a "harsh verdict." Kooijmans said he had hoped the sentence would reflect movements towards conciliation between the Indonesian government and East Timor.

"I hope the verdict will not hamper attempts to reach a solution to the conflict," he said, interviewed on Dutch radio during a visit to Cairo. He said he would study a report by EC monitors who were at the trial before making any comment in that respect. He said it was too early to take any action, as Gusmão could still appeal against the verdict. [AFP, The Hague, 22 May]

Military says resistance crippled

Reuter's Manuk Suwondo, reporting from Dili, said military officers expected the punishment to snuff out resistance to Jakarta.. "Militarily the rebels may have been crippled but our homework is much more on developing the economy," a local official said. Investors are staying away. "Security reasons are often given for the complicated way of doing business in the area," one businessman said.

Jakarta has sought to reduce its military presence in the territory, but roadblocks and security checks are still in place in some areas, and a group of journalists travelling by car to Baucau were turned back after soldiers said they needed a permit. Plainclothes security officers loitered in the lobby of the Turismo Hotel where foreign diplomats and journalists stayed during the trial.

Jakarta has sought to reduce its military presence... and hope that Xanana's sentence may have little impact beyond public censure of Indonesia's rights record in Timor. (Observers) point to Indonesia's prominent chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement and the possibility of Suharto addressing the G7 meeting in Tokyo in July. "For all the hue and cry there are bound to be those who say: 'Don't rock the boat, there are more important things at stake here,'" one diplomat said. [Reuter, 23 May 1993]

Sentence Blow to Indonesia's image

Jeremy Wagstaff, for Reuter, reported that the life sentence has dealt a major blow to the independence movement he led but it has also dented Jakarta's image abroad. Diplomats said Indonesia must work hard to repair the damage after the trial.

"I think they believe they can rough it out, that it will all blow over. I'm not sure that they haven't misjudged the mood," said one diplomat.

Foreign Minister Alatas has shrugged off criticism of the trial, saying the law had to take its course. But he left open the door to an appeal, something Xanana's exiled allies have already ruled out. Eager to improve its international image, Jakarta invited representatives from the US, Japan, Australia and the EC to the trial as well as a personal envoy of the UN Secretary-General. But at each turn, the attempts have appeared to backfire, with diplomats and journalists complaining that they were prevented from flying to Dili and others describing the judicial process as farcical.

Diplomats say the US may be the most likely to take up the issue. It's new-found interest in human rights under Clinton could further strain its ties with Jakarta.

At stake may be four F-5E Tiger jet fighters Jordan is hoping to sell to Indonesia. Washington must approve the deal. [Reuter, Jakarta, 23 May 1993]

Australian Foreign Min. Gareth Evans

on Monday called on Indonesia to reduce the life sentence imposed on Xanana Gusmão and to consider giving East Timor more autonomy. "It would obviously be of great help in achieving reconciliation if Xanana's sentence were to be substantially reduced by presidential clemency," Evans told Parliament.

"In terms of the standards we and others would like to see applied, there were a number of specific problems with the overall fairness of the trial." But he said that none of the problems was so severe as to have impaired the process. [Reuter, Canberra, 24 May 1993]

Alatas defends trial

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas dismissed accusations by human rights group Amnesty International and the territory's former ruler Portugal that the Xanana Gusmão trial was a travesty. "This judicial process is not yet over. Let us now wait and see what happens after this," he said. A correspondent in Dili said the provincial capital was quiet the day after the trial, but outside Indonesia the trial became a focus for concern. Alatas said Indonesia would not be swayed by the ferocity of such attacks, arguing that the executive did not and could not interfere in the affairs of the country's judicial system.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas defended the Dili court's decision. "The Indonesian general election is not tried in the court, so he was interrupted. We are very sorry that had to be done. But the law is the law. Here are a panel of judges who applied Indonesian law properly." Alatas said he believed the verdict would not affect bilateral talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said in Jakarta that the judicial process was not over yet because Gusmão could still launch an appeal or seek clemency. Observers said Alatas' comments may have reflected the thinking of President Suharto and other top officials, who because of international concern over the trial may be leaning toward clemency of some type for Gusmão.

TIMORESE AND OTHER REACTIONS TO THE LIFE SENTENCE

Publico 22 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon Original Lang.: Portuguese Abridged

Cavaco Silva: "We are going to launch action"

"It clearly shows us the brutality of the Indonesian regime. Anything can be expected from a dictatorship, and it proves what a farce the trial was. I must express, at this time, the Portuguese people's appreciation for the coherence and dignity shown by Xanana Gusmão during the trial, which contrasts with the hypocrisy of the court. (...) We believe that this attitude flies in the face of the spirit of dialogue which the UN Secretary General has been trying to stimulate, and it is not going to help matters at the forthcoming meetings between Indonesian and Portuguese representatives.

We were expecting a sentence – what else can one expect from a regime like Indonesia's – but I must show the Portuguese Government's surprise by the fact that they went to the very limits – to life imprisonment.

I have been in contact today with the Foreign Minister, who is in China. We had already prepared an action for the international community, which is going to be launched as from now. We only have diplomatic weapons, which we will use in the international community. We are going to alert the EC as well as our allies in the various international forums, so that the greatest possible pressure will be exercised on the Indonesian regime. But we are not very hopeful..."

João Alves (Portuguese Episcopal Conference Chairman):

"The life sentence passed on Xanana Gusmão, after proceedings which were extremely problematic and without transparency, makes finding a fair solution to the Timor problem even more urgent. The words of the March 1984 Portuguese Episcopal Conference's Permanent Council are appropriate: "Timor aspires to the full expression of its own individuality, and to impede this converts not only into physical but also into, let's say, cultural genocide, the latter being more serious than the former..."

Emilia Gusmão: "Like Nelson Mandela"

"Xanana Gusmão is still the national symbol of all Timorese resistance. The sentence the Indonesian court passed on Xanana is only going to contribute towards strengthening that resistance as well as, yet again, drawing the attention of the international community to the situation in East

Timor. Just as Nelson Mandela after 27 years imprisonment came to give courage and strength to the South African people, so Xanana's imprisonment will only reinvigorate the Timorese people's struggle for independence.

I ask, not just in my own name but on behalf of the tormented people of East Timor, that all those who love peace and freedom, especially His Excellency the President of the Portuguese Republic, Mario Soares, Prime Minister Cavaco Silva, the Presidents of the US and of France, as well as all other Heads of State, demand the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão, because his only wish is, and always will be to fight for the freedom and peace of the Timorese people."

Mario Carrascalão (former Governor of Timor, Special Ambassador of Indonesia): "A courageous Timorese"

"With regards the sentence I think that, since he was brought to trial, this was more or less the expected outcome, given the accusations made against him. I cannot comment on whether or not there was any basis for those accusations.

As a Timorese, I would like him to be reintegrated with Timorese society, because he has human value, he is a courageous Timorese who could be useful in the construction of the territory. This way, he is a Timorese that is lost.

From Indonesia's viewpoint, it is Indonesian law that must be applied. But if we look at things from the position of the UN, for whom Timor has still not been recognised as being part of Indonesia, then the impression is that he should not have been tried.

Nuno Rocha: "A step backwards"

"I am very shocked by the sentence passed on Xanana Gusmão. Nowadays, when humanity has made such progress, neither the death penalty nor life imprisonment is justified. I know that Indonesian moderates are also shocked and consider, as I do, that a step backwards has been taken in the efforts we are making to achieve reestablishment of diplomatic relations between Portugal and Indonesia. The judge must be a hardliner. I know that President Suharto, Vice-President Try Sutrisno and Minister Ali Alatas support the moderate line and perhaps it would be possible, during the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia which are inevitable, to include the release of all Timorese political prisoners. This will be the direction in which I am going to continue my efforts.

COMMUNIQUÉ OF THE PORTUGUESE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ON THE SENTENCE PRONOUNCED AGAINST XANANA GUSMÃO

Original document.

*English translation supplied by the
Portuguese embassy. Minor linguistic
corrections have been made.*

21 May 1993; Unabridged

1. The Indonesian authorities have just sentenced Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese resistance to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, to life imprisonment, according to a sentence that was read today in a Dili court where he had been on trial since 1 February last.

2. This iniquitous decision has come at the end of a process that, from the very beginning, as was stressed by the Portuguese Government, was fraught with the gravest irregularities and outrages carried out against a background of illegitimacy and violence.

3. Xanana Gusmão was submitted to a political trial, to a farce staged by an illegitimate power, that illegally occupied a non-self-governing territory while its decolonisation was under way, in disrespect of the most elementary principles of the United Nations Charter and of International Law, and refusing until now to abide by the resolutions on East Timor adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. The violence that has been committed against the population, the systematic abuse of human rights, the overwhelming, arbitrary use of force indicated that nothing could be expected from the justice that the Dili Court was going to hand down against Xanana Gusmão, once he had been captured by the Indonesian military forces.

4. As the Portuguese government had the opportunity to point out at the beginning of the trial, Indonesia lacks any political, moral or legal authority to charge anyone who tries to put a stop to the illegal situation prevailing in the territory and re-establish the basic rights of the East Timorese and to enforce the rules and principles universally recognised by the international community. The Jakarta government is the one that should be on trial for what it has done in East Timor.

5. The procedures that took place in the Dili court already denounced since Xanana Gusmão's imprisonment were following by another series of scandalous outrages. They included denying the defendant the right to read his defence before the court (in violation of Indonesia's own law); the coercion of witnesses (one of them Saturnino da

Costa Belo, who refused to collaborate, was immediately declared insane and subsequently beaten and subjected to ill-treatment in prison); threats made against the defendant (several of whose relatives were in prison); the opposition to further visits by the International Red Cross, etc.

In addition, the assurances given by the Indonesian authorities that free access to the trial would be granted to diplomats, journalists and international observers, were not fulfilled. They went as far as denying the representatives of the United Nations the possibility to attend two sessions of the trial, as well as to diplomats from various countries. Prevention from entering the courtroom and suppression of the sound-system were used to eliminate any possibility of hearing the defendant when he was trying to read his defence.

6. The Indonesian authorities tried to use the initial statements made by Xanana Gusmão when he was under unacceptable physical and moral coercion as a political weapon. Their intention was to discredit him totally and force him to submit. When they realised that this was not so, that the defendant had prepared a political defence and that he was ready to read it in court, they irresponsibly accused the personal envoy of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Amos Wako, Attorney-General of Kenya, of inducing him to do so.

7. The Dili trial ended up backfiring on the occupation authorities. The deposition that Xanana Gusmão courageously tried to read before the court and that is now known to the public, denounces the illegalities that have characterized the whole process as well as all the manipulations that were used to obtain his submission as a means of seeking to consolidate the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia.

8. The inhumane sentence that has now been announced is another form of violence carried out against the East Timorese people, revealing the occupants' exasperation and the disregard that they show for international criticism of its actions, as revealed by the recent resolution approved by the UN Human Rights Commission.

While denouncing it, Portugal underlines the grave contradiction between this behaviour and the wish proclaimed by Indonesia to achieve through dialogue a just, comprehensive and internationally-acceptable settlement of this problem.

9. The sentencing of Xanana Gusmão is another serious warning to the international community on the need to urgently achieve such a settlement, that must be based on respect for international legality, for the rights of the people and of individuals, in particular for the right to self-determination, without which it will be impossible to solve

the question of East Timor, as has yet again been demonstrated.

MARIO SOARES: "XANANA WAS COURAGEOUS AND DIGNIFIED"

Expresso 22 May 1993

Original Lang.: Portuguese Abridged

(Lisbon) In a written statement, on the request of Expresso, the President of the Republic affirms that " (...) The sentencing of Xanana Gusmão to life imprisonment reveals, in all its brutality, the dictatorial nature of the Indonesian regime, and its lack of respect for the most fundamental human rights. It also shows that Indonesian justice is a farce and that this trial is an affront to Law and Justice.

Xanana Gusmão behaved with immense courage and dignity, and that deserves the greatest respect. Today it is clear that the strategy he adopted, right from the time of his arrest, was the most effective and intelligent way to unmask the methods of coercion and torture used by the dictators and the arbitrariness revealed throughout the iniquitous trial.

Xanana Gusmão will continue to be regarded as the symbol of Timorese resistance, and its fight for self-determination and independence.

I hope that the UN understands how offensive to International Law this masquerade of a trial is, and that the universal conscience – especially in legal circles – reacts against the dictator who imposes an order on East Timor which is based on evil and injustice."

Meanwhile, a Resistance source in Dili said that Ma'Huno, the guerrilla who succeeded Xanana as leader in November, and was later arrested, is being subjected to "permanent interrogation" and to sleep (deprivation) torture, for refusing to "collaborate" with the Indonesian military, by "signing statements in support of integration." According to promises made by Jakarta, this attitude could cost him an amnesty.

For his part, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, is going to begin an international (Japan, Great Britain, Canada, Germany, among others) sailing event, in order to "obtain financial support for various pastoral activities" in East Timor, according to a church source in Dili yesterday.

PORTUGUESE PARLIAMENT HALTS TO CONDEMN

*Publico 22 May 1993. by Angela Silva
Original Lang. Portuguese. Unabridged*

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the Assembly of the Republic interrupted its question time to condemn the life sentence passed on Xanana Gusmão and to show "all its solidarity" with the former leader of the Timorese resistance. The MPs were unanimous in condemning the Indonesian court's sentence, and agreed to bring to bear "all the pressure possible" to reverse the ruling.

"We are going to do everything in our power to achieve self-determination for the Timorese people," said Parliamentary Chairman Barbosa de Melo, aligning himself with the position adopted by several parties. The Parliamentary Commission on Timor did not have a meeting due to the absence of its Chairman, Christian Democrat Adriano Moreira, but Sousa Lara, the previous Chairman of the Commission, considered Xanana's conviction "yet another act of despotism by the Jakarta Government," which "shows that the Indonesian Government's claim that is not worried by the Timorese guerrilla because the latter has no internal relevance is simply untrue."

Within parliament as well as outside, the parties reacted quickly to the sentence. The Socialist Party requested intervention by the parties of the Socialist International, to put pressure on Jakarta to recognise the nullity of the sentence and demand the release of Xanana Gusmão. The Communist Party thought the sentence to be "a revolting decision, which bears witness to the repressive anger of the Indonesian dictatorship towards the Timorese resistance." And the SDC could see no validity whatsoever in the trial, which it considered "a political farce by international law standards."

INDONESIANS IGNORE PORTUGUESE REACTION

Indonesian Headlines - May 24:

Soesilo Soedarman, Indonesia's Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs, said in remarks carried Monday by Media Indonesia that "there is no need to respond to the reaction" of Portugal's Foreign Minister. "Please do respect the decision taken by the (Indonesian) court," Soesilo said. Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, military commander for the Udayana region, which includes East Timor, said, "The sentence was good. It was just what ABRI wanted."

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on Monday called on Indonesia to reduce the life sentence imposed on Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, and to consider giving East Timor more autonomy. "In terms of the standards we and others would like to see applied, there were a number of specific problems with the overall fairness of the trial," Evans said. But he said none of the problems was so severe as to have impaired the process.

Japan declined comment Monday on allegations by Portugal and human rights groups that Indonesian authorities denied East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão a fair trial. But it will continue to monitor the case if Xanana appeals his sentence, Hiroharu Hashi, assistant director of the Second Southeast Asia Division said in a telephone interview. The sentencing of Xanana comes at an awkward time for Tokyo, which is seeking a venue for Indonesian President Suharto to engage in dialogue with G-7. Portugal appears to be pressing the European Community to bring up the East Timor issue at the summit meeting.

EVANS PLEADS FOR TIMOR LEADER

Sydney Morning Herald, May 25

Canberra: Australia will urge Indonesia's President Suharto to reduce substantially the life sentence passed on the East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said yesterday. He expressed disquiet about the trial and said President Suharto could help Indonesia reconcile its problems in East Timor if he displayed clemency. Senator Evans said it was "regrettable" that some international observers, including one from Australia, had been prevented from attending the trial. "It is also a matter of concern that Xanana was barred by court authorities from reading out in full his own prepared defence statement," he told the Senate. Senator Evans said he remained confident of assurances given by the Indonesian Government that Xanana would not be ill-treated in prison. However, he had asked the Indonesian authorities to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross to have regular access to Xanana and other detainees.

EVANS URGES GUSMÃO REVIEW

*THE AUSTRALIAN, 25 May 1993
by Cameron Stewart Unabridged*

Australia has urged Indonesia's President Suharto to reduce substantially the life sentence given to captured East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão to help

the process of reconciliation in the troubled province. The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Evans, said yesterday the Gusmão case provided Indonesia with an opportunity to help heal the wounds in East Timor, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1975. "It would obviously be of great help in achieving that reconciliation if Xanana's sentence were to be substantially reduced by presidential clemency and we will be making that point in our further discussions with the Indonesian Government," Senator Evans told the Senate. Senator Evans's comments represent the first government response since Gusmão, the self-acknowledged leader of the armed resistance in East Timor, was sentenced to life imprisonment last Friday for sedition and rebellion. Senator Evans said the life sentence handed out to Gusmão was not surprising given the charges against him. "In fact, when compared with the charges laid and the sentences handed down in trials of other so-called rebels in Indonesia, Gusmão's sentence is in fact less severe," he said. He added that life imprisonment in Indonesia often meant around 15 to 20 years and it should not be automatically assumed that Gusmão would spend the rest of his life behind bars. However Senator Evans said he was concerned by the overall fairness of the trial. "It was regrettable that certain individual observers, including Australia's Rodney Lewis (of the International Commission of Jurists) were prevented from attending, effectively at all, and that no observers at all were admitted to the trial sessions on May 12 and on May 17," he said. Senator Evans said it was also not clear whether Gusmão was given the lawyer of his choice. However he said the Government had no information to suggest that Gusmão had been ill-treated since his arrest and would press Indonesian authorities to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross continued access to him. Senator Evans made clear the Government's wish for a more conciliatory approach by Indonesia to East Timor. "My hope and the Australian Government's hope is that the Indonesian authorities will see the handling of Xanana's case as an occasion for achieving longer-term reconciliation in East Timor, including through such strategies as a major reduction in the military presence, a major economic development strategy, further recognition of East Timor's distinctive cultural identity and possibly some greater degree of autonomy," he said.

QUESTION TIME IN THE AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT

26 May 1993

Senator Giles – My question is directed to the Minister for Foreign Affairs. What is the Government response to the verdict in the trial of FRETILIN leader Xanana Gusmão? Was the trial conducted fairly and was Xanana given adequate opportunity to mount a defence?

Senator and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans – Xanana Gusmão was found guilty last Friday, 21 May, under article 106 of the Indonesian criminal code, of sedition and rebellion and, under the emergency law, of possession of firearms. He was been sentenced to life imprisonment. He was not charged under anti-subversion law, which carried the death penalty, it was not sought by the prosecution. The length of the life sentence has not been specified, but it should not be assumed that it means for term of one's natural life. In other case in Indonesia life imprisonment has meant around 15 to 20 years, although with crimes against the State there have been cases – it must be acknowledged – in which this has been exceeded.

Given Xanana's self-acknowledged role as the leader of the armed resistance in East Timor and the uncontested nature of the Key elements of the evidence, it has not be said that the verdict was not surprising. In fact, when compared with the charges laid and the sentences handed down in trials of other so-called rebels in Indonesia, Xanana's sentence is in fact less severe. His defence lawyer, Sudjono, has said that Xanana is not appealing the sentence but will be seeking presidential clemency.

I have already made clear on a number of occasions, and I do so again, my hope and the Australian Government's hope that the Indonesian authorities will see the handling of Xanana's case an occasion for achieving longer term reconciliation in East Timor, including through such strategies as a major reduction in the military presence, a major economic development strategy, further recognition of East Timor's distinctive cultural identity and possibly some greater degree of autonomy. It would obviously be great help in achieving that reconciliation of Xanana's sentence were to be substantially reduce by presidential clemency and we will be making that point in our further discussion with the Indonesian Government.

As to the conduct of the trial, while in terms of the standards that we and others would ideally like to see applied, there were a number of specific problems with the overall fairness of the trials. However, they should not be overstated. None of them

were unique to the management of this case nor were they, in our judgment, so severe or so deep in nature as to have fundamentally impaired the process that is provided for under the Indonesian criminal procedures code. Overall, court proceedings were open to diplomatic observers, to local and foreign media and to domestic and international human rights organisations, including Asia Watch and the ICJ and UN observer. That was a welcome development.

However, it was regrettable that certain individual observers, including Australia's Rodney Lewis, were prevented from attending, effectively at all, and that no observers at all were admitted to the trial sessions on 12 and 17 May. It is also a matter for concern that Xanana was barred by court authorities from reading out in full his own prepared defence statement. The criminal code of Indonesia does provide for the accused to exercise the right of a full and final say and defence lawyer Sudjono argued strongly that he should be allowed to read the full statement.

On the question of legal representation, it is not clear again that Xanana was given the lawyer of his choice, but it does seem at the same time generally accepted that defence lawyer Sudjono did make diligent and comprehensive efforts in mounting the defence case. He met Xanana five times before the trial began and had no difficult of access to him during the trial.

Finally, on the question of his treatment during detention and trial, we have no information to suggest that he was ill-treated, and we have been closely following the case through our mission in Jakarta from the start, including through contact with a number of independent non-government organisations. I remain confident of the assurance given to me at the highest levels of the Indonesian Government that Xanana would not be ill-treated in detention. I have, however, instructed our embassy in Jakarta to raise with the Indonesian authorities the need for continuing regular access by the International Committee of Red Cross to Xanana and to other detainees.

STATEMENT BY PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR EAST TIMOR (AUSTRALIA)

L. Ferguson, MHR

Via: East Timor Foundation Inc.

27 May 1993

(Parliamentarians for East Timor currently comprise about 55 members of the Senate and House of Representatives. The following statement was adopted and released by the group today)

Australian Parliamentarians for East Timor calls upon the Commonwealth Government to firmly indicate to the Indonesian authorities, Australia's abhorrence at the life sentence imposed on Xanana Gusmão.

Furthermore, we urge the Foreign Minister to press Indonesian authorities through the United Nations and in co-ordination with the US, Japanese and European Governments for an acceleration of the settlement talks under UN auspices with a view to granting the East Timorese people a UN-supervised act of self-determination.

It is our view that Xanana Gusmão, as a representative of the East Timorese people should play a central role in these discussions.

JAPANESE REP. EDA'S STATEMENT

May 25, 1993

Statement by Rep. Satsuki Eda, Secretary-General of Diet Members Forum on East Timor, on the sentence of life imprisonment handed down to Xanana Gusmão, former chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM)

1. On May 21 at Indonesia's Dili District Court, Xanana Gusmão, the former chairman of the National Council of Maubere Resistance was sentenced to life imprisonment for plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms. However the United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and still today regards the former colonial power, Portugal, as the administering authority. Mr. Gusmão should therefore be treated as a prisoner of war under the Geneva Conventions. The right to try Mr. Gusmão being in doubt, this sentence is extremely regrettable.

2. I note the fact that the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, the International Commission of Jurists, Asia Watch, Amnesty International and other human rights organizations have expressed the

following doubts about the fairness of the trial:

(1) Mr. Gusmão was kept incommunicado for approximately three weeks after his arrest.

(2) There are doubts as to whether his lawyer was chosen by Mr. Gusmão himself.

(3) The International Committee of the Red Cross was allowed to visit Mr. Gusmão only once, on December 7.

(4) Most of the East Timorese witnesses for the prosecution were persons in detention.

(5) Translation of the trial proceedings was not accurate.

(6) Attendance at the trial by the International commission of Jurists, United Nations staff, Japanese, British and American diplomats, as well as Japanese and Dutch journalists was obstructed in various ways.

(7) Mr. Gusmão was prevented from reading all but a few minutes of his defence statement.

3. I appreciate the fact that the Indonesian Government allowed a return visit to East Timor by Mr. Amos Wako, the special envoy of the United Nations Secretary General, as well as visits by a number of human rights organizations.

I also hope that the Indonesian Government will allow, in keeping with a UN Human Rights Commission resolution, visits by the Special Rapporteur on Torture and the Special Rapporteur on Extra-judicial, Summary, or Arbitrary Executions, as well as by the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Involuntary Disappearances.

4. For a fundamental solution to the issue, the Japanese Government should call on the Indonesian Government to enter into negotiations with all of the parties concerned.

CANADA ON XANANA GUSMÃO

Canadian Press database, 27 May.

This is the first response that I have encountered that officially represents the position of Canada on the sentence of Xanana Gusmão. – Sharon Scharfe, ETAN/Ottawa

OTTAWA (CP) Canada will review an Amnesty International report on the trial of an East Timorese resistance leader by Indonesia, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Thursday.

Amnesty International says the trial of Xanana Gusmão, who was convicted on charges of rebellion and illegal possession of firearms was "blatantly unfair."

Gusmão, East Timor's resistance leader for most of the 17 years since the former Portuguese colony was seized by Indonesia, was sentenced to life imprisonment by Indonesia May 21.

Canada had said Gusmão got a fair trial, despite an international protest over his conviction and the fact Canadian diplomats did not monitor the trial on a daily basis.

Instead the diplomats rotated monitoring duties with other "like-minded" countries, McDougall told the Commons External Affairs Committee.

Under questioning from NDP External Affairs critic Svend Robinson, McDougall said "We're quite prepared to review Amnesty's report."

Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor has not been recognized by the United Nations. An estimated 200,000 East Timorese have died of starvation, disease, and execution while fighting Indonesian occupation forces.

Note: Svend Robinson, NDP critic for External Affairs, is a member of PET.

XANANA SENTENCE: EDITORIALS

VANCOUVER SUN: INDONESIA'S SECRET

Editorial, The Vancouver Sun, 22 May 1993

The name Xanana Gusmão may not be as familiar to Canadians as is Nelson Mandela or the Dalai Lama. But to the repressed and impoverished people of East Timor, fighting Indonesian rule since 1975, there is little doubt that Mr. Gusmão's leadership has been just as highly regarded.

An item on the international news wires says Mr. Gusmão has been sentenced by an Indonesian court to life imprisonment for his role as leader of the Fretilin rebel movement resisting Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. At a time when the world's fickle attention is trained on Bosnia, Somalia and Israel, it is easy to overlook a chapter in a book Indonesia would have liked to have closed 18 years ago.

Since Indonesia's invasion – still unrecognized by the United Nations – up to 200,000 East Timorese have died in the former Portuguese colony from execution, starvation or disease. Still, their plight was largely forgotten until, in what Indonesia calls a "regrettable incident," more than 100 people were shot by troops without provocation in 1991.

Although Canadians may not know as much about Mr. Gusmão, they should at least view his imprisonment as a reminder of

an international wrong that may never be righted without strong pressure from western nations like our own.

OBSERVER: SUHARTO'S CRIMES

Observer editorial, 23 May 1993.

[The Observer is one of the UK's leading Sunday papers.]

As one of the most populous countries in the world, Indonesia is too important a market for Western governments to pick a quarrel with. As the world's largest Muslim nation, it can count on the worldwide solidarity of Islam. As a founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement, it can rely on a strong lobby in the Third World. And General Suharto was helped to power by the West in 1965 at the end of a putsch against the Indonesian Left which caused hundreds of thousands to die. Even the Labour Government in Australia, which might have been expected to criticize Suharto's record, has fallen silent, worried lest it lose a large and grubby oil deal with its powerful neighbour.

But the horror of Indonesia's occupation of the defenceless former Portuguese colony of East Timor, where, with no outside assistance, brave men and women have been fighting the invaders since they arrived 17 years ago, is now firmly on the international agenda. The error the Indonesians committed in massacring a crowd of peaceful demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery two years ago, in the presence of a British television crew, made amply sure of that – even if the death of 200,000 Timorese over the previous 15 years had not.

Now, at a kangaroo court, the occupation forces have condemned Xanana Gusmão, the captured Timorese resistance leader, to life imprisonment. They had no right to do so. His detention will only fan the flames of resistance and be a continual reproach to those governments which choose not to notice the evil policies of a long-established dictatorship.

BOSTON GLOBE: INDONESIA INJUSTICE

Editorial, Boston Globe May 24, 1993

As citizens of a nation founded on an anticolonial struggle, Americans have good reasons to identify with the people of East Timor – a people crushed under the boot of Indonesian occupation.

Though Americans have heard little about the genocidal crimes committed by the Indonesians since their invasion in 1975, a massacre of some 200 peaceful mourners at

a memorial ceremony in November 1991 illustrated the agony of East Timor. Now comes the trial and harsh sentence of the Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão.

The blatant injustice of the judicial procedure staged by Indonesian authorities has been castigated by human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch. The trial of Xanana "failed to meet international standards of fairness or even to comply with Indonesia's own Code of Criminal Procedure," Amnesty found.

Witnesses were coerced into giving testimony against Xanana, Amnesty said. Those who refused were "subjected to intimidation and sanctions."

Xanana, who received a term of life imprisonment for the crime of rebellion, was prevented from continuing to read his 27-page defense plea after reading the first two pages. The Indonesian judge said his text was "irrelevant." But in that statement Xanana said had been coerced into rejecting a lawyer from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute and accepting one from the Indonesian military intelligence. He also said he had been forced to declare in public that he was an Indonesian citizen and had given up the struggle against Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

Since "Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor has not been recognized by the UN," Amnesty noted, "the competence of Indonesian courts to try Xanana Gusmão and other East Timorese is open to question." This is the heart of the matter. Until Indonesia's colonization of East Timor is ended, Americans should expect their president to demand that Xanana Gusmão and all his colonized compatriots be safe from Indonesian violence.

SMH: EAST TIMOR'S NELSON MANDELA

Editorial, Sydney Morning Herald, 25 May

The life sentence handed down last Friday on Xanana Gusmão, the FRETILIN guerilla leader, will come back to haunt the Indonesian authorities. The majority view, inside East Timor and outside Indonesia, is that rather than being jailed, Xanana Gusmão should be applauded for his struggle in defence of the East Timorese people. That aside, Xanana Gusmão, "political prisoner," will become even more of an international cause celebre than Xanana Gusmão, "political activist." Indonesia's President Suharto may decide to pardon Xanana. But the severity of the sentence means that a presidential pardon would be a major slap the face of the Indonesian military in East Timor and to the

justice system that has convicted and imprisoned Xanana.

The credibility of the system when it come to Xanana was in doubt all along. Soon after his capture last year, Xanana began behaving in a way inexplicable for a man who had fought Indonesian occupation of East Timor for 17 years. Xanana acknowledged his Indonesian citizenship, expressed his resignation to the fact of East Timor incorporation into the rest of Indonesia, accepted responsibility for the crimes with which he had been charged. That sudden apparent about-face led many people to believe that Xanana had been tortured or coerced in some form by his captors. To be fair, no hard evidence has surfaced to that effect. But the relative isolation in which Xanana was detained kept those concerns alive. The fact that Xanana was prevented from making a statement in his defence before his sentencing last week also rises strong suspicions about what the Indonesia authorities had to hide.

But Xanana Gusmão is only a small part of a much larger problem: Indonesia's relationship with East Timor. For many years, armed resistance to Indonesia's presence has been largely ineffectual. The guerilla movement has been emasculated. But that doesn't mean the struggle is dead. If it was outside human rights organisations, including the UN Human Rights Commission, would not be rising regular concerns about State-sponsored terrorism in East Timor. Moreover, international pressure for a just settlement over East Timor is more intense than it has been for a decade.

The Indonesian authorities are right to criticize Portuguese neglect of East Timor before 1975. And They can boost and impressive record with respect to upgrading East Timor's social and economic infrastructure since 1976. But none of that has endeared most East Timorese to their new overlords. The concerted attempt obliterate East Timorese culture and to dilute the East Timorese population by encouraging settlers from outside is bound to keep resistance to Indonesia alive.

But none of that has to be inevitable. Indonesia could adopt confidence-building measures in East Timor such as an accelerated withdrawal of its troops, allowing more contact with the outside world, and freezing further settlements by non-East Timorese. Jakarta could begin to take seriously its own claim that the East Timorese are Indonesian by ending practices that make them feel like a conquered people. One day soon, it is to be hoped, a spirit of cooperation will replace the current policy of forcible incorporation. Jakarta has been treating Xanana Gusmão as some sort of Guy Fawkes. A more hopeful sign would be

its recognition that in East Timor he is more of a Nelson Mandela figure.

AGE: A SHAM TRIAL, A BAD RESULT

The Age (Editorial), 26 May 1993

[Comment: The same edition of The Age carries a 6 column article (reprinted from The Guardian) of extracts from Xanana's defence speech. It is entitled: They are killing my people. There has also been a steady stream of letters to the editor expressing anger with the Australian government in general and Foreign Minister Gareth Evans in particular for their continuing efforts to paper over the conflict in East Timor in the interests of 'regional cooperation' and, in some cases, their outright distortion of the facts about Timor. There is no other issue I can think of where the Australian foreign affairs bureaucracy and Australian public sentiment are so clearly and publicly at odds. - David Bourchier]

By any standards, the trial of the Fretilin leader Jose (Xanana) Gusmão was a sham. He was not allowed to choose his defence lawyer, or to make his own defence plea. The Indonesian authorities had claimed that after his capture, Mr. Gusmão had come to realise that the Indonesian takeover of East Timor was not a bad thing. But when Mr. Gusmão began to read out a lengthy statement to the court, reaffirming his commitment to the struggle against Indonesia's "cowardly and shameful" invasion of the former Portuguese colony, he was stopped by the presiding judge who said his comments were not relevant to the case.

Portugal has condemned the trial as a travesty. It showed there was no justice in Indonesia, President Mario Soares said. Compare these fighting words with the mild-mannered comments by the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans. No condemnation of the Indonesians - only a feeble call for presidential clemency for the Fretilin leader and a pious hope that Indonesia will view the case as an opportunity to achieve long term reconciliation in East Timor.

Australia is admittedly in a bind on Fretilin and its supporters. Having recognised the takeover of East Timor - something that many Australians still regard as an act of appeasement - the Australian Government may think it is in no position to read the Indonesians a lecture on their behaviour. That is not the case. The Government should clearly make the point that justice was not done in the Gusmão case. His offence, according to the court that sentenced him, was that he disturbed stability in East Timor. To say that is to gloss over the Indonesian annexation of East

Timor without any real regard for the feelings of the Timorese. It may indeed be too late for that annexation to be reversed. But if Indonesia wants to win back the annexation of other nations, Australia included, it should try to right some of the wrongs done to the East Timorese people. As for Xanana Gusmão, the best result all round would be a substantial reduction in his life sentence.

NY TIMES: INDONESIA'S SILENCED ACCUSER

Editorial, The New York Times

May 29, 1993 Full text

The following is the second of two editorials headed "The Verdict on Two Courts." The first, titled "Judicial Courage in Pakistan" praises "a bold decision by Pakistan's Supreme Court" in ruling that the president exceeded his powers in dismissing the prime minister and dissolving parliament last month.

A show trial is a judicial travesty whose real purpose is to manufacture propaganda. An especially clumsy example was the sentencing last week in Indonesia of an East Timor rebel leader named Jose Alexandre Gusmão. The presiding judge spent seven hours reading a 250-page verdict, denouncing the crimes said to justify sentencing the accused to life in prison. But when Mr. Gusmão sought to read his own 27-page defense, he was silenced by the court.

That was unusual even by Indonesia's authoritarian standards. Human rights groups like Asia Watch can recall no previous political trial there in which the defense statement was suppressed by judges.

The show trial is the latest round in Jakarta's ongoing campaign to justify its lawless grab in 1975 of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. Claims that the Timorese were delighted with their new status as Jakarta's 28th province were refuted by a bloody massacre in 1991. Indonesians troops, firing at point-blank range, gunned down at least 50 demonstrators gathered in a cemetery. But President Suharto's Government sought to fend off criticism with a token inquiry and punishment of local commanders.

Last year Indonesian security forces captured Mr. Gusmão, leader of the separatist guerrillas in East Timor. Jakarta released a crudely edited videotape in which the rebel chief appeared to accept East Timor's annexation. But in reality, the prisoner played along with his captors, and was told that he would be acquitted if he

renounced his fight for independence. He refused.

All this was set forth in the defense statement that Mr. Gusmão, who uses the nom de guerre Xanana, was forbidden to read because it was "irrelevant." His statement properly rebuked Western governments for condoning Indonesia's invasion, though to be fair he might have noted that third-world states have been even less outspoken about the offenses of a powerful Islamic country.

Now the condemned man has begun his life sentence with a hunger strike. In a mockery of justice, Indonesia has only tarnished itself, not its prisoner.

Although the opinions expressed in the editorial are laudable, the Times continues to understate the toll of the Santa Cruz massacre. They also perpetuate the "separatist" label, and raise the red herring of Indonesia's Islamic population. Every non-date number in the piece is slightly off. Perhaps we shouldn't expect better if the Times editorial writer bases his or her information on their own paper, which has barely covered East Timor for 17 years. – Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US.

DUNN: THE MEANING OF XANANA GUSMÃO

By James Dunn, Australian Foreign Affairs Columnist

WEEKEND MAGAZINE, MERCURY, WOLLONGONG, 29 MAY 93

Last week the long trial of Xanana Gusmão came to end in the provincial capital, Dili. The man who had led the Timorese independence struggle for more than 13 years, against overwhelming odds and with no outside assistance, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a panel of Indonesian judges.

It was a particularly severe sentence, for the death penalty had been ruled out at the beginning of the trial. Its severity has shocked foreign observers, but its full import has yet to impact on our foreign minister, Senator Evans, who, with some indifference, said that the outcome was more or less in keeping with Indonesian law, though there were some procedural shortcomings. In reality the trial was a farce, for in the dock was the resistance leader in a nation most of the world still regards as having been illegally and unjustly seized. The best our Government could do was a miserable response: an offer to suggest to the Indonesians that President Suharto might consider reducing the sentence.

The decision of the Dili court has far wider implications, however. It is not just

about whether a rebel leader should be imprisoned or pardoned. It raises the whole question of whether Indonesia's annexation of the former Portuguese colony is acceptable, given the new standards espoused by the United Nations system in the nineties. While the Suharto regime has managed to coerce its ASEAN neighbours and countries like Australia into accepting what is nothing less than a crime against humanity – with its saga of killings, rape and torture – the seizure of the territory is still not recognised by the United Nations, which has a special responsibility for non-self-governing territories – or colonies.

If we apply the standards relating to Iraq's seizure of Kuwait the Indonesian court has no right to be in Dili at all, let alone to be sentencing Xanana Gusmão to a lifetime in one of their prisons. Moreover, in terms of what has transpired illegally over the past years, especially human rights abuses, it is Indonesian generals and not Xanana (whose own wife was assaulted and raped by an Indonesian soldier) who should be on trial. And to turn to the dark side, from this country's point of view, it was the deliberate policies of past Australian governments that helped prevent the rape of East Timor from being challenged by the international community years ago. In the circumstances our Foreign Minister's diffident response is quite unacceptable. If he is really serious about promoting human rights, he cannot ignore the ongoing drama in Timor.

Xanana has been an inspiring leader to the Timorese population at large, and not only to the troops he commanded, who managed to elude Indonesian forces for some 17 years. In his farcical trial, the Timorese leader has not gone down without a fight. His final, courageous statement to the court will disturb many Indonesian consciences. His words will also inspire many Timorese to maintain their rage at the enormous human cost of their annexation. And what is keeping that rage alive is the continuing oppression by the occupying authorities – the virtual takeover of their economy, which has marginalised them in their own land. But most of all there are the bitter memories in every Timorese household of murder, torture and rape by an army which still runs the country. Much has been made of its reduced presence, but the lowest estimate puts the size of the Indonesian military at more than ten times that of the forces maintained by the Portuguese in their last years.

But to return to Xanana. Jose Alexandre Gusmão (to use his full name) has not just been a military leader. For years he has sought to avoid major military confrontations with the Indonesian forces, partly be-

cause of the risk of reprisals, but mainly to keep open the possibility of negotiating a peaceful settlement, that would give the Timorese some real say in the ordering of their lives. In this way he has won the respect of his Timorese people, and has helped keep the issue on the agenda of the United Nations.

Despite earlier Indonesian assurances to the contrary it is now clear that the trial of Xanana was never intended to be an exercise in justice. It was primarily designed to placate Western concerns. I have a copy of his statement to the court, which was suppressed, but somehow was quickly smuggled to the outside world. According to Xanana he was offered a deal, following meetings with senior Indonesian personalities, including the Indonesian Vice-President, Try Sutrisno, then the Armed Forces chief, and the Indonesian Ambassador to the UN. If he renounced his support for independence and urged all Timorese to abandon resistance and accept the realities of being part of Indonesia, he would get a light sentence, perhaps no sentence at all.

He was forced to reject an offer of legal aid from the Indonesian human rights agency, the LBH or Legal Aid Bureau in favour of the lawyer, Sudjono, as defence counsel, who turned out to be a close friend of one of the Indonesian colonels involved in the case. Witnesses were intimidated and the only one who really spoke his mind was briskly removed from the courtroom and sent to a psychiatrist, in the best KGB tradition.

What, then, was in his statement, which the Indonesian judges prevented him from reading out? In a way it is an address, or appeal, to an uncaring world rather than a protest of his innocence. It is an admonition of certain nations like Australia who have scorned the interests of the people of East Timor. Foremost, it is a denunciation of the Indonesian military occupation, "...the display of foreign oppression, foreign domination which flaunts the arrogant contempt of the colonisers." It declares that Indonesia should be arraigned before an international court "for crimes committed in the past 17 years, along with "the US Administration which gave the green light to the invasion.... and has since given military aid and political support for Indonesia's genocide in East Timor." Australia and Western Europe should also be before the court "for their policy of complicity towards Indonesia," along with Portugal for its irresponsibility in Timor's decolonisation.

It contains some pithy remarks for pragmatists – some of our politicians and diplomats should take note. In relation to Timor, says Gusmão - "the concept of real-

politik has acquired a new dimension for me. Political realism is political subservience, the denial of the conscience of a people."

Gusmão speaks at some length about his experience in prison and the devious attempts to manipulate his trial, and his testimony. Apparently the entire process was managed by Indonesian intelligence agencies, whom he describes as "the real murderers of the Maubere (Timorese) people." In one extraordinary departure, he was taken on a tour of Jakarta's monuments by his captors! Always he was being urged to "cooperate." Finally, Xanana did not appeal for clemency. "It is of no consequence at all if they pass the death sentence..." "They are killing my people who, because they are small and weak, have always been subject to foreign rule." The real focus of his appeal is the people of Indonesia especially "the new generation," whom he urges to "attach much more value to freedom, to justice and to peace than to development..." But he also urges "the Government of Indonesia to change its attitude" and understand the real nature of the struggle in Timor.

He also appealed to the international community, and specifically to East Timor's friends in the European Community, in the Clinton Administration, and in Japan and Australia to help save his nation, which, he claims, had lost a third of its population since the invasion.

Xanana's statement is both moving and courageous. From it one cannot help but conclude that he is a noble representative of the victims, of a people savaged and enslaved in uncaring world. The real defendants in the courtroom should be Indonesia, and not the leader of a people who dared to struggle for what the UN has pronounced as "inalienable rights." And arraigned with Indonesia should be those governments who knew about this terrible crime against humanity, but did nothing to stop it.

As Xanana left the courtroom he shouted "Long live East Timor!" With these words ringing in my ears I end this article with a deep hurt welling inside me at this country's cowardice in the face of an injustice to a small neighbour. Long live Xanana Gusmão!. If the more just world order is ever to be, we need people like you, who have endured suffering and injustice, but still have courage, compassion and vision.

IRISH TRIB: INDONESIAN INJUSTICE IN EAST TIMOR

Irish Sunday Tribune editorial, 30 May 1993 Abridged.

East Timor, half of a small island, has not commanded much of the world's attention at any time. Yet on this tiny half-island one

of the greatest injustices of the modern era has been and is being perpetrated.

[Several paragraphs on the history of the Portuguese colony.]

With the fall of the Portuguese dictatorship in 1975, East Timor declared its independence but ten days later, the area was invaded by Indonesia.... (It is reported that 200,000 people were killed or starved to death out of a population of 600,000. This represents, on a proportional basis, one of the worst crimes of history against a population.

The UN has refused to recognise the invasion and annexation. The action was, in terms of international law, almost identical to the invasion and attempted annexation of Kuwait by Iraq in 1990 which subsequently led to the Gulf War.

In contrast to what was done in Kuwait, the western nations have collaborated in the appalling crimes visited upon the people of East Timor. Our partners in the EC, Britain, France and Germany, have sold arms to Indonesia in vast quantities....

In the last two years, the Australian government has signed a treaty with Indonesia providing for the exploitation of oil reserves in occupied East Timor – in the Timor Gap.

Last week, the leader of the East Timor guerrilla movement, Xanana Gusmão, was sentenced to life imprisonment by a court comprised entirely of Indonesian officials. He was refused permission to read a prepared statement in his defence and he has now gone on hunger strike.

In the unread statement, Xanana Gusmão said that the invasion of East Timor had "the same standing as the advance of Iraqi troops into Kuwait, the advance of Russian troops into Kabul and the Vietnamese invasion of Cambodia."

Continuing he said: "May I recall that Saddam Hussein reminded the international community that there was already a precedent for disregarding the principles of international law, expressly mentioning East Timor?"

He went on to inquire: "Who is afraid of a referendum? Why are they afraid of a referendum?"

As a member of the European Community we should be attempting to persuade the Community to sponsor action in the international arena, including at the United Nations, to have at first an arms embargo imposed on Indonesia and then sanctions if there is not agreement on the part of Indonesia to hold a referendum, under UN auspices, on the issue of annexation or independence.

XANANA SENTENCE: PROTESTS

DEMONSTRATION AT INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN LONDON

TAPOL report, 22 May 1993

More than thirty people demonstrated outside the Indonesian embassy in London on Friday, 21 May, to protest against the life sentence handed down in the Dili court on the same day against Xanana Gusmão.

The demonstration was filmed by two Portuguese TV crews, from RTP and TV-SIC.

The turnout for such a quickly-organised demonstration was impressive. Several demonstrators decided to hold weekly demonstrations outside the embassy to keep up the pressure about Xanana and about the other East Timorese political prisoners.

VICTORIA GROUP CALLS FOR ACTION ON XANANA

The Age 24 May 1993

By Megan Backhouse; unabridged

A Victorian Timorese group yesterday demanded that the Federal Government seek the unconditional release of the East Timor resistance leader Jose(Xanana) Gusmão, who was last week sentenced to life imprisonment by a court in Dili.

Fretilin Victoria's coordinator, Mr. Francisco Pang, said it was time the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, made a public statement about the matter.

"The Australian Government has an attitude of appeasement that has encouraged the Indonesian Government to carry on the atrocities in East Timor" he said

Mr. Pang said Xanana's trial had been total farce and that the outcome had been a forgone conclusion.

Mr. Pang ruled out an appeal by Xanana because, he said, an appeal would mean the acceptance of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. But he said Xanana's lawyer had made a plea for clemency.

Mr. Pang read a statement from Mrs. Emilia Gusmão, who lives in Melbourne. Mrs. Gusmão, who has not seen her husband since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, said she did not believe Indonesia's President Suharto would respond positively to the clemency plea.

But she said that if other countries such as the United States and the European Community issued such a plea, President Suharto would have to accept it.

She said her husband decision to go on a hunger strike was designed to alert other countries to human right abuses in Indonesia.

ACTION IN DARWIN

Report from the East Timor Action Committee, 23 May.

On behalf of the East Timor Action Committee, we post the following news about recent Darwin responses to the Xanana sentence. They illustrate the grotesque official Australian and Northern Territory attitudes towards Indonesia.

About 30 East Timorese and their supporters demonstrated outside the Indonesian Consulate in Darwin on Friday 21st May. While waiting for the news of the verdict in Dili, they distributed leaflets calling for Xanana's release and respect for international law. Many of the leaflets were given to Australian, Thai and US naval personnel who were in Darwin as part of a military exercise.

As the Indonesian staff prepared to go home for the weekend the main gate of the Consulate was locked from the outside with a large steel chain and padlock. Consulate staff and a member of the Australian Protective Service where unable to remove the chain. Consulate officials became quite agitated when told that the chains would be removed after Xanana was released.

After about half an hour the Protective Services Officer attempted to open another gate which had not been locked. However the wheels that the large gate ran along had been broken and the officer had to be helped by protesters to open the gate.

At this point an Indonesian woman attempted to drive out the gate. The heavy gate had to be held by the Officer and a couple of protesters. An East Timorese woman took this opportunity to open the car door and started to lecture and question the Indonesian woman for about 5 minutes in front of the helpless Protective Services Officer. He attempted to get the Timorese women away from the car but was distracted as another protester took the opportunity to approach an Indonesian Consulate Official who had come out the front door. As the protester approached him, the Indonesian hysterically cried 'Police!' 'Police!' and rushed back inside. The woman then drove off with an ice coffee drink splashed over her windscreen. The protesters helped shut the gate and returned to shouting at Consulate officials and distributing leaflets.

Wildcat Darwin protests are not bothered by quick police response. One police car came past with a single officer having a look.

He was known by some of the protesters and they had a friendly chat. The officer was informed that the protesters intended to stay into the night and await the trial verdict. With only one real blemish to date (the arrest of Cesar Araujo, a 17 year old youth, last November outside the Consulate) police - protester relations have generally been on good terms. The police officer returned to his station and did not visit the Consulate again for another half an hour.

The remainder of the Consulate staff and about 7 or 8 cars were still locked inside the heavily fenced Consulate grounds. The Protective Service supplemented its force with another officer and the Chief of the Darwin office of the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs, who arrived with a mobile phone to take charge of proceedings.

An Indonesian driver attempted to get his van inside the Consulate but was chased down the street by a Timorese woman. The protesters agreed to let the van go in, if it returned, which it did about ten minutes later. Once it was inside with its passengers, and the Foreign Affairs man and the Protective Service Officer were all behind the gate, a protester put another chain around this gate and locked it. The Foreign Affairs man got very excited, saying as he retreated closer to the building and made calls on his mobile telephone: "this act is escalating the nature of the demonstration to unacceptable levels."

During this whole time, the protester's actions were being videoed by the 3 cameras which are operated from inside the building. Protesters were also able to talk to the Protective Services Officers giving them leaflets and explaining the situation in East Timor to them. As always these Officers are friendly and appear sympathetic to the Timorese cause.

The Foreign Affairs man then went inside the Consulate and could be seen from the back of the building making phone calls. It was clear as more police started to arrive that he was planning their breakout.

The police took boltcutters to one gate, while the chain from the main gate disappeared. Soon after about 8 Northern Territory police officers arrived and blocked the gateway so that a car, in which the Consulate staff, who had been escorted to it by the Foreign Affairs man, started to drive out. Then a Timorese woman, Veronica, in a traditional display of contempt, spat on the car with the Indonesians inside.

She was roughly picked up immediately and carried without any care to a paddy wagon and pushed in the back as protesters moved around trying to find out what she was being charged with. One police officer said assault. After it was clear that she was

being taken to the main police station on the outskirts of Darwin the protesters drove there and waited in the foyer attempting to gain access for an interpreter and a legal adviser. The police would not let the legal adviser in and insisted that what they required was an interpreter. The protesters insisted that the legal adviser must also go, or nobody would go.

The police finally relented and bailed Veronica, who is around 60 years of age, to appear in the Darwin Magistrates Court on Tuesday 8th June on the charge of aggravated assault. While Veronica, the interpreter and the legal adviser were inside the Charge Room of the Police Station the people waiting outside learnt of Xanana's life sentence. The police allege that Veronica spat on one of them, and that spitting constitutes an application of force, which is an assault by definition of the Northern Territory Criminal Code. When done to a police officer the charge of assault becomes aggravated assault and carries a maximum penalty of 5 years imprisonment.

This is the reaction to protests about Indonesian 'justice' in the Northern Territory of Australia. Have we really already become the '28th province' ?

RESPONDING TO THE CURRENT CRISIS: IDEAS FROM MELBOURNE

WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Melbourne, 26 May 1993

Members of the East Timor Talks Campaign and other concerned East Timorese and Australians met in Melbourne this evening to discuss what might be done in response to Xanana's dramatic defence speech and his decision to begin a hunger strike. It was decided to take the following actions:

1) To start printing thousands of post-cards addressed to Australian Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans bearing the following message:

Dear Gareth Evans,

I urge the Australian government to demand the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão so that he can represent the people of East Timor in United Nations sponsored talks to resolve the conflict in East Timor.

Signed

Free Xanana * Free East Timor

It was decided to encourage concerned groups in other countries, especially the United States, Japan, Canada and the EC to launch similar campaigns to pressure their governments to bring their influence to bear

on the Indonesian government and multilateral organisations on East Timor's behalf.

2) To produce a small sticker which could be posted in public places in cities with the simple message: "Free Xanana, Free East Timor, Boycott Bali"

3) To follow up the long and moving interview with Xanana's wife Emilia Gusmão screened on ABC television and broadcast on national radio tonight with efforts to arrange a meeting in a weeks time between her and Gareth Evans to be sponsored by the Parliamentarians for East Timor.

4) To produce a leaflet containing information about Xanana and the situation in East Timor for general distribution. This will contain excerpts from Xanana's defence speech, quotes from various editorials as well as a series of practical suggestions such as writing to local Members of Parliament, the Foreign Minister, sending cards etc.

5) That small groups of local East Timorese would visit NGOs, unions, church groups, universities, and other institutions in order to establish personal contact with key people and keep them in touch with current priorities.

DEMONSTRATIONS IN SAN FRANCISCO, NEW YORK CITY

Report from ETAN/US

On Thursday and Friday, May 27-28, 7-10 members of the East Timor Action Network/San Francisco vigilled outside the Indonesian Consulate there from 9:30 am to 1:00 pm, normal office hours. The consulate closed its doors for the entire time on Thursday, and made access difficult on Friday. They read Xanana's suppressed defence statement on the street.

FREE XANANA, FREE EAST TIMOR

About twenty activists picketed the Indonesian Mission to the U.N. in New York City on June 2, from noon to 1:30 pm. The Indonesians closed the lunchroom in the Mission basement, usually open to the public. We read Xanana's defense statement aloud, first through a sound system and then, after the cops made us stop and move across the street, with loud voices. Before we left, we delivered a copy to a representative of the Indonesian Ambassador to the UN, who had met Xanana while he was in prison and is cited in the statement. The picket was covered extensively by Portuguese television.

AGIR POUR TIMOR ON XANANA VERDICT

The following press release was sent May 27 by Agir pour Timor, Paris, to various media and NGOs.

Xanana Gusmão, ex-commander of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), was condemned on May 21 to life by an Indonesian tribunal in Dili, East Timor.

1. It is significant that, in spite of Indonesia's assurances that the trial would be fair and open to the public:

A) foreign observers, including journalists, diplomats and a representative of the United Nations, were several times prevented to attend it. The International Commission of Jurists and Amnesty International could not attend, despite their requests.

b) Most prosecution witnesses were East Timorese previously condemned by the Indonesian authorities.

c) An unprecedented fact in the annals of Indonesian political trials, Xanana Gusmão was prevented to read his defence speech.

d) This defence speech reached the outside and extracts were published among others in *O Publico* and *The Guardian*. Xanana Gusmão clearly repudiates there the statements of allegiance to Indonesia that he had been forced to make in December 1992 and at the beginning of the trial. The military commander of East Timor accused Amos Wako, the emissary of the UN Secretary-General, to have influenced him negatively.

2. Agir pour Timor reaffirms the illegality of this trial, conducted by the occupying power, and calls once gain for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão and all other East Timorese who are prisoners of the Indonesian forces.

3. We are concerned by reports that East Timorese imprisoned in East Timor are being transferred in prisons located on Indonesian territory, a blatant violation of the Geneva conventions. We urge the United Nations to implement the resolution its Human Rights Commission adopted in March.

4. We recall that Xanana Gusmão announced he was starting a hunger strike the day of the verdict. We are concerned about his health and also by rumours saying he also will be transferred far away from East Timor, and call the French government, the media and all concerned organisations to show the utmost vigilance in this respect.

Finally, Agir pour Timor will meet, on June 1st at 15.30, a representative of the Sub-Direction for South East Asia of the Foreign Ministry, to whom it will deliver a

petition to the French government which collected 700 signatures.

URGENT APPEAL ON XG HUNGER STRIKE

The Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM) and other organisations in Lisbon Friday, 28 May 1993, issued the following URGENT APPEAL to the people of Portugal and to the International Community:

Xanana announced in his defence statement that he would go on hunger strike.

The Indonesians have isolated East Timor and are preventing all access to Xanana.

Xanana's life is in danger.

Given the urgency of the situation, it is crucial:

TO INUNDATE BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI, THE Secretary-General OF THE UNITED NATIONS WITH MESSAGES, BY CABLE, LETTER, FAX OR ANY OTHER MEANS CALLING FOR:

* the release of Xanana,

* immediate access to him by the International Committee of the Red Cross and members of his family, to check on his physical well-being and keep the outside world informed about this.

Messages should be sent to:

Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
Secretary-General of the United Nations,
UN Secretariat – UN Plaza,
New York, NY 10017
Fax: +1 212 963-4037

From:

Commission for the Rights of the
Maubere People,
Peace is Possible in East Timor,
Commission for the Release of Xanana
Gusmão and Freedom for East Timor

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Gusmão and Freedom for East Timor

TIMORESE COMMUNITY PROTEST IN CANBERRA

28th May 1993

The following is a press release by Free Xanana Committee, P.O. Box 481, Fairfield NSW 2165

Timorese community protest in Canberra against the Indonesian crimes and the grotesque support given to the farce trial by the Australian government

The spokesperson for the Timorese Community in NSW, Agio Pereira, said today that "the statement made by Gareth Evans, the Foreign Minister of Australia, calling the sentence against Xanana Gusmão less severe than sentences for other so-called Indonesian rebels is a direct affront against all Australian people, the International Community and against the dignity of the Timorese people."

Agio Pereira "calls for all Australians to join their voices with the Timorese community to urge for immediate access of the ICRC, Amnesty International and United Nations Special Envoy to Xanana Gusmão and all the Timorese illegally imprisoned in East Timor and Indonesia." He added that "the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão so that he can take part in the on-going negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the Secretary-General of UN, is the only way to find a just, peaceful and comprehensive solution for the Timorese People."

Tomorrow, Saturday 29 May, 12pm, more than one hundred Timorese will rally in front of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra and letters of appeal will be handed over to the Embassies of USA, France, Portugal, Japan and Ireland.

— For further information please contact: Agio Pereira on ph: (02) 728 7395; fax (02) 891 2876

VICTORIA PROTESTS

[The following is a media release widely distributed by the Committee of Fretilin in Victoria. It was issued on the day Xanana Gusmão's "life sentence" became known worldwide.]

A successful protest was staged on Saturday, (22.5.93), as said in the PR, outside Garuda Airlines office in Melbourne. The press coverage was intense and the action was seen nationwide; it was also highly publicized in Portugal. That was the start of a wide range of protests including some in Darwin (see email on Darwin protest report), Adelaide and Sydney (yesterday, 29.5.93).

The response of the Timorese community can be said to be vigorous and all well organised.

Media Release Fretilin Committee/Victoria, May 21.

The "Kangaroo court" set up by the Indonesian generals to put Xanana Gusmão, the Timorese National Leader on trial, has finally reached verdict. The result, as exposed, a guilty verdict. Xanana Gusmão, was given life sentence yesterday, the 21st of May.

Mr. Jose Ramos Horta, the Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) said yesterday in New York:

"As the trial drew to a close and the inevitable truth begins to surface, the Indonesian authorities became more daring in their efforts to manipulate the court proceedings and by making it more difficult for International observers to monitor the trial." The Indonesian authorities began to believe their own propaganda and now find themselves in a most embarrassing situation.

The Timorese community in Victoria urges the Australian Government to seek the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão, who is now reported to have started a hunger strike in the prison.

Francisco Pang, the chairman of Fretilin Committee in Victoria said that "all Australians must join their voices to denounce this criminal act perpetrated against the Timorese people. It is this crime that must be put on trial"; he added, we call

upon the Australian Government to join the Australian people to denounce this illegal and inhuman act.

The Timorese Community will stage a protest outside Indonesian Airlines, Garuda at 45 Bourke Street. Melbourne from 12pm -1pm.

For further information please contact Abel Gutierrez on (03) 5680438, or (081) 548920

STOP THE GENOCIDE!
FREE XANANA, FREE EAST
TIMOR!

PROTEST AT INDONESIAN CONSULATE, DARWIN

From CNRM/Northern Territory

An all-day vigil, organised by the East Timor Action Committee, was staged May 29 in front of the Darwin Indonesian Consulate. The Northern Territory News on 29 May published a report on page 2, including a large photograph of protesters and the numerous banners and photographs of Xanana they placed on the Consulate's massive security fence.

The article quotes Darwin-based CNRM SEA Representative and Spokesperson Jose Gusmão saying Justice has not been done, We are here to show our solidarity with Xanana We are protesting against the illegality of the Indonesian trial and violation of his fundamental right as a prisoner of war to defend himself

The Consulate's staff appeared most apprehensive about the rally outside their building. The Consul, a secret intelligence Colonel, did not appear at work all day. Protesters seeking to meet him were informed by the Consulate's Public Relations Officer, a timid Australian woman, that the Consul had other important appointments all day, but she would accept any messages.

Strong laughter on the part of the protesters greeted this cowardly response. A number of verbal messages of support for Xanana were immediately conveyed by demonstrators.

The protester's prepared their written demand while still laughing about the Consul's response. By the time they had finished, the Consulate staff had left the building under police escort, making it impossible to deliver the document.

The vigil will be renewed next week.

JAIL EVANS, NOT GUSMÃO: PROTESTERS

Canberra Times 30 May 1993 by Naomi Mastone Unabridged

Note: This article was a front page story with a photo by Peter Wells. The photo clearly showed placards with pictures of Xanana and some of quotes from his defence plea and a banner - Xanana Gusmão: Symbol of the national Resistance.

More than 60 East Timorese demonstrators marched to the Indonesian Embassy yesterday, protesting against the Australian Government's "farical" response to the Indonesian trial of the Independence leader Xanana Gusmão.

Mr. Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment on May 21 for sedition, rebellion and possession of firearms, after a four-month trial which protesters say was illegal.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Gareth Evans, called on Indonesia last week to reduce Mr. Gusmão's sentence to achieve long-term reconciliation with East Timor.

Senator Evan's response to the life sentence was an affront to all Australia people, to the international community and the dignity of the Timorese people, spokesman from the East Timorese Community in NSW, Agio Pereira, said yesterday.

The angry crowd chanted "Free Xanana" and "Indonesia out now" and waved "Jail Evans, not Gusmão" placards as they approached the Indonesian Embassy.

They lit a candle and joined in prayers led by Anglican cleric, the Venerable David Oliphant, and a Catholic priest, Father Jim Mulroney, before burning the Indonesian flag in front of the embassy.

Amid cries of "Long Live Xanana!," the leader of the march, Ines Almeida, said Xanana was a "true leader" who would never let the East Timorese people down and who would continue to inspire them.

Senator Evans said last week that there were specific problems with the over-all fairness of the trial but none so severe as to damage the Indonesian criminal-code process.

The crowd marched to the United States embassy to present a letter calling on the US Government to demand immediate, unconditional access to human-rights organisations to monitor the situation in East Timor and to free Mr. Gusmão and other Timorese leaders to take part in the negotiations.

The US Embassy refused to accept the letter at the weekend, so Ms Almeida said they would return tomorrow.

ACTIONS IN SYDNEY

May 30, 1993

The following is a sample of the letter sent to the Embassies of USA, Japan, Republic of Ireland, France and the Vatican, by the "FREE-XANANA COMMITTEE"/East Timorese Community in NSW-Australia.

This was part of a broader action taken by the Timorese Community to highlight the critical situation of Xanana Gusmão and all other prisoners. The actions took place today, Saturday the 29th of May, both in ACT and Adelaide/South Australia. The "theme" FREE XANANA FREE EAST TIMOR is now widely adopted as a strategy to convey the message that Xanana's freedom and the freedom of East Timor are two sides of the same coin.

In ACT, more than one hundred Timorese and supporters gathered in front of the Indonesian Embassy, shouting against the occupationists of East Timor, executing the burning the Indonesian flag ceremony, praying around the East Timor candle for freedom which is permanently set in front of the Indonesian embassy, and marching to the USA embassy to hand over the letter for USA government. Unfortunately, it is a weekend and no official was in. Therefore, the letter (like those to other embassies) will be sent on Monday. The security officer in charge of the USA embassy apologized and said, by law, he is not authorised to receive anything or to hand in anything to the embassy staff.

The press coverage was very good. A Portuguese journalist covered the event for RTP (Portuguese TV) and also a live coverage for "radio Antenna" in Lisbon. In the evening, all the TV and radio stations in ACT/Australia, covered the event, focusing on the colorful posters of Xanana Gusmão where quotations specially selected from his testimony were written in bold letters.

In short, the message that Xanana is, indeed, the National Symbol of East Timorese Resistance was, once again, clearly put across to the public.

His Excellency
Ambassador of United States of America to
Australia
Yarralumla, ACT 2600

Sydney, May 29, 1993

Dear Mr. Ambassador,

The last few weeks have seen an increasing deterioration of the already tragic human rights situation in East Timor under Indonesian occupation. As East Timorese living in Australia, we follow these alarming

development in our homeland with great concern.

As is widely known from a large variety of extensive and well documented reports, since the illegal annexation of our homeland by Indonesia in 1975, the East Timorese people have had to endure extreme hardship and suffering during the last seventeen and a half years.

In addition to civil and political rights fundamental rights, such as those to life, property, and cultural identity, have been systematically and brutally violated by the Indonesian military over this tragic period.

Through its presence in East Timor, Indonesia has contemptuously ignored a host of United Nations resolutions including those adopted by the Security Council, General Assembly and Commission on Human Rights.

Recently, in March 1993 the Commission on Human Rights adopted yet another resolution condemning Indonesia's treatment of the people of East Timor. After expressing its deep concern at the reports of continuing human rights violations in East Timor, the resolution among others calls on the Indonesian Government to ensure that all the East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, be treated humanely, and with their rights fully respected, that all trials be fair, just, public and recognise the right to proper legal representation, in accordance with international humanitarian law, and that those not involved in violent activities be released without delay.

The recently concluded trial of Xanana Gusmão leader of the East Timorese Resistance, captured last November, constitutes yet another gross violation of human rights in direct contravention of the above resolution.

Not only was the trial unlawful, given that Indonesian courts have no right to try Xanana Gusmão, but was conducted in a manner which violates acceptable legal standards.

As has been extensively reported in the international media over recent weeks, and as can be read in his own defence declaration which the judges forbade him to read in contravention of Indonesian law – Xanana Gusmão has been subject to mistreatment and was denied the choice of his defence lawyer.

Despite careful Indonesia efforts to deceive the international opinion, the trial was not open, since a variety of hindrances were placed in the way of observers. It was not fair, considering that all prosecution witnesses were prisoners of Indonesia, and, as was noted, the defendant was forbidden to read his defence statement.

Furthermore, a large number of other arrests and persecutions have taken place in connection with the Xanana trial and the widespread civilian opposition to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor.

Xanana Gusmão's successor, Jose da Costa Gomes (Ma'Huno) has also been captured and no indication of a trial date has been given. Relatives and associated of both men, as well as many East Timorese students have been arrested in recent months, mistreated and in several cases remain under detention.

An important cause for concern is that the International Red Cross has not been granted adequate access to East Timorese prisoners, including Xanana Gusmão. ICRC was only given access to Xanana Gusmão once for one hour, in mid-December.

Recent reports indicate that Xanana Gusmão has been on hunger strike for over one week, and his health is deteriorating. He has not been allowed visitors, and his whereabouts have not been disclosed by the Indonesian authorities.

In the light of these serious developments, we hereby appeal to Your Excellency's Government to demand from the Government of Indonesia to:

- allow immediate access of the ICRC to Xanana Gusmão, Ma'Huno, Hodu and all other Timorese prisoners;
- release of Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese leaders to take part in the negotiations schedule for 17 September 1993;
- allow immediate and unconditional access to human rights organisations to monitor the situation in East Timor;

We hope that through concerted international pressure the Government of Indonesia may be persuaded to fulfill its international obligations, and that the long lasting suffering of the Timorese people may finally come to an end.

Yours sincerely,
Agio Pereira,
Co-ordinator

TOKYO DEMO: FREE XANANA!

*From Free East Timor Japan Coalition,
June 1*

On May 31 a delegation from the Free East Timor Japan Coalition and Amnesty International Japan Branch marched to the Indonesian Embassy in Tokyo and presented a letter addressed to Ambassador Poedji Koenterso calling on Indonesia to release Xanana Gusmão and other detainees in East Timor and to abide by UN resolutions on the issue by withdrawing from the territory. Anticipating the demo, the embassy had its gate locked and a sign

informed the public that the embassy was closed for the morning. A large number of embassy staff were lurking around the building and one came to the gate to take the letter.

The demonstration was small, consisting of about 10 people, but the Embassy, which usually opens at 10 o'clock, was closed when the demonstrators went there. (It was closed until 11 o'clock.) The Embassy was guarded by tough-looking guys and one civilian-looking staff, who said his name was Bonifasius, came out when the demonstrators demanded their petition to be received by the Embassy. The petition was handed to that staff.

The petition demanded that Xanana be treated as a prisoner of war in accordance with the Geneva Convention Relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War (The 3rd G. Con.) and the Protocol Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts.

The petition also demanded that Xanana be allowed to receive ICRC delegates and that the situation and whereabouts of those who were arrested together with Xanana be clarified.

HUNGER STRIKE OUTSIDE INDONESIAN EMBASSY IN LONDON

The British Coalition for East Timor today, 2 June 1993, issued the following press release:

A London school-teacher, Jonathan Humphreys, this afternoon started a hunger strike outside the Indonesian Embassy to express solidarity with Xanana Gusmão, the East Timor resistance leader. Xanana Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment on 21 May 1993 in a Dili court.

In his defence statement which he was prevented from reading out in court on 17 May, Xanana announced his intention to go on hunger strike to appeal to the world community, especially to the European Community, the US and Australia, for immediate action in favour of East Timor's right to self-determination.

Xanana has been held incommunicado since his arrest last November. He has been incommunicado since the verdict was handed down; despite repeated requests, his father and sisters have been refused permission to visit him. It is believed that he commenced the hunger strike last week.

Fears for his well-being have increased following the decision last Sunday, 30 May, by the International Red Cross to suspend all prison visits in East Timor because the military forces of occupation have failed to

provide the conditions for prison visits as required by the agency's mandate.

Jonathan Humphreys, honorary secretary of the British Coalition for East Timor, took the decision to go on hunger strike as his own personal initiative.

The Coalition is meanwhile holding demonstrations outside the Embassy every Friday at 5 pm.

Anyone wishing to interview Jonathan Humphreys should go to the Indonesian Embassy at 38, Grosvenor Square, WC1.

For further information, also contact Carmel (081 771-2904) or Steve (071 639-4700)

PORTUGUESE ACTIONS TO FREE XANANA AND ALL TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS

Statement issued on 4 June 1993 by the Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM) in Lisbon:

1. Two weeks after the sentencing to life imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão, the "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" Commission (Portugal), the Free Xanana Commission (Australia) and TAPOL (UK) have launched a campaign to collect signatures to A LETTER TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS which reiterates the demands made by the East Timorese leader in his defence statement which he was prevented from reading out in court.

The text is attached below. In Portugal, we plan to collect 50,000 signatures to the letter.

2. In response to the 48-hour hunger strike carried out in London in front of the Indonesian Embassy, TWO PEOPLE WILL CONTINUE THE SAME ACTION, outside the Information Centre of the United Nations IN LISBON from midnight on Sunday night and throughout Monday, 7 June. More information about this action will be made available at the place where this takes place.

TEXT OF THE APPEAL

FREE XANANA GUSMÃO!

We, the undersigned, protest against the trial and sentencing of all East Timorese prisoners, in particular the trial and sentencing of Xanana Gusmão, leader and symbol of the East Timorese Resistance against the Indonesian occupation, and give our full support to the appeals contained in the defence statement which he was prevented from reading out in court:

* I appeal to the new generation of Indonesians to understand that the people of East Timor attach much more value to freedom, to justice and to peace than to the development which is carried out here with the assistance of Australia, the United States and European countries who maintain close economic relations with Jakarta.

* I appeal to the people of Indonesia to understand that according to universal principles and international law, East Timor is considered to be a non-autonomous territory in accordance with the norms that govern decolonisation. I appeal to the Indonesian people to understand that East Timor is not a threat to Indonesia or a factor threatening Indonesia's security. The story they tell you, that East Timor is communist, is out-dated. We don't want to dismember Indonesia. The fact is that East Timor was never part of Indonesia.

* I appeal to the international community to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will bring to an end the situation inherited from the past.

* I appeal to the European Community to be consistent with its own resolutions and also to be consistent with all the resolutions adopted regarding East Timor.

* I appeal to all the friends of East Timor, parliamentarians from Europe, America, Japan and Australia, to go on pressing their own governments to change the double standards applied to similar cases where systematic violations of UN resolutions occur, as in the case of Indonesia's behaviour regarding East Timor.

* I appeal to President Bill Clinton to reconsider the problem of East Timor and to press Jakarta to accept dialogue with the Portuguese and the Timorese in the search for an internationally-acceptable solution.

* I appeal to the Portuguese Government never to abandon its responsibility towards East Timor.

* I appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN to ensure that the solution he seeks for East Timor is based on universal principles and international law.

* Finally, I appeal to the government of Indonesia to change its attitude and to realise that the moment has come to understand the essence of the struggle in East Timor.

Lisbon, 4 June 1993

Free Xanana, Free East Timor Commission (Portugal); Free Xanana Commission (Australia); TAPOL (UK)

JONATHAN HUMPHREYS ENDS HUNGER STRIKE; THREE BEGIN IN LISBON

TAPOL Reports, 5-6 June 1993

Jonathan Humphreys, the London school-teacher and secretary of the British Coalition for East Timor, ended his 48-hour hunger strike outside the Indonesian embassy in London on 4 June, as a number of supporters gathered with him to stage their third weekly protest demonstration outside the Embassy.

Media interest in his action, not only from the Portuguese television and radio but also from the UK media, grew as he sustained his hunger strike, night and day.

Inspired by Jonathan's hunger strike, two East Timorese and a Portuguese are to commence a hunger strike at midnight on 7 June, outside the United Nations Information Centre.

The two East Timorese are Constâncio Pinto and Jose Amorim Dias and the Portuguese is Costa Alves.

WHO DOES XANANA'S LAWYER REPRESENT?

SUDJONO: IN THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES' SERVICE?

Publico 13 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon By São Jose Almeida Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

Ramos-Horta said yesterday that, according to a statement made this week by Sudjono, the Indonesian lawyer appointed to defend Xanana Gusmão, the change in the former Resistance leader's position before the court was influenced by the meeting he had had with Amos Wako, the UN Secretary General's representative.

The CNRM's representative abroad, who considered Sudjono's statement to be proof that he is in the service of the Indonesian authorities, assured journalists that the lawyer had "never acted seriously," and recalled that Xanana had refused to speak to him in the courtroom, and "turned his back on him."

Ramos-Horta added, as a basis for his argument that Sudjono has behaved irregularly while defence lawyer, that he had also stated that "Xanana does not have the right to present his testimony in Portuguese or in English, only in Indonesian."

And just so there would be no doubt in the minds of the journalists about Sudjono's unprecedented position, Ramos-Horta said that, in February, the lawyer had sent information through Xanana's sister to the effect that Xanana had no money for his defence and needed help. At that point, according to Ramos-Horta, the Resistance sent Sudjono money. "I sent two thousand dollars out of my own pocket. I phoned Australia and made the money available. It was only later that I realised the foolishness of having done so," explained Ramos-Horta.

SUDJONO'S DEVIIOUS ROLE

TAPOL report, 19 May 1993

[The move to prevent diplomats from attending the trial in Dili of Xanana Gusmão last week was almost certainly directed primarily at Tamrat Samuel, the UN official sent to attend the trial by the UN Secretary-General's office. In April, Samuel accompanied Amos Wako, the Secretary-General's special envoy, on his visit to East Timor last month. And moreover, the story about Wako's influence was first raised in public by the lawyer, Sudjono.]

Sudjono, Xanana's police-appointed lawyer, was the first person to claim publicly that Xanana had been "influenced" by Wako during their private meeting last month.

Merdeka and Jawa Pos both carry reports quoting Sudjono's allegations on 12 May, the day after the diplomatic incident occurred in Bali when Samuel and three diplomats – from the US, the UK and Japan – were prevented from boarding the plane to Dili to attend the trial on 12 May.

Under the headline, "Wako's visit influenced Xanana's stand," Merdeka quoted Sudjono as saying that Wako's visit to Dili had exerted a great influence on Xanana.

"At the last hearing (on 5 May), Xanana displayed a very unethical attitude by saying that he rejects Sudjono as his legal counsel," Sudjono told journalists on his arrival at Dili airport.

[In several other Indonesian-language newspapers, Sudjono and several members of his team have accused Xanana of 'ingratitude' for withdrawing the power of attorney to Sudjono. They argue that Sudjono has personally borne the costs of the defence and it is very ungrateful of Xanana to behave towards him in this way. "It would be a different matter if he were paying his lawyer," one member of the team said.]

Sudjono said that Xanana's change of attitude at that hearing is not unconnected with his meeting with Wako. During the meeting, Wako 'conveyed a message' [menitipkan sesuatu] to Xanana, said Sudjono.

"From the start, I thought Xanana's meeting with Wako would influence his attitude but since he (Xanana) continued to behave politely, I didn't make a fuss," Sudjono said.

My feeling about this strengthened when a member of Wako's staff, Tamrat Samuel attended the hearing on 5 May. The presence of someone from Wako's staff was of great significance to Xanana Gusmão, Sudjono said.

Sudjono also warned that Xanana could lose his right to defend himself if he does not comply with court procedures. He argues that the Procedural Code sets out the rights of the defendant in court, specifying the need to present his defence in the Indonesian language.

"However stubbornly Xanana insists on submitting his defence in Portuguese, the judges cannot possibly agree and Xanana will lose his right of defence." He said that if the defendant Xanana persists in presenting his defence in a foreign language, the court has the right to reject his defence and continue the hearing.

Jawa Pos quotes Sudjono as saying that Wako "whispered something to Xanana" during their meeting though he would not say what it was that Wako whispered, causing Xanana to change his attitude and become cantankerous ('mbalelo,' a Javanese word, often used by Suharto about people who cause trouble for the authorities).

[Contradicting Sudjono's opinion on the question of language, Indonesia's leading human rights lawyer, Adnan Buyung Nasution, has said that using a local language in no way contravenes the law. This often happens, said Buyung. He said that if Xanana were to be ordered from the court because he wants to use Portuguese, this would be an act of discrimination. A barrister of long standing, Buyung said that he had used local languages in court on numerous occasions.

It is the responsibility of the court to provide an interpreter, the responsibility of the court to be able to understand what the defendant is saying. "Not the other way round. This is a basic right of the defendant which must be respected," he said. "Don't create an obstruction on the grounds that the court does not understand his language. The court has to find an interpreter who is sworn under oath to assist the defendant. Even if Xanana were to acknowledge that he is an Indonesian citizen, Portuguese is the language he understands." The question of language is a quite separate matter. This is simply a question of communication. "Take a look at the laws." It is a serious error for the court to be using Indonesian whilst the accused does not understand that language, said Buyung. "This is nothing to our credit. It's a minus for us," said Buyung. Republik, 12 May 1993]

XANANA TO SEEK CLEMENCY: LAWYER

The Age, 25 May 1993

Dateline: Denpasar, Sunday. by AFP, Reuter, unabridged

The East Timorese separatist leader Xanana Gusmão will not appeal against his sentence of life imprisonment but will seek presidential clemency instead, his lawyer said today.

"There will be no appeal but I intend to seek presidential clemency next week," said Mr. Sudjono in Bali, while waiting for a flight back to Jakarta.

Asked why there would be no appeal, he said: "We would be wasting our time."

An Indonesian court in East Timor on Friday found Xanana, 46, guilty of plotting against the state and illegally possessing firearms. The court acceded to a prosecution request to sentence him to life in prison.

The clemency request could mean a request for a shorter sentence, Mr. Sudjono said, in Indonesia life imprisonment means natural life.

"Xanana's family said that it would be a good idea to request clemency," Mr. Sudjono said.

Xanana's own attitude on clemency is not known, but the traditional stance of his Fretilin pro-independence group has been to decline asking the Indonesian Government for any favors, and Xanana has not indicated that he recognises the Government's authority.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said in Jakarta that the judicial process is not over yet because Xanana could still launch an appeal or seek clemency.

Observers said Mr. Alatas's comments may have reflected the thinking of President Suharto and other top officials, who because of international concerns over the trial may be leaning toward clemency of some type for Xanana.

The US-based Asia Watch human rights organisation accused Jakarta of violating Xanana's rights by not according him "rights to freedom of expression and a fair trial"

But Mr. Alatas defended the court's decision. "It was made very clear to him (Xanana) that this defence should be related to the case," Mr. Alatas said, adding that Xanana's plea covered unrelated such as the Indonesian general election.

Mr. Alatas said he believed the verdict would not affect bilateral talks between Indonesia and Portugal in September, despite the Portuguese President, Mr. Mario Soares, describing the trial as "a mockery of justice"

The life sentence handed down to Xanana has dealt a big blow to the independence movement he led, but it has also badly dented Jakarta's image abroad.

Diplomats said Indonesia must work hard to repair the damage after the three-and-half month trial. "I'm not sure they haven't misjudged the mood," said one diplomat.

Diplomats said the United States may be the most likely to take up the issue. Washington's newfound emphasis on human rights under President Clinton could further strain its ties with Jakarta, they said.

At stake may be four F-5E Tiger jet fighter Jordan hopes to sell to Indonesia. Washington, which last year cut its remaining military aid to Indonesia because of East Timor, must approve the deal.

But other diplomats said leverage over Indonesia was tight, and that Xanana's sentence may have little impact beyond public censure of Indonesia's rights record in East Timor.

They pointed to Indonesia's prominent chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement and the possibility of President Suharto addressing a meeting of G7 leader in Tokyo in July.

"For all the hue and cry there are bound to be those saying "Don't rock the boat, there are more important things at stake here," one diplomat said.

INTERVIEWS WITH XANANA'S LAWYER SUDJONO, RODNEY LEWIS

ABC Radio "Law Report program" Wednesday, May 25 1993 8.30 am

[some words were hard to pick up marked by .. or ?. otherwise verbatim transcription - Sudjono spoke reasonable English but it was not always clear that he could put his thoughts quickly into words nor that he always understood the question.]

Q: The Parliamentarians for East Timor have called on the Australian Govt. to condemn the life sentence, branding Xanana's trial a farce and have called on the Australian Government to reject the verdict. Xanana's lawyer, Mr. Sudjono, does not believe that the trial was a farce but does acknowledge that he found it difficult to separate the legal aspects from the political aspects of the trial. Last night Mr. Sudjono talked exclusively to me for the Law Report.

Sudjono: In my opinion every defendant must be given time to defend himself. Because Mr. Xanana Gusmão wasn't given the chance for reading the defence, in my

opinion, that is not so satisfied. Mr. Xanana is disappointed about that, so am I. To appeal to the High Court, the Supreme Court is just wasting time – in the meantime the international community now to focus about the trial of Mr. Xanana Gusmão – if I make ...(unclear) to make clemency to President Suharto I think that the international community will take part in this. In my trial to reduce (long pause)

Q: To reduce the sentence?

S: Yes

Q: So you will be appealing to Suharto then?

S: Yes.

Q: Do you feel that you have a good chance of reducing the sentence?

S: Yes, I see not the law side but the political side because now as I read in the newspaper, for example New Straits Times and in ...(unclear) it is very horrible for us, for me to make appeal. But I try to appeal to Supreme Court or to the High Court it is just wasting time because everybody after a few years will forget about the case. The last I hope and in my opinion it is maximum between 15 and 20 years.

Q: Now, what kind of defense did you use because Gusmão was prevented from reading his defense plea wasn't he ?

S: That's why I'll try to make not make appeal but directly clemency to the President.

Q: So you have to do it immediately.

S: Yes

Q: Did you help Gusmão write his defense paper?

S: Yes

Q: Can you tell us what was in it?

S: Oh, I promised to your Australian embassy in Jakarta tomorrow, I'll try to give the translation in Bahasa Indonesia. I'll give him the translation in Bahasa.

Q: To the Australian Embassy?

S: Yes

Q: Was that a ploy on your part for Gusmão to initially be quite compliant with the Indonesian authorities – he seemed to be cooperating with the Indonesian authorities initially. Why was he being so cooperative ?

S: Nobody knows about that.

Q: Do you feel that he was tortured ?

S: Oh no, I don't think so because I can see him every day, every time and his health is very very good.

Q: And how were you appointed as his lawyer ?

S: Mr. Xanana himself appoint me.

Q: So he requested you to be his lawyer ?

S: Ya

Q: So you feel that you were able to do your job without any pressure from the Indonesian Government ?

S: As long as I am Dili, it is no.

Q: But if you are not in Dili ?

S: Now in Jakarta, I'm in Jakarta.

Q: So now that you are in Jakarta do you feel any pressure on you from the Indonesian government concerning Xanana's trial ?

S: I hope not [laugh]

Q: Did you find it difficult to keep your political opinions out of the case ?

S: Ah, well it is everybody knows that the case not criminal, ah, not pure criminal besides criminal case also political case. We can separate criminal and political in this case. Now according to the prosecutor it is criminal case.

Q: But you see it both as criminal and political ?

S: Yes

Q: And was it difficult for you to argue that point ?

S: For the first time no but for the later yes [long laugh]

Q: After the appeal process what do you think will happen ?

S: I hope and I think the verdict from the first judge will be reduced, I don't know exactly how many years.

Q: Maybe less than 5 years ?

S: I hope so.

Q: That was Mr. Sudjono, defense lawyer for East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão.

Then Rodney Lewis from Australian ICJ & observer at trials last year in Dili was asked for his comments.

RL: Mr. Sudjono had a couple of really interesting things to say first of all he confirmed the impression that we have here that preventing XG from reading his own defense document was unfair and was cer-

tainly in our view unlawful under Indonesian law and quite contrary to some of the provisions of the international declaration of human rights.

Sudjono confirmed that, at least on my hearing of what he had to say.

The second thing that was interesting was – he said that he was going to give a copy of the defense speech that the court itself didn't want to hear but which many people throughout the world almost certainly want to hear about – he's going to give a copy of that to the Australian Ambassador tomorrow and certainly the ICJ will look forward with great interest to receiving a copy of the speech from the Dept. of Foreign Affairs.

Q: And you quite clearly doubt his ability to do so.

RL: No I don't doubt it all. I'm just surprised and very interested to note that Mr. Sudjono plans to do that. I presume that he plans to give it not only to the Australian Embassy but also to the US, Japanese and Dutch embassies. Many embassies would be awaiting a copy.

Q: Are you satisfied that Sudjono tried his hardest to have Gusmão's defense plea read?

RL: Well I wasn't there, I was denied the opportunity in fact of being there by the Indonesian authorities so I can't really comment about that. At this distance it would not be fair to comment on that at all I'm afraid.

Q: How impartial, in your opinion, was Sudjono in the trial ?

RL: Well again, since I wasn't there I can't speak about that. From what I read and hear from others who were there, there doesn't seem to be any great concern about Mr. Sudjono's performance – not that I can see.

Q: Was Gusmão active in choosing Sudjono as his defence lawyer as he just claimed?

RL: Well I think there was a little controversy at the outset of the trial since the team from the LBH offered their services to him and he refused it – which is certainly something that very few defendants in his position have ever done before as far as I'm aware.

And instead of accepting the LBH team he chose, as far as I recollect, Sudjono from a list of several lawyers.

Q: *Why do you think he chose Sudjono?*

RL: Sudjono is a pretty well known lawyer in Jakarta and he was on the list – beyond that I can't go because I'm not as closely privy to those sorts of issues as many others would be in Indonesia.

Q: *Well, lets look at the start of XG's trial. Why do you think he was, or seemed to be, fairly cooperative with the Indonesian authorities at least initially.*

RL: Well, if I can speak from a personal point of view and certainly not for the ICJ because we haven't yet adopted a report on this trial but I think there may be several explanations for that – he appeared, as is notorious, to have accepted the proposition that he was an Indonesian citizen – Timor is a place where there is an atmosphere of intimidation on the part of the Indonesian military. I can speak from my own personal experience last year. I don't think that atmosphere has changed one bit and it's not surprising to me and, I think not surprising to many observers of the Timorese scene to discover that people who are in custody are or seem to be compliant. I don't think that's surprising & people ought not to be surprised about it.

Q: *Sudjono has said he is going to appeal. How successful do you think this will be?*

RL: Well I notice that Mr. Sudjono thought that XG might get between 15 & 20 years – certainly it seems Sudjono wasn't expecting such a heavy sentence. Whether an appeal will be successful? Well that remains to be seen.

Certainly I think that Sudjono is conveying the idea that an appeal for clemency to the President is going to be much quicker and more effective than an appeal will be and I suspect that he's going to put in that appeal for clemency very quickly – and it may be that the response will come quite quickly and dispense with the need for an appeal – perhaps that's part of the strategy for the defence.

Q: *Sudjono thought maybe he could get the sentence down to 5 years – I'm frankly quite surprised at that.*

RL: Yes I think that's being very optimistic – you have to remember that the people who were involved and charged arising out of the Dili massacre received, with one exception, sentences of more than 5 years. XG

was the alleged ringleader – he was the alleged chief conspirator and commander so it would be extraordinary if his sentence, linked as it is directly in his trial with the Dili massacre as well as to many other incidents, of course.

It would be extraordinary if he ended up with a sentence of less than 5 years, in my view.

XANANA TO SEEK PRESIDENTIAL CLEMENCY: LAWYER

Jakarta Post 29 May 1993

Dateline: Jakarta

Unabridged

Comment: Sudjono is playing a dangerous game, alleging that he has Xanana's approval for a clemency plea to Suharto. Anyone who has read Xanana's defence statement will know this to be a total misrepresentation of his attitude.

The political implications are clear: by applying for clemency, it enables western governments to say they will not exert pressure on the injustice/illegality of the trial as the judicial process is still underway. There may even be foreign government ministers, notably Gareth Evans, who cling to the hope that Suharto will reduce Xanana's sentence, so getting them off the hook. As Indonesian diplomacy takes a nose-dive, they are looking for anything to make it easier to keep on with business-as-usual.

TAPOL

The lawyer representing convicted Fretilin guerrilla movement leader Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão says he will formally apply for presidential clemency within the next two weeks.

"We plan to file the clemency application at the Dili District Court early in June," Sudjono told The Jakarta Post here yesterday.

Xanana is fully aware of his decision to ask for clemency from President Suharto even though this will infer that Xanana admits culpability to all charges, he said.

Xanana, commander of the separatist movement in East Timor, was found guilty last week of heading an armed rebellion. He received a life sentence.

Sudjono has advised his client to apply for clemency, usually the last channel in seeking a reprieve, rather than appealing against the court ruling to higher courts, in order to save time.

The law allows a convict to appeal to the High Court and, failing that, take his appeal

before the Supreme Court. He is also entitled to request that the Supreme Court review his case.

Sudjono said he had informed Xanana that usually the High Court needs one year to process an appeal case, and it would take the Supreme Court another two years to examine the case. A review of the case adds up to another full year.

"I also told him that asking for the president's clemency means he is pleading guilty and making an apology," the lawyer said. "Xanana said he is willing to ask for clemency."

Sudjono said that Xanana was treated well in the Dili detention centre and that he had access to meet him at any time. "He plays basketball with the (detention centre) officers every afternoon."

Sudjono who represented Xanana from the moment he was brought to court in February, said he has met with many foreign guests, including diplomats, who wished to know more about his client's situation and the implementation of human rights in the province.

Chief Justice Purwoto S. Gandasubrata said on Thursday that he and Minister of Justice Oetoyo Oesman are ready to give their legal opinion on the case to President Suharto if Xanana asks for the president's clemency.

"We will have to give our legal opinion to the president on whether to grant him clemency," Purwoto said.

Turned down

From Dili, Antara news agency reported that the Supreme Court has rejected an appeal from Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, sentenced to life imprisonment in June last year for his role in organising a protest in the East Timor capital in 1991, because the application arrived past the set deadline.

The Criminal Code Procedures says an appeal application to the Supreme Court must be filed within 14 days after the (lower appeal) court makes its ruling. The convict has another 14 days to submit papers.

Dili District Court Chief, Hieronymus Godang blamed the delay on Gregorio's lawyer Luhut Pangaribuan for not acting promptly after the High Court in Kupang, East Nusa Tenggara, turned down the first appeal. "The lawyer was negligent in his duty," he said.

Luhut, a Legal Aid Institute (LBH) lawyer, told The Jakarta Post yesterday the Dili Court should be blamed for the failure to file the appeal documents in due time. "We never received any information from the Dili Court about the Kupang High Court's decision on Gregorio's appeal," he said.

Godang should have sent him a copy of the high court's decision, he said.

XANANA 'CLEMENCY PLEA' A MONSTROUS DECEPTION

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, today 4 June 1993 issued the following Press Release:

An Indonesian lawyer, Sudjono, who professes to be acting on behalf of Xanana Gusmão, the East Timor resistance leader sentenced to life imprisonment in Dili two weeks ago, today lodged a plea for presidential clemency at the Dili court.

Anyone who has read the defence statement by Xanana which the judges prevented him from reading in court will know that nothing could be farther from Xanana's mind than to ask President Suharto for anything, least of all clemency. He said:

"I am resistance commander Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Maubere (East Timorese) resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of 7 December 1975.... I reject the competence of any court to try me....

"... it is of no consequence at all to me if they pass the death sentence here today. They have killed more than one third of the defenceless people of East Timor... and I am not worth more than the heroic struggle of my people."

These are not the words of a man who would grovel on his knees to Suharto, asking clemency and thereby admitting guilt.

Since he was taken from the Dili court after being sentenced on 21 May, Xanana Gusmão has not been seen by independent observers; he has not been visited by any members of his family or by the International Red Cross. Apart from the special troops guarding him, only the lawyer, Sudjono has been allowed access.

The alleged clemency plea is clearly aimed at discrediting Xanana's forceful accusatory statement in court and demoralising his people who see him as a symbol of hope. It is also intended to diffuse worldwide condemnation of his trial as a travesty of justice and enable foreign governments to avoid joining in condemnation of the verdict on the grounds that 'the judicial process has not been completed.'

TAPOL fears that the documents purporting to plead for clemency are a forgery, prepared without his knowledge or consent. The authorities in Dili must be pressed to allow Xanana's family and independent observers immediate access. This is even more urgent, since he announced in court that he would go on hunger strike, meaning that he is now in the second week of going without food. The military authorities deny that he is on hunger strike. They must be challenged to prove this by allowing independent observers immediate access.

Xanana's integrity is at stake, his life is in danger.

CNRM DENOUNCES SUDJONO

Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of the CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) and spokesperson of the jailed East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão, issued the following Press Release, datelined Sydney 6 June 1993:

XANANA'S LAWYER PUBLICLY DENOUNCED

Jose Ramos-Horta, CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance) Special Representative and spokesperson for jailed East Timorese Resistance leader, Mr. Xanana Gusmão, has publicly denounced the military-imposed lawyer, Mr. Sudjono. Mr. Ramos-Horta said:

He has misrepresented Xanana's wishes all along. He was always fully aware of Xanana's position and he has never challenged the information put out by the Indonesian media and Military and Security agencies. Sudjono has repeatedly misrepresented Xanana's position and therefore cannot be trusted. Xanana's defence plea which he was not allowed to read in full and was named 'irrelevant' by Judge Hieronymus Godang, clearly stated:

"On November 22 last year in Denpasar, I signed a document in which I affirmed that according to International Law, I continue to be, like all East Timorese, a Portuguese citizen and before my own conscience I am a citizen of East Timor. It is in these terms that I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me and particularly the jurisdiction of this court which has been imposed on me by force of arms against my homeland, East Timor."

In reference to media reports about a plea for clemency being filed by Mr. Sudjono, Mr. Ramos-Horta said:

This reported plea is more Indonesian military propaganda. No Timorese person with any dignity will accept it. Should Mr. Sudjono represent the wishes of his client, he will arrange for Xanana to appear before representatives of the European Community, the United States, Australia, the ICRC and a representative of the UN Secretary-General, and be attended by the media. He should seek no less.

Mr. Pierre Pont, the ICRC's Delegate to Indonesia told the press in Jakarta [AFP, 30 May 1993] that "we had to suspend the (prison visit) programme (in East Timor) on Thursday because all the conditions of the ICRC were not met." Mr. Pont stressed that

the difficulties encountered "occurred in East Timor, not in Jakarta." A source at the ICRC in Geneva later confirmed that the ICRC have not been able to visit political prisoners in East Timor since January this year.

Mr. Ramos-Horta also said that reliable sources from within Dili hold grave fears for the safety of their people as they witnessed the arrival of special military troops in Dili, just one week after the sentencing of Xanana, who remains a powerful political symbol for the East Timorese. These black-hooded troops known as 'ninja' differ from the usual armed military who patrol the streets as they specialize in political assassinations.

Mr. Ramos-Horta added that Mr. Sudjono is largely responsible for the confusion relating to Xanana's wishes. "Both his family and I have clearly stated that he will not appeal for clemency and that Mr. Sudjono was never instructed to make any such appeal."

Xanana's mostly unread defence plea also stated that his attempt to accept representation by Indonesia's prestigious human rights law group, the Legal Aid Institute (LBH), was intercepted by his captors and returned. He was forced to write to the LBH telling them he did not wish to accept their offer.

Mr. Ramos-Horta said: "Xanana's statement is unequivocal: he does not and will never recognise the jurisdiction of the Indonesian court. This is perfectly clear to anyone who has read the whole defence statement made by Xanana. Mr. Sudjono, an obscure and pliant lawyer was foisted on Xanana by the military."

Mr. Ramos-Horta reminded the international community of Xanana's appeal to them "to understand that it is time to show that the New World Order is about to begin. This requires acts that will bring an end to the situation inherited from the past."

Meanwhile, Australian lawyer, Mr. Rodney Lewis, who attended the Dili Massacre trials last year and was not granted a visa to attend Xanana's trial, said in Sydney today: "The application for clemency is inconsistent with Mr. Xanana Gusmão's public statement. Xanana has clearly rejected the notion that Mr. Sudjono was appointed by him. It seems most unlikely that he would willingly make an application like this since his statement said that 'no agreement can be reached between a prisoner and his warders.'"

SUDJONO LODGES APPEAL FOR CLEMENCY

Radio Australia, 1am news, 5 June 1993

Reporter: Ian MacIntosh

Remark: The following is an unabridged transcript. The names of the Indonesian officials are not necessarily correct.

(Jakarta) The lawyer representing (sic) East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão has lodge a plea for clemency on behalf of his client who was sentenced to life imprisonment a fortnight ago. The lawyer Sudjono submitted the plea to officials of Dili district court.

IAN: A court official in Dili Mr. Baso Itung, a clemency plea was lodged by the lawyer this morning. He said it was signed by Mr. Sudjono but not by Xanana Gusmão who was not present the court. The official quoted the lawyer as saying " he had a letter of authority to act on Mr. Gusmão's behalf" he said the plea clemency would be forwarded to President Suharto through Indonesia's Justice Minister Hotoyo Wusman. Outside the court Mr. Sudjono said that by making the plea his client now acknowledged his guilty and the Indonesian court's jurisdiction. But in the absence of independent confirmation it remains unclear if today's request for clemency was made at Mr. Gusmão expressed request.

MORE SUDJONO DECEPTIONS

According to UPI in Jakarta on Saturday, 5 June 1993, the imprisoned East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmão, is willing to appeal to the remaining separatists to end their rebellion, Gusmão's lawyer said Saturday.

"If requested, he is ready to appeal to his friends to come down from the mountains," his lawyer Sudjono was quoted as saying by the East Java daily, Jawa Pos as saying.

UPI continues: A plea for presidential clemency was filed Friday on behalf of the 46-year old Gusmão, although it was not clear it Gusmão was consulted.

CLEMENCY PLEA NOT SIGNED BY XANANA

BBC, June 6, 1993

The BBC's Adam Brooks filed a report from Jakarta on Sudjono's clemency plea filed on Friday with the Dili district court. The following is an abridged version of his report:

A court official in Dili confirms that a clemency plea has been filed on behalf of Xanana Gusmão. The official said the plea

was not actually signed by Mr. Gusmão nor was he present during the court proceedings. His lawyer, Sudjono told the court he had authorization from Mr. Gusmão to file the plea. Sudjono told journalists that in making a plea for clemency Mr. Gusmão was acknowledging his guilt and the authority of the court to try him, but whether this actually represents Mr. Gusmão's stance is unclear.

In what is held to be his defence statement, Mr. Gusmão strongly rejected the authority of the Indonesian court in East Timor.

The clemency plea should now go to the Indonesian president via the Justice Minister. A reduction in Mr. Gusmão's life sentence could serve to limit the poor publicity generated by Mr. Gusmão's trial. Several foreign governments and human rights organisations have voiced concern over whether the trial met international standards. But without independent confirmation it remains unclear whether the clemency plea was lodged at Mr. Gusmão's express request.

OTHER EAST TIMORESE IN PRISON

CAMPAIGN FOR SATURNINO'S RELEASE

The Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM) in Lisbon and TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign in London, issued the follow Urgent Action on 18 April 1993:

PROTECT AND SAVE SATURNINO DA COSTA BELO!

Release all East Timorese political prisoners!

On 4 March 1993, an East Timorese political prisoner, Saturnino da Costa Belo, shouted pro-independence slogans at a public hearing in the Dili district court. Saturnino had been summoned by the prosecution to testify against Xanana Gusmão, the resistance leader who was on trial, in defiance of international humanitarian law, for 'rebellion' against the Indonesian state and for the 'illegal possession of firearms.'

After Saturnino's act of defiance, the hearing was suspended and he was dragged away. Later that day, an army doctor told the court that he was 'mentally disturbed' and was not fit to appear.

Saturnino's act in open court proves that he had no intention of testifying against Xanana. Even so, a week later, on 11 March,

the presiding-judge announced that the 'witness,' Saturnino was 'unwell' and could not testify in person so he permitted the prosecutor to read the report of Saturnino's interrogation into the trial record as testimony against the accused. This misuse of Saturnino's alleged statements further highlights the farce of a trial which even violates Indonesia's criminal procedural code.

Since 4 March, Saturnino has been held incommunicado and almost certainly subjected to maltreatment and torture. The International Red Cross has reportedly not been allowed to visit him since 4 March. He is now in Balide Prison, Dili, in isolation from other East Timorese political prisoners, in a darkened cell. The UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Amos Wako, who visited East Timor in April 1993, specifically asked to meet Saturnino because of his precarious position. Wako was allowed to meet him briefly but nothing is known about his condition and since the meeting, he has remained in isolation.

Campaign to save Saturnino

Saturnino's courageous act of defiance means that his life is in constant danger and his well-being cannot be assured for as long as he continues to be held in an Indonesian prison. His release is in any case a matter of urgency under the terms of the resolution adopted on 11 March 1993 by the UN Human Rights Commission, paragraph 6 of which calls for all East Timorese in custody to be "treated humanely and with their rights fully respected" and demands that those who are "not involved in violent activities (should) be released without delay."

In order to highlight his fate and expose the farce of Indonesian trials, to save his life and secure the immediate release of all East Timorese political prisoners, we call on all solidarity and human rights groups:

1. To ask your government to seek information about Saturnino and press the International Red Cross to continue with their efforts to meet him without delay.
2. To put pressure on your government through the intermediary of members of Parliament, to alert them of the case.
3. Write to the Indonesian embassy in your country protesting at the treatment of Saturnino and calling for his immediate release.
4. To give the widest possible publicity to the case of Saturnino in the press, the student press and other media channels. [Unfortunately, no photographs are available.]
5. Use the case of Saturnino to highlight the injustice of political imprisonment of

East Timorese and expose the trials of East Timorese as show trials with no validity in either Indonesian or international law.

6. Consider ways to mount a campaign to coincide with the verdict against Xanana Gusmão which is likely to be announced soon within the next month, calling for the immediate release of all East Timorese political prisoners.

Background

At 22 years, Saturnino already has plenty of experience of Indonesian imprisonment because of his opposition to the illegal Indonesian occupation of his country. He was first arrested in 1986 and held till 1990 after being sentenced to four years. On 30 November 1991, two weeks after the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery, Dili on 12 November, he was arrested again, along with his two brothers, Alcino Freitas Vital and Custodio Freitas and accused of having contacts with the armed resistance. His brothers were released but he was held and tried in Baucau for subversion; this time he was given a nine-year sentence in July 1992.

During an incident in Baucau on 5 October 1992 when an Indonesian soldier was killed, his brother Alcino Freitas Vital was wounded. He was taken to hospital for treatment but when local troops realised who he was, they kidnapped him from the hospital and shot him dead on 8 October. During the crackdown that followed the Baucau incident, Saturnino's father, Afonso Freitas (60 years) along with his son and daughter-in-law were rounded up and held in detention for several days. His father and other members of his family, who have already suffered so much, are certain to have faced further intimidation and harassment following Saturnino's act of defiance in open court.

In a letter to the Portuguese Prime Minister, written last September, Saturnino said he would never accept any decision of an Indonesian court, not only because their proceedings are farcical but also because he is by law a Portuguese citizen. He said also that he had been subjected to beatings and torture by his Indonesian captors and asked for full diplomatic protection and assistance.

ACTION ALERT FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF OMCT/SOS-TORTURE

Case IDN/TIM 190493, April 24, 1993

The International Secretariat of OMCT/SOS-Torture calls upon you to intervene on behalf of the following situation in Indonesia / East Timor.

Brief description of the situation:

1 / Information received from Antenna International, a member of our network, and "A Paz E Possivel en Timor-Leste," has raised concern for the safety and integrity of Mr. Saturnino Da COSTA BELO, aged 32, who has been in detention since 1991 and about whom there has been no news since March 1993.

>From 1986 until 1990 Da COSTA BELO served a four year prison sentence. Then on 30 November 1991, following the Santa Cruz massacre, he was detained in Baucau along with his young brothers, Alcino Vital FREITAS and Custodio FREITAS. All three were subjected to serious ill-treatment and the latter two were released some weeks later.

In 1992 Da COSTA BELO was brought before the court in Baucau and sentenced to 9 years imprisonment. Following the verdict he was subjected to serious torture for having "refused to sign" the charge sheet. In addition, the judicial authorities set a date for a new trial on 19 November 1992, in Kupang, Indonesian Timor. It is not clear if the trial actually took place.

On 4 March 1993 the Indonesian authorities brought forward Mr. Da COSTA BELO as a witness for the prosecution in the trial of Mr. Xanana Gusmão, in Dili. During the trial he raised his hand towards the accused and shouted slogans in favour of East Timor, and demanded that the Indonesian government ensure the respect for human rights. As a result of his action, the court demanded that the "witness" be examined by a doctor. Dr. Musadek Ishac, who is apparently a member of the police, declared him to be mentally "disturbed."

Since that date, when he was transferred to an unknown place, there has been no news about his situation and it would appear that the Indonesian authorities are refusing to allow him to be visited by a representative of the Red Cross. This situation has given rise to serious concern for the safety and integrity of Mr. Da COSTA BELO.

2 / The information received further draws attention to the fact that during October 1992 serious repressive incidents took place in East Timor. Among the victims of this repression are various members of Mr. Da COSTA BELO's family.

Indeed, in October 1992 the military authorities in East Timor let it be known that on the 5th of the month, two young people were killed during an operation by the guerrilla carried out against an Indonesian soldier in an hotel in Baucau.

Other sources have declared however, that during this incident, a young child was

killed and another young person, who has been identified as Alcino Vital FREITAS (the brother of Da Costa Belo) was wounded. The exact circumstances surrounding this incident however, are not clear. The latter was taken to a military hospital from whence he was taken to an unknown place and executed on 8 October in particularly horrible circumstances. The same sources claim that earlier, about 500 metres from the hotel where the authorities claim that these incidents took place, another young boy, identified as Domingos, had been also wounded and subsequently summarily executed on 6 October by members of the 315th Battalion.

Following the events of 5 October the authorities detained hundreds of people. In this context, on 17 October, Mr. Afonso FREITAS, aged 60 (the father of Alcino Vital FREITAS), his daughter and his daughter-in-law, were all detained. Although these people were later released, it would appear that they, along with the rest of the family, are still being threatened and accused by the authorities.

In addition, the information has also drawn our attention to the fact that all, or at least the majority of those who have been detained during this time, have been subjected to severe ill-treatment or torture.

Finally, the information also highlights the case of Mr. Sebastião Fraga FREITAS, who was detained in Ossaluga, Salamari, at about 17:00 hours on 6 October, by members of the 315th Battalion, and who is believed to have been summarily executed.

Action requested:

Please write to the Indonesian authorities demanding that they elucidate the situation of Mr. Saturnino Da COSTA BELO, that they guarantee his personal safety and his physical and psychological integrity at all times and that they reveal the place where he is being detained and authorise his family and international observers to visit him.

Demand, at the same time, that they put an end to any action that is likely to endanger the lives or physical and psychological integrity of the members of Mr. Da Costa Belo's family.

Insist that they open a thorough and impartial inquiry into the alleged human rights violations, particularly the accounts of torture and the suspected summary executions, in order to identify those responsible and punish them in accordance with the law.

Demand that they ensure the respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the population of East Timor in accordance with international standards.

Please inform the authorities in your respective countries, the UN, the European

Community and all other intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations urging them to adopt appropriate measures both at the national and international levels to put an end to the violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Timor and Indonesia.

ADDRESSES

In Indonesia:

President Suharto
Bina Graha, Jalan Veteran 17, Jakarta,
Indonesia. Tlx 44469 Attn. pres. Suharto
and Tlx: 44283

Let. Ismail Saleh
Minister of Justice, Jalan Rasuna Said, Kav
6-7, Kuningan, Kuningan, Jakarta Selatan,
Indonesia. Tlx: 44404 DITJENIM IA – Fax:
62 21 32 1625

General Kunarto
Chief of the National Police, Kepala
Kepolisian RI, Markas Besar Kepolisian RI
JI, Trunojoyo 13, Kebayoran Baru, Jakarta
Selatan, Indonesia.

General Try Sutrisno
Commander of the Armed Forces, Markas
Besar Abri, Cilangkap, East Jakarta,
Indonesia. Fax: 62 21 36 1471 / 62 21 37
8144 / 62 21 35 6404

Ali Alatas
Minister of Foreign Affairs, Kementerian
Luar Negeri, Jalan Tamam Pejambon 6,
Jakarta, Indonesia. Tlx 44205

His Excellency, The Ambassador of the
Republic of Indonesia, 8 Darwin Ave.,
Yarralumla (Ambassador to Australia)

In East Timor:

Mr. Abilio Osorio Soares
Governor of East Timor, Gubernur KDH
Tk.1 Timor Timur, Jalan Inpantal D.
Hendrikue, Dili, East Timor

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei
Military Commander for East Timor,
Markas Besar Korem 164, Dili, Timor
Timur, East Timor

19 April 1993

Please inform us of any action undertaken, (kindly quote the code number of our appeal in any related correspondence).

INDONESIA'S WASHINGTON EMBASSY REPLIES

Shortly after Saturnino da Costa Belo's brave outcry during Xanana's trial, I wrote the Indonesian Embassy in Washington. Here is a reply, which I got yesterday. I'm going to write back in a few days; any thoughts are welcome:

– Charlie Scheiner

EMBASSY OF THE REPUBLIC OF
INDONESIA
2020 MASSACHUSETTS AVE., N.W.
WASHINGTON, DC 20036
April 21, 1993

Mr. Charles Scheiner
Coordinator, East Timor Action
Network/US
PO. Box 1182
White Plains, NY 10602

Dear Mr. Scheiner:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of March 5, 1993, expressing your concern over the condition of Mr. Saturnino da Costa Bello (sic). As you perhaps know, on January 25, 1993, Mr. Bello was transferred from Baucau prison to Dili prison to be a witness at the trial of Mr. Xanana Gusmão.

On March 14, 1993, Mr. Bello appeared as a witness before the judge at the Xanana trial. At that time he was observed behaving improperly, unbecoming the general proceedings of the trial. He refused to obey the judge's orders to conduct himself properly, in accordance with the standards of the court. The judge then ruled the trial suspended. Upon resumption of the trial, it was concluded that Mr. Bello remained unfit to take the witness stand, and was then removed from the proceedings.

Let me assure you that during the entire period of time, before and after the trial, Mr. Bello was not ill treated in any way. He himself issued a written statement saying that he was not being oppressed, tortured, or beaten, or received physical harm, while in the hands of Indonesian authorities.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bello has been transported back to Baucau prison and is reported to be in good health.

Hopefully the above information will answer your question even though belatedly, as I am sure you will understand that we had to verify our facts with the authorities in Jakarta and East Timor.

Sincerely,
Tjahjono

Deputy Chief of Mission

ACAT'S SATURNINO ACTION

May 11, 1993

ACAT (Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture) was born June 16th, 1974 in Versailles (France). It has currently 16,000 members, 550 local groups and 150 member monastic communities. It is ecumenical association grouping Catholics, Orthodox and Protestants. Its aim is abolition of torture, cruel inhuman and degrading treatments, disappearances and capital punishment.

Its means are: information, action and prayer.

Its is a French, but also German, North-American, British, Belgian, Beninian, Canadian, Spanish, Gallic, Dutch, Italian, Ivory, Luxembourg, Togolese and Swiss organisation.

In the last few months it had actions concerning Zaire, Turkey, Sudan, China, Djibouti, El Salvador, South Africa, Morocco, Yugoslavia, Tunisia, Mexico, Haiti, Sri Lanka, Brazil, Rumania, India, Latvia, Tibet, Guatemala, Russia, Rwanda and Columbia.

It has been involved in East Timor for a long time. It launched a campaign on the safety of Saturnino da Costa Belo. The proposed letter is as follows:

Brigadier General Theo Syafei
Markas Besar Korem 164
Dili
East Timor, Indonesia (sic)

General,

Je tiens a vous exprimer toute mon inquietude pour la securite de Saturnino Da Costa Belo dont l'Action des Chrétiens pour l'Abolition de la Torture m'apprend la disparition.

Nous sommes sans nouvelles de lui depuis son intervention devant le tribunal de Dili le 4 mars 1993.

Je vous demande instamment de permettre aux representants de la Croix Rouge Internationale de visiter Saturnino Da Costa Belo quel que soit son lieu de detention.

De meme, puissiez-vous les autoriser a rencontrer Custodio Freitas, son frere resident a Baucau, ainsi que Afonso Freitas, son pere et les autres membres de la famille resident a Ossaluga (Samalari, Baucau).

Veuillez agreer, General, l'expression de ma consideration distinguée.

For more information:

ACAT
252 rue Saint Jacques
75005 Paris tel: (1) 43 29 88 52, fax: (1)
40 46 01 83.

JAKARTA: EAST TIMOR REBEL (PINTO) CAUGHT. (NOT!)

"Regional Briefing" column of Far Eastern Economic Review. 22 April 1993, unsigned.

On 10 April, military authorities captured Constâncio Pinto, the alleged mastermind behind the pro-separatist demonstration in East Timor in November 1991. A week earlier, the army had arrested Antonio Gomes da Costa, the successor to Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão who is currently on trial for leading the separatist rebellion.

CONSTÂNCIO PINTO NOT ARRESTED

Take action to protect his wife, who has been repeatedly arrested and interrogated.

Action alert from East Timor Action Network/US, April 14, 1993

Indonesian military sources claim that Constâncio Pinto, one of the organizers of the November 12, 1991, Dili demonstration in East Timor, was arrested in Dili last Saturday while visiting family. This has been echoed by wire services and television in Portugal and Australia.

THIS IS NOT TRUE.

In fact, Constâncio Pinto was looking over my shoulder as I type the first version of this alert on Monday morning in New York. He has been out of East Timor and Indonesia since last October, and is on a seven-week speaking tour, carrying the message of the Timorese people to cities throughout the United States and Canada. The Indonesian authorities know very well that he is no longer in East Timor; in early March he testified in their presence before the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

However, his wife, Gabriela Lopes da Cruz Pinto, was arrested by the Army in Dili on the morning of Monday, April 12. She was interrogated at the Colmera military headquarters (SGI), and released, but told to return to the Army that evening. Since then, she has been interrogated several times about Constâncio's whereabouts and ordered to report daily for further questioning. This is severe harassment, intended to pressure her husband to stop his activities on behalf of East Timorese self-determination.

Since Constâncio is not in East Timor, there is nothing his wife can tell them. Please tell the Indonesian authorities to leave her alone. The International Committee for the Red Cross has asked that Mrs. Pinto and their one-year-old son

(whom Constâncio has never met, as he was born after Constâncio was forced to go into hiding), be allowed to join Constâncio Pinto in Lisbon.

Please send an immediate fax to the Commander of the Armed Forces in Jakarta at 62-21-36-1471, 62-21-37-8144 or 62-21-35-6404. You can also fax President Suharto at 62-21-36-0517, 62-21-36-7781, or 62-21-36-7782. Contact Indonesian Consulates and the Embassy in your country as well. The Indonesian Ambassador to the United States is Abdul Rachman Ramly, and his telephone number is (202)775-5200, fax (202)775-5365. The Indonesian Embassy is at 2020 Massachusetts Ave. NW, Washington DC 20036.

MA'HUNO: "THE WORD TRAITOR IS EASILY SAID"

Publico 16 April Dateline: Lisbon By Adelino Gomes and Ines Serra Lopes Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged (Ma'Huno, before his arrest, referring to Xanana)

Ma'Huno was arrested by Indonesian forces on 3 April. He was at the time leader of the Timorese Resistance inside East Timor. He had succeeded Xanana Gusmão, captured by Suharto's army on 20 November 1992. Before the arrest of Ma'Huno, while he was still at the head of the Resistance, he answered (on a tape recording) a series of questions which had been sent to him in the mountains in February, by journalists working for "Publico" and "O Independente," while they were in Dili to cover Xanana's trial. Below is the transcript of that tape.

Question – Xanana was captured on 20 November 1992. At that time, was he still the leader of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), or not?

Answer – Until the date of his arrest in Dili on 20 November 1992, Xanana was still in his post as CNRM leader.

Q: When and why did Xanana step down from the CNRM leadership?

A: There are two points contained in the CNRM's 20 November statement which I think are relevant to this question. It is true that the CNRM, inside occupied East Timor, decided to freeze the functions of our friend Xanana as leader of the CNRM. This happened because, as a prisoner of war in the hands of Try Sutrisno's hard line, Jakarta was liable to take advantage of this fact, forcing Xanana to fabricate a statement

in favour of annexation. That is what happened.

However, the fact that Xanana was being held incommunicado casts doubt over the statement in which the prisoner is said to have stated that East Timor is part of the Republic of Indonesia. In spite of having said yes, Jakarta did not permit International Committee of the Red Cross officials to check the state and situation of Xanana following his capture. Furthermore, Xanana did not have a defence lawyer of his choice during the interrogation period. Also, the military never allowed anyone from Indonesian human rights groups to have access to the prisoner, in spite of repeated requests. It was in this scenario of total breach of internationally accepted rules and procedures that Xanana's mysterious statement appeared which, happily, no one was taken in by. Under normal circumstances, Xanana would never have reached the point of such colossal humiliation, which the content of the statement constituted.

Notwithstanding the freezing of Xanana's functions as CNRM leader, our 20 November statement also made public the recognition of our friend Xanana as the symbol of the Timorese Resistance. This recognition by the CNRM is the reiteration of the need for Timorese representatives to be involved in the talks for peace in East Timor. In other words, our position constitutes a challenge to Ali Alatas, given that he also speaks of the symbol of Timorese Resistance, when referring to Xanana.

On the other hand, the CNRM wished to launch, in this way, a vehement appeal to the international community, and to the UN in particular, to urge Jakarta to give ground, reinforcing the position adopted by Portuguese President, Mario Soares, given Xanana's undeniable reputation and prestige in the eyes of the international community.

Here is our appeal: men and women, and young people all over the world, listen to us. We want to see peace dawn in this land called East Timor. It was in defence of that aim that Xanana was made prisoner of the brutal Suharto regime.

Q: In early February, Abilio Osorio told Portuguese journalists in Dili that Ma'Huno would give himself up within two months, and that he knew where Ma'Huno and another two persons were.

He added that all that remained was to discuss the amnesty. Do you confirm this?

A: I respect Abilio Osorio as a fellow man, but hold him to be a wholehearted supporter of annexation and, above all, a hard-liner – reasons which have led to him getting the current post of Governor.

In the face of Abilio Osorio's militaristic policies, i.e. his wish to maintain the presence of more than 10 Indonesian special force battalions in East Timor, I shall continue to fight to defend the policy of Timorese national unity. This does not mean a tendency towards capitulation, as Abilio Osorio would dearly like to believe. I just wish to reaffirm that I feel honoured to defend the Timorese people's right to self-determination, whatever price I have to pay. Given my awareness of being Timorese as well as a freedom fighter, I would feel humiliated if I were ever to sink to the depths of the amnesty.

To Abilio Osorio's amazement, East Timor is still there on the map of the world, in spite of the reductions caused by Indonesian troops. It is, then, an international issue, the substance of which is the Timorese people's right to self-determination, which the UN upholds.

Abilio Osorio rubbed his hands with glee when Xanana was captured and imprisoned. Other evidence reveals a different story. In spite of the perks, many Indonesian soldiers shouted for joy: it's time to go home. For their part, Timorese soldiers expressed their shock at the capture of their "catuas bot" – big chief. Timorese police refused to hand over their weapons to those they call the "indhata" – the foreigners. These are just reflexes of the war's prolongation and evidence that the soul of the Timorese cannot be bought by privileges. The occupier is, then, facing a potentially dangerous situation if he does not "loosen his grip." I categorically deny, therefore, Abilio Osorio's statements regarding my surrender.

Q: When Xanana became chairman of the CNRM, he left Fretilin, arguing that the Falintil armed forces ought to be non-partisan. You, in contrast, maintain leadership of both structures. Don't you think this attitude could reduce the Resistance's support base?

A: I believe I have done my duty as member of the CNRM by assuming responsibility for the Politico-Military Commission of the Resistance (CPMR). This came about to avoid any speculation about the void in authority in the aftermath of commander Xanana's capture. The developments required taking a firm position. I ought to point out that the functions of the CPMR, which includes members of the CNRM, are just tactical-operational, and depend on the command inside East Timor. For this very reason, it is temporary in nature, and its continuity as an organ is in the balance, while the CNRM is the Resistance's global command centre.

It is noteworthy, meanwhile, that the quality of being a CNRM member does not extend to all the Fretilin and UDT politicians. The members of Fretilin's Central Committee and components of the Directive Commission, however, do enjoy that status. I felt that this too reinforced my decision to head the CPMR – an organ I see as an element of balance between my political function as Directive Commission Secretary, and the principle of nonpartisanism of the Falintil.

Furthermore, going back to the second extraordinary meeting of the CNRM in 1990, the Falintil's subordination to Fretilin can be seen. This was agreed by Fretilin's external delegation and companion Ramos-Horta. UDT would probably not have looked favorably on the issue. Also, the same could probably happen again. But so that there is no misunderstanding, I ought to say that we are already carrying out consultations inside East Timor regarding the question of the command of the Falintil. But, even while answering for the command in East Timor's interior, as responsible for the CPMR, I shall be the last one to voice my opinion.

I would, meanwhile, like to take this opportunity to reaffirm two things. First, that the principle of nonpartisanism of the Falintil will always be unquestionable. Second, what is questionable will be my position in the Fretilin as Secretary of the Directive Commission, the continuity of which is in the balance.

Q: Who is the CNRM's representative abroad, and who is Fretilin's leader, also abroad?

A: Our companion Ramos-Horta is the CNRM's special representative abroad. It

was Xanana's decision, which was never questioned and which I confirm here again, reiterating our total confidence in Ramos-Horta.

With regards Fretilin's leadership, I think that until the so-called "restructuring process" of the external wing of the movement has been completed, brother Abilio Araujo is the leader, and brother Mari Alkatiri is second in command of Fretilin's external delegation. The CNRM within East Timor will respect the results which should follow from the restructuring of Fretilin abroad.

Q: Xanana appealed to the guerrillas to surrender, and at the first trial hearing stated he was Indonesian. Do you think he is a traitor to the ideals held for 17 years?

A: The word "traitor" is easily said. Naturally, people fall into temptation and call Xanana a traitor. I do not share in that view, on account of the bond of solidarity that unites me to my brother Xanana, especially when his circumstances are evaluated. He is a political prisoner and prisoner of war, in the hands of a regime which never recognised, at least in the case of our motherland's occupation, internationally accepted rules and procedures. In practice, the Geneva Convention on prisoners of war is regarded as a piece of rubbish by the Indonesians in relation to East Timor. International hypocrisy has reached the point of blaming the victim, while defending the aggressor on account of economic interests.

I would ask Mr. Boutros Boutros Ghali, UN Secretary General, just what right has Jakarta got to put Xanana on trial? Is Xanana some criminal? The UN unanimously, and by consensus, agreed on the establishment of an international court to try the war criminals of the former Yugoslavia. On what evidence can the occupier's justice base its charges, such as rebellion, separatism, illegal possession of weapons, etc. against Xanana, when the UN does not recognise the annexation of East Timor to the Republic of Indonesia?

The UN upholds that taking up arms is a legitimate act, when international law comes under threat. Proof of that legitimacy was Operation Desert Storm, which made the Iraqi invaders flee from the fabulously rich Kuwait. This is not just rhetoric, but these are pertinent questions to be put to the

world's conscience, given that the question of East Timor is an international issue and human rights are of global concern.

And what about Mr. Amos Wako's report? Where did it get to? Why the long silence? The most recent report on East Timor – on which Boutros Ghali was so determined, with the help of human rights specialists – presented before the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva, does not satisfy me as long as Xanana and other Timorese political prisoners continue to be objects of humiliation at the hands of the Indonesians. It does not satisfy me simply because the report uses the word “insists” ... I think that the time has come to condemn. And there are reasons to condemn Indonesia.

In the meantime, I still do not consider Xanana to have betrayed the aims of the past 17 years of struggle. I think Xanana has entered into an area of concessions. The answer will be the international community's answer. International convention and law is being questioned and if this goes on, it is a reflection of the international hypocrisy which feeds the arrogance of our motherland's governing occupiers. From the Alto do Ramelau we look around our occupied land and see that the geostrategic interests which link the West to the very wealthy Indonesia are an impediment to our people's most fundamental right, that of wanting to live free and independently in our motherland East Timor.

Q: Is it true that the Xanana's capture happened at a time when he was preparing to leave Timor to appear at the UN, in the Indonesia-Portugal negotiations that took place on 17 December?

A: Even though Xanana was not there in person, his presence was felt at the 17 December negotiations, in that the proposal for talks without pre-conditions, sponsored by the UN and which the Portuguese government supported, came from Xanana. The Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, for his part, invoked both Xanana's name and that of Monsignor Ximenes Belo – the Prelate having been the architect of the idea of a referendum for East Timor.

Q: Portugal and Indonesia will be meeting again in April, in Rome, for a further session of talks. What do you expect from the meeting?

A: The symptoms suggest that the decades-long impasse in the Lisbon-Jakarta nego-

tiations, tends to be reaching another phase, which I believe will be characterized by a fierce dispute. I would say that Portugal now has a wider support base. In the first place, I believe that Boutros Ghali is showing signs of coherence in his role as sponsor for an internationally acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor. Last September, at the time of the Non-Aligned Summit in Jakarta, the world leader spoke to Suharto himself about the negotiations on East Timor. It was a political gesture which, as far as I can see, discouraged Jakarta from its initiatives to deal with the East Timor issue of its own free will. Before the 17 December round of talks took place in New York, the UN Secretary General had already put forward the idea of having “Timorese representatives” take part in the talks process. This just suggests that a fair settlement cannot be reached without the participation of the most interested party – we the Timorese, from within and outside our occupied motherland.

Secondly, new faces are appearing on the peace for East Timor scene. I recall New York's Anglican Bishop, Mr. Paul Moore Robin, the new White House chief, President Bill Clinton, other personalities, of world renown, from the Anglican Church, Nobel Prize winners from South Africa and Northern Ireland, as well as other people of different religions in Africa and Japan.

I am not discarding the possibility of Jakarta maintaining extreme positions. But the root of the whole issue is that the Timorese Resistance, on its different fronts, will continue to defy Jakarta's rigid positions, showing willingness to search for a peaceful solution to the problem of East Timor. The disesteem for Indonesia's arguments is clearly reflected by the concern expressed by the international community about the human rights violations in East Timor.

Q: Some continue to believe that, as long as Portugal and Indonesia maintain their respective extreme positions, the problem of Timor will not be resolved. Would you be in favour of “real autonomy,” such as in Singapore?

A: Before answering that question I should point out that I am a pragmatic sort of person, so as not to be classified as radical; secondly, I am fighting for peace for East Timor and reaffirm, once and for all, my total rejection of annexation.

As far as the “real autonomy” option is concerned, I consider East Timor to be an international question because the UN has recognised (and continues to do so) the East Timorese people's right to self-determination and independence. On the other hand, the community of nations sees Portugal as East Timor's administering power. So, in terms of international law, I think that decolonisation of the non-autonomous territory of East Timor is the Portuguese Government's responsibility, this being a process which was brutally interrupted by Indonesia's aggression in December 1975.

Invariably, Jakarta brings up the famous 1975 Balibo declaration in its defence, as well as the 17 July 1976 Dili farce. In an internal context as well as in terms of the UN Charter, neither of these is, in any way, a legitimate argument. Firstly, because UDT, a Balibo signatory, rejected the contents of the first procedure when it entered the Nationalist Convergence in March 1986, in the struggle for self-determination for the people of East Timor. At the time, Fretilin had total control over the territory. The second reason stems from the UN's recognition of the Timorese people's right to self-determination and independence from December 1975 onwards. This in itself makes the July 1976 Dili procedure void of any legal-constitutional value. The truth is that, until April 1979, the Timorese people were resisting in the mountains under Fretilin's leadership. Note also that all this was carried out by the Indonesians without any presence of international observers whatsoever.

The Resistance, with its position strengthened by the legitimacy which later developments have confirmed, is within its right to demand the involvement of its representatives in the UN-sponsored talks without pre-conditions. This way, all the options would be put on the negotiating table. Secondly, the people of East Timor would have the last word.

Meanwhile, I take this opportunity to make known my position: I will respect and submit to the people's wishes, expressed by way of an act which is honestly and responsibly prepared, as well as monitored by international observers from the beginning to end. In summary, I reject, and will always categorically reject any option for East

Timor fabricated abroad, which does not carry Timorese representatives' stamp of approval, i.e. That of the CNRM, Fretilin, UDT and other organisations or individuals of long-standing and prestige in Timorese society.

Q: What do you still expect of Portugal?

A: I think that Portugal is a reliable ally of our people. The facts show that the Lisbon Government is determined to act on the principle of doing everything it can. The freshest evidence of this was given in the December round in New York, when the Portuguese Foreign Minister, the renowned Mr. Durão Barroso, put forward the argument of having Timorese representatives at the talks, while he maintained support for a plebiscite for East Timor. This demonstrates the clarity of the Portuguese Government's viewpoint, which is in harmony with the Timorese people's highest aspirations.

I think, therefore, that Portugal is going in the right direction or, in other words, it has embarked upon a new phase in its relationship with East Timor. Furthermore, Portugal is keeping the Timorese issue under the international spotlight through a human rights perspective. An example of this was Lisbon's official protest made to the Bonn Government about the sale of the 39 frigates and 3 submarines to Indonesia. In spite of Portugal's limited weight in the petro-dollar scales, and vis-a-vis its community partners' relationship with Indonesia, I think that the so-called "common foreign policy" strengthens the voice of the Portuguese on East Timor. In fact, according to the 3 December 1991 Maastricht declaration, the EC has East Timor on the human rights list. I see this as a key element to Lisbon's initiatives at international fora (e.g. The UN Human Rights Commission) for mobilising the Twelve's support to condemn Indonesia for its repressive policy on East Timor.

As a focal point for spreading solidarity, Portugal, land of the navigators, has brought forth sons and daughters who know how to contribute to the initiatives in support of our people. I recall the Lusitania-Express: the prisoners smiled behind the bars, Dili's unarmed population measured strength with the Indonesian battalions, and everyone was at the ready, even in the remotest towns and countryside of occupied East Timor. This

was the scenario for the reception of the Lusitania-Express, in which the Timorese people's hope in Portugal was expressed. Congratulations Portugal. The people of Timor, resisting, are waiting.

Q: Do you believe that the new Clinton Administration will alter anything in US policy on the occupation of East Timor?

A: It is still early days to evaluate the Clinton Administration's policy with regards the Suharto regime. However, a quick reading of international developments shows there are facts indicating President Clinton's good will towards human rights issues: the humanitarian aid to Bosnia-Herzegovina and the debates in Congress on the statute given to China. In these events, I see signs that the time of changes has come, and I think that East Timor has ceased to be taboo in the American conscience. On more than one occasion, especially following student demonstrations in Dili, US Congressmen and Senators took up positions opposing Jakarta's policy in East Timor. The evolution of the East Timor case in the US political cycle became clear in the cutting off of aid to Indonesia by the US Senate, in response to the Santa Cruz massacre. It is in this context that President Clinton, an American politician with the characteristics of a pacifist, enters the White House indicating the time for change has come.

Q: What would you say to Ali Alatas?

A: I would simply challenge him to a referendum, through which he would have the opportunity of seeing the wishes of the majority of Timorese.

APPEAL IN FAVOUR OF MAU HUNO

From CDPM Thu Apr. 15

Dear friends,

Mau Hunu's capture was, 4 months after Xanana's, a tough strike for the Timorese and for all of us. It is obviously a planned move from Indonesia, timed for the next Rome meeting between Portugal and Indonesia (to occur on the 21 April) and targeted to take the political leadership in the process, so damaged after the defeat in Geneva.

We discussed among us in Portugal which initiatives to take regarding Mau Hunu's prison. The idea arose to draft a letter to be sent to the UN Secretary General before the Rome meeting, stating the position of a

relatively small (there is not much time left...) but influential group of people.

In our opinion, both the letter and its supporters should state a clearly political, rather than humanitarian, approach to the situation. That's why we suggest that, in the event that you agree with the basic idea, each solidarity group should become responsible for the gathering of support signatures from 4/6 relevant political individuals (probably parliamentarians or members of Government in its own country).

Herewith we send you the proposed draft letter. Please tell us as soon as possible what are your feelings about this initiative, having in mind the mentioned time schedules.

— CDPM, Lisbon

Your Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali,

On April 2, Indonesian military forces captured the Timorese nationalist leader Mau Huno (Antonio Jose da Costa) in the south of Dili in East Timor. The 42 year old Mau Huno had been the leader of the Resistance, head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and commander of the Falintil (East Timorese guerrilla), since November 20, the day Xanana Gusmão was captured.

Except for a brief encounter on April 7 with the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako (of which no details have been made public), Mau Huno has been held incommunicado and subject to interrogations. He is not allowed to have any visitors, including those from his family and humanitarian organisations and he has been unable to contact or engage any defence lawyer.

This letter is to express our deep concern with the plight of Mau Huno. We would also like to draw your attention to the serious political implications of his imprisonment. At a time when the International Community – as was clearly stated in the resolution of the last UN Human Rights Commission – and the East Timorese themselves are in favour of negotiations without preconditions in order to find a just and comprehensive solution to the conflict, which respects the legitimate interests of all sides, Indonesia has clearly chosen a strategy of confrontation. As a result we are very pessimistic vis-à-vis Indonesia's goodwill in this process on the eve of a new round of negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, to be held in Rome on April 21.

Secretary General, we hereby request that you undertake your best efforts to guarantee the safety and well being of Mau Huno and to make Indonesia realise that the International Community expects genuine gestures from Indonesia to promote trust among all sides and not imprisonment and repression.

RRI ON MAU HUNU

17 Apr. 1993

RRI (Radio Republik Indonesia) reports Mau Hunu as stating integration is now suitable for the East Timorese, a referendum is no longer necessary since it would just lead to fragmentation of East Timorese society, and he has been well-treated. The soldiers who captured him have been given extraordinary promotions. Brig. Gen. Syafei has donated a TV, satellite dish, and a cow to the village where he was allegedly turned in by the local people. In short, so far the info apparat is doing a re-run of the way it presented the aftermath of Xanana's capture.

John, apakabar@access.digex.com

MAU HUNU'S INCREDIBLE "ABOUT-TURN"

TAPOL report, 21 April 1993

Last week, after ten days in captivity, Mau Hunu 'celebrated' his 44th birthday with members of his family and sundry Indonesians (no prizes for guessing who they were), telling journalists – if you can believe it – that this was the first birthday celebration in his life.

In its 16 April issue, Jakarta Post – which a week earlier splashed across three columns a report that Constâncio Pinto who was then touring the US had been captured at his wife's home in Dili – told its stunned readers that Mau Hunu is "calling on his followers to surrender, saying that integration into Indonesia has life here much better."

Mau Hunu is quoted as saying: "During 17 years of guerrilla warfare, we were fed with false information and unaware that development of East Timor is that fast." Of course, Mau Hunu who has fought against the Indonesian forces of occupation for nearly 18 years is in a better position than most East Timorese to know what has happened since the invaders spread havoc and death.

A televised broadcast of his 'birthday party' was shown, we have been told, on Portuguese TV. Mau Hunu was heard to say that he now realises that Indonesia had done great things to develop the country. But from that point on, the microphone

went dead. We wonder what else he said and whether it reflected the same views that Jakarta Post so confidently reported. We shall never know!

As the Rome talks approach and recede, the Indonesian propaganda machinery is working overtime, so expect yet more surprises in the next few days. No effort will be spared to prove that East Timor's resistance to Indonesia is 'finished.'

BBC INTERVIEWS MAU HUNU

May 26, 1993

The BBC World Service's Adam Brooks, on a visit to East Timor, reports that he was given an exclusive interview with Mau Huno (Antonio da Costa), arranged by the Indonesian military. This is the first time a journalist has been given access to Mau Huno, who was arrested in April.

Mau Huno, reports Brooks, looked cheerful and composed. He spoke in good English. Indonesian military personnel were present but made no attempt to censor the interview.

Mr. da Costa insisted that he had been well treated since his arrest. Asked his position on Indonesian rule which the UN does not recognise, he said that under Indonesia, progress was a reality but he did not like the political situation. He said an independent East Timor was the dream of a new generation, but he wanted to give up politics and live with his family. He thought that the remaining hundred and fifty or so guerrillas would continue their struggle; they were being supplied with food and clothes by a civilian underground network. Sporadic clashes between guerrillas and Indonesian troops are continuing in rural areas.

He refused to discuss Xanana Gusmão and named the current leader of Fretilin as Taur Matan Ruak.

The BBC was told no decision had yet been taken on whether Mau Huno would be tried, nor were the circumstances of his detention explained.

EAST TIMORESE PRISONERS REMOVED FROM TIMOR

TAPOL Report, 22 May 1993

Thirteen East Timorese political prisoners serving sentences up to life have been sent away from East Timor to prisons in various parts of Indonesia. The transfers occurred on 8 April 1993, the day after the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Amos Wako, completed his three-day visit to East Timor.

Wako had met several of the prisoners, not knowing of course that they were about

to be transferred from East Timor. Under the Fourth Geneva Convention, it is unlawful for the forces of occupation to forcibly remove inhabitants from a territory under military occupation. The transfers also mean that they will lose regular contact with their families.

Two prisoners, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha (serving life) and Francisco Miranda Branco (serving fifteen years) were moved to Cipinang Prison, Jakarta.

Four prisoners, Jacinto Neves Raimundo Alves (ten years), Saturnino da Costa Belo (ten years – earlier information gave his sentence as nine years), Juvencio de Jesus Marins (six years and eight months) and Filomeno Pereira (five years and eight months) were transferred to Mataram in Nusatenggara Barat.

Seven prisoners, Carlos dos Santos Lemos (eight years), Bonifacio Magno (seven years), Bobby Xavier (three years), Aleixo Gama (two years and eight months), João dos Santos (two years and three months), Jaco da Silva (two years) and Bonifacio Barreto (one year and eight months) were transferred to Kupang in West Timor.

The information came in a statement written and signed in Dili on 12 May by eighteen women, the wives and mothers of the prisoners. They call on the international community to devote special attention to this problem and ask the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor to press for the annulment of the convictions of their loved ones and the (forthcoming) conviction of the head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, Xanana Gusmão.

RED CROSS SUSPENDS VISITS TO EAST TIMOR POLITICAL PRISONERS

AFP 30 May 1993 Dateline: Jakarta

Very slightly abridged

This is a matter for immediate action.

Please press your governments to protest in the strongest terms to Jakarta for the serious obstructions being placed in the way of ICRC protection work in East Timor.

Point out that the ICRC President was given assurances earlier this month that access to prisoners would be regular and continuous. He said so in a press conference after returning to Jakarta from Dili.

For the ICRC to speak in such frank terms, so publicly, means that they are enraged at their inability to meet prisoners. For the rest, the following story speaks for itself. –

TAPOL

Problems with officials in East Timor have forced the International Committee of the Red Cross to suspend its visits to political prisoners there just two days after they were resumed, the ICRC said Sunday.

"We started this programme of visits last Tuesday," the ICRC's delegate to Indonesia, Pierre Pont, told AFP.

"Unfortunately, we had to suspend this programme on Thursday because all the conditions of the ICRC were not met. It is also distressing and upsetting that we cannot carry out our humanitarian task."

Pont said the ICRC was "trying to obtain clarification from the authorities" but he could "not go into detail as to the exact reasons why we have suspended" the visits.

"You have to realise this is a very difficult, complex, serious, heavy decision we have taken. It's a problem which has occurred in East Timor and not in Jakarta," Pont added, apparently suggesting non-cooperation by local military personnel who control the prisons where hundreds of East Timorese separatists (sic) are held.

Pont said ICRC president, Cornelio Sommaruga, met early this month in Jakarta with top Indonesian officials and "received support from the highest authority of the state so that we could resume visits to prisoners in East Timor."

Among the top officials were President Suharto, who guaranteed that the humanitarian organisation would be allowed to maintain its office in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

No detainee in East Timor considered a political prisoner has been visited by the Red Cross since January, among them the East Timorese independentist leader Xanana Gusmão, who was sentenced on May 21 to

life in prison for offenses tied to his leadership of the Fretilin group.

Pont would not say if the difficulties encountered by the ICRC were connected to Gusmão's trial. It has been allowed to visit him only once since his arrest November 20 despite several requests.

A UN official did meet in April with Gusmão which later led to charges in Indonesia that the official had pressed Gusmão to take a more aggressive defence posture at his trial. The UN denied these accusations.

Pont said the conditions set by the ICRC for access to political prisoners were the same in East Timor as everywhere else in the world: access to all prisoners and all places of detention, interviews with prisoners without witnesses present, and follow-up visits.

An unknown number of suspected East Timorese separatists were rounded up by the military last October, but Pont said, "We don't know" how many.

Pont said Gusmão's case was "very special" because of "the international attention on his name, which is not the case with the other prisoners."

"We do not want to make a 'showbiz' visit to only one prisoner. We want to visit all the prisoners, including Xanana (Gusmão)."

On Monday, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said his country would support regular ICRC access to Gusmão.

ICRC SUSPENSION OF PRISON VISITS IN EAST TIMOR JEOPARDIZES PRISONERS' WELFARE

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 31 May 1993:

The protection of many hundreds, if not thousands, of political prisoners in the occupied territory of East Timor has been gravely jeopardized by the decision yesterday of the International Committee of the Red Cross to suspend all prison visits in the territory. Because of the widely dispersed network of detention places, which exist at military commands in the most remote areas, the precise number of detainees is not known.

In an unusually blunt and angry statement, the ICRC's chief delegate in Indonesia, M. Pierre Pont said the agency had been forced to take a "very difficult, complex, serious and heavy decision" because "the necessary conditions for Red Cross visits had not been met."

TAPOL believes that the difficulties encountered by the ICRC can only be reversed

by means of intense pressure from governments around the world which maintain close relations with the military regime in Jakarta. It has called on the British Government and the European Community in particular to condemn in the strongest terms the army's sabotage of ICRC activities in East Timor and insist that the humanitarian agency been enabled to carry out its mandate without interruption.

The suspension of ICRC visits comes as international pressure has been mounting for the Red Cross to have immediate and uninterrupted access to the imprisoned resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, who started a hunger strike some ten days ago, and to protest at the unlawful removal of thirteen East Timorese prisoners serving heavy sentences to jails in Kupang, Mataram (on Lombok island) and Jakarta. Xanana Gusmão has been held incommunicado since being sentenced to life on 21 May. Despite repeated requests, his father and sisters have been refused permission to visit him.

The latest victim of the army's reign of terror is Rui Antonio da Cruz, an East Timorese student in Bali, who was arrested on arrival at Dili airport and severely tortured ten days ago. He was forced to divulge the names of eight East Timorese students in Bali whose freedom and physical well-being are now in grave danger.

The military authorities in East Timor have made no secret of their determination to put a stop to ICRC activities. Earlier this month, military commander Major-General Theo Syafei, chief in Bali of the military command in control of East Timor, said the ICRC would have to shut down its office in East Timor.

Taking his protest against this threat to the highest level, ICRC president, Cornelio Sommaruga, on a visit to Jakarta, was given assurances by President Suharto that the office would not be forced to close. He was also assured by Foreign Minister Ali Alatas that "(ICRC) visits can be undertaken in as regular a fashion as possibility and the continuity ... also maintained."

Yesterday's suspension of visits shows that the assurances given by Suharto and Alatas are worth nothing. The military who control East Timor are being given free rein to wreak terror and vengeance on the defenceless population.

Pierre Pont said yesterday that the ICRC's mandate everywhere in the world requires that they be given access to all political prisoners and all places of detention. In fact, there are many places of detention in East Timor to which the ICRC has never had access, as Sommaruga admitted in Jakarta. The agency, it seems, has been forced to compromise on some basic

demands, in an effort to maintain its presence in the territory.

The ICRC was prevented from entering the territory from 1975 to 1979, when Indonesia's war to control the territory was at its height. Some two hundred thousand people, a third of the population, were killed during this period. In 1979, as the result of intense international pressure, the ICRC was allowed to open an office in Dili.

In 1992, ICRC delegates visited 110 East Timorese prisoners in twenty places of detention in East Timor and Jakarta. It also organised family visits to detainees. Since January this year, ICRC delegates in East Timor have not been able to visit a single political detainee in East Timor.

RED CROSS SUSPENDS VISITS TO PRISONERS IN EAST TIMOR

The Canberra Times, 2 June 1993.
Unabridged

(Jakarta, Reuter) The International Committee of the Red Cross has suspended its visits to prisoners in the disputed territory of East Timor, saying the Indonesian Government would not meet its conditions.

The head of the committee's office in Jakarta, Pierre Pont, refused to say what specific conditions had not been met, but he said the Red Cross insists on having access to all prison centers and being able to talk to prisoners in private.

Visits had only recently resumed after being suspended in January.

"It is a suspension, not a cancellation, and we hope to be able to clarify (the problem) as soon as possible so we can resume the visits," Pont said.

The problem appeared to originate with local officials rather than with Jakarta, which recently assured the committee it could continue its work in East Timor.

The rare public airing of committee anger is bound to increase pressure on Indonesia, whose human-rights policy in East Timor – a former Portuguese colony which is invaded in 1975 – has long been under international attack. Indonesian rule of East Timor is not recognised by the United Nations.

The recent trial of rebel-leader (sic) Xanana Gusmão has widely been criticised as unfair. Mr. Gusmão was last month sentenced to life imprisonment for trying to establish independence in the impoverished territory, and for possessing firearms.

The London-based Indonesian-rights group Tapol said the committee's decision to cancel visits would put in jeopardy hundreds of political prisoners.

Tapol – fiercely opposed to President Suharto's Indonesian Government – said it believed the difficulties encountered by the

committee could be removed only by intense international pressure.

"The military who control East Timor are being given free rein to wreak terror... on the defenceless population," it stated.

AMOS WAKO'S APRIL VISIT TO TIMOR; ACCUSATIONS

U.N. ENVOY GETS NEW FIGURES ON DILI MASSACRE TOLL

JAKARTA, April 8 (AFP) – The personal envoy of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said Thursday he has received new figures on the number of people still unaccounted for totalling 112 since the Dili massacre in 1991.

"The government (of Indonesia) has its list of 61 persons, as of today....but I have also obtained another list from a non-governmental organization (NGO), which puts the missing persons at 112," U.N. envoy and Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako told reporters.

He held a press conference to mark the end of his six-day visit and his return to the Indonesian capital Jakarta from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Wako, who visited East Timor from Monday to Wednesday, said: "We have yet to really get the number of people missing...this is a matter that must be gone into a bit more."

He said he had made the list from the NGO, which he declined to identify, available to the Indonesian government.

Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who also attended the press conference, said the latest official tally stood at 23 dead and 61 missing.

The Indonesian Armed Forces said 19 people died and 66 were missing after troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators at a cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12.

An earlier figure issued by a military team investigating the incident had earlier put the number of missing at 115.

Wako said that during his stay here and in East Timor, he had met with about 40 people, including Indonesian President Suharto, various government officials, leaders of the church and military, civilians and detainees.

He said he had met in confidentiality with many East Timorese, including captured leaders of the East Timorese Fretilin pro-independence movement, Xanana Gusmão and Antonio Gomes da Costa.

"I feel I am now in a position to make conclusions and recommendations to the U.N. secretary general, including ways to improve the human rights situation in East Timor," Wako said, without elaborating.

Wako arrived here Saturday to gather first-hand information on East Timor, including details of human rights conditions there.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, over which Jakarta unilaterally declared its sovereignty in 1976.

INDONESIA PROMISES NOT TO MISTREAT TIMORESE

By Sukino Harisumarto

(UPI, Jakarta, April 8) Indonesian President Suharto met Thursday with U.N. special envoy Amos Wako and pledged his government would not mistreat East Timor dissidents fighting to break away from the archipelago.

Wako, Kenya's attorney general, told a news conference at the end of his six-day visit to Indonesia he met some 40 people in East Timor's capital Dili, including Xanana Gusmão, the captured leader of the Fretilin group fighting for the territory's independence. He had travelled to the former Portuguese colony to evaluate alleged human rights abuses for the U.N.

Wako also met rebel leader Jose "Ma'huno" da Costa and several other detained or recently released dissidents.

"I have received assurances from the Indonesian government that the people mentioned and all others whom I met, particularly those who have been detained or just released, will not in any way be mistreated or harmed after I leave Jakarta," Wako said.

"I am confident that the government will continue to treat them in a humane manner," he said.

Wako said he could not discuss the results of his trip in which he travelled as the personal envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

"It is up to the Secretary-General himself to see what to do with that report," Wako said.

East Timor, 1,250 miles (2,000 km) east of Jakarta, was annexed by Indonesia after Portugal relinquished its colonies in 1975.

The United Nations never recognized Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, contending the population should be allowed to determine its own future.

The situation deteriorated after Indonesian troops shot and killed scores of mourners during a funeral parade in Dili in

November 1991, triggering international complaints against Jakarta.

The government admitted in an official report that 50 people were killed in the barage and 90 people remained missing. But Wako said Thursday that non-governmental groups list up to 112 people missing after the massacre.

"We have yet really to get the exact number of people missing," he said.

"Today, the government has its list of 61 still unaccounted for."

Wako said he had a "very useful discussion" of the East Timor issue with Suharto.

He also said he talked with Defense Minister and Armed Forces commander Gen. Edi Sudradjat about a reduction in the number of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor.

During his three-day stay in Dili, Wako also met the region's Catholic bishop, Filipe Ximenes Belo, as well as Governor Jose Osorio Soares and civilians.

"I had meetings with some 40 people during my short visit," Wako said. "I have been able to meet the persons I wanted to meet."

Wako said Xanana, Ma'huno other detained individuals have been treated well by Indonesian authorities.

He expressed satisfaction with his second mission to Indonesia, saying he "got correct and accurate information that will be forwarded to the U.N. Secretary-General."

SYAFEI REFUSES TO MEET AMOS WAKO

NRC-Handelsblad 10 April 1993

Jakarta correspondent: Dirk Vlasblom

Original language: Dutch, Abridged

Original title: Jakarta opens all doors in East Timor for UN envoy

The special envoy of the UN Secretary-General is very satisfied with his visit to East Timor; he was able to see and hear everything he wanted. But the conclusions of his visit will remain secret. This is the impression one gets from the visit to East Timor this week by Amos Wako, the personal envoy of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

His superior in New York wants to be well-prepared when he chairs the next round of secret diplomatic talks between Portugal and Indonesia.

In a meeting with human rights organizations in Jakarta, Wako asked them their opinion about the involvement of UN troops "to safeguard a possible agreement" between Portugal and Indonesia. He was also interested in the impact of the dissolution of the "special operational command"

in East Timor [Kolakops] which has been announced.

The only point on his itinerary that did not happen was the scheduled meeting with the local military commander. Brigadier-General Theo Syafei was demonstratively "unable to come," a clear indication of the army's irritation with Jakarta's diplomatic games with the UN.

It so happens that during Wako's previous visit, Syafei's predecessor, Brigadier-General Samuel Warouw, was 'honorably discharged' because he was the one in charge of the garrison that caused the Dili bloodbath.

JUWONO SUDARSONO ON AMOS WAKO VISIT

Editor, 17 April 1993

By Johannes Sumadya Widada

Original language: Indonesian, abridged.

Original title: Just political small talk? <Hanya basa-basi politik?>

Only remarks by Juwono Sudarsono on Amos Wako's visit to East Timor are highlighted here. He is a prominent foreign affairs specialist, sometimes mentioned as Ministerial material. His remarks are of interest because of reported disagreements between Foreign Minister Alatas and ABRI on the handling of East Timor in the international arena.

—Gerry van Klinken

Prof. Juwono Sudarsono of University of Indonesia said Wako's visit was just "political small-talk, in the context of co-operating with the UN." But the visit was two-edged. "On the one hand we have to open ourselves, because if we refuse we will be judged negatively from outside. On the other hand, this visit will work to our disadvantage in reporting to the UN." For that reason, the important thing now is not the meeting between Foreign Ministers on 20 April but actual improvements on the ground in East Timor. Things like equity in distribution of development benefits, privatization, and employment opportunities. "Promises alone are not enough," he said. The decision of Mochtar Kusumaatmadja in 1984 to resolve East Timor at the UN has led to years of small-talk. "We cannot hope that Wako's visit will lead to the UN accepting [our statement of] East Timor. For sure it will drag on."

TEMPO INTERVIEWS ALATAS ON WAKO, THE US AND EAST TIMOR

17 April 1993, A few points only.

Comment: The cover story of this issue of Tempo is 'Human Rights and East Timor.' Several articles are published on the topic, including a lengthy interview of Ali Alatas. We are unable, for reasons of time, to provide translations of substantial extracts and must confine ourselves to a few snippets of information only.

Could we ask friends in the US to clarify the US government's official stand on integration? Does Winston Lord, quoted below, mean full, i.e. de jure recognition? Previously I had understood that this was not the case.

The lead article deals primarily with the visit to East Timor of the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Amos Wako:

- * Although Amos Wako said repeatedly that he was satisfied with having met the people he wanted to meet in East Timor, Tempo makes it clear that Wako's arrival in Dili was down-played, with only protocol officials on hand to meet him on his arrival. The local legislative assembly chair, Parada, only wanted to discuss 'development issues,' not human rights, so no meeting took place.
- * There is no mention (here or in other press reports we have read) of Wako meeting any military officials in Dili. The only government official he met was governor Abilio Soares.
- * Wako met Xanana Gusmão's sister, Armandina Gusmão in his hotel but she is being held at the Nusra Bakti 'GPK guidance centre' presumably a kind of halfway house.
- * According to Tempo, it was the switch in the position of the US that was the decisive factor in getting the resolution on East Timor adopted by the UN Human Rights Commission on 11 March this year. However, the Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, according to Tempo, insists on pinning the blame for the resolution on Portugal.
- * Tempo said that the resolution has not yet been followed by sanctions. It continued: "The bigger question is whether this resolution could drag us into an issue which Indonesia regards as closed, namely self-determination. An Indonesian diplomat at the UN mission in New York said that the human rights issue could lead into the self-determination issue. However, Tempo believes there are no grounds for such fears as

Winston Lord, the new Assistant Secretary of State for South Asia and the Pacific, said in March this year that the US government has, since 1976, recognised East Timor's integration into Indonesia, under both Democratic as well as Republican administrations. Lord acknowledged however that the human rights situation in East Timor is very deplorable and quite unacceptable. 'We intend to exert strong pressure on Indonesia, bilaterally as well as multilaterally, to improve the human rights situation in East Timor, taking into consideration economic, political as well as security interests,' Lord said."

THE LATEST WAKO MISSION IS NO SUBSTITUTE FOR A THOROUGH-GOING INVESTIGATION

TAPOL, April 23, 1993

[This article has been written for the forthcoming TAPOL Bulletin, June 1993.]

In April this year, Amos Wako, the special envoy of the UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, paid a three-day visit to East Timor. This was his second visit and he wanted to see how far the Indonesian authorities had implemented recommendations contained in the report of his first visit which took place in February 1992, just three months after the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili on 12 November 1991. Boutros-Ghali had sent him then to investigate the massacre but he could hardly have seen or heard much as he was in Dili for less than 24 hours.

The report of his first visit has not been made public having only been made available to the Indonesian government. As Wako is the Secretary-General's personal envoy, the decision on whether to publicise his findings is a matter for Boutros-Ghali. But the secrecy surrounding his report has been widely condemned and the UN Human Rights Commission, in its resolution on East Timor this year, called for its publication. [Following the UN-sponsored talks in Rome between Indonesia and Portugal on 21 April 1993, the Secretary-General has reportedly now agreed to hand over the report of Wako's first visit to the Portuguese government.] The findings are understood to have been highly critical of Indonesia, a view confirmed recently by the Jakarta weekly, Tempo [17 April 1993]

The second Wako visit took place a few days before UN-sponsored talks in Rome between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers on 21 April, "to provide the Secretary-General with up-to-date in-

formation about conditions in East Timor." Because these talks too were shrouded in secrecy, it is not possible to assess the impact of Wako's findings.

The visit was extensively covered in the Indonesian press and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas went out of his way to stress that everything would be done to enable Wako to meet people in East Timor. However, Alatas' open-door welcome was not reflected in the attitude of the military and local government authorities in charge of East Timor several of whom refused to meet him. A scheduled meeting in Bali with Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, commander of the Bali-based Udayana regional military command which is in charge of East Timor, failed to take place, because Syafei was away on business in Jakarta. Instead, Wako met the Udayana chief of staff, Brig. General Sulatin. This can only be interpreted as a deliberate snub by Syafei. In Dili, the head of the local legislative assembly in Dili announced that he was not willing to discuss human rights issues with the UN envoy, so that meeting was cancelled by Wako. Nor did a scheduled meeting with the judge presiding over the trial in Dili of resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, take place because the judge was out of town. A court hearing was held on the first day of Wako's visit but press reports do not say whether Wako attended.

The Santa Cruz 'missing'

The most pressing question that Wako sought to investigate was the number of East Timorese who 'went missing' during the Santa Cruz massacre. The clandestine movement in East Timor has collected data confirming that 273 people died, 255 disappeared and 376 were wounded.

Official claims about the death-toll have been nothing short of a cynical cover-up. At the time of Wako's first visit, the Indonesian authorities were claiming that "about 50" people had died in the "incident," after saying initially that "only 19" had died.

Then in July last year, a new official figure emerged. This time, the story was that only 19 deaths could be confirmed. These victims had all been buried in the Hera cemetery in Dili. There are now 18 graves as the nineteenth grave contained the body of Kamal Bamadhaj, the young Malaysian, which has been removed by his family. The government's 'definitive figure' last July was that 115 East Timorese were 'missing': 18 had died, 31 had 'returned home,' leaving 66 still unaccounted for.

Wako made no secret of the fact that he was dissatisfied with what he was told on his second visit about this profoundly important question. During his meeting in

Jakarta with the armed forces commander-in-chief General Edi Sudradjat, the general now said that 32 had 'returned home' (one more than previously) and that four more were known to have died, bringing the total death toll to 23 including Kamal. Officially, the figures are now that 22 East Timorese died, 32 of the missing have returned home and 61 are 'still missing.' Wako was told that since the other 'missing people' had probably fled into the bush, there was nothing more the authorities could do to account for them. In General Edi's own words at a press conference in Jakarta, this is how Wako's query was dealt with:

"Every time we ask them, the people who have returned say that their friends are still hiding in the bush. It's really difficult. How to find them. I told Wako, if you want to find them, go and look for them in the bush. It's difficult for us to find them even though we are still determined to go on looking for them." [Jawa Pos, 10 April 1993]

Hardly words to mollify a UN official!

Wako said in Jakarta that human rights activists in Jakarta had told him that 112 persons were still unaccounted for but this figure too is far less than the well-documented information provided by the clandestine movement.

Many people in East Timor know exactly where mass burials took place in the days following the massacre. The full horror of the Santa Cruz death-toll will never come to light until these mass graves are inspected by independent observers. But Wako saw none of this and was once again shown the 18 graves at Hera cemetery. Incidentally, the military authorities have never identified these 18 victims and to this day, no bereaved families have been notified of any deaths.

Meeting the captives

Wako was able to meet several political prisoners, including the three resistance leaders now in captivity, Xanana Gusmão, Mau Huno and Mau Hodu. He also met Saturnino da Costa Belo, the young convicted prisoner who shouted pro-independence slogans when he was in court to testify in the trial of Xanana Gusmão. Since that act of defiance, the authorities have pronounced him 'insane' and he has been held incommunicado in a dark cell in Balide Prison, Dili.

Wako also met Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Francisco Miranda Branco (both serving heavy sentences), Augusto Pereira in whose home Xanana Gusmão was captured last November, Xanana Gusmão's sister Armandina and her husband Gilman dos Santos, Felismena dos Santos Conceição and Amaro de Araujo who are serving sentences

for smuggling 'secret documents' abroad. He gave no inkling of what he heard from them insisting that all his assessments would be reserved solely for Boutros-Ghali. However, one Indonesian newspaper quoted him as saying: "I have observed an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor. This is evident from the Indonesian government's treatment of Xanana." He also said he had been given assurances that there would be no recriminations against the people he had met after he left.

Wako held a private meeting with Bishop Belo but said nothing at all about his impressions from this meeting.

His meeting in Bali with Brig. General Sulatin, Udayana chief-of-staff was devoted to seeking information about the number of troops now in East Timor. Sulatin told him that all the remaining troops were "not for war purposes but for development," and that Kolakops, the special operational command would soon be disbanded, leaving security in the hands of the local korem (sub-regional military command) "like in other provinces." [Suara Merdeka, 14 April 1993] Wako should of course look beyond what he was told by Sulatin to what he can learn from the published remarks by Theo Syafei which make it clear that there still are a number of combat battalions in East Timor. Moreover Wako would need to understand the precise function of "territorial troops" and their "development" role in East Timor.

Although Wako's public statements while in East Timor and Indonesia exuded satisfaction that he was able to meet the people he intended to meet, this does not mean that he was satisfied with what he heard. In particular, his latest mission has discovered nothing about the Santa Cruz death toll. As for the general atmosphere of fear and facts about the number of people imprisoned, tortured and killed in all parts of the country, Wako's information was probably confined to his one-and-a-half hour meeting with Bishop Belo.

Attention at present focuses on whether Wako's second report will support or undermine Indonesia's claims about conditions in East Timor. It is unlikely to be made public unless there is massive pressure on the Secretary-General to end the secrecy surrounding the Wako missions. Whatever Wako may have discovered however, his mission was basically flawed because it could not possibly have made a thorough investigation of the human rights situation in East Timor. The two Wako missions are clearly a move by Boutros-Ghali to go ahead with a very limited investigation along lines that do not ruffle Indonesian sensitivities.

But this is a far cry from what the international community is demanding. The

resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission calls for thorough-going investigations by the UN's special rapporteurs on torture and extra-judicial killings and its working groups on arbitrary detentions and on disappearances. The Wako missions are no substitute for that.

SYAFEI SAYS WAKO INCITED XANANA

UPI, 18 May 1993

Dateline: Jakarta, Abridged

Comment: This is an extraordinary display of army fury at the UN, intensifying the clash of wills between those pursuing a diplomacy strategy and those like Syafei determined to keep the UN's 'dirty hands' out of the question of East Timor.

People should not forget that Xanana on the second day of his trial asked journalists to follow the trial to the end. He knew then already what he was going to do and didn't need Wako to advise him.

INDONESIA TO PROBE UN ENVOY OVER REBEL INFLUENCE

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Tuesday he would investigate allegations that UN envoy Amos Wako persuaded East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão to take a more confrontational attitude in his ongoing trial.

Alatas however called on government officials [read; Syafei] to be more careful in the meantime in making any further public accusations against the UN or its representatives based only on Xanana's behaviour and statements.

The allegations arose after Xanana, at his trial on May 5, refused without explanation to accept any further assistance from his defence lawyer Sudjono and also insisted that he be allowed to read his personal statement in Portuguese.

Presiding judge Hieronymus Godang halted the trial that day, then Monday stopped Xanana from continuing to read his statement, calling it full of irrelevant political theory that did not address the charges.

Xanana, 46, who was captured in November after leading the East Timorese independence movement for 16 years, had previously been so compliant with authorities that some supporters suspected he had been drugged or tortured.

Xanana, described as reserved and well-mannered during the previous days of the trial, argued at the May 5 session that he needed to speak in Portuguese because he was not proficient in Indonesian.

Major-General Theo Syafei, military commander for the Udayana region which

includes East Timor, was quoted in local media as saying Wako somehow influenced Xanana during Wako's recent visit to Dili. Sudjono has also voiced complaints about Wako's alleged influence over Xanana.

Syafei said he met Xanana recently and asked the Fretilin leader why he had changed his courtroom manner. Syafei said Xanana told him that Wako reported that he had strong support among UN officials in Geneva and that the UN officials were wondering why he was not putting up a stronger fight.

"I will check on the truth," said Alatas Tuesday. "If that is true, we indeed regret it." But he warned government officials to be more careful in making public statements, especially anything that could qualify as an allegation against the special envoy of the UN Secretary-General.

Prosecutors reiterated as the trial Monday their demand that Xanana, charged with rebellion and illegal possession of firearms, be sentenced to life. The court will announce its verdict Friday.

Reports from Timor said authorities were tightening security in Dili to prepare for possible demonstrations in response to the verdict.

Officials at the Human Rights Division in Geneva said Tuesday they could make no official comment as Wako, who also serves as Kenya's attorney-general, was currently in Nairobi. But UN human rights sources in Geneva, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, denied allegations that Wako tried to give any guidance or exert any influence over Xanana. The officials however have never hidden their belief that Indonesia is conducting genocide-like warfare in East Timor.

A spokesman for Wako's office in Nairobi said Tuesday he was out of town and would not be available for comment before Thursday or Friday.

BOUTROS-GHALI RESPONDS TO INDONESIAN CHARGES

ABC Radio Australia, 4 am international report, 24th May 1993

Reporter: Ian MacIntosh. Transcript.

Reader: Friday's life sentence for the East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão brought quick and angry reactions from factions of the international community. After a trial lasting almost 4 months Mr. Gusmão was convicted on separatism, rebellion, conspiracy and firearms charges. He is currently been held at undisclosed location. Indonesian sources say he is expected to begin serving his sentence at a

prison well away from East Timor. Ian MacIntosh meanwhile reports from Dili that events surrounding the much publicized trial had generated even more controversy.

IAN: That Xanana Gusmão was found guilty surprised no one close to the trial process. At no stage during its 21 sittings was a prospect of an acquittal seriously entertain by observers. But for most of the first three months there was speculation that Mr. Gusmão would receive a lighter sentence than the maximum prescribed for the charges he was facing. Terms of 15 and 20 years were mentioned and in mid April his defence council Mr. Sudjono seems confident the life sentence could be avoided. But it was a more assertive Xanana Gusmão who sat in the dock during the final days of his trial. His insistence that he would be allowed to read his own defence plea in Portuguese, an action eventually approved but then cut very short by the judges was seen as an indication that Mr. Gusmão had remained defiant despite months of having seemed cooperative and compliant.

The issue of his been able to make the statement and a serious of recent incidents in which foreign diplomats and journalists were obstructed in their efforts to observe the Dili trial added further uncertainty to a process which previously had seemed from Jakarta's point of view to be proceeding smoothly.

Matters came to ahead last week when several local officials including Major General Theo Syafei, commander of the military region which includes East Timor claimed Xanana Gusmão's change of attitude resulted from the influence of a visiting UN envoy. The envoy, Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako visited East Timor early in April as the personal representative of UN Secretary Boutros Boutros-Ghali. He was permitted confidential meetings with Mr. Gusmão and other detainees during his brief stay in Dili. The accusation were leveled at the UN visitor prompted Foreign Minister Ali Alatas who is involved in on-going talks about East Timor's future prompted by the Secretary General to urge caution. But on Friday Dr. Boutros-Ghali himself released a statement responding to the charge. It read in part "The idea that Mr. Wako might have played any active role at such meetings let alone provide encouragement to anyone towards any particular cause of action is entirely without foundation. That issue and the tough sentence giving Xanana Gusmão the same day will in no way help to remove the East Timor issue from the international agenda as much as Jakarta would like to hope otherwise.

UN DAILY PRESS BRIEFING ON WAKO "INFLUENCE"

24 May 1993

To a question posed previously on the situation in East Timor, Mr. [Joe] Sills [Spokesman for the UN Secretary-General] said he had been asked to respond to accusations against Amos Wako, the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy. Related to that, a statement, had been issued by the Director of the United Nations Information Centre in Jakarta, as follows:

"The Secretary-General has learned of allegations published in the Indonesian media according to which his Personal Envoy, Amos Wako, might have availed himself of his meeting with 'Xanana' Gusmão last month in Dili to influence his attitude in the remaining stages of his trial. The Secretary-General wishes to point out that the purpose of the 'mission of Mr. Wako to East Timor was to gather information concerning the human rights situation in East Timor in the light of the Dili incident of 12 November 1991 and to report confidentially to the Secretary-General. Mr. Wako's task was essentially one of asking questions and listening to whatever the people he encountered wished to convey to him. The idea that Mr. Wako might have played any active role at such meetings, let alone provide encouragement to anyone toward any particular course of action, is entirely without foundation."

UN "DAILY HIGHLIGHTS" PRESS RELEASE

Prepared by Central News DH/1399

24 May 1993

(only relevant paragraphs included)

The Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Amos Wako, recently undertook a mission to East Timor to gather information on the human rights situation in the light of the Dili incident of 12 November 1991, according to a statement by the Director of the United Nations Information Centre in Jakarta. The statement was issued in response to allegations in the Indonesian media that Mr. Wako might have used his meeting with Mr. "Xanana" Gusmão in Dili to seek to influence his attitude in the remaining states of his trial.

The Personal Envoy's task was to ask questions and to hear views and to report confidentially to the Secretary-General, the statement said. "The idea that Mr. Wako might have played any active role at such meetings, let alone provide encouragement to anyone towards any particular course of action, is entirely without foundation," stressed the statement.

EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

TIMORESE STUDENTS APOLOGIZE FOR KILLINGS

This leaflet, translated from Bahasa Indonesian, was distributed by East Timorese students in Indonesia in response to the deaths of two work-study students who were killed by Falintil forces along with two Indonesian soldiers in Lospalos on March 17, 1993. It was mailed to ETAN/US with the request that we circulate it. Items in brackets are explanations from the translators. Capitalization in original.

THE ASSOCIATION OF YOUTH AND STUDENTS ANTI INDONESIA

FORGIVE US, SISTER AND BROTHER INDONESIAN STUDENTS

We, in the name of the entire East Timor Youth and general public of East Timor ASK FORGIVENESS and JOIN IN SADNESS at the death, shot by our own forces, FALINTIL, brother JOKOWITOYO, from the Peternakan Karanganyr Academy, Surakarta, and Brother SUKIMANTO from the Saptataruna Technical Civil Academy, Jakarta, on March 17, 1993 in Lospalos, while on KKN duty. [KKN is Kuli, Kerja Nyata, a work-study program.]

Indeed, in principle FALANTIL does not kill civilians, but if civilians gather with the [military] forces, it is possible that a "sideways mistake..." [salah lirik - "collateral damage" in American euphemism] as commonly expressed by ABRI, if people are murdered by the armed forces, could happen.

Nevertheless, we continue to ask FORGIVENESS, for the loss of even one life will not rob the ambitious Cendana [i.e. Suharto] family, but as parents and family of KKN students, it represents a great loss.

But this is an opportunity for us to open our eyes concerning basic human rights. Javanese or East Timorese, we are all humans. We all are entitled to freedom and "Freedom is the right of all nations, therefore oppression throughout the world should be erased." (Preamble to UUD 45, the Indonesian Constitution)

Therefore, we hope for understanding and support of the continuing struggle inside East Timor from all the Indonesian youth. The victim is really a victim of the rich and royal Cendana [Suharto] family. We hope that the Indonesian youth support our struggle for freedom with concrete actions, such as demonstrations, refusal of programs

from the center [Jakarta] for young people or students in East Timor, specifically strikes, etc.

Indonesian sister and brother students, the integration policy which is presently undertaken by the authoritarian and imperialistic Suharto government and Apodeti is not the will of the people of East Timor; also, in these times, this archaic process is not accepted anywhere. The people of East Timor desire independence, and we, the youth, will continue to struggle until it is achieved. For the Indonesian government, we hope they prove to the world that they are worthy of being chairman of the Non-Aligned Forces and Member of the UN Human Rights Commission.

MATEBIAN, 12 November
Dili, Timor Loro Sa'e, 19 March 1993

TIM-TIM DOES NOT RESIST ANYMORE

*"Grande Reportagem," #24, March 1993.
Translated from the Portuguese.*

On some days he smiles, on others, he hides his face. sometimes he seems confident, other times resigned. Alexandre Gusmão, known as Xanana, dragged along with his surrender all of the organized resistance. There are only 143 guerrillas left in the mountains, according to the Indonesians, who know where they are. all the clandestine supporting network was exposed, along with the seventeen notebooks of contacts which were confiscated from Xanana. Only the Timorese church has been untouched, deceived by the pope and tolerated by the occupants. That and the unspoken hate against the Indonesians, is what is left of the pride of a people.

The former goalkeeper of the "Academia de Dili" lost his firm voice recently. He surrendered to the nationality of the occupants that he always fought. The legend of the "guevarist hero" died with the repeated acts of repentance, but the Timorese have not crucified him yet. They know that seventeen years of fight "are not two days" and that words "are drifted away by the wind." There is talk of a "failed maneuver by the Resistance" that, when was trying to help Xanana to leave Timor, it ended up in his surrender. But the "luxury prison" where he was placed by his jailers and the repeated declarations betraying his ideals shook convictions that seemed indestructible. "This is not our Xanana," repeats skeptically Mr. Antonio who in front of the court, still awaited a miracle that did not happen.

It can even be called a game of unpredictable end, but the general conviction is

that KAY RALA "changed." Ma Huno says that he "does not recognize his friend, even less his leader" and even Manuel Gusmão contests his son's answers. "He is not Indonesian," repeats his father that asks "God to keep the courage that Xanana always had."

The ex-leader of the Maubere Resistance has already shown that he trusts Sudjono – his defense lawyer -, apparently ignoring the "original sin" of the "fanatic Muslim" that in December accepted to be nominated by the police of Jakarta to defend "one of the most wanted in the whole history of Indonesia."

The defendant – that either waves smiling, or unexpectedly decides to hide the face – "has been private and quiet." The need of an interpreter – a government official – constrains the privacy that he has lost.

"From the mountains of the occupied country of Timor" subversive papers continuously arrive, but they don't carry anymore the signature of "Mister X," the way Indonesians call Xanana.

"Are you a Mr. or a brother?" asks the bank employee while she writes the paper work to change a few dollars that I carry. The question is very subtle. What she really wants to know is if I am with them or I am indifferent to the situation.

The fear reigns in a city that seems more like a little a home prison controlled by the Javanese – the new colonizers of Timor. They are immigrants, public officials, street vendors all that one can imagine. In the center of Dili, the Kantur Transmigrasi signs every month 500 permissions for immigration of Javanese.

"They control everything," whispers the cab driver constantly staring at the road, "but we are still waiting for the liberation day." Some use stronger words to express their frustration. In the erratic traffic of a weekday, a man who prefers to face us when he passes by us could not be more blunt: "these animals never let us alone."

Jeremias – just Jeremias – signs the last declaration of the Clandestine Front on February 8th. "With the arrest of communist Xanana, there is no more reason for the presence of Indonesia" – one can read in complicated Portuguese – to conclude that after all the great Javanese victory turned into their largest defeat. Naive and long, the text displays a proud and determined speech – of somebody who craves to listen repeatedly to what he had written.

The revolt is not only related to the heart but also to the pocket. More than 75% of the jobs created in Timor are given to the Indonesians. About 90% of the population has a per capita income of 50 dollars per year. The natives are neglected in favor of the ones that come from outside. Mr. Joao,

– or it can also be Mr. Manuel or Mr. Artur – who has been working for twenty five years in the same hotel, has already had Portuguese, Indonesian and Chinese bosses, earns 90 rupees a month, which is equivalent to \$47, but however, one of the many "informants" in the hotel earns four times that salary.

In Dili there are many Timorese that only try to survive. Men work wherever they can find work. Women pick up wood or pluck fruit that they sell on the streets. Timor is full of vendors of "little things."

"The mission of a Indonesian army official is to keep stability and develop the territory," these are words of lieutenant-colonel Artawi that commands the troops in Aileu, from where news of confrontations arrived recently. Pure confusion, it seems. "I never shot a bullet in Timor," says Artawi, "and my men for a year have not touched their weapons." He speaks about bridges and roads that the army has built. "The Indonesian government has already done more in Timor in seventeen years, than Portuguese government did when it was here." It is not hard to believe that this statement is true, but all the development that they loudly talk about has not been enough to appease the population. They offer appliances and corrugated zinc sheets to build "palapas" that slowly spoil the landscape.

"They can arrest a man and make him publicly renounce to his fight," says the spokesman of the Resistance in a speech that has been repeated several times, "but the identity of this people will never be lost, no matter how many foreigners invade us."

Theo Syafei, the military commander in Dili, doesn't like interviews. He is Javanese and brought to Timor – since he was nominated in January 1991 – a level of brutality that exceeded everything that had been felt by the Timorese for several years. He is the Lord of Timor.

The "private," as they nicknamed the governor, does not seem to have his own will. In his first interview after being nominated, "the barbarity was so severe," comments a Timorese, "that the military forbade him to speak again for two months."

The old driver from the colonial Portuguese Army is not a figure loved by his people. In Manatuto, where he was Administrator, several families remember the "sexual abuses" practiced by Abilio Osorio against children, wives of prisoners and of those that were in the jungle. "These are stories that we heard although there is no proof," says a member of the local Parliament, "but it is true that he is a womanizer."

Used until now as a mere titular figure, Abilio Osorio was surprised by the "blood

and submission oaths” that we learned about through the news in December. Nobody consulted him. Syafei decided alone again. About a month later – in the beginning of January – the history repeated itself. Commander Syafei gave a green signal to the trial, assuring Jakarta that no incidents would occur if it was held in Dili. The governor was not consulted.

A new and erosive military operation against the population started, “civil trainings, intimidation, selection of witnesses, rehearsals of questions and answers and a ferocious operation of the army in the mountains to smash what was left of the Resistance.”

Nobody escaped the climate of repression and submission. Not even the leaders of Golkar, the party in power, were spared of a tight vigilance taken to unthinkable extremes. All are suspects, “it is enough to be a Timorese to be a suspect.”

The KOLAKOPS – the operational command created to operate in regions in a state of war – will remain in Timor until May. It is the maximum time limit given by Syafei to “eliminate completely the guerilla.” Signs of the collapse are visible. The armed resistance does not exist any more. It part of the “imagery whose only purpose now is to feed the soul of the people,” that is what a priest in the interior of the country says. The mountains were transformed into “prisons for these men.” One hundred and forty three, according to the militaries.

The clandestine network survives now at the expense of pure voluntarism. The whole structure collapsed with the capture of Xanana. “The seventeen notebooks that were found when Xanana was caught by surprise were a terrible stab in the back.” This is another element that complicates the mystery of a capture that has not been explained as yet. “Written documents with names of people? A leader should not do that,” regrets an old man in the Cathedral, showing a disappointed face.

According to the spokesman of the Resistance in Dili, the only difficulty that the military faced was the identification of many contacts that were where referred to in the notebooks, by their first names and places where they belonged, for which was planned the “persuasion operation” that started after the capture of Xanana. “Maybe,” says our informant, “they suspected someone named Antonio in Baucau. But in that city there were fifty Antonios. They tortured them all until they got the confession from one of them.”

The difficulties compounded for the Resistance movement, due to the “grayness of the new leader.” Ma Huno* has good operational skills but he lacks the knack of planning a long term strategy. “He lacks the

knowledge and intellectual capability of Xanana,” said the Bishop D. Ximenes, another unsettling figure – “the Xanana of the Episcopal Palace,” as he known by the by the militaries.

The Timorese Church has been accused of collaborating with the guerilla movement. Theo Syafei has a complete list of the “anti-Indonesia” priests. A long list of “antis” that are keeping alive the hope of a population whose faith does not stop to grow. “Many Timorese believe that Heaven has already forgotten them,” comments a priest in Dili, but churches have never been as full as now.

At six in the morning people are already praying in Tetum in the garden of D. Ximenes’ residence. Soon afterwards they will fill the benches of Motael Church, then the Cathedral. “What are you going to do in the mass?,” asked once the military commander in Boborano. “In the church they don’t give you a bag of rice as we do all Sundays.” Without arguments to explain “the growing number,” the Indonesian soldiers, in a true attempt to colonize,” started building chapels and images of Our Lady and Jesus. But the Timorese do not like a Jesus with a Javanese face,” jokes D. Ximenes.

Without weapons and conditions, the guerrillas’ attacks are reduced to “a few sporadic shootings,” but the Indonesian military have not yet found a solution to the “urban resistance.” Before being captured, Xanana was for more than a year in Dili. He travelled the road along the entire east coast, easily passing through military positions. All the trips were prepared by the people that were integrated into the system. The local administration, although it was supposedly “cleaned,” is however still dominated by the Kepala Dua – the Timorese with two faces. They work in official organizations, they are apparently full supporters of the integration, but at the same time provide information to the clandestine network.

“Long live Lisbon, our country,” we read in one of the letters that, despite all risks, the Timorese managed to deliver to us. They might not know where is the country that once colonized them, they lost the Portuguese accent, but in Timor there is also the myth of D. Sebastião** named Portugal.

* *This article was written before the arrest of Ma Huno.*

** *D. Sebastião was a Portuguese King who died in a battle in North Africa. His body was never found. Taking advantage of the vacuum created by this military defeat the King of Spain invaded Portugal. For many years, the Portuguese believed that D. Sebastião was still alive and that in a foggy*

morning he arrive and liberate Portugal. This popular myth has been known as “Sebastianism.”

-Jose Magalhães

REBELS TO FIGHT ON DESPITE CAPTURE OF MA’HUNU

by Mario Dujisin

Lisbon, Apr. 5 (IPS) – the capture of ‘commander Mau Hunu,’ leader of the East Timor rebellion, does not mean the fight against Indonesian occupation has ended, said José Ramos-Horta, coordinator of the National Resistance Council (CNRM) Monday.

In a telephone interview from Australia Ramos-Horta admitted the capture of Antonio João Gomes da Costa (commander Mau Hunu), as announced by the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares Osorio, over the weekend.

Mau Hunu took over the leadership of the anti-Indonesian resistance movement on Nov. 28. This followed the capture of another guerrilla leader José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão.

He is presently being tried for subversion by a court in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony. It was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in December 1975.

Ramos-Horta recalled that after the capture of Xanana Gusmão “many thought the resistance would cease,” but “there will always be someone to replace a fallen or arrested leader and continue the struggle against the ferocious Indonesian occupation.”

He added that Indonesia “has suffered serious international reverses after its condemnation by the United Nations commission on human rights, the condemnation of Jakarta by the U.S. president Bill Clinton and the bad image of the Suharto regime in the European Community (EC).”

These blows against the resistance “will not change the feeling of the population against the occupation at all, and will not help improve Indonesia’s poor image before a world which is becoming more and more sensitive to human rights,” he concluded.

The spokesman for the Timor Democratic Union (UDT), Zacarias da Costa, expressed himself in similar terms in a declaration published Monday by the Lisbon press.

“Our armed struggle is only symbolic. There are only about 800 guerrillas fighting against more than 22,000 Indonesian troops. The main thing is that the whole people repudiate their annexation by Jakarta.”

The secretary of the Timorese national liberation front (Fretilin), Mari Alkatiri, told

a Lisbon radio station that the talks between Portugal and Indonesia held in Rome April 20 "will not be affected at all by the capture of the guerrilla leader.

"Mau Hunu is at this moment a prisoner of war, like Xanana Gusmão, so any his declarations in future will have no political value and will not alter the Rome talks at all, nor any attitude the international community might adopt with respect to Indonesia."

Adriano Moreira, president of the Portuguese parliamentary commission on Timor, told the press that "Portugal will not let itself be misled into confusing a weakening of the resistance with a weakening of the authentic rights of this ex-colony to self-determination."

Taking part in the Rome talks promoted by United Nations secretary general Boutros Boutros-Ghali are the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, Ali Alatas and José Manuel Durão Barroso respectively.

Lisbon bases its position on a U.N. security resolution approved Dec. 22, 1975, which condemns the invasion, insists on the withdrawal of the army of occupation and grants Portugal responsibility for administering the territory "until the holding of a referendum on its independence."

Jakarta maintains that the occupation was requested by the Timorese people, and that "we have done much more for East Timor in 17 years than Portugal ever did in 450 years."

Ramos-Horta, spokesman for the union of anti-Indonesian parties and movements grouped under the CNRM, recalled that before 1975 they defended independence from Portugal and maintained that "a few public buildings and asphalt roads do not compensate for the genocide of 210,000 Timorese in these 17 years at the hands of Indonesia."

FEAR AND REPRESSION STILL RULE AREA OCCUPIED BY INDONESIA

The New York Times Wednesday, April 21, 1993 Front Page. Full text.

[Headline in National Edition: Fear and Repression Still Rule War-Torn Indonesian Island]

[Also on the front page was a map, with the caption "In Dili, and around East Timor, rulers create a climate of fear." On the jump page (page 6), a 3-column photo of uniformed soldiers on a bench outside the Dili courthouse was captioned "The Indonesian Government believes it finally has the guerrillas in East Timor on the run, especially with the arrest last November of

the rebel leader, Jose Alexandre Gusmão. Security troops were stationed outside the courthouse in Dili recently during the trial for Mr. Gusmão, who is known as Xanana.]

By PHILIP SHENON Special to the New York Times

DILI, Indonesia – The eyes and ears of the military are everywhere in East Timor, an isolated, impoverished piece of island that was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in the 1970's.

Eighteen years after Indonesian troops poured into the former Portuguese colony, many East Timorese say it remains a place of frightening repression. The surveillance extends even to the graveyard.

"Who are you? What do you want here?" demanded an unsmiling young man who wandered Santa Cruz cemetery in civilian clothes but those short, blocking haircut gave him away as a soldier in the Indonesian army. "No photos, no photos," he warned.

Stepping carefully among a row of flower-draped headstones, another young man acknowledged reluctantly that he, too, was a soldier, on assignment in East Timor from his home on the central Indonesian island of Java, and that plainclothes troops now maintain a 24-hour vigil in the graveyard.

It was in the Santa Cruz cemetery, in November 1991, that Indonesian troops gunned down scores of demonstrators who had gathered to protest human rights conditions in East Timor.

"We don't want more trouble in the graveyard," the Indonesian soldier said. "We want to end the troubles in East Timor."

Whatever his hopes, and those of the Indonesian Government, many in East Timor wonder how the troubles of this frightened place will ever be ended.

The Government says that it has gained the upper hand over rebels who have resisted Indonesian rule since the occupation began in 1975. But international human rights groups charge that Indonesia continues to use torture and murder to enforce its annexation of East Timor, which makes up one half of the island of Timor in the southeastern end of the Indonesian archipelago.

'They Will Be Tortured'

"There is always fear," said Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Dili, who is the spiritual leader of most of the 750,000 people of East Timor. "We lack the freedom to speak, to walk where we want, to have different opinions. If people talk, they know they will be interrogated. They will be tortured."

Bishop Belo is one of the few leaders in East Timor who still dares to speak out

publicly about what many of his parishioners describe privately as brutal human rights abuses by the Indonesian military.

The abuses, they say, go far beyond the November 1991 killings, which drew international condemnation of Indonesia and led the United States and other nations to cut off millions of dollars in aid.

Witnesses said that as many as 200 people died in the graveyard massacre. The Government officially acknowledged that at least 50 had died, but scores of others are still missing.

Government Denies Problem

The Indonesian Government jailed several of the soldiers who took part in the slaughter and insists now that the rights of the East Timorese are being fully respected. "There is not a problem in East Timor," said the military's chief spokesman Brig. Gen. Syarwanhamid, who, like many Indonesians, has only one name. "The situation is very good."

In a report on human rights conditions in Indonesia issued after the Dili massacre, the State Department said the Indonesian military and other Government security forces were responsible "for numerous human rights abuses, including killings and torture of civilians" in East Timor and elsewhere."

A more recent human rights report said that there a reduction in the number of civilian deaths caused by the security forces because of "tightened security" in the area and changes in military procedure.

East Timor was invaded by Indonesian troops in 1975 and annexed the next year. Although Indonesia calls East Timor its 27th province, the United Nations has never recognized Indonesian sovereignty. Nor have many East Timorese.

For more than a decade after the invasion, East Timor was the scene of a vicious civil war between the Indonesian Army and separatist guerrillas, a war that went mostly unreported in the outside world, although thousands died.

Rebellion Appears to Wane

Now the Indonesian Government believes it finally has the guerrillas on the run, especially with the arrest last November of the rebel leader Jose Alexandre Gusmão. The Army has announced plans to scale back its presence on the island.

Diplomats say the Timorese separatist group, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent Timor, known as Fretilin, now has fewer than 200 rebel soldiers, down from several thousands in the 1980's.

The Indonesian Government is so confident of its control in East Timor that, for the first time since the 1991 massacre, it has begun issuing travel permits routinely to

foreign reporters seeking to visit the province. They are kept under strict surveillance, however, and are often followed as they travel by car. Most East Timorese avoid answering their questions.

"We're going to have peace now," said Gov. Abilio Jose Osorio Soares, who is East Timorese but whose allegiance to Indonesia is evident in the enormous gold badge pinned to his jacket. It bears Indonesia's national emblem, a mythical bird known as the Garuda.

"The soldiers here are not involved in human rights abuses," he said shaking his head. "There is no situation of the soldiers going too far and committing abuses. They are very well behaved."

Since Government agents and informers are thought to be everywhere – in schools, in offices, even in churches – many East Timorese refuse to discuss politics with anyone outside their immediate families. The unrelenting fear is evident when people are approached in the streets of Dili and asked their thoughts on the trial of Mr. Gusmão, which began in February.

Typically the response is a worried, almost panicked look followed by the demurral, "I don't really know" or "I don't want to talk about it."

Looking over his shoulder to make sure no one else would hear him, a high-school student whispered, "We love Gusmão, but it is too dangerous to talk about him with a foreigner." The teen-ager walked away hurriedly.

Governor Soares said that "only one or two percent" of the public still favors independence for East Timor. The capture of Mr. Gusmão, known by the nom de guerre Xanana, "has ended all the tension and fear," he said. "Now that Xanana is in custody, people can relax. Everything is peaceful. The outside world exaggerates the problems here."

East Timor is a tormented bit of paradise, with tall lush mountains that tumble down to idyllic white-sand beaches and the warm, azure sea. Because tourists will not come to such a troubled place, only pigs and goats wander the palm-fringed beaches.

Legacy of Portuguese Rule

The peaceful streets of Dili, the provincial capital, are lined with Mediterranean-style colonial villas, a legacy of three centuries of Portuguese rule, and Catholic churches. While the 180 million people of Indonesia are mostly Muslim, the East Timorese are 90 percent Catholic – Dominican friars brought Catholicism in the 12th century to what had been animist farming tribes – and the religious differences are one more reason for the strife here. Most East Timorese speak Tetun, the language of

the province's largest ethnic group, although Portuguese is still widely understood.

Just after sunrise, before the tropical heat becomes unbearable, the city's side-streets fill with fishmongers haggling over the morning's catch.

It is telling that of the city's small parks, one is always deserted; it is the site of a large monument commemorating East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

While East Timor remains among the poorest provinces of Indonesia – the per capita income is less than \$300 a year – the Indonesian Government has poured in hundreds of millions of dollars in development aid.

Government Counters Charges

In a handsomely designed pamphlet distributed by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry last year to counter charges of human rights abuses, the Government said that East Timor received more of the national development budget per resident than any other province.

Since the Portuguese ended their colonial presence in 1975, it said, the number of elementary schools in East Timor has grown from 47 to 579, the number of hospitals from 2 to 10, and the number of doctors from 3 to 104. The Indonesians have paved hundreds of miles of roads and provided much of the province with electricity.

But whatever its accomplishments in bringing educational programs and health care to East Timor, the Indonesian Government has failed to inspire any sort of political development. Instead it has created an air of menace and suspicion.

Mr. Gusmão, the charismatic 46-year-old rebel leader, was captured last November as he slept in a house on the outskirts of Dili.

To the dismay of his rebel colleagues, he appeared on television within days of his arrest to announce that he had accepted Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. He urged other rebels to give up their struggle and surrender. "East Timor is part of Indonesia," he said calmly, gently stroking his dark beard.

Many East Timorese prefer to believe that Mr. Gusmão was coerced into making the statements out of fear for the safety of his family. Several of his relatives were taken into custody after his arrest, including a sister who was freed after spending nearly four months in detention.

U.N. Envoy Visits Rebel

An envoy of the United Nations Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, visited Mr. Gusmão in the central prison in Dili in April and said the former rebel leader appeared to be "In good condition."

The envoy, Attorney General Amos Wako of Kenya, said he saw no evidence

that Mr. Gusmão had been tortured or otherwise physically mistreated by his captors.

But asked in an interview whether threats against Mr. Gusmão's family may have led to his public declaration of a change of heart, Mr. Wako would not comment. "I had a very good talk with Gusmão, and I believe he answered all of my questions truthfully," Mr. Wako said. "That is all I can say." [The previous two paragraphs were only in the national edition of the New York Times, and not in the New York edition.]

A verdict in Mr. Gusmão's trial on weapons and sedition charges is expected sometime in late May.

His lawyer said he believed the proceedings had been fair but he warned of trouble – he would not say what sort of trouble – if Mr. Gusmão is convicted and receives a harsh prison sentence. [The national edition article ends here, and the rest of this text is only in the New York edition.] Government prosecutors are reported to have ruled out the death penalty.

The defense lawyer, Sudjono, said the former separatist leader "is still a hero" to many in East Timor. Because of the trial, he said, "there is high tension now – the people of Timor are waiting for the decision in this case."

COMMENT FROM DANIEL S. EPSTEIN

The International Herald Tribune version of the New York Times article is entitled, "Repression as Legacy of Timor Killings." The article fails to make mention of some "inconvenient" yet crucial details such as the genocidal proportions of the slaughter during the last 18 years of the occupation, the economic interests of the U.S. and the West in Indonesia and in East Timor, the crucial role of the U.S. in the supply of weapons and ammunition during and after the invasion, and the role of the U.S. in blocking any action at the U.N. and rendering the U.N. virtually impotent at the time of the invasion (thanks to U.N. ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan, a leading advocate of the sanctity of the rule of international law among American liberals), minor details crucial to anyone wanting to understand the situation.

The article generally leaves the reader with the impression that the U.S. has played no role and has little interest in the situation. In fact, the U.S. interests and role go virtually unmentioned, as does Indonesia's ongoing sale of drilling rights to western oil companies off the coast of E. Timor, a further example of the robbing and exploitation of the natural resources of the East Timorese people. There is also no mention made of the pending sale of military hardware to Indonesia by Germany and

Great Britain, nor of the World Bank enthusiasm at the potential for “growth” in East Timor, nor of the “rewarding” of Indonesia by the international financial institutions such as the IMF and the World Bank for their “performance.”

In addition, the tone of the article describes the situation in East Timor predominantly from the Indonesian perspective throughout most of the article. The article, however, ends on an upbeat note:

Mr. Soares (“whose allegiance to Indonesia is evident” as reported earlier in the article) said that “only 1 or 2 percent” of the public still favors independence for East Timor. The capture of Mr. Gusmão “has ended all of the tension and fear,” he said. “Now that Xanana is in custody, people can relax. Everything is peaceful. The outside world exaggerates the problems here.”

Mr. Soares is the “governor” of East Timor “appointed” by Indonesia.

Regarding the New York Times headline, why does the New York Times consider occupied East Timor an “INDONESIAN ISLAND” in their headline? Although the United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty, it appears that the New York Times does. Did the NYT refer to Kuwait as an “Iraqi province” after Iraq’s invasion and occupation, or is there a double standard in play here? Is not General Suharto just a Saddam Hussein clone?

COMMENT FROM ZE MAGALHÃES:

To the Editor: (unpublished letter)

We take this opportunity to thank the editorial board for bringing East Timor to the front page of The New York Times (April 21st). In a world where only the powerful, the numerous or those associated with well organized special interest groups seem to deserve media attention, it is gratifying to see that some place can still be found to address the plight of few more than half a million peaceful people, living in the eastern part of a very small island crunched between Indonesia and Australia, and whose cultural and physical integrity have been submitted to the worst forms of violence by the Indonesian army, who occupies the island since 1975. However, one would expect the article titled “Fear and Repression Still Rule a War-Torn Indonesian Island” to reflect the high standards of newscasting accuracy The New York Times has stood for over the years. This did not happen and, for those of us who are in touch with the historical and present realities of East Timor, the errors found in Mr. Shenon’s article were motive of strong disappointment. Please note the following: a) Timor is NOT an Indonesian Island – East Timor is still territory under

Portuguese administration, while West Timor was integrated in the package of islands from which the Netherlands created Indonesia in 1945; b) East and West Timor were already separate kingdoms when the first Europeans (Portuguese merchants and explorers) arrived to the Island for the first time in the 1500s – the populations had distinct ethnic backgrounds, distinct language, and distinct political and social structures and, as opposed to what happened in West Timor, East Timor was never a target of the Hindu and Muslim migrations; c) rebellion against the oppressor Indonesian Army who has killed an estimated third of the East Timorese in the past seventeen years does not appear to wane if one listens to the reports of resistance activities, the International Red Cross or Christian organizations instead of relying on misleading information fabricated by the Indonesian Intelligence; d) Mr. Gusmão does NOT have a defense lawyer in that he was not allowed to select someone of his personal choice, but was forced instead to accept a lawyer appointed by the Indonesian government; e) the trial of Mr. Gusmão has been highly irregular in that no human rights organization has been allowed to visit Mr. Gusmão or discuss with him conditions of his imprisonment; f) when Mr. Saturnino Belo, supposedly a vital witness for the government, took the stand and declared that he had been tortured and forced to depose against Mr. Gusmão, he was immediately taken away from the court, accused of suffering from a SUDDEN mental disorder, and a written statement was quickly introduced and accepted in court as a replacement to Mr. Saturnino’s personal testimony; meanwhile, Mr. Saturnino disappeared and many fear for his torture and death; g) given the ongoing UN sponsored talks between the Portuguese and the Indonesian governments to decide the future of East Timor, and given that a strong UN condemnation of Indonesia’s role in East Timor was approved last March in Geneva with only the opposition of a few non-aligned countries under Indonesian influence, Mr. Wako’s secrecy regarding what he saw and heard in East Timor is found intriguing and even questionable at the eyes of human rights organizations till this day prohibited of entering East Timor.

The Seattle Coalition for Human Rights in East Timor, Seattle, Washington

A VOICE, OFTEN SILENCED, TELLS OF EAST TIMOR’S FEAR

The New York Times, Saturday April 24, 1993. Page 2. Full text.

Dili Journal

By Philip Shenon, Special to The New York Times

[Comment: This is the third article on East Timor in the New York Times in four days. Perhaps they are trying to make up for 17 years of neglect. Although it is generally an accurate article, the piece perpetuates the claim that East Timor is integrated into Indonesia. By calling Xanana a “separatist leader,” and by referring to the conflict as a “civil war” (previous article), as well as in the dateline and the “provincial capital” references, Shenon has accepted what the UN has not. From his point of view, the problem in East Timor is human rights; self-determination is not on the agenda.

Furthermore, he repeats his previous article’s half-truth of praising Indonesia for punishing soldiers after the Santa Cruz massacre, while forgetting to mention that many nonviolent East Timorese protesters received far longer prison sentences. He also restates the lie that 200 is the upper limit given by witnesses for Santa Cruz fatalities, ignoring the list of 271 people killed (and many more missing), which was compiled clandestinely by the Timorese resistance and released last November.

Nevertheless, the rediscovery of East Timor by the United States’ “newspaper of record” is encouraging and could have far-ranging effects. It coincides with a visit by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to Washington, where he hopes to convince the Clinton administration that Suharto should be invited to participate in the upcoming G7 summit meeting in Japan.

The article was accompanied by a map locating East Timor and Dili (captioned “In Dili, a bishop speaks out about torture and repression”), and a photograph of Bishop Belo with a bust of Jesus, captioned “Despite the assurances from the Indonesian Government that the human rights situation in East Timor has improved, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, spiritual leader of the mostly Catholic population there, said his people ‘are living in fear.’ He stood in the gardens of his home in Dili, the provincial capital.”

– Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US]

DILI, Indonesia – The Roman Catholic Bishop of East Timor says that the Indonesian Army routinely tortures political

prisoners and that Government troops killed several people captured at the time of a November 1991 massacre, when soldiers gunned down scores of Timorese.

The Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, said in an interview that people are living in fear in East Timor, despite the Indonesian Government's insistence that the human rights situation in the province has improved. Political prisoners are tortured by Indonesian troops "just like two plus two is four," he said.

"We lack the freedom to speak, to walk where we want, to have different opinions," said the Bishop, who is the spiritual leader of most of the 750,000 people of East Timor.

"The people of East Timor need the help of President Clinton and the United States," he said.

New U.S. Concern

In March, in a shift in American policy on the issue, the Clinton Administration supported a resolution in the United Nations Commission on Human Rights expressing concern over human rights abuses in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the next year.

Indonesia's chief military spokesman, Brig. Gen. Syarwanhamid, who like many Indonesians has only one name, said the Bishop's attacks on the military were unwarranted.

One reason for the tension between Indonesians and the Timorese is a religious difference. While Most Indonesians are Muslim, most of the people of Timor are Christians.

Bishop Belo is one of the few community leaders in East Timor who readily speaks out on the issue of human rights violations by the Indonesian Army. But his views rarely become public outside the province. The bishop travels out of East Timor only occasionally, his outgoing mail is reported to be censored and he has few opportunities to meet with foreign reporters.

Reporters Were Barred

With few exceptions, foreign reporters were barred from East Timor for more than a year after the November 1991 massacre, in which troops gunned down Timorese demonstrators who had gathered in a cemetery in the provincial capital, Dili, in a protest over human rights. The Government has acknowledged that 50 people died, while witnesses say the actual number is closer to 200.

Reporters have been allowed to return to East Timor in recent weeks to cover the trial of the separatist leader, Jose Alexandre Gusmão.

In his most detailed comments to date about the Nov. 12, 1991, massacre, the Bishop said he had obtained "very reliable information" that several people – he could not be any more specific about the number – were executed hours after they were captured alive at the graveyard.

He said that the prisoners, along with several dead bodies, were transported from the cemetery to a Government building in Dili.

Several hours later, he said, the building was sealed, and the prisoners were killed, "with big stones, and with iron bars and with injections of a special substance that killed them."

The bishop said he would not divulge the source of his information about the killings for fear of putting other lives in danger. But he said, "I am absolutely certain this is true."

Bishop Belo said he went to the Santa Cruz cemetery within hours of the massacre and saw a man he knew, a Timorese teacher, who had been injured but was alive, lying alongside four or five other men.

"I never saw any of them again," the Bishop said. "Since I knew the teacher, I went to look for him. I went to the hospital. I went to the mortuary. I could not find him. His family says he is still missing."

Scores of people are still missing from the 1991 massacre.

More Abuses, Bishop Says

He said that human rights abuses in East Timor continued even as the Indonesian Army, in an unprecedented move praised by foreign governments, brought criminal charges against soldiers who fired on protesters in the cemetery. Some were eventually tried and jailed.

"Some of the people have changed, but the behavior is still the same," Bishop Belo said.

"We know that in the prisons here in Dili, all of the political prisoners are tortured," he said. Prisoners, he said, are often tied up and dunked in tubs of water until they nearly drown, are burned with cigarettes, and are subjected to mock executions.

"An intelligence officer told a prisoner, 'We only need your land, We don't need people like you Timorese,'" the Bishop said.

Rumors of an Ambush

He said that while his life had not been threatened directly by the military, he had been confronted several times with reports from parishioners who warned of rumors that he was to be "ambushed" by Government assassins. Often, he said, he has received anonymous late-night phone calls with the message "You are a pig. You are an animal."

The Bishop's remarks came as a United Nations human rights investigator, Amos Wako, the Attorney General of Kenya, completed a three-day tour of East Timor.

While commending Indonesia for its "full cooperation" – he was allowed to meet privately with the jailed separatist leader – Mr. Wako declined in an interview to discuss his findings pending a report to the United Nations.

KOLAKOPS OFFICIALLY DISSOLVED

UPI, 29 April 1993. Dateline: Jakarta, Abridged

Comment: The army's decision to disband its special military command [Kolakops] in East Timor and 'downgrade' the army presence to an ordinary military command [Korem] does not alter the fact that the army's presence in East Timor will continue to oppress the people of occupied East Timor.

Brig. General Theo Syafei who has been commander of Kolakops and has ruled the territory with an iron fist since his appointment more than a year ago, was last month appointed commander of the Udayana regional military command based in Bali which has overall control of East Timor. As such Syafei's reign of terror will continue, now imposed through Korem 164 based in Dili, under the command of Colonel Soentoro who, until his appointment as Korem commander last month, was intelligence chief of the Udayana military command in Bali.

Syafei also claims that combat troops are being withdrawn from East Timor with greater focus in future on so-called 'territorial troops.' Whether or not combat troops are indeed being withdrawn is a moot point. Such special troops are in any case easily available for immediate deployment from Java or elsewhere, whenever necessary.

Territorial troops have the task of maintaining strict supervision over the population of East Timor and are present in considerable numbers right down to the lowest level of village and hamlet.

Only the demilitarization of East Timor, with the complete withdrawal of the Indonesian army from the territory, will end the oppression under which the people have suffered since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975.

The prime motive in announcing Kolakops' demise is to deceive the international community; many of Indonesia's foreign donors have expressed concern at the continuing

large-scale and intimidating army presence in East Timor.

INDONESIA TO DISSOLVE EAST TIMOR MILITARY OPERATION

Declaring the guerrilla threat in troubled East Timor to be at an end, the government announced Thursday it would eliminate the East Timor field operation.

Lt.Col. Anton Tompudung, the regional military spokesman, told Suara Karya the East Timor Fretilin guerrillas are reduced in number and no longer posed a security threat in the former Portuguese colony. He estimated there were only about 200 Fretilin guerrillas remaining, with about 100 weapons. "Militarily speaking, the guerrillas strength means nothing," he said, saying the movement had been broken by the capture last year of the Fretilin (sic) commander, Xanana Gusmão, and other rebels.

The ten battalions reported to be operating in the province (sic) are due to be gradually withdrawn at the rate of two every six months, a military official said. *[This is typical of the confusing information about troop withdrawal we can expect from news reports in the coming months.]*

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

From John A. MacDougall, May 7, 1993

The Indonesian government will spend US\$16.8 million building roads and bridges in East Timor in FY 1993/94. The new infrastructure will 'increase efficient flow of passengers, goods, and services' and 'encourage the equal distribution of development.'

John apakabar@access.digex.net

P.S. This means the territorial troops will remain and be kept busy. No claim was made that the projects would employ many East Timorese.

RECENT APPEALS FROM EAST TIMOR

Following are recently received appeals from East Timor, freely translated from the Portuguese originals by CNRM/Darwin:

I. Letter addressed to a number of prominent ET human rights supporters:

East Timor 6 May 93

Greetings.... We the undersigned are parents of children massacred at Sta. Cruz who to this date do not know the whereabouts of our beloved children. We express our grief and request your assistance to help resolve our future.

We are a people with a national identity which has developed throughout generations. Our culture, traditions, language, customs, and religion set us apart from oth-

ers, particularly Indonesians. We were brought up with deep values which despite our weakness and poverty as a people underline the strength of our personality, different to Indonesians.

We have never experienced such huge ambushes and violations as since the Indonesian invasion of 7 December 75.

As parents we lament that our children are massacred, destroyed, burned, killed during these terrible 17 years of struggle. They are the victims of a minority. We acknowledge your Excellency's recent efforts to assist the just liberation struggle of our people for National freedom and independence. We ask you to get those who are competent to demand from the Indonesians to bury and provide the remains of our loved children. The longer the solution of our fate takes, the more we will be like cattle looking at the bones of our children, we are like cattle being taken for slaughter....Indonesia does not respect human beings. As the weak people we are, lacking arms to challenge these vandal aggressors, we can only implore your Excellency to assist us to be freed from this hardship and valley of tears. We provide hereby some data on our dead or disappeared children in the Sta. Cruz tragedy.....

Signed by 68 names.

Followed by a LIST OF NAMES OF 12 November DECEASED.

II. Appeal from wives of prisoners

Dili 12 May 1993

TO THE INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATION WHICH DEFENDS THE RIGHTS OF THE EAST TIMOR PEOPLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA

Greetings and hopes for your success in the search for a solution for the martyrised people of ET. We wives of ET political prisoners take this initiative in order to transmit and echo throughout the world our struggle to free us from the invaders yoke and the reprisals we have had to suffer....

1. We know that the ET struggle is a just cause based on universal laws regarding the freedom of a people from oppression. Therefore we, the wives of ET political prisoners, and integral part of this martyrised people, refer to this right and our duty to support our husbands in their position in this struggle.

2. From the many stages of the struggle which we have witnessed we see that the endeavours and the heroic actions of our husbands and of those heroes and martyrs who have fallen along these 17 years have not been in vain. Our struggle takes further shape day by day leading to a final solution, even if the sacrifices have been hard, especially for our husbands.

Their suffering as political prisoners have been immense. But we will bear these costs as we approach the final outcome.

3. As humans we have both moral and material shortcomings. Our children lack paternal love and the moral and material support needed by children. Our children long for the reconciliation of our family. Yet those in charge, postpone the solution of our destiny. Is it that the world forgets this small people who cries day and night seeking its freedom, being unable to reach it?

The time has come for us to shout and appeal to the world that we also exist as human beings, as a people with its own history, culture, religion, and ethnicity. Throughout our history we have been a people with different characteristics from the Indonesian people. There is no doubt that we are not, and we do not wish to be part of Indonesia.

Back to the purpose of this letter, which we hope will achieve results.

4. Our husbands the political prisoners of the 12 November 1991 incident were tried by Indonesian courts with sentences from 5 years to life. We understand that on the last Human Rights Commission meeting in March 1993 resolutions were adopted which Indonesia must respect and abide by. One of these is the resolution about unconditionally setting all political prisoners free.

5. Unfortunately we are not enjoying any progress in this respect. In fact we are now in a worse situation than before. It so happens that after the visit of Mr. Amos Wako, on the very next day, 8 April 1993, seven political prisoners have been transferred/exiled to Kupang. The remainder will follow with these destinations:

- Cipinang prison, Jakarta: Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha (life sentence); Francisco Miranda Branco (15 years sentence).
- Mataram NTB prison: Jacinto Neves Raimundo Alves (10 years); Saturnino da Costa Belo (10 years); Juvencio de Jesus Martins (6 years 8 months); Filomeno Pereira (5 years 8 months).

- Kupang prison:

Santa Cruz prisoners Carlos dos Santos Lemos (8 years); Bonifacio Magno (7 years);

Motael prisoners Bobby Xavier (3 years); Aleixo Gama (2 years 8 months); João doe Santos (2 years 3 months); Jaco da Silva (2 years); Bonifacio Barreto (1 year 8 months).

We appeal to all international organisations interested in the justice of our struggle to act on this matter. we ask for efforts to annul the sentences of our husbands and of our famous chief of the CNRM Xanana Gusmão, and to take his case to an interna-

tional tribunal as a political prisoner. We thank you.

Undersigned....18 women's names

ICRC DILI OFFICE AVOIDS CLOSURE

From TAPOL, May 5, 1993

On Monday, Major-General Theo Syafei, commander of the Udayana regional military command, announced that the office of the International Red Cross (ICRC) was no longer needed in East Timor and would be closed.

However, the order to close down the ICRC was reversed after President Suharto met the president of the ICRC who was in Jakarta for discussions with the Indonesian government. According to some sources, the ICRC apparently had a number of complaints to discuss with government officials. The precise nature of the agreement worked out is not known.

RNZ/REUTERS REPORT

RNZ NEWS, PACNEWS, MAY 04 1993

The International Red Cross is to keep an office in East Timor despite a call by an Indonesian military commander for it to be shut down.

Reuters newsagency says the organisation has played a prominent role in the former Portuguese colony since it was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Red Cross president Cornelio Sommaruga says he hopes it will be possible to close the East Timor office at some stage but now is not the time.

An Indonesian newspaper last week quoted the commander of Indonesian forces in the east of the country, Major-General Theo Syafei, as saying there was no need for a Red Cross office in East Timor because security had improved to the level of other Indonesian provinces.

Indonesia last week said it was ending its special military command in East Timor, effectively reducing the size of its garrison in the territory.

The territory has been the scene of a guerilla campaign waged by the separatist Fretilin movement..

ICRC'S COMPLAINTS ABOUT FACILITIES IN EAST TIMOR

AFP, 6 May 1993.

Dateline: Jakarta, Abridged

Comment: ICRC complaints about access were clearly grave for the ICRC President to speak about them so frankly.

ICRC OPTIMISTIC OVER ACCESS TO EAST TIMOR PRISONERS

President of the International Red Cross (ICRC) Cornelio Sommaruga said here Thursday he was confident unsatisfactory access to prisoners in East Timor would improve. "We are not particularly satisfied as to the rhythm of access to the detainees (and) persons arrested in East Timor, but I see for the future a better situation," he told a press conference ending a weeklong official visit to Indonesia.

Sommaruga said the ICRC had not had access "on a regular basis" to all persons detained or arrested in the former Portuguese colony. He said his talks with government officials had left him optimistic there would be "access to detained persons in a regular way, in continuity."

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, speaking at the same press conference, said a number of factors had been behind the postponement of some ICRC visits to prisoners in the past. "We are determined to ensure that indeed these visits can be undertaken in as a regular a fashion as possible and the continuity is also maintained," he said.

Sommaruga also said the ICRC intended to maintain its office in the East Timor capital of Dili. Local press last weekend quoted Major-General Theo Syafei, head of the Udayana military command that oversees security in East Timor, as saying the ICRC should close its Dili office and relocate elsewhere.

The ICRC chief said he had met with Syafei earlier Thursday. "If there had been a problem, it has now been cleared," he said.

He said the ICRC worked "where there are some problems or tension" and would like to open an office in the northern Sumatra province of Aceh, but "the important thing is that we continue to work in Aceh." Although ICRC delegates have been visiting Aceh, Jakarta has not yet allowed them to open an office there.

RED CROSS NOT SATISFIED WITH ACCESS

RADIO AUSTRALIA, PACNEWS ED-2, MAY 07 1993

The International Committee of the Red Cross says it's not satisfied with the access it's being given to detainees in East Timor.

The president of the ICRC, Mr. Cornelio Sommaruga, who today ends a six day visit to Indonesia, says his organisation has not been able to make regular visits to those arrested in the former Portuguese colony.

But Mr. Sommaruga expects the situation to improve.

During his visit Mr. Sommaruga handed to the Indonesian government a confidential report on the ICRC's work in East Timor since the mid-1970's.

He declined to disclose its contents, but he said the ICRC which monitors the treatment and condition of detainees in many countries, had concerns about its access to prisoners in the disputed territory.

Mr. Sommaruga said the ICRC had not been able to make regular visits to those detained but he said the problem had been clear during his talks with the Indonesian authorities and he expressed optimism the situation would improve in coming weeks.

AI: STUDENTS ARRESTED, TORTURED?

AI Index: ASA 21/04/93. UA 166/93 Fear of Torture. 20 May 1993

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Rui "Los Palos" and two other students

Three East Timorese university students have reportedly been arrested by Indonesian security forces in Dili, East Timor, for their alleged political activities. Their current whereabouts are unknown and Amnesty International fears that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment while under interrogation by their captors. Based on past experience, the organization is also concerned that further political arrests may soon follow, and that those arrested may themselves be subjected to torture and ill-treatment.

Rui "Los Palos," a student in Singaraja, Bali, and two others who study at an academy (APDN) in Jakarta were reportedly arrested by the military on 14 May 1993, shortly after returning home to Dili. The precise reasons for their arrest are not known but it is thought that they were detained on suspicion of supporting the movement for East Timor's independence from Indonesia.

Political detainees in East Timor are commonly held incommunicado and subjected to torture and ill-treatment in order to extract confessions and political intelligence. During the period of interrogation, military and police authorities routinely deny lawyers and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross access to political detainees. The information extracted from one detainee often becomes the basis for further arrests. Under

these circumstances, the relatives and friends of a political detainee are particularly vulnerable to intimidation and arrest.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Indonesian forces invaded East Timor in 1975 in the aftermath of Portugal's withdrawal from its former colony. Since that time Amnesty International has documented a pattern of gross and persistent human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in the territory. These have included extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance," political imprisonment and unfair trial. In recent months, international attention has focused on the blatantly unfair political trial of East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, who was arrested in November 1992 and held incommunicado for 17 days. A verdict in the case is expected on 21 May 1993.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/ express and airmail letters either in English or in your own language:

- expressing concern for the safety of Rui "Los Palos," and two other students reportedly arrested by Indonesian security forces in Dili, East Timor, on 14 May 1993;
- urging the Indonesian authorities to clarify their whereabouts and to ensure that they are given immediate access to legal counsel of their own choice and representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross;
- urging the authorities to clarify the precise reasons for their arrest, and to release them immediately if they have not been charged with a recognizably criminal offence;
- seeking guarantees that they have been and will be humanely treated while in custody.

APPEALS TO:

Ali Alatas

[Salutation: Dear Minister Alatas]

Minister of Foreign Affairs

Kementerian Luar Negeri

Jl. Taman Pejambon 6

Jakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: Minister Foreign Affairs,

Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: +62 21 36 7781, +62 21 36 7782

Major General Theo Syafei

[Salutation: Dear Major General Syafei]

Commander, KODAM IX/Udayana

Markas Besar KODAM IX/Udayana

Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Telegrams: Major Gen. Syafei, KODAM

IX, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Col. Suntoro

[Salutation: Dear Colonel Suntoro]

Commander KOREM 164/Wiradharma

Markas KOREM 164/Wiradharma

Dili, East Timor

Telegrams: Col Suntoro, KOREM 164, Dili,

East Timor

Lt. General Faisal Tanjung

[Salutation: Dear Lt. General Tanjung]

Commander of the Armed Forces

Markas Besar ABRI

Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: Lt. General Tanjung, Markas

Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ),

+62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ), +62 21 35

6404

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR

APPEALS TO: His Excellency Teuku

Mohammad Hadi Thayeb, Embassy of

Indonesia, 38 Grosvenor Square, London

W1X 9AD

And, if possible, to the following:

Haji Utoyo Usman S.H.

Minister of Justice

Ministry of Justice

Jl. Rasuna Said Kav. 6-7

Kuningan

Jakarta Selatan, Indonesia

Faxes: + 62 21 32 1625

PLEASE SEND APPEALS

IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send

appeals after 1 July 1993.

ABILIO OSORIO INTERVIEWED: EAST TIMOR AFTER KOLAKOPS

Editor, 22 May 1993. by Suryansyah

Original language: Indonesian. Excerpts

[This comes before the final session of Xanana's trial.]

Interview with East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares. He is 46 years old, and is introduced as a close friend of Lt-Col Prabowo Djojohadikusumo (President Suharto's son-in-law and Prof. Sumitro's son).

Q: What is the future of East Timor now that Kolakops has been dissolved?

A: No problem, because only the structure has been dissolved. But its operational activities still go on. Only its control is no longer in the hands of Kolakops but rather in those of Korem. It will go on, especially since the Kolakops Commander has now become the Udayana Military Area Commander. There won't be any big changes....

Q: [About resistance leaders who say they are impressed by Indonesia only after they have been arrested]. In other words, isn't that just the appearance of security?

A: Not just an appearance. No one wants to die. Look at Xanana, he said he was prepared to accept any punishment that was meted out to him. That's not like what you say. He said, anything he could do to help, he would do.

Q: What about Mauhunu?

A: I've only spoken with him for about five minutes. But I could see that he is more compliant. He's easier than Xanana.

Q: And Mauhudu?

A: Mauhudu is sly <licik>. I've never spoken with him directly. Firstly because I don't know him. And secondly because he is more sly than the others.

Q: What about the clandestine network?

A: Perhaps it's still there, but its centre of gravity is gone. Who do they want to assist? There are no more leaders in the forest. Or if there are, their activity is nothing to be afraid of.

Q: And the "two-faced" people in government?

A: That's also what we mean by clandestine. As soon as Xanana has been sentenced, we will deal with them administratively. We'll take action against them in accordance with the degree of their offence. At the moment they're still in the government apparatus. After the Xanana trial is over we'll certainly take action against them.

[In the remainder of the interview he suggests a specially selected East Timorese delegation should visit the pope and persuade him that the East Timorese want to be integrated with Indonesia. He also reveals that a lot of Indonesian businessmen who have promised to invest in East Timor have failed to follow through, in part because of lack of infrastructure. Matahari Group (supermarkets), and Batik Keris (cattle fattening!) are mentioned, as are unnamed real estate and fishing ventures. The latest is Sudwikatmono, who has promised to build movie theaters all over the province. Soares accused Carrascalão's administration of being too centralized].

INDONESIANS WANT JOURNALISTS OUT, NOW!

Publico 22 May 1993. by Rui Moreira

Original Lang.: Portuguese, Unabridged

(Dili) After being attacked on Friday, the RTP journalist and film operator decided to leave East Timor today. But the territory's military authorities want the other Portuguese reporters to Dili to follow their example, claiming that they are not in a position to guarantee their safety.

Yesterday, the Indonesian military command in East Timor, via its two spokesmen assigned to the journalists, tried to dissuade reporters from the *Lusa* news agency and *Diario de Noticias* from remaining in the territory until their visas expire next Monday. It even warned them that they might have "worse luck" than their TV colleagues.

"The authorities cannot be held responsible for your lives," warned one of the military spokesmen, the Indonesian journalist Petrus Suryadi, when he was told that the Portuguese envoys were still interested in staying on in East Timor so as to visit Baucau, Lospalos and Viqueque, in the eastern part of the territory.

Suryadi, who was in Portugal last February, told the two Portuguese reporters that they could only stay if they signed a document which would make them themselves responsible for their own safety. They agreed, but at 01:30 hours (local time) their visit to the eastern tip of Timor, scheduled to start at 07.00 hours, had still not been confirmed.

In the early hours of the morning today (around 20.00 hours Friday in Lisbon), there was still a chance that the authorities in the territory would choose to force the two journalists to catch the same flight to Jakarta today that the two RTP envoys will be on. For them, remaining in East Timor did, in fact, become inadvisable for safety reasons.

The TV crew was attacked by around a dozen people, apparently civilians, when they accompanied Xanana Gusmão's mother and three sisters on the sidewalk of road from the court (Jalan Abilio Monteiro), as they were going home after the sentence had been passed on the former resistance leader.

The journalists and Xanana's relatives had been followed by the group of attackers since they left the court, as can be seen in the TV footage which the cameraman managed to film at that moment and which RTP intends to show today or Sunday. The attackers, most of whom spoke Portuguese and who were present in court during the last session of the trial, got close to the group and suddenly started shouting and

punching and kicking the two journalists and the equipment they were carrying.

The attackers were being encouraged by at least one Indonesian who, just moments before, had tried in vain to stop the RTP cameraman from filming the conversation between Rui Araujo and one of Xanana Gusmão's sisters. Escorted by soldiers, the RTP crew were led to a van and transported to the hotel. The day before this, Rui Araujo had been warned by the military authorities that his safety was at risk.

Via Petrus Suryadi, the RTP envoy had been told that "the territory's military authorities were very concerned about his safety," allegedly because Rui Araujo "had many enemies in Dili." In fact, the problem of the journalist's safety is said to have been the subject of discussion in a meeting, held Thursday, between East Timor's military commander and the Indonesian secret services.

INDONESIAN TIMORESE ATTACKS PORTUGAL

Indonesian Headlines - May 26

An Indonesian local parliamentarian wants Portugal charged with war crimes during its "inhuman" rule of the disputed territory. "Portugal should be held responsible for the death of thousands of East Timorese because of its colonial rule," Antonio Freitas Parada, a member of the East Timor legislative assembly said. But diplomats said Indonesia has largely failed to win over the hearts of the East Timorese and estimate nearly a third of the population have since died from execution, starvation and disease.

WEB OF TERROR TRAPS EAST TIMORESE

The Observer 30 May 1993, By: Hugh O'Shaughnessy. Full Text (from BCET)

In 1991 Hugh O'Shaughnessy went on a secret visit to report on the plight of the Timorese. Now he returns to Dili to report on the mood of those who have been fighting the Indonesian forces of occupation since they invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1979 (sic).

Too much blood has been spilt, too much grief and anger caused, for the war in East Timor to end like this. A week after the Indonesian occupying forces sent resistance leader Xanana Gusmão to prison for life the East Timorese are determined to fight on, despite the fact that over the years an estimated 200,000 out of a population of 600,000 have died as a result of the occu-

ption. 'He was a figurehead, an important one but his loss makes me fight all the more bitterly,' said a senior member of the underground here.

The streets are filled with armed troops but the weapons of both sides are what they always have been. Indonesia, a powerful nation of 185 million, whom most of the world's governments either fear or want to trade with, can count on the force of numbers. Its regular army by far outnumbers the 600,000 people of East Timor.

Since the invasion and occupation of 1975 Indonesia has sought to wipe out local resistance with a combination of military force and the power of demography.

Neither has yet proved successful. The Timorese guerrillas - perhaps only a few hundred men - have skipped and jumped away from the well-armed, slow-moving and disoriented Indonesians. The Timorese lost their leader, the 46-year-old Xanana, on 20 November when torture forced a local taxi driver to reveal the location of his secret bunker.

They also lost his replacement, Xanana's old comrade-in-arms Ma Hunu, early this year. But the Fretilin guerilla army is still on a war footing, defying the Indonesians in the mountains. The occupiers meanwhile are perfecting new methods of terror. The latest are the ninjas, hooded men who break into houses at night to murder those suspected of anti-Indonesian feeling. The Timorese cannot win by force of arms: but neither, it seems, can they be wiped out.

The power of demography is another matter. The Indonesians are keen to relieve the pressure of population in the islands of their central heartland.

Encouraged by Muslim activists in Jakarta to overcome the mostly Catholic Timorese under a tidal wave of Islam, the occupiers have pushed ahead with migration from Indonesia, much as Zionist activists have moved Jews into the Occupied Territories. Every boat seems to bring a new group of Indonesians. Forced to abandon Portuguese as a medium of instruction, the schools now teach the Bahasa language of Indonesia. Almost every job of any consequence is given to an immigrant. The result is that the Timorese majority are reduced to the role of serfs.

The nearest a Timorese gets to using the airport, for instance, is carrying a traveler's bags, said one local resident. A Timorese student who has been given a scholarship to study in Indonesia has been warned that students risk everything if they continue protesting against the occupation. Dili is slowly but surely becoming an Indonesian city.

'We're like red wine in a glass. The more water you add the more diluted the wine

becomes. In the end it stops being wine and starts being water,' said one Timorese. Though statistics are rare, it is estimated that half the population of Dili was born outside East Timor and about a third of the total population is now made up of immigrants.

There is little the East Timorese can do to counter this demographic pressure. Some, despairing of their future here, emigrate. Others, equally despairing, disappear to join the guerrillas. Beset by Indonesian military force and demographic pressure, they are basing their hopes on the United Nations: the Security Council has several times condemned the invasion and to this day does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Amos Wako, the UN representative who was here last month, created a very good impression with the Timorese, for instance by visiting political prisoners.

The Timorese are pressing for his report to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to be made public. Some feel that a word from President Bill Clinton, known for his commitment to human rights, could improve things quickly.

Presiding over the situation is Abilio Osorio Soares, the governor appointed by Jakarta. The best that the Timorese intellectuals say of him is that at least he is not Javanese.

'Here we are living in a prison camp, a Buchenwald or a Treblinka where nobody dares to speak the truth. But at least the jailer is one of us,' said one Timorese intellectual bleakly.

Osorio Soares, 46, a former public works inspector, minimizes the effect of the immigration. 'We're all one country, one people,' he said expansively yesterday.

He defended the trial of Xanana as being in accordance with Indonesian law and maintained that there had been no guerrilla activity for years.

Confirming obliquely the overwhelming presence of Javanese in top posts here, he said he wanted to train more East Timorese for senior positions.

His message to the UN and to foreign critics is that they should listen less to East Timorese abroad and to a Portugal he says abandoned East Timor in 1975 and more to Indonesia – which he claimed was building up the country – and to East Timorese still living at home.

'Portugal abandoned East Timor: they weren't driven out,' he argued. 'Europeans,' he continued, 'should look at the reality and not somebody's dreams.'

The very demographic success of the Indonesian occupiers is becoming self-defeating. Young Timorese, educated and aware as they never were under Portuguese

colonial rule, see their country slipping away from them if the present situation continues.

To this realisation are added the memories of 18 years of savagery and slaughter by the Indonesians, culminating the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili on November 1991 and the life sentence passed on Xanana 10 days ago.

All these factors have made the Timorese even more determined to resist the occupying force by whatever means they can. As the world gets to know the real situation here Indonesia is fast losing the propaganda battle. It must be said that, outside Dili, an air of idyllic calm hangs over some of the countryside. In the enclave of Oecussi peasants thresh their rice in paddy fields helped by their water buffalo in a pastoral Arcadia. In the town of Oecussi, in between beautiful mountains and an emerald sea, all that is left of 450 years of Portuguese rule are a few churches and monuments. The roads have all been renamed to celebrate East Timor's absorption by Indonesia – Jalan Integrasi, for instance and Jalan Soekarno.

In a desolate part of a deserted beach two ancient cannons bearing the rusted arms of the kings of Portugal guard a pillar which commemorates the first landing here of the Portuguese in 1515, a few years before Henry VIII ascended the throne in England. The floor of the monument is picked out in a little mosaic of white stone to read *aqui tambem e Portugal* – 'this too is Portugal.' That certainly is not the case today – indeed, if it ever was. But although money is spent on Oecussi, especially on education, the people have little to show for it.

The rains have failed and famine stalks the beautiful parched mountains of the enclave; there is leprosy and, for want of a bridge over the broad River Tono, the town is still cut off from supplies when the rains come.

As Indonesians attempt to present an acceptable face of the military occupation of East Timor, the old atrocities come back to haunt them.

The trial of Xanana is one of the ghosts. Though a few journalists, one or two diplomats and the occasional foreign observer were let into the trial for brief periods, the hearing was to all intents and purposes held in camera. Amnesty International was specifically refused permission to attend.

As scraps of the proceedings are pieced together it is becoming clear that the occupying forces has little alternative to keeping the trial a secret, so unfair was it. Xanana's lawyer was allocated to him on the strength of his being a close friend of the chief of police intelligence in Jakarta.

Some of the witnesses for the prosecution were dragged from prison to give evidence. Some, looking ill-treated, have gone back to jail and have not been heard of since. One brave witness who cried out 'Long live East Timor' in court, was hustled away and has not been seen again. The translation facilities in court were pitiful and in the end the judge put aside the statement of a man on trial for his life as 'irrelevant.'

Yesterday, it was announced in Jakarta that Xanana's lawyer will appeal to President Suharto for clemency against the life sentence.

Apart from the embarrassment of this trial, the Indonesians also have to overcome the world's horror at the cemetery massacre – filmed by British television producer Max Stahl – which claimed the lives of more than 190. The Indonesians say that no more than 84 died and they have produced the corpses of only 18 of these – including that of the only foreign victim, a young New Zealander.

In a gruesome act of farce, the Indonesians are telling village the 64 still officially counted as 'missing.'

In the face of the filmed evidence, they continue to claim that the shooting was started by the demonstrators, who not only were unarmed but also had announced in advance the time and place of their peaceful demonstration.

A brigadier and two colonels were brought before a 'military council of honour' and a few NCOs and soldiers were given short prison terms.

Strangely none of the military and police who were at the scene when the shooting started on the morning of 12 November 1991 has been charged. But Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, one of the organisers of the demonstration, was condemned to life imprisonment at the end of last year and three of his friends are serving 15, 10 and nine years, essentially for the crime of having survived the Indonesian bullets.

SYAFEI DEFYING JAKARTA

Radio Netherlands: 2 June 1993. Talk for radio By Abuprijadi Santoso. [Translated from Indonesian]. Unabridged

Indonesian diplomats abroad are facing mounting problems, thanks to the attitude of military hardliners towards East Timor. With world criticism of the trial, gagging and sentence of East Timor's resistance leader Xanana Gusmão still reverberating, a number of foreign news agencies are now quoting foreign diplomats in Jakarta as regretting developments that compelled the International Red Cross to suspend its visits to political prisoners in East Timor. It is not beyond the realm of impossibility that

changes could occur in Jakarta, albeit slowly and cautiously. This editorial comment is from Radio Netherlands in Hilversum.

The world's press is still condemning what has come to be known as the "travesty of justice" of the Xanana trial. Two newspapers, the New York Times and the International Herald Tribune, have published an editorial entitled, "A Travesty in Indonesia." The trial of Xanana Gusmão is described as nothing but a show, staged for propaganda purposes, they said. The two papers repeated the charge by Newsweek last week that East Timor has been silenced and Xanana gagged. The life sentence given to Xanana is described as "extraordinary" because, as Asia Watch said, things happened that had never happened before in Indonesian trials.

Echoing the words of The Observer in an editorial last week entitled "Suharto's Crimes," the New York Times writes that the Xanana trial was intended to justify the annexation of East Timor. It concludes that Jakarta is inflicting damage on itself, not on the prisoners.

While the US media speak in these terms, Reuter has come to a similar conclusion in its report on the Red Cross decision to suspend prison visits in East Timor. Foreign diplomats in Jakarta are quoted as saying that, had the ICRC visits been left to proceed, nothing would have happened. (Chief ICRC delegate) Pont said that the problems faced by the ICRC occurred not in Jakarta but in East Timor, implying that they arose because of the local military authorities.

The Dutch newspaper NRC-Handelsblad, in a recent interview with the governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio, was astonished to report him as claiming that he controlled the situation in East Timor and was in a position to give orders to the local military. A close buddy of President Suharto's son-in-law, Colonel Prabowo, Abilio seems not to understand the Dual Function (of the armed forces) which means that the role of a governor, especial if he happens to be a civilian, is subordinate to that of the military command. This applies also in East Timor, particularly since the disbanding of the special military command, Kolakops.

All these news reports reveal the policy being implemented by the military command in East Timor, in particular Major-General Theo Syafei.

Abdurachman Wahid thinks that the exceptional thing about Theo Syafei is that he is a Catholic officer from the mainly Muslim region of South Sulawesi. It was he who, after the massacre at Santa Cruz, restored discipline to army ranks while

spreading fear among the population, with everyone suspicious of everyone else.

The general staff in Jakarta has had little to say. Major-General Theo Syafei spoke out against the talks with Portugal some time ago, and his statement rejecting the presence of the ICRC in East Timor was hastily corrected by President Suharto. Before that, the UN Secretary-General's special envoy, Amos Wako, was accused of instigating Xanana Gusmão, resulting in another correction from Jakarta, this time in a carefully-phrased warning from Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Observers say that the extraordinary thing about Theo Syafei is not his origins, as Abdurachman seems to think, but two other things: He was the one who, in an interview with the daily, Kedaulatan Rakyat, last year, spoke of the ferocious war that raged in East Timor from 1975 till 1980, by contrast with the official version of the Foreign Ministry which mentions only the civil war in 1975. The war to which Theo Syafei was referring has been kept secret from the Indonesian public. Ironically, the war Theo Syafei spoke of was not all that different from the war described by Xanana Gusmão in his defence statement which has been smuggled out to Europe. The second thing about Theo Syafei is, as a German commentator has remarked: why, after making so many blunders damaging to the diplomacy backed by Suharto, he is still in his job, and who stands behind this general who articulates the military hardliners in Jakarta?

Attitudes towards the East Timor issue may have shifted since General Benny Murdani, architect of the East Timor operation, was removed from the Cabinet. The words of Theo Syafei contrast with those of General Edi Sudradjat who, during his 54 days as armed forces commander-in-chief, gave the impression of being more open towards human rights criticism. They differ too from the words of General Feisal Tanjung who, in the journal Forum, referred to the East Timor issue as a "disgrace," something to be ashamed of.

American observers who are calling on Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor point out that officers of Edi and Feisal's generation were only implementers of the policy, not architects of the East Timor operation. This means that their sense of commitment is not so strong.

But Haji Princent, chair of the League for the Defence of Human Rights, LPHAM, is a bit more optimistic. Proposals being made about giving East Timor greater autonomy or pulling the armed forces out of the territory and providing greater opportunities for East Timorese cultural expression are becoming more widespread in Jakarta. This

may explain why hardliners like Theo Syafei are becoming more ferocious than ever, according to Haji Princent in an interview with Radio Netherlands.

TIMORESE ACTIVISTS ABROAD

JOINT DECLARATION FROM EXTERNAL RESISTANCE

Communiqué issued by Timorese resistance leaders meeting in Sydney on April 8-9, 1993. Unofficial translation from Portuguese. Full text.

JOINT DECLARATION

In order to support the efforts to unite the forces that are representative of the Timorese Resistance, the delegation of FRETILIN, led by Mari Alkatiri, Vice-President of the External Delegation of FRETILIN and Secretary for the External Relations of FRETILIN; the UDT, led by João Carrascalão, Vice-President of the Central Committee of UDT; and the Special Representative of the CNRM, Jose Ramos Horta, met in Sydney on April 8 and 9, 1993.

In the beginning of the meeting, all the parties congratulated themselves for the event and the Special Representative of the CNRM welcomed the delegations of UDT and FRETILIN for the conclusion of their Declaration in Sydney in March 30, 1993, calling it a definite step toward building an understanding between the Timorese political and partisan forces.

Regarding the evolution of the political and military situation in East Timor, the participating delegations considered, with profound concern, the recent capture of Commander Ma'Huno, Secretary of CDF and leader of the CNRM, as another hideous act of Indonesia in an attempt to sabotage the ongoing process of negotiations mediated by the UN Secretary-General.

Therefore, and taking in account the shameful way by which Indonesian authorities try to use Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno, the parties:

- 1) Demand the unconditional and immediate release of Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno, as well as all the other Timorese arrested and detained by Indonesia.
- 2) Exhort the UN Secretary-General and the international community to denounce Indonesian maneuvers, and demand that the authorities in Jakarta allow regular visits by the International Red Cross and other international humanitarian organi-

zations to the POWs, Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno.

- 3) Appeal to the UN Secretary-General and the international community to consider Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno as prisoners of war, providing them all the international mechanisms of protection and defense, as provided by the Geneva Conventions and corresponding protocols.
- 4) Reaffirm the position that as long as Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno remain prisoners of war and captives of Indonesia, their powers will be kept frozen and, therefore, their statements in captivity do not have any judicial or political value.

In the external plan of struggle, following the compromise formally accepted in the Declaration of Sydney in last March 30 and, in the spirit of the Nationalistic Convergence and, in the sequence of exploratory contacts between the directors of UDT and FRETILIN and the Special Representative of CNRM that took place in Lisbon and Amsterdam, based on the deliberations of the Directive Commission of FRETILIN of October 10, 1992, the Delegations gathered in Sydney agreed:

- 1) To reaffirm the need to begin constructing an ample, united structure, representative of all the Timorese political forces, a structure able to assume with dignity and efficiency the global representation of the Direction and of all the Resistance, as well as, of all the Timorese people, in the international plan.
- 2) To establish practical forms of coordination of diplomacy among the Special Representative of the CNRM, FRETILIN and UDT, to create a favorable climate leading only one unified structure for all the political forces which makeup the Timorese diplomatic representation.
- 3) To exhort all Timorese patriots and nationalists to contribute in a clear and honest way to the construction of this structure of unity amongst the Resistance

The Delegations present, after reviewing the complex process of negotiations about East Timor, decided:

- 1) To reject any attempt to falsify the nature of the conflict in East Timor, conflict that translates to the resistance of the people of East Timor against the illegal occupation of their country by Indonesia and not, which Jakarta claims is a war between Timorese people.
- 2) To repudiate, therefore, the current maneuvers to organize a "meeting of reconciliation" between "integrationist" Timorese and Timorese in the Resistance.

- 3) To reaffirm their goal to negotiate without pre-conditions with the Central Government in Jakarta, if these negotiations take place under the auspices of UN and according to Resolution 37/30 of the UN General Assembly.
- 4) To reiterate their support for the mediation of the UN Secretary-General, as well as the recognition of Portugal as the administrative power.
- 5) To reiterate their position that the problem of East Timor is a question of the right to self-determination of an entire people; therefore it is the international community which can create the conditions for the people of East Timor to be able, without any physical or moral coercion, to decide freely about their future according to Resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Done in Sydney in April 9th, 1993
/signed/

João V. Carrascalão, Vice-President of UDT
Mari Alkatiri, Vice-President of DEF,
(Secretary of External Relations)
Jose R. Horta, Special Representative of CNRM

EXILED EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE LEADER (HORTA) PLANS RETURN

by Kalinga Seneviratne

Sydney, Apr. 10 (IPS) – the roving ambassador of East Timor's independence movement is preparing to return home following the arrest of the group's acting leader Antonio Gomes da Costa last week.

José Ramos-Horta, the special representative of the coalition National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) that opposes the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, said Saturday he will be visiting his homeland soon despite the lack of guarantee that he will not be arrested as soon as he arrives.

"It's my country and it's a challenge to Indonesian authorities to accept someone who is not engaged in armed opposition," he told IPS.

"My role has been to pursue the struggle through peaceful means," added Ramos-Horta. "If my arrival in East Timor and possible imprisonment helps to further highlight the plight of the East Timorese at the hands of the Indonesians, so be it."

Last Saturday, Indonesian authorities arrested da Costa, the second in command of Fretilin (Portuguese acronym for revolutionary front for the independence of East Timor), which has been fighting for the

territory's independence for more than 15 years.

Portugal pulled out of the eastern part of the island of Timor in 1975. The other half had been colonized by the Netherlands and became part of Indonesia when the country became independent in 1949.

Indonesia sent in troops in 1975 to annex East Timor, and Fretilin has been putting up stiff resistance against Jakarta ever since. The conflict has simmered down in the past few years, although more than 100,000 East Timorese have died fighting or from starvation in the late 1970s.

East Timor became the focus of international attention in November 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire at pro-independence demonstrators, killing scores of them.

This week, Indonesian news agency 'Antara' reported that Jakarta has discharged army Brig Gen. Warouw, who headed the Indonesian military operations command in Dili at the time of the massacre.

But the resistance movement has been suffering heavy blows anew in the last five months with the arrest of its leader Xanana Gusmão and, recently, da Costa.

When asked if these arrests had put a large part of the responsibility to continue the resistance movement's struggle on those like him who are based abroad, the Sydney-based Ramos-Horta said, "it's been partly on my shoulders for the last 20 years."

"But the outcome of the struggle has been and always will be fought on the ground in East Timor," he added. "The capture of one or two leaders will not diminish the struggle of our people for self-determination."

The East Timorese Action Network, which links the independence movement's supporters worldwide, says Jakarta has been trying to portray East Timor human rights issue as an effort by western countries to undercut the sovereignty of third world nations.

Indeed, Indonesia and Malaysia have indicated their dismay over a recent resolution by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights strongly condemning Indonesia on East Timor.

But Ramos-Horta said Jakarta's mounting economic problems including an 80-billion-dollar debt makes it vulnerable to pressures to link human rights issues to foreign aid.

He also said the "generational change" in the Indonesian leadership will hasten East Timor's march toward independence.

Last year, Ramos-Horta offered a peace plan to Jakarta, beginning with unconditional peace talks and culminating in a referendum for the people of East Timor to

decide what kind of government or political system they need.

Said Ramos-Horta: "Indonesia can't have any illusions that by refusing to talk to us they can solve the problem."

But the East Timor issue is further complicated by potential oil fields in the Timor Gap. The area will come under East Timorese jurisdiction under an independence agreement.

Oil industry analysts have said Timor Gap's output could reach as much as 200,000 barrels a day by 1995. Seven of the world's biggest oil firms have agreed to drill 45 wells there at a cost of about 400 million dollars, and the U.S.-based marathon oil group has already begun drilling and exploration operations.

Australia and Indonesia signed the Timor Gap treaty in 1990 to jointly explore the area, but Portugal has challenged Australia's right to sign the treaty in the world court at the Hague.

Ramos-Horta meanwhile said an independent East Timor "will be generous enough, pragmatic enough to accommodate everyone's interest in a joint-venture to exploit our rich oil resources."

HORTA IN BRISBANE: CAPTURES HAVE NOT WEAKENED MOVEMENT

Radio Australia 11 April

A spokesman for the East Timorese resistance movement, Fretilin, has claimed that the movement has not been weakened by the recent arrest of some of its key leaders by Indonesian authorities.

Addressing members of the East Timorese community in the Australian city of Brisbane, Jose Ramos Horta, said that the political objectives of the East Timorese resistance were within reach. Mr. Horta predicted that the battle for self-determination in East Timor would reach a turning point in the next two or three years.

Horta [voice recorded in English] "Indonesia lost the political battle in East Timor. They still have the military upper hand absolutely – we don't question that, we have no illusions about that. But a battle, a war, is not fought only with guns but with ideas, with convictions, with hope, with determination and with diplomacy. On the diplomatic front we are winning."

JOÃO CARRASCALÃO INTERVIEW

Publico, 26 April 1993 By Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros. Original Portuguese. Unabridged

"WE CANNOT ALLOW ANY RECED- ING"

(Lisbon) UDT Vice-President opposes any "reconciliation" meeting and Church mediation in the Timor issue. He lives in Sydney, was in Rome, and is now in Lisbon, before going on to Macau. In between meetings in Belem and São Bento, João Carrascalão, Vice-President and "historic" member of UDT told *Publico* that he sees the last round of talks on Timor as positive. In his opinion, the polemical "reconciliation" meeting between Timorese, and the possibility of Church mediation in the negotiations on the territory's future, are clearly negative. On account of lack of time, João Carrascalão did not have many words to say, but they were enough to show his optimism. This was justified, firstly, by the results of the last round of talks. "After six hours of meeting, the Ministers and the UN Secretary General clearly achieved more than to schedule the next round." And, secondly, by the rottenness of the Suharto regime, which is even losing the confidence of its greatest supporters – the military.

Publico – What is your view of the outcome of the recent talks in Rome?

João Carrascalão – In contrast to what was suggested by the press, I think that the Rome meeting was positive. After a six-hour meeting, the Ministers and UN Secretary General clearly achieved more than to schedule the next round. I believe that Minister Durão Barroso tabled our proposals, such as the moratorium for Indonesia at the next UN Human Rights Commission meeting, or the idea of Timorese being personally received by the Secretary General. Naturally, no details were given out about this, even for the protection of Minister Ali Alatas himself...

Q: The possibility of a meeting between Timorese in favour of integration and members of the Resistance has caused some contention. What do you think of the so-called "reconciliation" meeting?

A: Firstly, I ought to say that the idea is not a new one. Two years ago, Francisco Lopes da Cruz (currently itinerant ambassador, and adviser to Suharto on Timor) made this proposal to me in Geneva, and my reply at that time was that the UDT central commit-

tee totally rejected the idea. We believed it to be a maneuver by Indonesia in order to try to regionalise the Timor problem, and to make it seem to be an issue among the Timorese, when it is really a matter between Indonesia and Portugal: Indonesia as the invader, and Portugal as administering power. Today, UDT continues to reject the idea, as do Fretilin and Ramos Horta. We reject, in unison, an initiative of this kind.

Q: The discordant voice is that of Abilio Araujo...

A: As far as I am aware, support for the meeting is Abilio Araujo's personal opinion, which is not linked to Fretilin. The other Fretilin central committee members are in agreement on the complete rejection of such a meeting. And Minister Durão Barroso himself has also told us that he did not agree with the idea. But Abilio Araujo has ever right to hold his own views.

Q: The role of the Church in the negotiations, namely through the St. Egidio Community, is another controversial matter...

A: I have noticed that the St. Egidio Community has been almost putting itself forward as possible mediator on the Timor question, but what I see is an improvement in the Vatican's position in relation to Timor. The document read by the Holy Father during the audience with the Timorese, indicates a step forward in comparison with the previous position. What I think is that, in the struggle for Timor's self-determination, we have come along too far to now allow any receding. And mediation by the St. Egidio Community, for example, in the place of the UN Secretary General would, for us, be receding, stepping backwards.

Q: But would you consider the possibility of the Church having a place at the negotiating table, as long as that did not limit the role of the UN Secretary General?

A: It would all depend on the way in which the process develops, but at this stage I think that any Church mediation would mean stepping backwards. Vatican support is important, but without any input in the negotiations.

Q: It is thought, today, that the situation in Timor has made Indonesia lose points on the international scene, where condemnation of Jakarta tends to increase in tone. Do you agree?

A: I agree entirely. International pressure doesn't allow Indonesia to ignore the Timor issue. Furthermore, I think that the Jakarta regime itself has serious internal difficulties. For example, the imposition of Vice-President Try Sutrisno by the military, or the position recently taken by General Benny Murdani who, after leaving the Ministry of Defence, joined the Democratic Party in stead of jointing the governmental party (Golkar), which would be the expected thing to do. This has meant a public challenge to President Suharto, which would have been unthinkable a year or two ago. All this suggests that Suharto is losing the confidence of the military who supported him, and I think that the regime is not going to last for much longer.

ABILIO ARAUJO MEETS WITH PATRIARCH

Publico 1 May 1993 Original Lang.: Portuguese Unabridged

(Lisbon) Abilio Araujo, leader of Fretilin, met yesterday with Cardinal Antonio Ribeiro at the patriarch's headquarters in Lisbon. During the discreet meeting, the Catholic Church's role in the search for a settlement to the question of Timor would certainly have been the subject under discussion. The possibility of the Church playing the part of mediator in the diplomatic process under the UN Secretary General's supervision has already been publicly rejected by different sectors of the Timorese resistance. Meanwhile, Abilio Araujo has been supporting the Church's presence at a hypothetical "reconciliation" meeting between pro-integration Timorese and members of the resistance. Although this initiative does not question Boutros Ghali's position as mediator, it too has been met with reservations by other resistance leaders.

ABILIO ARAUJO RECEIVED BY PORTUGUESE CHURCH

*Publico 12 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon Original Lang.: Portuguese Unabridged
Headline: Timor*

Yesterday in Coimbra, Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo was received by the Portuguese Episcopal Conference Chairman, João Alves, to whom he presented his proposal for holding a "reconciliation meeting" between both members of the resistance to East Timor's occupation by Indonesia, and those in favour of annexation.

Accepting Publico's invitation to respond to the communiqué issued Monday

by UDT's Regional Committee, in which the latter called the "reconciliation meeting" a "maneuver being carried out by Indonesia," Abilio Araujo simply replied that "It is total nonsense, and should be understood as such."

CONSTÂNCIO PINTO: THE STRUGGLE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

By Constâncio Pinto, Executive Secretary for the Clandestine Front National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

Constâncio was one of five East Timorese exiles who participated in a tour of North America in April and May 1993. Their speaking tour was initiated by the East Timorese community in Melbourne, Australia, with the support of the East Timor Talks Campaign. It was hosted and coordinated in North America by the East Timor Action Network USA and East Timor Alert Network Canada.

For reasons of space, we have not included the talks of Maria Teresa Braz, Elizabeth Exposto, Danilo Afoso Henriques, and Abé Barreto Soares in these Document compilations. They are available from ETAN/US.

This is an edited, composite version of the talk he gave in more than 30 cities.

I was twelve years old when the Indonesian military invaded my country. I fled to the mountains with my family and for three years, hid in the jungle. We had little food, no medicine, and no weapons to defend ourselves with but we were not alone. Thousands of East Timorese families had fled into the mountains like us to escape the terror of the invasion; others fled to Australia or Portugal as refugees.

During those years in the mountains, people were dying all around me. Many were killed by the Indonesian military; others died more slowly through starvation or disease. It is hard for me to describe those years, but I can still see the Skyhawks and Bronco OV-10 aircraft that the Indonesians used in their attempts to eliminate us. As you probably know, those aircraft are manufactured in the United States.

When I was fifteen years old I went to the front line as a guerrilla fighter. At that time, the Indonesians controlled all the food producing areas and people were starving in the mountains. We were fighting to protect and feed them - as well as for our right to self determination. I fought the Indonesians for eight months then I trained as a nurse because I wanted to help the sick and injured.

In September 1978, the Indonesian army's Battalion 410 arrested me and my family in Remexio village south of Dili. Again I watched my people die. I watched them die every day. Many of the people I knew were interrogated, tortured - and then they disappeared. After our arrest, we were forced to learn the Indonesian language and sing the Indonesian national anthem. The first words we learned to pronounce were *salamat pagi bapak* and *selamat siang*. (Good morning and good afternoon.) For two months I studied this new language and then, to survive, I worked for a police commander as a *tenaga bantuan operasi* which is like a carrier or a very lowly servant.

On December 1978 I returned to Dili with my parents. Somehow we and the other families who survived the terror in the mountains had to reconstruct our lives again. My father and I worked as laborers to take care of our extended family. In January 1979 I was at last able to continue my education at Externato de St. Jose, a Portuguese school run by Father Leao da Costa. At the time, this was the only Portuguese school still operating in Dili, but it too was closed by the Indonesian army after the massacre of November 12 1991.

I finished school in 1988 and became a teacher of religion at this school. This was my cover for my work in the resistance. I sent food and medicine to the fighters still in the mountains and kept them informed about what was happening in Dili and the other towns and villages occupied by the Indonesian army. I also monitored what was happening abroad.

One of my main tasks however was to develop the civilian resistance by uniting all the independent groups resisting the Indonesian occupation. I began this work in 1986 with a small cell of seven people. Our code was 007! The umbrella organization at the time was known as the Revolutionary Council of National Resistance (CRRN). In 1989, CRRN was transformed into CNRM - the National Council of Maubere Resistance. In effect, CNRM is a non-partisan clandestine coalition of all East Timorese nationalist groups including student organizations, our army Falantil plus the two major political parties Fretilin and UDT

In 1990 I was elected Secretary of the Executive Committee of the CNRM. My work as Executive Secretary included meeting with resistance leaders in the jungle and coordinating all clandestine activities in the towns and villages.

At this time, the leader of the resistance was Xanana Gusmão, a hero to a whole generation of young East Timorese both inside East Timor and in the diaspora. He

was captured by the Indonesian military on November 20, 1992 and is still on trial in Dili.

In 1991, after Xanana Gusmão had made an offer to participate in UN sponsored talks without pre-conditions about the future of East Timor, we invited an Australian lawyer and journalist, Robert Domm, to secretly interview him for the Australian Broadcasting Corporation. It was a very dangerous mission but we in East Timor were prepared to take the risk because it was so important that the rest of the world hear about our continuing struggle for self-determination. I organized the visit, escorted Domm through the mountains to Xanana's campsite, and acted as his translator. After Robert Domm had finished his interview, I talked all night with Xanana then escorted the Australian back to safety.

Three weeks later, Xanana's camp was surrounded by Indonesian troops. Xanana escaped but the Indonesians took everything he had left there, including a photograph of me and a copy of the taped interview with Robert Domm.

The Indonesians caught and arrested me on the morning of January 25, 1991, my birthday. I told them I would never forget the birthday present they gave me - for, after the police had finished with me at the station, I had blood coming out of my nose, my ears, my eyes and my mouth. My body was swollen all over.

The beating continued from 9 o'clock on the morning I was arrested until 10 o'clock at night. They stripped me, and after every question they kicked and punched me all over and jabbed me with their outstretched hands in the abdomen to purposely cause damage to my internal organs. The beat me even while I was bleeding. They repeatedly threatened to kill me, to throw me into the sea. They called it *mandi laut*. They threatened my family too. They said that if I didn't tell them what I was doing and where Xanana was, they would harm my parents and my wife. They told me I would be responsible for whatever happened to them.

After the beating at the police station, I was transferred to Senopato II prison where I was interrogated by Captain Edy Suprianto and Lieutenant Colonel Gatot, the head of intelligence in East Timor. That interrogation continued for four days non stop. The Indonesians worked in shifts and rested - but they forced me to stay awake the whole time. When they finished with me, they threw me in a cell alone. There was no mattress, no blankets, so I slept on the bare cement. It was very cold.

There were thirteen other East Timorese political prisoners in that prison while I was there. These people had been detained three

months earlier and had all been tortured: with electric shocks, cigarette burns to the skin and knife cuts. One, Abilio Sarmento, had a broken jaw and another political prisoner, David Talofo, was suffering severe mental trauma when I saw him.

One week after my capture, I was released on condition that I present myself to Captain Edy and Colonel Gatot three times a week. Even then, my movements were monitored by Indonesian intelligence. Sometimes they came to my house and continued to interrogate me about the underground organization and about Xanana Gusmão. And each time I presented myself to the police station, the Indonesians threatened me and tried to force me into betraying Xanana and the resistance. People have to deal with this kind of intimidation every day in East Timor.

Each time I was interrogated, I told the officers that I could not give them any information because I didn't have any - I was no longer a leader. Anyway, I said, my people wouldn't tell me anything because they knew I had been arrested by the Indonesians.

Although I didn't know it at the time, Indonesian intelligence had lied to the international media after my capture and boasted that I was a double agent. This was another of their clumsy attempts to undermine the resistance in East Timor.

My capture in 1991 came at a time when the resistance was preparing for the proposed visit to East Timor of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. Xanana Gusmão had given me instructions but I had been arrested before I could communicate these to all the other resistance leaders. It was urgent therefore that I continue my clandestine activities as soon as I got out of prison - even though I was officially under house arrest and being threatened continually by the Indonesian authorities.

We East Timorese had great expectations for the proposed visit by the Portuguese parliamentary delegation. We saw it as an opportunity to show the world what was happening in our country - for we knew there would be foreign journalists accompanying the delegation.

Meanwhile, the Indonesians were doing everything they could to intimidate the population into submission. On 29 October, the Indonesian army ambushed Motael church in Dili and killed Sebastião Gomes, a 22 year old student who had sought sanctuary there. Soldiers surrounded the church, broke into it and shot Sebastião in the stomach. He bled to death on the steps of the church.

I was to be next. The military knew of my role in the resistance because they had

forced some of the detainees to admit, under torture, that I was still their leader. On November 1, Martino Alau, an Indonesian intelligence policeman, held a meeting at his house to plan my re-capture and possible execution. I was informed of this at three o'clock that afternoon on my way home to my family. Instead of going home, I immediately went into hiding. I could not even say good-bye to my wife nor my parents and I have not seen them since that day. To contact them would have been to risk their lives as well as my own. I heard later that the army had surrounded my house and interrogated my wife and parents, then waited for me to return. At the time, my wife was five months pregnant with our first child. He was born after I left Dili and is now one year old.

To our great disappointment, the Portuguese Parliamentary delegation never arrived. The United Nations Special Rapporteur on Torture, Mr. Pieter Kooijmans (who is now the Foreign Minister of Holland) was did visit Dili however; we desperately wanted to show him what we were suffering. On November 10, I met secretly with students and other members of the resistance and together we decided to organize a demonstration in his honor.

'We have to do something because Mr. Pieter Kooijmans is now here,' the young people told me that night.

'Don't you think that Indonesia will kill you?' I asked them.

'Never!' they said.

We held the demonstration on November 12 1991, a week after Sebastião's funeral. It is our custom to remember our dead seven days after the funeral by placing flowers on the grave. In Tetun we call it *ai funan midar* which means 'sweet flowers.' The mourners not only brought flowers but banners too which they hid underneath their jackets then unfurled as they marched to the cemetery. Many believed the presence of foreign journalists would protect them from the direct vengeance of the Indonesian military.

Our plan was to demonstrate peacefully. None of the marchers did anything to provoke the Indonesian troops. But, as they passed one of the government buildings, the police *agents provocateurs* began throwing rocks, breaking windows and beating the demonstrators with sticks. When they arrived at the cemetery, it seemed like the Indonesian military had prepared an ambush. One, two, maybe five minutes after the marchers had entered the cemetery gates, the military opened fire. I was hiding in a house 500 meters away and could not see what was happening. But I heard the gun shots and screaming. I also saw the Indonesians throw the dead and wounded

onto trucks for the drive to the military hospital. There were seven trucks.

Two American journalists, Amy Goodman and Alan Nairn, were in Dili at the time of the massacre. When they saw the Indonesians raise their M16s, they stood between the soldiers and the demonstrators in an attempt to prevent any bloodshed. But the soldiers just kept marching into the crowd firing their guns. After the killing, the soldiers arrested many of the demonstrators including some they had injured. Many of these young people have not been heard of since.

At noon – about two hours after the shooting – I told one of the mothers who was looking for her son, to go to the hospital to see if he was amongst the wounded. When she arrived, one of the Indonesian soldiers said to her ‘please go to Tasi Tolu and see your son. The grave is still open for you.’ She was not allowed inside the hospital.

Between December and February I collected the names of people who had been killed at the cemetery or had died from injuries received that day. Our official death toll was 271. Many more are still unaccounted for. If you have seen the television coverage from that massacre, you will know that the demonstrators were mostly young people, East Timor’s future. Their murder is further evidence of the genocide the Indonesian military is committing against our people.

After the Santa Cruz massacre, my photograph was circulated throughout East Timor and Indonesia on state run television and in the press. I was a hunted man. I remained in my country for a further seven months, sleeping in different houses every night or in the jungle. Any one of the people who gave me shelter could have betrayed me, but no-one did. This is proof, I believe, of the effectiveness of the resistance in East Timor.

I eventually escaped by car to Kupang in West Timor, and from there travelled to Jakarta where I remained in hiding for a further five months. I arrived in Lisbon in early November 1992 to continue my work for the East Timorese resistance in exile. I am now CNRM’s representative in Portugal.

Not long after I arrived in Lisbon, Xanana Gusmão was captured in Dili. (November 20, 1992.) At that moment many people thought his capture marked the end of the resistance in East Timor. But I would like to tell you that the struggle does not depend on just one person: it depends on the determination of the East Timorese people. Xanana’s successor Mau Huno has now also been arrested – but again he is just one man.

We East Timorese know that we can never win a military victory against the might of Indonesia; we are but half a million people against 180 million Indonesians. Our victory must be a political one based on international law and justice. Many of the decisions that will affect our future will be made in Washington and New York. That is why I am touring North America with this delegation of young East Timorese – to tell the North American people about what is happening in our country and urge you all to put pressure on your representatives in government to resolve the conflict in East Timor. To stop sending military hardware to Indonesia and to halt all economic aid to Indonesia until that country recognizes the basic human rights of the East Timorese people, including our right to self-determination. For there can be no peace in East Timor our right to self-determination is recognized and acted upon.

At the Human Rights Commission in Geneva earlier this year, I witnessed a significant shift in US foreign policy towards East Timor that gave me hope. On March 11, the United States and Canada plus 22 other governments from the European Community, the Nordic states, with Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Costa Rica co-sponsored a resolution condemning the Indonesian government for its human rights violations in East Timor. The resolution was carried 22 votes in favour and 12 against, with 15 abstentions. This was the first time a resolution had been successful on East Timor at this important UN forum. For us East Timorese, it is a sign that at last the outside world is awakening to its responsibility.

One resolution in far off Geneva does not in itself stop the intimidation and human rights abuses in Dili and other parts of East Timor, nor does it facilitate a UN sponsored act of self-determination. Especially when there are an estimated 40,000 Indonesian troops still stationed on East Timorese soil as part of *Operasi Tuntas* (or Operation Once And For All). But the Geneva resolution is a sign of change and something for the international community to build upon.

There is another opportunity this month for the international community to act to resolve the conflict in East Timor. On April 21 the UN Secretary General is hosting talks between Portugal and Indonesia in Rome. So far, the East Timorese have not been invited to participate – although the UN secretary General’s Special Envoy Mr. Amos Wako, is in Dili as I speak. But since East Timor is *our* country, we believe we should be represented at all negotiations about our future. We are ready to participate in round

table talks without pre-conditions at any time.

Like all East Timorese, I’ve suffered many difficulties since Indonesia invaded my country in 1975. I don’t want my son whom I have never seen, to have to go through what my generation and my parents’ generation have been through. Unless the international community acts decisively to facilitate an internationally supervised act of self-determination in East Timor, I’m afraid the pattern of the past seventeen years will be repeated over and over again: resistance to Indonesian occupation, intimidation by the Indonesian military, atrocities against the Timorese people. More resistance, more intimidation, more atrocities. I don’t want my child to have to go through that, nor anyone else’s child. And I want to be able to see my wife and my son some day.

MARI ALKATIRI INTERVIEW

Green Left #98, May 5, 1993

Timorese prepared to continue struggle

MARI ALKATIRI is a senior member of the Fretilin Central Committee in exile. He was interviewed in Sydney for Green Left Weekly by Max Lane.

Q: Could you tell us why you are visiting Australia?

I have received a mandate from the leadership inside East Timor to reconstruct Fretilin outside. This is the first stage. And then to reconstruct the representation of the whole movement outside.

As you know, we now have a special representative [Jose Ramos Horta]. We think that now CNRM [National Council of Maubere Resistance] should build up a unified body outside East Timor, so we are trying to get together Fretilin, the UDT and the special representative to build such a unified body to represent the struggle inside the country.

Q: Does Fretilin have majority support amongst the East Timorese community in Australia?

Yes, we have both militants and sympathisers, including patriots who support Fretilin essentially because they see it as the main force inside Timor.

Q: How do you evaluate the resolution in Geneva recently which condemned Indonesia on East Timor?

It was good. Australia supported the motion; we congratulate the Australian government. The United States co-

sponsored the resolution, which was the first time.

We would like to see the votes by the United States and Australia as a change in their position. We are going to do our best to get Australia to adhere to this new position because Australia is the closest democratic country to East Timor. We don't understand why Australia is always on the side of Indonesia.

The Australian [delegation] said it would be better for them if there had been no resolution. They tried to get cooperation from the US and Europe, but they were still trying to maintain their compromise with Indonesia. Indonesia still maintained its hardline position fighting for the recognition of East Timor's incorporation into Indonesia. There was no change in that.

Australia seems to be motivated by economic interests, such as the Timor Gap Treaty. On the other hand, perhaps, from the beginning, they did not have confidence in the guerilla movement. They thought we could only resist for one, two or three years. But in fact, we have been resisting for over 15 years and we still have a perspective in the future. That is why we think it is time for the Australian government to rethink their position on East Timor.

Q: What has been the impact of the capture and trial of Xanana in East Timor?

It was dreadful, but the leadership inside the country is organised for disasters such as this. The leadership has been able to initiate attacks during this last period, with some success.

The resistance is being rebuilt not only in the countryside but also in the towns. The guerrillas will have to press the Indonesian forces more and more, to get them to look for them in the countryside. Falantil [the guerilla armed forces] is still able to recruit people to fight in the mountains. Military actions started up again after the arrest of Xanana.

At the same time, the main support of the resistance is high school students. Most of the people who died in the November massacre in Dili were young people, high school students. This means that the continuity of the struggle is also assured.

Q: What would an independent East Timor do about the Timor Gap Treaty and Indonesia?

We would accept this treaty, not as a whole but as a basis for discussion. As for Indonesia, they are our neighbours and we wish to have good relations with them.

Meanwhile, however, at the negotiations in Rome we do not expect much to come out. Portugal and Indonesia have clearly different positions. Portugal defends the East Timorese right to self-determination. The Indonesians are going there to try to get recognition for integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

Our priorities now are to further unite the East Timorese people in their efforts and to seek the support of democratic and humanitarian organisations.

INDONESIANS TRY TO SECURE SEAT AT THE TABLE

Publico, 6 May 1993

By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Original Lang.: Portuguese Unabridged

(Lisbon) Abilio Araujo, the "father" of the reconciliation meeting between Timorese "from both sides," gives assurances that the meeting will take place in May or June, "in a European capital." He revealed that the Indonesians tried, unsuccessfully, to secure a place at the meeting.

Indonesia tried to get agreement to their representation at the meeting of "reconciliation" between pro-integration Timorese and members of the resistance. Jakarta's attempt was met with a "no" from Fretilin's representative in Lisbon, who is the main promoter behind the meeting between Timorese "from both sides."

According to Abilio Araujo, who announced yesterday that the meeting would take place "in May or June, in a European capital," the Indonesian authorities wanted to first meet with resistance leaders and to then guarantee their place at the table of the "reconciliation" meeting.

To agree to the presence of Suharto's emissaries at the meeting between Timorese would, according to the Fretilin leader, be "to subvert the spirit underlying this initiative." It should be recalled that Abilio Araujo always upheld that reconciliation is just one of the "bearings" of the Timor issue, which should not and cannot be confused with the diplomatic process underway, in which the protagonists are the Lisbon and Jakarta governments, under the UN Secretary General's auspices.

It is in this perspective that Araujo sets his refusal to allow Indonesia's representatives to take part in the "reconciliation"

meeting: "We are not reconciling with Indonesia, they are in dispute with the international community."..

In that dispute, the Fretilin leader goes on to say, Portugal has taken on the role of advocate of the Timorese cause. To allow Jakarta's representatives to secure a presence at a meeting between Timorese would compromise the international dimension of the Timor question and, consequently, weaken the Portuguese position. "To weaken the Portuguese position" now "would be to weaken our own position," he concludes.

It should be remembered that, after Abilio Araujo brought up the idea in Lisbon of getting Timorese "from both sides" together to "decompress" the internal situation in Timor, the Indonesian authorities tried to take over the initiative, posing as sponsors of the idea, and proposing Jakarta as the venue for the meeting. However, at a meeting with the press in Rome, the three outstanding representatives of the resistance abroad, who accompanied the last round of diplomatic negotiations – the Maubere Resistance National Council's Ramos Horta, UDT's João Carrascalão, and Mari Alkatiri, Abilio Araujo's Fretilin companion – expressed their disagreement with any sort of "reconciliation" meeting on grounds that there was a risk that Indonesia could capitalize on such an initiative.

Meanwhile, Alkatiri and João Carrascalão passed through Lisbon, and Abilio Araujo explained the aims of the meeting to them in person. Subsequently, neither publicly reformulated the position taken in Rome, although Abilio Araujo has said that their differences were mainly due to "lack of communication" among the various sectors making up the Resistance's external front.

UDT POSTPONES CONGRESS

Publico 6 May 1993 Original Lang.: Portuguese Unabridged

(Lisbon) Logistical and financial difficulties were the reasons given by the Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) for the postponement of their Congress, which had been scheduled to take place in May. The Congress has been rescheduled for December. One known agenda item is the definitive removal of Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's itinerant ambassador and personal adviser, who is still formally UDT's Chairman. In practice, the leadership role of the UDT has been played by its Vice-Chairman, João Carrascalão, who lives in Sydney.

RAMOS-HORTA OPTIMISTIC ON UN VOTE

Diario de Noticias 13 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon By João Pedro Henriques Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

Yesterday in Lisbon, the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) special representative gave assurances that, if the Timor issue was "put to the vote" at the next UN General Assembly, Portugal would win its battle with Indonesia.

At a press conference held at the recently created Timor Centre, Ramos-Horta pointed out the closeness between the dates of the meeting between the Portuguese and Indonesian heads of diplomacy (17 September in New York) and the start of the UN General Assembly (21 September, in the same city).

According to the same Timorese leader, it is possible that the UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, will meet with representatives of the Resistance. At such a meeting, said Ramos Horta, members of the Resistance from the territory's interior should take part, as well as Monsignor Ximenes Belo, Dili's apostolic administrator. Ramos Horta revealed that he will shortly be leaving for New York to "give immediate follow-up to the process of consultations" between UN officials and the Resistance.

With regards the Resistance's internal situation, he said that, under the leadership of Ma'Huno's successor, Konis Santana, a restructuring process is underway. Referring to Xanana Gusmão's trial, Ramos Horta strongly criticised his defence attorney, Sudjono, accusing him of being "a charlatan who extorts money from the relatives" of the former Resistance leader. He gave assurances that Xanana had already dispensed with his services.

In optimistic tone, the Timorese leader referred to the international spotlight focused on the Timor case, highlighting the "recent victory at the Human Rights Commission in Geneva," the visit to the territory of Boutros Ghali's emissary (who met with Xanana and Ma'Huno), and US Vice-President Al Gore's "commitment to the struggle." "Indonesia is going through a particularly difficult period, with its 80 thousand million dollar foreign debt and unprecedented internal crisis."

In spite of this optimism, Ramos-Horta still rejected Indonesia's possible presence, as the country currently chairing the Non-Aligned Movement, at the forthcoming summit of the seven most industrialised states in the world.

INDONESIAN WEAPONS PURCHASES OPPOSED

PURCHASE OF U.K. HAWK JET FIGHTERS REMAINS IDEA

GENERAL EDI UNHAPPY ABOUT HAWKS DEAL

Jakarta Post, 10 April 1993. Abridged

Comment: The projected Hawks deal is evidently the subject of deep conflict. Last year, it was the air force chief, Air Marshal Siboen who strongly promoted the purchase, claiming that a deal for the first 24 was signed and sealed. As soon as his removal was certain, Dr. Habibie, IPTN's President-Director, revealed that Indonesia would probably purchase one hundred more than the 24 under negotiation but only if BAe agreed to certain conditions, including 35 per cent of manufacturing for IPTN. Now Gen. Edi has a completely different line. This suggests a fierce clash between Habibie's desire to promote IPTN through the BAe deal and Edi's rejection of Habibie's high-flown intentions to promote his own projects, so strongly favoured in Suharto's new cabinet.

(Jakarta) Armed forces (ABRI) commander, General Edi Sudradjat says the purchase by Indonesia of 100 more Hawk warplanes remains an idea and nothing more. "The list of items needed is based on the size of the budget and ABRI is not the primary thing. The welfare of the people is the primary thing," he said.

Edi was responding to a statement to Reuters by State Minister for Technology and Research, B.J. Habibie, that Indonesia needs 100 more Hawks from British Aerospace.

Indonesia is currently negotiating with BAe for 24 Hawks worth about 500 million.

General Edi said that based on the available budget, ABRI would not be able to buy military equipment like the Hawk fighters on a large scale but would make purchases of necessary equipment little by little to be used in training and education centres.

Air Force chief, Marshal Siboen [now replaced] told newsmen after the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the Air Force Friday that the idea of buying 100 Hawk jet fighters was raised in 1986 when he was deputy for planning to the Air Force chief of staff at the time. He told Antara he first reported the idea to President Suharto when he was appointed as Air Force chief in 1990.

WHY INDONESIAN AIR FORCE WANTS HAWKS

Antara news agency Jakarta, 10 Apr. 93

The Indonesian Air Force came to the idea of buying 100 British Aerospace Hawk fighters in 1986, the force's CoS Air Marshall Sibun said.

Talking to newsmen after a ceremony marking the force's 47th anniversary at the Halim Perdanakusumah Air Base here Friday [9th April], Sibun said he evolved the idea when he was an assistant in charge of planning to the Air Force CoS.

But the idea was not reported to President Suharto until Sibun himself became Air Force chief.

When I was appointed as Air Force CoS I reported it to the president and I also gave directives for the purchase of six Hawk squadrons, Sibun said.

Sibun will transfer his post to Vice Air Marshall Rilo Pambudi Saturday [10th April]. President Suharto installed Pambudi as Sibun's successor a few days ago.

The outgoing Air Force chief said so far only 24 Hawk fighters had been purchased with delivery to take place in the near future. Of this number 19 would be twin-seat fighters (Hawk 200).

He said the plan to purchase the 100 Hawk fighters was reported in the media after the British news agency Reuters filed a story quoting a statement by Research and Technology Minister B.J. Habibie.

Of the six squadrons, the purchase of only one could be realized. The number of planes in each squadron is 20, Sibun said.

Commenting on why Habibie had said that Indonesia would like to buy 100 fighters, Sibun said that Habibie might have thought that one squadron consisted of only 16 fighters.

According to Sibun, the idea to buy Hawk fighters was based on the consideration that they were well-suited to train new pilots and for conditions prevailing in Indonesia. In addition, the Hawks could also be used in air-to-ground attacks in cases of emergency, he said. In fact the Hawks were made especially for air-to-ground assaults, he added.

Touching on the possibility of an armament race among ASEAN [Association of South-East Asian Nations] member countries, Sibun said that there was no reason to believe this would happen following Indonesia's purchase of the Hawk fighters. There is no need to fear such a possibility. It is normal for any air force in the world not to want lagging behind in technology, he said.

Sibun also pointed out Indonesia was not harboring any intention of attacking another country. We are a good guy. So there is no

need to make undue speculations about the fact that Indonesia is buying new fighter-planes, he said.

JAKARTA NOT INCREASING BUDGET TO BUY HAWK AIRCRAFT

Business Times, April 12, 1993
By Maggie Ford in JAKARTA

INDONESIA has no plans to increase its defence budget in order to buy 100 UK-made Hawk trainer aircraft, Gen. Edi Sudradjat, the defence minister and army commander, confirmed at the weekend.

His statement follows a revelation last week by B J Habibie, the State Minister of Research and Technology, that Jakarta could extend current negotiations with British Aerospace over a US\$ 765 million (S\$ 1.24 billion) projected purchase of 24 Hawks.

Dr. Habibie said that if the UK was prepared to manufacture 35 per cent of the aircraft components at the state-owned IPTN aircraft company, of which he is chairman, and if the British Civil Aviation Authority would help Jakarta gain an airworthiness certificate for IPTN's CN-235 plane, then the purchase of Hawk trainers could be extended.

But Gen. Sudradjat said the Indonesian defence budget was not adequate for the purchase of so many planes. "The list of the items needed is based on the defence budget and there are no plans to increase it," he said.

In the Indonesian budget unveiled in January, defence spending was listed as amounting to 1.1 trillion rupiah. Since then, Indonesia has announced plans to buy a number of patrol boats from the former east German navy, along with the negotiations on the Hawks. Increasing the number of Hawks to 100 would cost US \$3 billion.

The idea appears to have come originally from former air force chief Siboen, who proposed several years ago to President Suharto that Indonesia should acquire six squadrons of Hawks, which were suitable for Indonesia as they could be used for training and for air-to-ground attack. But so far only one squadron has been approved.

The Hawk purchase has created controversy in Britain because of the plane's capability as an air-to-ground assault plane. Critics of Indonesia's human rights approach in regions such as East Timor and Aceh have sparked protests that the aircraft could be used to suppress internal dissent.

Gen. Sudradjat said that the Hawks would be mainly used for training purposes. "If we buy any it is meant to help us learn and master new military technology so that we are not left behind other countries," he said.

The Hawks are suitable for training pilots to fly US-made F-16s, the Indonesian air force's latest generation of fighters, of which it has 12.

Air Marshal Siboen said there was no need for neighbouring countries to worry about Indonesia's defence spending. "We are good guys," he said, adding that Indonesia was not harboring any intention of attacking another country.

Dr. Habibie's latest efforts to promote the development of the aerospace industry in Indonesia followed a furor last year when the minister laid the blame for the crash of one of IPTN's CN-235 aircraft on the pilot before any inquiry was held.

He was sued by the pilot's family. A partial inquiry report issued later placed the bulk of the blame for the crash on bad weather.

INDONESIA POSTPONES PLAN TO PURCHASE HAWKS

Jakarta Post, 17 April 1993. Abridged

Indonesia is holding back its plan to purchase 100 more Hawk warplanes because of lack of funds, says Minister of Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie.

"The plan to purchase the 100 warplanes is a long-term one," he told Antara news agency. "We cannot tell when it will be realised. What we know is the purchase funds will not exceed the defence budget which is 1.25 per cent of gross domestic product." The latest figures available show that Indonesia's GDP is Rp 115.5 trillion (\$56 billion). He said Indonesia would be able to have six squadrons (96 planes) of Hawk fighters when its economy improves.

Indonesia is currently negotiating with British Aerospace for 24 Hawks worth about 500 million. The planes are to be used to train pilots and for ground attack.

STOP THE SALE OF U.S. JET FIGHTER PLANES FROM JORDAN TO INDONESIA

Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network/US, May 6, 1993

The government of Jordan would like to sell four US-made F-5E supersonic fighters to the Indonesian military. Under the terms of the original sale to Jordan, the US State Department can approve or prevent the re-transfer. If State, which is undecided, refuses to block the sale, Congress can act to prevent it. Please contact State Department officials, Senators and Representatives to urge them not to reward Indonesia's brutal government with more instruments of war.

Last year, Congress overrode the Bush administration to cut off military aid for

Indonesia to protest the Santa Cruz massacre and Indonesia's continuing 17-year military occupation and genocide in East Timor. In March, the US cosponsored a UN Human Rights Commission resolution which attacked Indonesia for ongoing human rights violations and refusing to cooperate with international human rights organizations. The F-5 sale is another chance for the Clinton administration to act on its concern for human rights.

The Project on Demilitarization and Democracy of the Institute for Policy Studies asked a State Department official if re-transferring weapons to Indonesia didn't violate the spirit of the military aid ban. He admitted only that the re-transfer process is moving slower than usual because "many in Congress, and at State, have concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia."

Caleb Rossiter, the Project's director, pointed out that last year's Democratic platform stressed "promoting democracy" and protecting human rights abroad as the linchpins of Clinton's foreign policy, and called for the US to "press for strong international limits on the dangerous and wasteful flow of conventional arms to troubled regions." Rossiter claimed that "A transfer to Indonesia would violate both stances. This is a test case for Bill Clinton's stated commitment to democracy and human rights."

The warplane sale is being pushed by Eidetics corporation of Torrance, CA and other US companies that would refurbish the fighters and transport them to Indonesia, and then upgrade Jordan's remaining 23 F-5Es under a separate contract. They claim that Russia or Britain will sell aircraft to Indonesia if the Jordanian sale is denied, but Rossiter argued that rather than compete with these two allies, the US should seek their agreement not to sell fighters to Indonesia or other dictatorships. This decision will be made in the next few weeks. Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas recently visited Washington, where he met with Christopher and other State Department officials. They need to hear from us as well. Please call, write or fax today.

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, 2201 C Street, NW, Washington, DC 20520. (202)647-6575; (202)647-7120 fax.

Undersecretary of State of Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff, (202)647-2417.

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston Lord, (202)647-9596.

Senate Foreign Relations Committee, by seniority. All can be phoned at (202)224-3121.

Democrats: Claiborne Pell (RI, Chair), Joseph R. Biden, Jr. (DE), Paul S. Sarbanes (MD), Christopher J. Dodd (CT), John Kerry (MA), Paul Simon (IL), Daniel Patrick Moynihan (NY), Charles S. Robb (VA), Harris Wofford (PA), Russell D. Feingold (WI), Harlan Mathews (TN).

Republicans: Jesse Helms (NC), Richard G. Lugar (IN), Nancy Landon Kassebaum (KS), Larry Pressler (SD), Frank H. Murkowski (AK), Hank Brown (CO), James M. Jeffords (VT), Paul Coverdell (GA).

House Foreign Affairs Committee, by seniority. All can be phoned at (202)225-3121.

Democrats: Lee H. Hamilton (Nashville IN, Chair), Sam Gejdenson (Bozrah CT), Tom Lantos (San Mateo CA), Robert G. Torricelli (Englewood NJ), Howard L. Berman (Panorama City CA), Gary L. Ackerman (Queens NY), Harry A. Johnston (W. Palm Beach FL), Eliot L. Engel (Bronx NY), James L. Oberstar (Chisholm MN), Charles E. Schumer (Brooklyn NY), Matthew G. Martinez (Monterey Park CA), Robert A. Borski (Philadelphia PA), Donald M. Payne (Newark NJ), Robert E. Andrews (Bellmawr NJ), Robert Menendez (Union City NJ), Sherrod Brown (Chippewa Lake OH), Cynthia McKinney (GA), Maria Cantwell (Mountlake Terr. WA), Alcee L. Hastings (Miami FL), Eric D. Fingerhut (Cleveland OH), Peter Deutsch (Lauderhill FL), Albert R. Wynn (Largo MD), Don Edwards (San Jose CA), Frank McCloskey (Smithville IN), Tom Sawyer (Akron OH).

Republicans: Benjamin A. Gilman (Middletown NY), Bill Goodling (Jacobus PA), Jim Leach (Davenport IA), Toby Roth (Appleton WI), Olympia J. Snowe (Auburn ME), Henry J. Hyde (Bensenville IL), Doug Bereuter (Utica NB), Christopher H. Smith (Robbinsville NJ), Dan Burton (Indianapolis IN), Jan Meyers (Overland Park KS), Elton Gallegly (Simi Valley CA), Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (Miami FL), Cass Ballenger (Hickory NC), Dana Rohrabacher (Long Beach CA), David A. Levy (Baldwin NY), Donald Manzullo (Egan IL), Lincoln Diaz-Balart (Miami FL), Ed Royce (Fullerton CA).

ALATAS ON FIGHTERS

Indonesian Headlines May 18:

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said reports of a possible cancellation of the purchase of four American-built F-5E Tiger jet fighters from Jordan was mere speculation. "We are still waiting for official reports on the matter."

DON'T LET INDONESIA BUY PLANES

[The following article was circulated by the Progressive Media project and has been printed in a number of leading US newspapers, including the Honolulu Advertiser (May 30), and the San Francisco Examiner (May 31, headlined "Weapons for Genocide in East Timor").]

by Matthew Jardine

Forget about Bosnia for a minute, and consider East Timor, a tiny half-island in the Indonesian archipelago about 400 miles north of Australia, and the site of one of the late twentieth century's worst cases of genocide.

In 1975, using U.S. weapons, Indonesia invaded East Timor. Human rights monitors estimate that more than 200,000 people – about one-third of the pre-invasion population – have died as a direct result of the invasion and the ensuing occupation.

But it wasn't until October 1992 that the U.S. Congress cut \$2.3 million in military aid to Indonesia in response to a massacre by the Indonesian military of 273 mourners in a funeral procession in East Timor.

Now the Jordanian government wants to sell four U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to Indonesia – a sale that the U.S. government must approve. Given Indonesia's ongoing brutal and illegal occupation of East Timor, President Clinton's State Department should not allow the sale.

No fewer than ten United Nations resolutions have condemned Indonesia's actions in East Timor, calling for Indonesia to withdraw and demanding an internationally monitored plebiscite on self-determination. Despite this international pressure, Indonesia refuses to budge: It considers East Timor the country's 27th province.

Americans have a special responsibility for the East Timorese. One day before the 1975 invasion, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta visiting President Suharto, and are believed to have given him the green light to invade. The United States also supplied the bulk of the weapons used in the invasion.

Since the invasion – under Democrats and Republicans alike – the United States has provided Indonesia with hundreds of millions of dollars in economic and military assistance. Last year Indonesia purchased \$110 million worth of U.S. weaponry and received U.S. economic aid totaling \$93 million in grants and loans.

The world was reminded of Indonesia's barbarity in November 1991. In the presence of Western journalists, the Indonesian military fired upon a funeral procession,

killing 273 men, women, and children. Two American journalists were beaten severely – The New Yorker's Allan Nairn had his skull fractured – but their reporting on the Santa Cruz Massacre and the subsequent outcry increased the pressure from Washington on the Suharto regime.

Over objections from the Bush Administration and major corporations such as AT&T, Congress cut off International Military Education and Training funds to Indonesia for fiscal year 1992-1993. It was the first time that Congress has taken punitive action against Indonesia on the issue of East Timor. Yet this \$2.3 million cut represents only a small portion of total U.S. aid.

In March the U.N. Human Rights Commission condemned Indonesian human rights abuses in East Timor in a resolution that was co-sponsored by the Clinton Administration. This is a significant reversal of past U.S. blocking of similar resolutions.

Currently, U.S. arms sales to Indonesia – including the re-sale of Jordan's F-5E fighter planes – are running into some trouble from the likes of Senator Patrick Leahy (D-VT). "It is inconsistent for the United States to license sales of weapons to governments that, because of human rights problems, are deemed unsuitable for military aid," Leahy says. "Indonesia is a case in point."

But with the world's fourth largest population and a wealth of resources, Indonesia has the support of powerful business interests. Coca-Cola President Donald R. Keough summed it up nicely when he gushed: "When I think of Indonesia – a country on the equator with 180 million people, a median age of 18, and a Muslim ban on alcohol – I feel like I know what heaven looks like."

The F-5E sale is being pushed by several companies in the depressed U.S. aerospace industry, who have contracts to transport and refurbish the planes if the sale is approved. These companies claim that other countries will sell aircraft to Indonesia if Jordan's sale is blocked.

Rather than fall victim to this narrow economic nationalism, the State Department should refuse to license the sale of all weapons to Indonesia and pressure its allies not to sell weaponry to Jakarta.

If the Clinton Administration's vow to put human rights and democracy at the center of U.S. foreign policy means anything, the Jordanian sale of the four U.S. F-5Es cannot be permitted to go through. It is past due that the U.S. help rectify one of the great crimes of the modern world.

Matthew Jardine is a pseudonym for a Los Angeles-based writer who recently returned from a month in East Timor. His name is

being withheld to protect his contacts from possible reprisals. He wrote this article for The Progressive Media Project, which is underwritten in part by a grant from the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation.

He is an activist with the East Timor Action Network/Los Angeles, and can be reached at atanla@igc.apc.org.

SENATORS OPPOSE FIGHTER PLANE SALE

Letter from four Senators to the Secretary of State opposing the sale of U.S.-made fighter planes from Jordan to Indonesia. Original document, full text.

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
June 2, 1993

The Honorable Warren Christopher
Secretary of State
2201 C Street, Northwest
Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express our concern about a report that the U.S. may be asked to approve a third-party arms sales of F-5E fighter jets by Jordan to Indonesia. Although we recognize the importance of protecting Indonesia's security, we believe it unwise to approve such a sale at this time.

Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor has been abysmal. The November 1991 massacre of non-violent demonstrators in Dili is but one example of Indonesia's repressive occupation of the province of East Timor.

In response to this atrocity, last year the U.S. cut off \$2.3 million in funds for International Military Education Training (IMET) to Indonesia, the entirety of our military aid to Indonesia. Hence, it would indeed be inconsistent for the U.S. To cut off military aid on the one hand, and approve a third-party arms transfer to Indonesia on the other. Such a sale would seriously undermine the impact of the termination of IMET funds.

We applaud the Administration's recent move at the United Nations Human Rights Commission to support a resolution expressing deep concern over human rights abuses in East Timor. It is particularly important given that previous administrations had consistently downplayed the significance and extent of the human rights violations in East Timor.

Therefore we urge you to stand firm in support of East Timor, and to reject any consideration of the sale of F-5E fighter jets from Jordan to Indonesia at this time. If this reported third-party arms sale were to be approved it would undermine not only the

Administration's laudatory commitment to human rights, but also its evolving policies on non-proliferation of conventional arms in the South Pacific region. For these reasons, we also urge you to work with our allies to prevent any similar sales to Indonesia at this time.

Thank you for your consideration.
Sincerely,

Claiborne Pell (D-RI)
Russell D. Feingold (D-WI)
Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA)
Tom Harkin (D-IA)

cc: Lynn Davis, Under Secretary for
International Security Affairs

Claiborne Pell is the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Russell Feingold, a newly-elected Senator, initiated this letter. He made East Timor an effective issue in his successful campaign against incumbent Republican Senator Robert Kasten who supported continuing IMET aid to Indonesia. Kennedy and Harkin are senior Senators with a long-term interest in human rights issues.

It's unfortunate that even our friends call East Timor a "province" of Indonesia.

California is now a crucial state for the fight over the arms shipments, with two newly-elected Democratic Senators. The contract to upgrade the F-5Es would go to Eidelits, in Torrance. If the home-state Senators, especially Dianne Feinstein (who sits on the Foreign Relations Committee) can be persuaded to oppose the sale, or at least not to actively work for it, there is a much greater chance that it can be stopped.

— Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

INDONESIA TO BUY 39 GERMAN WARSHIPS

INDONESIAN NAVY TO SHIFT THREE BASES BEFORE NEW SHIPS ARRIVE

Move to allow better links with other services: Admiral

The Straits Times, April 9, 1993

THE Indonesian navy will relocate three of its five bases ahead of the arrival of 39 newly ordered ships from Germany, according to the Jakarta Post.

The base at Tanjung Pinang, Riau, will be relocated to Belawan in North Sumatra; the one at Bitung, North Sulawesi, will be moved to Ujungpandang, South Sulawesi, and the one at Ambon, Maluku, will be reassigned to Jayapura, Irian Jaya.

The move is one of the first changes planned by newly installed navy Chief of Staff Vice-Admiral Tanto Koeswanto.

Admiral Tanto said after he was installed by President Suharto on Tuesday that the relocation plan was in line with the growing demand placed on the navy in its capacity as a socio-political force.

The newspaper yesterday quoted the admiral as saying that the move would facilitate co-ordination between the navy and other services and agencies in the armed forces, in particular the regional military commands.

The other two bases, in Jakarta and Surabaya in East Java, would be retained because they were in line with the navy's plans, he said.

The Indonesian armed forces has a dual function as a defence and security force and as a socio-political force.

The warships ordered from Bonn are refurbished vessels from the arsenal of former East Germany.

Of the 39 vessels, 16 were corvettes, 14 landing ship tanks and nine minesweepers.

Admiral Tanto dismissed suggestions that the purchase could trigger an arms race in South-east Asia.

Those views were expressed by people who did not understand the problems being faced by Indonesia, he said.

"We are buying the ships in accordance with our needs, that is to protect security and order in Indonesian waters," he said.

He said the new ships were expected to improve the navy's effectiveness, particularly in dealing with the illegal entry of foreign ships.

According to the Indonesian-language newspaper, *Republika*, the navy will send 200 of its personnel to Germany in the middle of the month for training in operating the German ships.

They will be the first batch to be trained to operate three of the ships which are due to arrive from Germany in July.

The German ships are expected to take 1-1/2 to two years to arrive in Indonesia.

PROTESTING GERMANY'S GENOCIDE SALE

Peace News (UK), 27 May 1993.

Thirty-nine warships (a complete fleet of the NVA – former East German armed forces – including 14 assault boats which are only usable as offensive weapons) and 3 new submarines are to be sent to Indonesia. Just a year ago, in an attempt to placate the anti-militarist lobby and to deflect diplomatic criticism, it had been announced that the ships would instead be scrapped.

The government argues that the ships are to be partially disarmed and that they will be used only for coastal drugs patrols, minesweeping, and "fighting pirates." At the time the sale was announced in February,

Portugal – recognised by the UN as the administering power in Indonesian-occupied East Timor – made a formal protest to the German government.

The deal – in negotiation prior to the Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor in November 1991 but postponed at that time – was secretly agreed by the German Federal Security Council (Bundessicherheitsrad) in the middle of 1992. Shortly before chancellor Helmut Kohl's late February journey to Indonesia, the deal became known, and some criticism followed in the German media. The sale violates the spirit not only of a Council of Europe resolution banning the export of weapons to Indonesia, but also Germany's own legal restrictions on supplying weapons to non-NATO countries involved in conflicts.

Since the collapse of the East German state in 1990, the ships have been anchored in the harbour of Peenemunde, where they have undergone careful maintenance. Some eastern German groups have continued to protest against the sale, such as Timor und Kein Trupp (Timor and no troops):

“The politicians now do not remember their promise to junk the ships completely, which they gave to the media last year. Even then, critics warned of their half-hearted promises: why, they asked, are these ships still being so carefully serviced?”

“It did not even take a year for the politicians to change their minds. In the coming months the fleet will leave. Next year they will possibly be used to help to kill thousands of people.

“The ships are currently being mended in Wolgast. The inhabitants of Wolgast are grateful – because the ships give them jobs. It is perverse!”

As *Peace News* goes to press, further protest actions are planned.

FROM HAROLD CROUCH:

1. If most of the ships can only be used offensively, the reference to ‘genocide’ in the heading seems out of place. The ex-German warships are not likely to be used against the Timorese or Acehnese who have no navy.

2. More significantly, the Indonesian military did not in fact want the ships which are not top priority items for them. Although cheap to buy, they will be expensive to equip and maintain. The military leadership at the time of the purchase (Murdani, Try Sutrisno, Edi Sudradjat) were all opposed to the purchase which was not negotiated by the military but by Suharto's favourite, the Minister for Research and Technology, Habibie. Similarly the military have opposed Habibie's plan to purchase

100 Hawk fighters from Britain, claiming that they have other priorities.

3. The question of commissions might have something to do with the Habibie-military rivalry on this matter.

4. Indonesian politics are complicated. It is not always the military that wants to buy military hardware.

GERMAN WARSHIPS FOR INDONESIA OCCUPIED

The following is a translated summary of a report (original, Indonesian) from Watch Indonesia, Berlin, issued on 29 May 1993:

Seventy demonstrators encamped in the Peenemunde harbour, on Friday succeeded in occupying Indonesian warships, a follow-up to a similar action the day before. Up to midnight, German security forces were unable to remove seven demonstrators who had chained themselves to an Indonesian corvette.

The action was organised by groups in the East German Peace Movement, which spearheaded the 1989 resolution, and Watch Indonesia in West Berlin. The demonstrators strongly condemned the sale of 39 warships from the former East German navy to Indonesia.

Announcing that they were holding a people's festival for Whitsun at the Peenemunde Harbour, the base of the former East German Navy, some two hundred demonstrators marched towards the wharf where the warships were tied. Four corvettes and a landing-ship were occupied.

Banners and scrawled slogans rejecting the German Government's decision to sell the warships to the Indonesian military dictatorship blanketed the five warships. Canvas covering the guns and rocket-launchers on deck were thrown asunder to expose the policy of the German Government which has told the local population that the ships being sold to Indonesia are merchant ships, not warships.

“The situation in Indonesia is comparable to the situation in East Germany under the communist regime,” said the East German Peace Movement. It therefore felt bound to prevent any German participation in strengthening a military regime that violates human rights and reaps profits from the blood of some 200,000 East Timorese.

The action ended at 9 pm, with seven persons left to stand guard at the occupation posts. Having failed to remove these demonstrators from remaining on board the warships, the whole port area was sealed off and placed under tight guard to prevent the other demonstrators encamped nearby from returning.

The plan is to continue the occupation until such time as Bonn discontinues plans

to sell the warships. According to the police, the demonstrators have inflicted damage worth half a million German marks on electronic equipment on the ships.

Asked by Radio Hilversum to comment on the action, the Mayor of Peenemunde only said: “Let them occupy the ships.” The mayor and the demonstrators are manifesting the same disappointment. Bonn, the very incarnation of West Germany, the new colonisers of East Germany, have broken their promises.

GERMANS OCCUPY INDONESIA-BOUND WARSHIPS

June 7, 1993

*The following article is due to appear in the July 1993 *Peace News* and the current issue of *Das zerbrochene Gewehr / le fusil brisé / el fusil roto* (internal newsletter of War Resisters' International). Please credit *Peace News* if reprinting.*

SHIPS SQUATTED IN BALTIC PORT

In a protest against the sale of 39 former East German warships to the Indonesian government (*Peace News* June 1993) about 250 nonviolent activists held a “feast for peace” in Peenemunde harbour on board some of the mothballed ships. Seven protesters stayed on board one ship and locked themselves in, declaring that they would stay on board until the sale had been cancelled and the scrapping of the ships agreed to.

The occupation ended after a show of force by state police, with the on-board squatters surrendering so as not to provoke violence. “The results of this demonstration are both encouraging and dismaying” protest organisers Timor und Kein Trupp said. “Once again it showed that the government in Bonn is under no circumstances prepared to take responsibility for the implementation of human rights, but carries on supplying dictatorships with arms and does not hesitate to infringe its own laws. On the other hand, we succeeded in denouncing this disgrace of German politics. We developed efficient resistance – with nonviolent means – that informed the public and disturbed the arrogant complacency of the political powers in Germany. Our feast of peace was an initiation to intervention. We shall continue with it.”

Meanwhile, Portuguese WRI associate ALOOC has issued an appeal calling for international action against the sale. ALOOC and two East Timor human rights groups, the National Youth Council, the main trade union federation, and five maritime unions, are calling on governments to refuse the former East German ships passage through their territorial waters, and call upon port workers and maritime workers

not to cooperate with the movement of the ships (or any other war cargo) to Indonesia.

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DECLARATION OF WARSHIP SQUATTERS IN THE HARBOUR OF PEENEMUNDE

The last disarmament minister of the DDR, Reiner Eppelmann, promised in 1990 to scrap all the warships that lie in the harbour of Peenemunde. However, in August 1992 the German Security Council decided to approve the sale of 39 warships to Indonesia. Chancellor Helmut Kohl officially announced this decision during his visit to Indonesia in February 1993.

Indonesia systematically violates human rights. Opposition groups are ferociously repressed, as are the efforts by minority groups to gain autonomy. Amnesty International frequently reports about extra-legal executions, torture, and expulsions. At least 500,000 people were murdered in Indonesia in the 1960s alone. Since 1967 president Suharto has secured his power by military and dictatorial means. Since the invasion by Indonesian troops of East Timor on 7 December 1975, more than 200,000 people (one-third of the entire population) have been killed.

These facts clearly define Indonesia as a country of military tension and conflict. Even though the German government carries on maintaining a good relationship with the Suharto regime and never declared Indonesia an area of conflict, we nevertheless regard the decision to sell the warships as a violation of the arms control law which decisively rules out arms supplies to regions involved in conflicts. Our opinion was strengthened by a resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission which branded Indonesia an aggressor state. This resolution was approved of by Germany.

This practice of the German government is no longer tolerable. We accuse the members of the Security Council of aiding and abetting murder.

Our action "War materials are not goods for sale" was designed to bring to a broader audience Indonesia's violations against human rights in East Timor and to help to prevent the sale of the warships to the Indonesian dictatorship. We intended to raise our voices nonviolently in order to force the German government to abandon its infringement of the arms control law. The

protests of human rights organisations and the critical reports of members of the EC and the media have been ignored in cold blood by Bonn. We have perceived such deals for a long time: we draw your attention to the German responsibility in both Gulf wars and in the oppression of Kurds in Turkey.

Therefore we had to find a form of action which consistently expressed our resistance and invited the public to take part. Because of the unscrupulous nature of this arms deal we consciously made allowance for being sued for trespass or breach of the peace. In this case we regard the deliberate trespass of laws a legitimate means of civil disobedience. It is a small but necessary inconvenience for us that is much smaller than the suffering caused by the German government to threatened people.

Approximately 250 people, mainly from eastern Germany, attended the demonstration. On 29 May, four persons from the organising group prepared one ship for squatting and locked it from inside. At noon 150 participants from the demonstration entered several ships, celebrated a feast for peace, painted the walls of the vessels, and hung up banners. After they had left the vessels in the evening, seven people locked themselves in on the prepared ship. These squatters demanded the scrapping of the ships and announced they would end the squatting action once that had been granted.

To establish the nonviolent character of the squat and the accompanying demonstrations right from the beginning, we immediately contacted the police and the owners of the properties in question, communicated our aims and demands, and tried to banish their fear without threatening the squat. The recipients of our message were in Bonn and not in Peenemunde. We succeeded in establishing a basis of trust with the result that the nonviolent character and aims of our actions were accepted and the police tried to maintain an appropriate course of action. On Monday 31 May the interior minister of the state of Mecklenburg – Upper Pomerania came to talk to us. He expressed his understanding for the goals of our efforts. However, he refused to help us implement these goals and just asked us to abandon the squat.

After his departure, the willingness of the police to negotiate was apparently disturbed. Bonn declared its refusal to talk to the squatters. In the evening, the by now well-established – and apparently only – answer of the German political machine to disturbing questions was brought into operation. The interior minister gave the order to clear the site. The demonstrators voluntarily left the harbour to avoid violence. The police started to force the locked

ship. The squatters themselves opened the last door and surrendered themselves to the police.

The results of this demonstration are both encouraging and dismaying. Once again it showed that the government in Bonn is under no circumstances prepared to take responsibility for the implementation of human rights, but carries on supplying dictatorships with arms and does not hesitate to infringe its own laws. On the other hand, we succeeded in crying out and denouncing this disgrace of German politics. We developed efficient resistance with nonviolent means (at no time was protective clothing required by the police) that made public knowledge and disturbed the arrogant complacency of the political powers in Germany. Our feast of peace was an initiation to intervention. We shall continue with it.

We hope of an independent continuation to our action in several regions. We still maintain our goal: No warships to Indonesia; these ships must be scrapped. "War materials are not goods for sale."

-- Group "Timor und kein Trupp"

The expenses for the preparation are still not covered. It is also not clear yet how the expenses for the trial will be raised. Donations can be made to "Aktionskonto Neues Forum" Dresden, Account nr 30 000 52 50. Sorting code 850 951 64, Landeskirchliche Kreditgenossenschaft, quote "Timor."

INDONESIAN MILITARY AND GOVERNMENT

COVER ARTICLES ON ABRI PROMOTIONS

Editor, 10 April 1993

Original lang.: Indonesian, abridged

The following notes are taken from articles by Marah Sakti "Kini Giliran Wismoyo," Masduki Baidlawi "Bintang Baru Bertebaran di Panggung Militer," Bekt Nugroho "Agar Presiden Tenang," and Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin "Mutasi ABRI dengan Gaya Kereta Langsir." Sorry i haven't checked the proper translation of military terms. Gerry vK.

Marah Sakti finds similarities between the meteoric rise of Try Sutrisno and that of Wismoyo Arismunandar. He predicts that Edi Sudradjat will continue to combine Defence Minister with Armed Forces Commander <Pangab> for one or two years, with Wismoyo as Army Chief of Staff

<KSAD> for that period. Press speculation that Feisal Tanjung would take over as Pangab was thus inaccurate. Edi's active service would have to be extended by the president for that period, because he has already reached mandatory retirement age of 55. In two years time, when Wis moyo is expected to take over as Pangab, the pattern will be repeated, because Wis moyo will also be 55. Yahya Muhaimin from Gajah Mada University says Pangab and Defence Minister will continue to be combined for some time. Pangab is a political appointment, not automatically filled from below.

Masduki Baidlawi notes Wis moyo's rise began to be noticed after he became Red Beret (Kopassus) commander 1983-85. In 1966-68 Wis moyo had been commander of the presidential guard. In 1985 he became Diponegoro Commander (Central Java), then Trikora Commander in 1987. In 1990 he became Kostrad Commander. He is following both Try Sutrisno and Edi Sudradjat, who both came up through Army Chief of Staff <KSAD>.

Five new Divisional Commanders <Pangdams> have been appointed recently, following another five last year. The five latest are:

- Brig-Gen. Muzani Syukur (AMN 1965) replacing Maj-Gen R Nuriana (AMN 1962) for Siliwangi (West Java)
- Brig-Gen Theo Syafei (AMN 1965) replacing Maj-Gen Soewardi (AMN 1960) for Udayana (Eastern Indonesia including East Timor). Syafei will continue to hold East Timor Special Command <Pangkolakops> until its expected disbandment next month
- Brig-Gen Albertus Pranowo (AMN 1963) replacing Maj-Gen R Pramono (AMN 1962) for Bukit Barisan (Sumatra[?])
- Brig-Gen. H Abdullah Mahmud Hendro Prijono (AMN 1967) replacing Maj-Gen K Harseno (AMN 1961) for Jaya (Jakarta).

Brig-Gen. Hendro Prijono is a surprise appointment to Jaya Command (Jakarta). He was given this prestigious post although he is at least two years younger than other Pangdams: he is a 1967 graduate of the staff college AMN. This is his first command. Before that he worked in ABRI intelligence BAIS (1990-93). He is credited with stopping the spread of Islamic reaction following the Lampung Incident, with successfully guarding the President on his pilgrimage to Mecca, and with security for the NAM meeting in Jakarta.

Bekti Nugroho notes how important the institutions of presidential adjutant and presidential guard commander have become

in the promotions game. Two of the three new armed service chiefs of staff came up this way: Rear-Adm. <Laksamana Muda> Tanto Koeswanto for Navy Chief of Staff was presidential adjutant 1983-87, and Lieut-Gen Wis moyo Arismunandar the new Army Chief of Staff was presidential guard commander 1966-68. This phenomenon began with the meteoric rise of Try Sutrisno. Observers linked the phenomenon to the president's need for stability. Yahya Muhaimin said it reflected the personal style of army recruitment in Indonesian culture.

Nazaruddin Sjamsuddin, University of Indonesia lecturer, notes that the latest rash of promotions appears "sudden." He expressed concern that the phenomenon of important posts being combined in one person (Edi Sudradjat, and later probably Wis moyo Arismunandar) reflected [presidential] lack of confidence in the army promotions mechanism, which could give rise to grumbling within ABRI ranks.

TEMPO INTERVIEWS THEO SYAFEI

Tempo, 10 April 1993

Comment: The new Udayana commander, Brig. General Theo Syafei, was interviewed by Tempo shortly after being sworn in as commander of the Udayana/IX military command, a post which keeps him very much in control of East Timor.

Remarkably, Syafei is saying that at present there are ten combat battalions – about 8,000 men – in East Timor to deal with a guerrilla force that possesses only 104 firearms. With this number of combat troops to be reduced by only a quarter next year, how can he expect anyone to believe his claim that the guerrillas are "insignificant"?

What he says about the reduction in combat troops gives a very cautious picture of the military situation. He also voices dismay over the social and economic situation, effectively describing East Timor as a tinder-box. One interpretation is that he is telling Jakarta that the army is doing its bit to keep control of the situation in East Timor but the managers of the economy have done nothing to help.

Q: How is the security situation in East Timor and what is the state of the Fretilin forces?

A: Compared with the same time last year, security is very good. Indeed, there still are GPK (= security disturbance gangs). They have 104 firearms in 14 units, spread across

six districts. This means that each unit only has from 6 to 15 firearms. Militarily speaking, they are insignificant.

Q: Kolakops [the special operational command for East Timor] is to be disbanded. How will security be handled?

A: Yes indeed, Kolakops is to be disbanded this month. From then on, East Timor will be handled by the military sub-regional command (Korem) with several battalions for territorial operations.

Q: Is there going to be a large-scale withdrawal of troops?

A: There are ten battalions there now which will remain there till October. By March 1994, it is expected that 6 – 8 battalions will remain. The reduction will be completed in its entirety by 1995. From then on, the troops will all be territorial. There will no longer be any combat troops. There will be reductions every six months as long as there is no weird subversive activity.

Q: What are the problems that East Timor now faces?

A: Employment. In Portuguese times, there were very few people who finished primary school and started looking for work. Now there are 590 primary schools, even more than the number of villages which is 442. There are 66 technical secondary schools which produce 4,000 graduates every year. It is not possible for the government to provide so many people with jobs. Investors are needed. If investors only want profits, it will be difficult for East Timor to compete with Java. It means that if you set up a factory, the market will be in Java and the raw materials will also have to come from outside East Timor. East Timor's budget of Rp 200 billion will go back to Java.

Q: Ten well-known companies once got together in a single company called PT Tim-Tim COR and announced that they would set up factories in East Timor. What has happened?

A: As (former governor) Carrascalão once said, they are 'will-be companies' [PT-akan] and this is still true. Ten businessmen signed contracts in December 1991 but up to now, nothing has happened. This sends negative signals to people in East Timor, especially as the event was given a great deal of publicity at the time. It raises questions for those people in East Timor who are still doubtful about our republic. Today there are

25,000 unemployed people who have completed primary and secondary school education. If the employment question is not resolved, they can easily be sparked off "if a lighted match is thrown down."

Q: What have been your strongest impression as Kolakops commander?

A: I have been greatly assisted by the church in the question of spreading correct opinions. Following the Dili incident, the population has become much more realistic. The Lusitania ship was also helpful in that it showed the people that this was just a provocation. The people were the ones who became the victims. Now things are much calmer. I think this is the reason why the Xanana Gusmão trial is no longer popular.

SUDRADJAT GIVING UP TOP ABRI POST "IN THE NEAR FUTURE'

TRANSFER BEING PROCESSED, HE SAYS

The Straits Times, April 12, 1993

INDONESIA'S armed forces chief, General Edi Sudradjat, has hinted that he would give up his post in the military "in the near future" as soon as his successor is identified, according to a report in The Jakarta Post.

The newspaper on Saturday quoted him as saying that it was President Suharto's prerogative to appoint the most-suitable candidate to take over the leadership in ABRI, the Indonesian armed forces.

"The transfer is now being processed," The Jakarta Post quoted him as saying when he was approached by reporters in Jakarta about his twin role as armed forces commander and Minister of Defence and Security.

He said that he would continue to hold the two posts for the time being, pending the appointment of a new ABRI commander.

"The post of commander will be transferred to someone new in the near future," he said.

According to The Jakarta Post, two front-runners for the post are Lieutenant-General Wismoyo Arismunandar, who was installed as the new chief of the army, and Lieutenant-Gen. Feisal Tanjung, ABRI's Chief of Staff.

At the State Palace on Tuesday, President Suharto installed Lt-Gen Wismoyo as the new chief of staff of the army.

At the same time, Rear Admiral Tanto Koeswanto was installed as chief of staff of

the Air Force and Major-General Banurusman Astrosumitro as the new chief of the National Police.

Asked about the appointment of the new chiefs of staff of the four ABRI forces, Gen. Sudradjat said that it was based on efficiency and the retirement age of the outgoing chiefs.

He said the former chiefs of staff of the navy, Marshal Siboen, Air Force Admiral Arifin and National Police chief General Kunarto had all reached retirement age.

Earlier, at a news conference, he pledged to improve the discipline of the troops and the police.

"ABRI will continue to focus on the back-to-basics programme to uphold military discipline among its members.

"The long-standing army programme is aimed at improving military discipline and instilling fighting spirit and dedication in the members of the four ABRI forces."

All ABRI members had to reflect on the force's basic principles to counter the negative impact of modern lifestyles which could weaken their discipline, he said.

He confirmed that there were troops and policemen violating the military rules, abandoning their main duties and seeking extra income and other inappropriate activities.

He cited, as an example, those playing tennis while on duty, resulting in troops and policemen neglecting their main duties.

"If military discipline is not upheld, such habits will continue, meaning that the troops only wear their uniforms but their spirit and mental attitudes deviate from military ideals," he said.

"But, please do not generalize, because not all ABRI members lack discipline. We always deal with those violating the rules according to ABRI regulations."

He said that, in the future, ABRI would give priority to the improvement of its members' welfare and their quality of life.

GRAPHIC: Gen. Sudradjat: He is also the Minister of Defence and Security.

LOPEZ DA CRUZ BECOMES SPECIAL AMBASSADOR

Jakarta Post, 10 April 1993. Abridged

Comments: A photo on page one shows Lopez da Cruz, shaking hands with President Suharto on his installation as ambassador-at-large, for the first time seen wearing a black Indonesian peci, the regulation headware for any Indonesian ambassador, far more becoming to a Muslim than to any East Timorese.

Anyone who has had any encounters with Indonesia's top-ranking collaborator on the world diplomatic scene will hardly be impressed with the qualities of da Cruz to convince world opinion. As a signatory of the so-called Balibo Declaration on 30 November 1975, he is seen by most East Timorese as their most groveling and pathetically incompetent traitor.

(Jakarta) F.X. Lopez da Cruz who has been sworn in as ambassador at large "with special tasks" says he is ready to use diplomatic tactics to accelerate resolution of the East Timor question.

Claiming four days before his appointment that he did not know what his "special tasks" would be, he said he was sure the government would entrust him with handling the East Timor issue overseas.

Lopez, outgoing member of the Supreme Advisory Board, is probably better known in Portugal than in Indonesia. Since the capture of Antonio Gomes da Cruz (Mau Huno), he has been busily answering Portuguese journalists' questions about the diplomatic implications of the arrest. He was one of the key officials to meet UN envoy Amos Wako last week.

"I will propose to President Suharto and Ali Alatas my personal strategy on handling the East Timor issue," but he did not explain his strategy. He plans to seek a more open policy for East Timor, such as allowing foreign officials and journalists to visit East Timor. "Re-opening the Portuguese embassy in Jakarta will greatly facilitate communications between Jakarta and Lisbon which is now conducted largely through the UN."

Lopez will publish a book entitled 'Aku Bersaksi tentang Timor Timur' (My Testimony on East Timor) which reviews events from 1974 to 1976. "I wrote it in Portuguese which I have mastered better than Bahasa Indonesia," he said.

WHITHER EAST TIMOR?

Commentary by John MacDougall, TFI, 17 April 1993

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, recently promoted to Udayana Commander (which will carry a rank of Major General) while retaining his role as commander of the East Timor Kolakops until it is formally dissolved (now claimed to be set by end of April), gave Editor an account of 'progress' in the territorial/combat battalion breakdown since he assumed command of the Wirabuana Korem (East Timor). He came in with the ratio 6 territorial to 6 combat. He says by September 1992 it had become 8:4. About the time of Xanana's arrest, it was 10:2. His target of 12:0 he hoped would be achieved by the end of this September. This would later be reduced to 8:0 (all non-Korem battalions). The next stage would be 6:0 or 5:0. He hoped by 1995 just the Korem battalions would remain (apparently 744 and 745 though not explicitly stated – Syafei once commanded Battalion 745 from its base in Los Palos).

He also claims the 'two-headed' (two-faced) personnel in the provincial administration have been cleaned out and transferred (to where, he doesn't say, though he admits these people could not have been removed – actually he says 'tangkap' – too hurriedly). He rues that the East Timorese still think in terms of the old parties like UDT and Apodeti rather than Golkar. He admits the land problem in East Timor remains 'unresolved' and dismisses all land claims of East Timorese abroad. He seems to have some regard for Xanana as a strategist and considers him 'purely political.' He says none of the remaining resistance commanders had such high political acumen and so they could only resort again to military means, as they did, a dead end for them.

Syafei's remarks, together with his promotion, make it clear the Army intends to continue to run the show in East Timor for quite some time, Rome talks and UN body resolutions notwithstanding. With the Army's man Abilio Soares in the Governor's seat and causing no 'problems' except a too loud mouth, the appointment of an Army man, Col. J. Haribowo, 49 (the former regional secretary – Sekwilda) as Deputy Governor comes as no surprise. It continues East Timor's 'conformity' with other Indonesian provinces where either the Governor or his Deputy must be military. Haribowo has been assigned to East Timor since 1981. He replaces Brig. Gen. A.B. Saridjo who was there since 1983. When installing Syafei as Udayana Commander in Bali, ABRI Commander Gen. Edi Sudradjat,

who also did early East Timor duty, remarked there were still several countries which had not yet recognized East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

East Timor is thus now more than ever effectively under the control of the Army's 'old East Timor hands.' 'Integration' has gone well beyond the status of 'Benny's special project' and become institutionalized as part of ABRI's 'union and unity' doctrine put into practice. The territory may deserve independence, but the above-mentioned kinds of contingencies, along with the capture of the two main resistance leaders, make this prospect very remote. At best, foreign NGOs and foreign governments can make a principled commitment to independence or at least to a non-rigged act of self-determination but hope only for very long-term political changes in a post-Suharto Indonesia resulting from internal Indonesian events. With the UN failing in Bosnia and also seemingly Cambodia, there is little hope it will take on East Timor in any concrete way which would bring about an act of self-determination or independence. Its role seems likely to be confined to enhanced monitoring of human rights violations and perhaps some new mechanisms to deter them.

Meanwhile, the decisive war for East Timor remains in Jakarta. Strategies of outside NGOs and foreign governments must change dramatically and recognize the realities. In terms of prospects for independence, East Timor may be at best the Estonia of the former Soviet Union, or at worse, China's Tibet.

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INDONESIA'S ECONOMY

Extracts from THE ECONOMIST, April 17th – 23rd 1993

"[...] The scale of Indonesia's economic achievement is remarkable. In 1967 when the president, Suharto, first took that job, Indonesia's GNP of \$70 per person meant that it was twice as poor as India or Bangladesh. Since then Indonesia's economy has grown at a rate of almost 7% a year in real terms. In 1970 almost 60% of the population lived in poverty. By 1990 that figure was down to around 15%. Life expectancy and health have improved dramatically in the past 30 years:

	Life expectancy at birth, yrs		Infant mortality per 1,000 live births		Adult illiteracy		Population per doctor	
	1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990
Indonesia	41	61	225	64	61	23	46,780	9,410
Philippines	53	64	134	42	25	10	na	6,570
Malaysia	54	70	105	22	42	22	7,020	1,930

Thailand	52	66	149	28	32	7	7,950	6,290
S. Korea	54	71	120	23	29	4	3,540	1,160
India	43	59	165	95	72	52	4,850	2,520
Sri Lanka	62	71	71	20	25	12	4,490	5,520

It is still not hard to find poor Indonesians, whether living by a fetid canal in Jakarta, the capital, or eking out a living from the land in the remote eastern provinces. With a GNP per person around \$600 – about the same as Egypt's – Indonesia is still a poor country. But unlike Egypt, Indonesia is making steady progress towards prosperity. As the World Bank puts it: "If the momentum of development can be maintained, Indonesia can realistically expect to be a solid middle-income country with a per capita income of \$1,000 by the end of the decade."

That is a bigger "if" than is sometimes assumed. As Indonesia gets richer, so it is showing signs of succumbing to the temptations of economic nationalism

Mr. Suharto's new cabinet contains several men who may push for expensive industrial policies that could strain their heavily indebted country. Indonesia's leaders can ill afford to make mistakes, for it will be far hard to pull off an economic miracle in their vast nation than in its nippy little neighbours like Singapore. [...]

Yet Mr. Suharto's "New Order" regime has been associated with stability and progress, rather than stagnation and collapse. Even many of those who chafe at the restrictions imposed under his rule acknowledge that there is something to be said for stability. They need to look back to the origins of the New Order to be reminded that their country is a combustible mix.

In 1965-66 Indonesia was the scene of one of the worst bloodbaths in modern history. Hundreds of thousands of people – estimates range between 100,000 and 1m – were killed in massacres initially aimed at Communist Party cadres. The killings were unleashed by the army in the aftermath of a failed coup in which the role of Sukarno, Indonesia's first leader, remains mysterious. But they quickly spiraled from an army operation aimed at political opponents into mass bloodletting in which whole villages were massacred, often by other civilians. By 1967 the impulsive, dynamic Sukarno had been replaced by an uncharismatic, impassive general – Suharto. Suharto's role in the massacres of the mid-1960's remains obscure. [...]

The government's strategy for preventing Indonesia from running wild is made up of three elements: strong central control, an official emphasis on tolerance, and economic growth.

Central control implies limits on political freedom. The Indonesian government is keen

on democratic form, but perfectly frank about its aversion to democratic substance, as it is understood in the West. President Suharto has been re-elected five times unopposed. In Indonesian-style democracy, a vote

is regarded not as an essential element of democracy, but as evidence of a disastrous breakdown in consensus. The maintenance of a calm surface is everything. [...]

Yet for all the careful control of political debate, Jakarta does not feel like the capital of a police state. Security at government offices is light to non-existent. Politicians, academics and businessmen talk volubly – if invariably off record – about everything from corruption in the Suharto family to the chances of a military coup. The artful consensus forming of politics in Jakarta represents the gentler side of central control in Indonesia. But there is a much rougher side.

The world was reminded of this on November 12th 1991 when the Indonesian army opened fire on a crowd of mourners in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Dozens of people were killed, perhaps more than 100. The Dili killings had a worldwide impact because they were filmed, but they were only a small-scale reprise of a larger tragedy that took place in East Timor in the late 1970s. In December 1975, after the collapse of Portuguese rule, Indonesia invaded the island, claiming the need to suppress a communist threat and support a pro-Indonesian faction. The invasion led to a war and subsequent famine in which it is thought that around 100,000 people died.

Indonesian officials can argue for hours about the facts and causes of the East Timor tragedy. But their ultimate justification for the New Order is that whatever its cost in terms of liberties sacrificed and blood shed, it has brought stability, order and a huge advance in the material prosperity of millions of people.

Nor has stability been created simply by using guns and providing butter. The official government philosophy of Pancasila – whose five elements emphasize

religious tolerance, unity in diversity and social justice – is ardently promoted and sincerely meant. A philosophy of live-and-let-live makes sense in a country with so many latent tensions – between the ethnic Chinese minority and the indigenous (pribumi) majority; between Java and the outlying islands; between Muslims and Christians; between rich and poor.

The hope is that economic progress and Pancasila will be enough to suppress the latent conflicts within Indonesia. The fear is that Mr. Suharto has acted like a cork in a bottle, merely containing the fizzing and bubbling below. Remove him, and who knows what explosions might ensue. [...]

The article goes on in a detailed discussion of the differences between the technocrat-economists (represented by the “Berkeley Mafia”) and the technologist-engineers (represented by Prof. Habibie), of the tensions between Chinese-Indonesians (“The accusation that Chinese-Indonesians are sucking money out of the country is unfair. As one Chinese businessman puts it: “When we kept all our money here we were accused of buying up the country. Now we are meant to be draining it of wealth.” [...]) Religion adds another element to the accusation of double loyalty. One prominent member ICMI speculates that a lot of Chinese have become Catholic “because Catholicism has no national loyalties. It is the only religion which sends out its own ambassadors) and Muslims, of what is known as “Javanisation” (comparing it with “Russianisation”), of the problems in Irian Jaya, Moluccas, Sumatra and Sulawesi and of the “after Suharto.” A great article in my opinion, on an area that is not covered that much by the news: Southeast Asia.

ALATAS: “IF THAT WERE THE UN’S DECISION...”

Publico, 2 May 1993 Dateline: Washington

By Paulo Moura Original Lang.: Portuguese, Unabridged

Ali Alatas told *Publico* that Indonesia would accept “losing” East Timor.

He came to the US to talk about bilateral relations. Warren Christopher told him that he was concerned about human rights in Timor. But it went no further than that. It is customary; Alatas conformed. In the interview given to *Publico*, the Indonesian minister said that, if the negotiations on Timor in September were to advance, Portugal would have to admit its past mistakes, and recognise that a decolonisation process, good or bad, had taken place in Timor. For its part, Indonesia is prepared to agree that the half an island does not belong to it, if this were the internationally acceptable solution.

Publico: A few days ago an Indonesian paper, the *Jawa Post*, announced that the special military command for East Timor was going to become extinct and that the number of Indonesian troops in the territory reduced. What is the meaning of these measures? Are they among the “confidence-building measures” aimed at the Rome talks?

Ali Alatas: The decision to put an end to the special command, replacing it with a normal regional command in Timor, just as in other provinces, and gradually reducing the

number of troops, had already been taken some six or eight months ago. It was just the date that this would come into effect which had not been fixed. It is not, therefore, directly linked to the Rome talks. The Government and Armed Forces took the decision for objective reasons, because the situation in the territory is improving and so many troops are no longer necessary. However, if this is considered to be improving the situation, then we can call it a “confidence-building measure.”

Q: What other “confidence-building measures” were decided upon in Rome?

A: On the UN Secretary General’s request, both Portugal and Indonesia agreed not to publicise, for the time being, the measures which were discussed. I can say, however, that in general they will be measures which, although may not directly solve the problem, will create a better atmosphere between the two parties. To become more familiar with each other’s situation, for example, through reciprocal sending of journalists. But they will always have to be measures adopted by both parties, not unilaterally.

Q: Do you have any complaint against Portugal with regards the question of journalists?

A: No, but it is true to say that more Portuguese journalists have been able to go to Indonesia than our journalists to Portugal...

Q: And are they going to allow Non-Governmental Organisations access to Timor?

A: Why not? This has, in fact, already been happening. In the past few months, Asia Watch and the International Commission of Jurists went to Timor, and there are UN agencies which are there permanently, such as UNICEF. We received the Secretary General’s special envoy, Amos Wako. It is incorrect to say that Timor is closed. But I must be frank with you: we still have not allowed total freedom of entry because there are some organisations which, from our point of view, are still prejudiced, and it will be some time before we trust them.

Q: You have had access to Wako’s report. Was it hard on Indonesia? Was it a fair report?

A: It is a confidential report. But we had access to some sections of the first report – not the last one. The Secretary General

asked us for comments and we supplied them. We completed the report with further information, and accepted its recommendations, even though they were things that we were already doing.

Q: Both Portugal and Indonesia have already stated that they hold completely contradicting positions. What do you expect from these talks?

A: Everyone knows that our positions are very different, otherwise we would not have this dispute. Portugal says there was neither decolonisation nor self-determination, and that it continues to be the administering power, and that a self-determination process should be started by means of a referendum. We say that decolonisation happened 17 years ago, when Portugal abandoned Timor.

Q: In your view, where should Portugal concede, in order for real negotiations to start?

A: Portugal has to start facing up to the problem with realism. It has to stop telling the world that it has done everything properly, and all that Indonesia has done has been wrong, and that it had to interrupt its decolonisation process because Indonesia suddenly invaded and annexed the territory. It has to say what really happened 17 years ago. In August 1975, Portugal abandoned Timor – not on account of us, because we were not there, but because there was civil war and the Governor was unable to control the situation. In November 1975, we had a meeting in Rome and asked Portugal to return. It did not do so. Meanwhile, Fretilin made a unilateral declaration of independence which was not accepted by anyone, neither Lisbon nor Jakarta, and the other four parties declared in favour of integration with Indonesia. The war continued, and people started fleeing to Indonesia, and the Timorese supporters of integration started to press us – “Why do you not help us? We have no weapons, because they were given to Fretilin, who are killing us and creating a regime of terror...” So then we started to get involved.

Q: And if Portugal were to admit this, what would Indonesia be prepared to concede?

A: When the dialogue began in 1983, the aim was “to find a fair, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the problem of Timor.” These words were carefully chosen by the then UN Secretary General, Perez de Cuellar, and by ourselves.

They represented a compromise between our position and Portugal’s position, acceptable to the international community, represented by the UN. In 1987, Perez de Cuellar came up with a plan for Timor. A UN mission would go to the territory, then submit a report to the General Assembly, there would be a debate and a vote. We accepted this plan. Portugal rejected it. What was it afraid of. I still do not understand.

Q: Do you mean that you would accept a solution found by the UN, even if it meant Indonesia leaving Timor?

A: Don’t you think that the acceptance on our part of an independent commission, which we have no control over, and the conclusions it would reach, is already a step removed from our initial position? We could have said: No, Timor is Indonesia’s 27th province, so a foreign commission to investigate would be interference in our internal affairs.

Q: You would, therefore, agree to Timor not forming part of Indonesia?

A: Yes, that is implicit in what I have said. Naturally, we are still confident that any independent commission would see the true situation, that is, that the majority of the people took their decision 17 years ago.

Q: In your meeting yesterday with US Secretary of State, Warren Christopher, was the subject of Timor raised?

A: Yes, Timor always crops up in conversation.

Q: Has the position of the US changed with the new Administration? Are they more critical with regards Indonesia?

A: No. The American position is basically the same since the Carter Administration: they accept the “de facto” integration of Timor with Indonesia, in other words, they think that it is pointless to talk about decolonisation or self-determination. But they do not approve of the way we carry on: in the human rights field, they always say that they are concerned. Two Republican Administrations held this position and now this Democrat government has confirmed it once again.

Q: But didn’t the US seem more intransigent this time? Didn’t they put pressure on you, or threaten economic sanctions?

A: No. They always say that they are very concerned with human rights, they ask

many questions, make many recommendations. Nothing’s changed.

ON A BACKGROUND OF TENSION BETWEEN MILITARY AND MOSLEMS

General Faisal Tanjung was named Commander-in-Chief of the Army

Le Monde, 7 May 1993 (after AFP) Original language: French Text: full

General Faisal Tanjung, who led the inquiry on the November 1991 massacre of civilians in East Timor by the Indonesian army, will become Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces on May 21st.

General Edi Sudrajat, who cumulates the functions of Defence Minister and Chief of the Armed Forces, confirmed Wednesday that General Tanjung, 53, [presently] in charge of general affairs, will be his successor in this position.

This nomination comes as tension is rising between the Army and ICMI, the Association of Moslem Intellectuals, lead by Minister of Research Jusuf Habibie.

Today the Army is worried of ICMI’s ambitions. Earlier it had jailed some of its leaders on charges of fundamentalism. ICMI was launched in 1990 with the benediction of president Suharto, in the perspective of the ‘post-Suharto’ era, as the President, reelected on 11 March for 5 years, is 72.

The race to vice-presidency had been a model: against the threat of a possible candidacy of Mr. Habibie, the military had made a block to impose their chief, General Try Sutrisno, to a reticent president.

Abdurrahman Wahid, the leader of the powerful Muslim organisation Nahdatul Ulama (NU), told AFP that for him and his [followers], “the important thing is not whether the president of Golkar [the dominant party, which has always been presided by a military] is a military or a civilian, but that it is someone who favours democracy.”

Which is not the case of ICMI, according to Mr. Wahid, who also presides Forum Demokrasi, a gathering of liberal intellectuals.

TIMORESE STUDENTS “MUST GO HOME”

Publico, 11 May 1993

Unofficial translation, abridged. The item is very short.

REQUIRED TO RETURN TO TIMOR

More than two hundred East Timorese who are studying in several parts of Indonesia have been ordered to return home to East Timor, according to a decree issued

by the governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares. The majority of these students are at present studying in Jakarta, Surabaya and in Bali.

According to UDT sources, the governor believes that these students could be part of a network with the outside world and a link with the clandestine movement in East Timor.

[Comment: No news of this as yet in the Indonesian press. TAPOL]

INDONESIA TOUCHY ABOUT U.N. ACTIVITIES IN JAKARTA

Excerpt from a United Nations press release issued 11 May 1993 in New York, on the Decolonization Subcommittee on Small Territories and Petitions. (GA/COL/2875). Most of the discussion was about the US Virgin Islands, but an exchange between Mustafa Tlili (Chief of the Anti-Apartheid, Decolonization and Palestine Programmes Section of the UN Department of Public Information) (DPI) and Rezlan Ishar Jenie of the Indonesian delegation is interesting. Press releases like this one summarize and paraphrase, rather than transcribe, UN meetings. I have removed portions which discussed other issues, interleaved with the thread relayed here, which is reprinted in full.

Mustafa TLILI (part of a long report on DPI's multimedia activities) reported that some (of the 67 United Nations) information centres had conducted special activities ... To promote the Organization's work in the field of decolonization, including ... The Jakarta centre's meeting on East Timor; ...

Rezlan Ishar JENIE drew attention to the report that the United Nations Information Centre (UNIC) in Jakarta had held a meeting on East Timor. He said the people of the Territory had, in 1976, expressed their wish to join Indonesia. That position had regularly been expressed by Indonesia.

If the information on the organization of the meeting was true, his delegation would have no other choice but to characterize it as an "unfriendly act" which also constituted an interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia. His delegation had not been informed by his Government of any meeting on East Timor being held in Jakarta. The said it was apparently a meeting held within the United Nations Information Centre itself. He said the reference to the meeting should be deleted from the DPI report. ...

Mr. TLILI said that "information was reporting, not inventing," therefore DPI reported on events in East Timor as a Non-Self-Governing Territory.

Mr. JENIE said his delegation needed clarification on what the Decolonization

Subcommittee planned to do regarding adoption of its final report, particularly with paragraph 7 as it applied to East Timor.

Mr. TLILI said the DPI's mandate was to put information at the disposal of the public. Therefore, the information itself was not private. "The centres are open space for the public." The DPI did not seek authorization for its information activities for any particular country. Information centres disseminated through local media and schools, as part of the DPI's assembly mandate. He would seek more details on the information meeting held in Jakarta, and would be happy to provide clarification later.

AMOR ARDHAOU, Subcommittee Chairman, said the Subcommittee would observe the reservation expressed by the delegate of Indonesia regarding the information meeting held in Jakarta.

MOHAMED MESSAUD (Tunisia) ... asked if DPI was associated with the meetings organized by the UNICs in conjunction with local authorities, or were they held at the initiative of the centres themselves. ...

Mr. TLILI said that the UNIC meetings were organized on individual initiatives and efforts of the centre Directors. The meetings organized by the Brussels and Jakarta Centres were "obviously linked" because of the topical nature of the issues discussed - Western Sahara and East Timor respectively.

It was the responsibility of the centres, he added, to disseminate information regarding the various mandates of UN bodies. They must be commended for their efforts. The organization of meetings did not require authorization by the Government. Sometimes meeting were organized in cooperation with the Government, or the local university or in cooperation with non-governmental organizations.

He assured the committee he would seek further information from his colleagues on the various questions raised.

Mr. ADRHAOU, Chairman, said the Subcommittee might consider deleting from its final report the paragraphs concerning the Jakarta meeting.

Ms. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago) said her delegation believed the Subcommittee could (sic) not act in haste in deleting the reference to East Timor. The Territory was still on the list of Non-Self-Governing Territories.

Mr. JENIE said the Subcommittee should not take a decision on the DPI report unless the reference to East Timor was deleted as he had originally proposed. He sought clarification on the work of the UNICs, saying he understood the mandate of DPI

was to disseminate information and not to hold meetings.

The CHAIRMAN asked the Subcommittee if an information centre was allowed to discuss issues, or was its mandate limited to information dissemination.

Mr. TLILI, for the DPI, said the DPI's information meeting in Jakarta was merely an information meeting, and DPI's mandate to inform was done individually or in groups. If the General Assembly were to change its mandate for the dissemination of information by DPI on the 18 Non-Self-Governing Territories, the information centres would comply. But the Subcommittee might simply refer in its report to "UNIC Jakarta's information meeting on East Timor," if that would help meet the reservations of the delegation of Indonesia on the matter.

Mr. JENIE (Indonesia) said his delegation could not accept the suggestion of the DPI official. The meeting could not have taken place with the agreement of his country. It was an "unfriendly act," as he had earlier stated.

He said dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal (the former administering Power of East Timor) on the Territory had reached a crucial stage. He recalled that General Assembly discussion of the Territory had been postponed because of the ongoing talks.

Ms. KING-ROUSSEAU (Trinidad and Tobago) said her delegation was not at present in a position to pronounce definitively on the matter of East Timor now under discussion in the Subcommittee.

The CHAIRMAN said the Subcommittee would resume the discussion on East Timor and the Jakarta meeting at the next meeting of the Subcommittee. Mr. Tlili would offer clarifications at that time.

SUHARTO REJECTS CLINTON MEETING

(JAKARTA, May 12 Kyodo) President Suharto of Indonesia on Wednesday rejected an offer by U.S. President Bill Clinton to meet in Tokyo in July to discuss North-South dialogue.

Suharto said the meeting should take place either in Washington at a U.S. invitation, or in Indonesia on his invitation, according to a senior Indonesian minister who briefed reporters.

'Surely Suharto cannot meet a president from a friend country in a hotel of another country, that is not right,' Research and Technology Minister B.J. Habibie said.

He said Suharto would go to Tokyo only if it has him an opportunity to explain the position and issues of nonaligned countries.

Habibie met Clinton last week in Washington during an annual meeting of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. Clinton said then that he hopes to meet Suharto because Indonesia enjoys a leadership role among nonaligned countries and wants to build up trade ties.

Following Clinton's remark, government sources in Japan said that the country plans to arrange a meeting between Suharto and Clinton before the July 7-9 summit of Group of Seven (G-7) major economic powers.

Suharto, who last September assumed the chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, has extended his intention to brief G-7 leaders on North-South dialogue to Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, French President François Mitterrand and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

ARMY WINS ANOTHER SKIRMISH WITH SUHARTO

Green Left #99, May 12, 1993

By Max Lane

Indonesian minister of defence Edi Sudrajat announced on May 5 that he would be relinquishing his position of armed forces (ABRI) commander in chief. General Feisal Tanjung, deputy chief of staff of the army, would be appointed to the position – jumping over his superior, army chief of staff Lt. Gen. Wismoyo Munandar.

This decision represents another defeat for President Suharto, who has been helping General Wismoyo, his brother-in-law, position himself to become ABRI commander as a possible stepping stone to the presidency.

Surprising those who thought that Suharto had achieved the upper hand after radically reducing ABRI influence in his new cabinet, the appointment of Feisal Tanjung should delay any moves upwards by Wismoyo for two to three years. The appointment could be seen as another case of ABRI presenting a fait accompli to Suharto, as it did in February when it announced its nomination of General Try Sutrisno for vice-president.

An open battle is being fought in the press between ABRI and Suharto's supporters over who should be appointed the new head of the government political party, Golkar. Golkar holds its congress this month, and Suharto is rumoured to be putting forward his long-time associate and information minister, Harmoko, as a candidate.

ABRI figures, including the defence minister, General Sudrajat, have stated publicly that it should be a military figure.

This has been rejected by technology minister Habibie.

Habibie is emerging as one of the most powerful influences in the government. He is also head of a new political grouping, the Islamic Intellectuals Association, which is wielding increasing influence in the state apparatus. Habibie has been backing Harmoko and making statements that as Golkar chairman you cannot be loyal to the Golkar membership and to ABRI headquarters at the same time.

While ABRI is having some successes in struggles over appointments, it is being put more and more on the back foot by its narrow political program.

It has not attempted to form a campaigning alliance with civilian forces – although it maintains links behind the scenes with a number of anti-Suharto civilian groups. This strategy reflects the contradictory position ABRI is in.

On the one hand, it has emerged as the "vanguard" within the political elite opposed to the Suharto clique. As a result, it now shares some interests with the elite-based pro-democracy forces. This was highlighted by the launching of a biography of former defence minister Benny Moerdani, considered still the power behind the scenes in military circles, with an introduction by the chairperson of the liberal democratic grouping Democratic Forum.

At the same time, ABRI operates as the bully boy and political cop, suppressing human rights activists and protesting workers and peasants. Its repressive role makes it the mainstay of the authoritarian political system that allows Suharto to rule without any open, direct opposition.

ABRI's strategy of trying to take power from Suharto by winning state positions for its own officers is only heightening fears of a return to militarist rule. On the other hand, Suharto's support from the Islamic intellectuals gives him the appearance of being a more pro-civilian politician.

In these circumstances, more calls are emerging from moderate civilian critics of the government for ABRI to repeat in some form a famous 1966 civilian-military seminar which formed an alliance between ABRI and a group of civilian politicians and intellectuals behind a specific economic and political program.

This pressure is likely to bring to the fore internal disagreements within ABRI over its future role in politics: a conflict between those seeking ABRI's withdrawal from day-to-day political affairs (maintaining only a last instance veto and perhaps a representation in parliament) and those who wish to see ABRI represented in the state apparatus right to the very top.

It is likely that this conflict will begin to manifest itself in a public discussion over whether ABRI should support a civilian candidate for president in the future. The relative strength of these opposing viewpoints in ABRI is a key unknown in Indonesian politics.

In the meantime, even outspoken civil liberties critics of the government and supporters of an end to presidential authoritarianism such as Buyung Nasution have said they would support continuing involvement of ABRI people in politics if ABRI were to support democratic reform. "As long as they don't confuse the language of weapons, with the language of politics," Nasution told the new outspoken weekly magazine DETIK in March.

INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL MEET IN ROME

TIMOR: DANGEROUS NEGOTIATIONS

*Semanario, 8 April 1993 Dateline: Lisbon
By Henrique Botequilha
Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged*

Indonesia wants to weaken the Portuguese position on East Timor, using the Timorese Resistance itself. Inside Timor, the military are picking off the guerrillas one by one. At the same time, they are inviting the leaders abroad to return to the territory, but without success. There is now parallel diplomacy. Portugal is going along with this.

Indonesia is trying to seduce the Timorese Resistance. It already wants to gather all the Resistance leaders around the same table – but out of Portugal's sight. Later, it is going to try to set up direct talks, side-stepping the Lisbon government. The first steps of this strategy have already begun to be taken. And although they do not appear to have been met with immediate success, they are already causing splits in the Resistance.

Semanario has learned that Nuno Rocha (former director of Tempo) and Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo are preparing for a meeting between the various Timorese political factions. The proposal came from the Indonesian authorities, said the Portuguese journalist, and aims to allow the leaders based abroad to visit their families living in the territory. Rocha and Araujo have been working intensely on this, and were trying to schedule the meeting for 20 April in Bangkok – the date set for the Rome meeting between (Portuguese Foreign

Minister) Durão Barroso and the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas. But neither the date nor the venue now seems possible. "There just is not enough time," complains Nuno Rocha.

However, Tempo's former director has no doubt that the project will really go ahead, probably in Jakarta. He expects various pro-Indonesia Timorese to take part in the meeting, like e.g. former Governor Mario Carrascalão, his successor Abilio Osorio Soares, and Suharto's adviser on Timor, Lopes da Cruz. Also expected are some opponents to integration, represented by Resistance personalities from abroad.

The truth is, however, that the resisters are preparing to respond to the Rocha/Araujo invitation with a firm No. In fact, Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), told Semanario that he does not accept the invitation, nor anything else that stems from Nuno Rocha. "I refuse to talk to people of whom Indonesia takes no notice, like Abilio Osorio and other clowns," he added. But Ramos Horta is prepared to enter into direct talks with Jakarta, and challenges Ali Alatas to set up a meeting "wherever and whenever he likes." Mari Alkatiri, in charge of Fretilin's external relations, would also reject an invitation (although one has not yet been formalized): "I hope they do not invite me." This Timorese politician assured Semanario that João Carrascalão, UDT leader, also had not received any such proposal.

"To talk now would be to surrender to Indonesia," said Paulo Pires, former UDT Political Commission chairman, invited to the Jakarta meeting by an unidentified leader of the Resistance abroad. Paulo Pires thinks that these negotiations – "which will not solve anything" – should have taken place in 1977/79, "when we could still talk." On the other hand, he believes that the Timorese Resistance abroad has no mandate to speak in the name of the people. In other words, of the names Nuno Rocha has indicated to take part in the meeting, only the pro-integrationists, sympathetic towards the Suharto regime, and Abilio Araujo, seem ready to sit down at the same table.

Portugal authorizes parallel conversations:

The Portuguese Government is aware of these developments. According to diplomatic sources, the Government sees no major inconvenience in the Timorese talking directly to the Indonesians and, in this case, Lisbon just limits itself to stating the fact. "I just hope that these contacts do not weaken Portugal's position," said one of the sources contacted by Semanario, for whom the issue of the territory is not a problem between

Portugal and Indonesia, but between Timor and the international community. "As Timor cannot speak for itself, Portugal has been its advocate," said the source, adding that if the Timorese believe they can do without their advocate and look out for themselves, then the Government does not mind. With regard to the Luso-Indonesian negotiations, scheduled for 20 April in Rome, Portuguese diplomatic sources indicated pessimism (which was, in fact, expressed by the Minister Durão Barroso himself) and expect an inconclusive final result. "It will be more an opportunity for unilateral statements than an actual dialogue," said one of Semanario's sources, who upholds that there can only be a political solution for Timor. But within that solution, there are "nuances." In fact, UN Resolution 1540, passed in 1960, establishes that the self-determination of a people may be achieved in various ways, including the possibility of integration within another territory. The Resolution does not explain how a people can be consulted.

Lack of results from the Portuguese Government's efforts is beginning to cause dispute among some sectors of Portugal's diplomacy. There are several diplomats who think that the Portuguese Government does too much on Timor. That is, it "staking its high trumps" (like the blocking of the EC-ASEAN agreement) on account of its former territory, which could result in the Portuguese being restricted in their actions in other areas.

"There is no political way out for Timor"

The poor prospects for the negotiations only interest Ali Alatas, who is setting up his strategy of eliminating the guerrilla within Timor and showing that the Resistance abroad lacks confidence in the Portuguese Government. By so doing, Alatas can then accuse Portuguese diplomacy of neither speaking in the name of Timor, because the guerrilla is losing significance, nor in the name of the Resistance abroad since the latter no longer believes in Portugal and is seeking direct talks with Indonesia.

According to sources close to the Jakarta authorities, the Indonesian military have instructions to annihilate the guerrilla before the end of this year. The first steps to this end were taken, with the capture of the leaders Xanana and Mau Hunu – "a very grave occurrence for the Timor issue," according to a well-known MP. In his opinion, Portugal is running "too many risks" and, "any day, the Portuguese position will be left without argument, and the Timorese are going to realise that there is

no political way out for Timor." He considers Mau Hunu's detention as being "the worst thing that could happen for Timor," and says that Indonesia's aim is to put an end to the problems in the territory. This MP from the majority party added that the weakening of the guerrilla is being accompanied by Indonesia's demilitarization of the territory, to the applause of the international community: "The lesser the influence the guerrilla has there, the lesser military repression will be, and the lesser the repression gets, the less young people will mobilise to the Resistance."

Ramos Horta agrees with this opinion and says that "the Indonesians are trying all manner of means to invalidate the argument that the Resistance has to be heard. To exemplify this he refers to the statements made by Xanana and by Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, who has altered his position favouring a referendum to now supporting the territory's autonomy within the Republic of Indonesia. Ramos Horta, however, still believes in diplomatic success on the Timor question, and is encouraged by the recent US administration's decision to instruct its embassy to look into future US policy and position on Indonesia.

Resistance also meeting in Rome

It is within this hardly optimistic framework that stirrings are to be seen at the heart of the Resistance abroad. To begin with, Jose Ramos Horta is going to invite all the Timorese factions to sit around the same table, in Rome, on the same day as the Luso-Indonesian negotiations, for what will be parallel negotiations. Mari Alkatiri and Abilio Araujo from Fretilin, Zacarias Costa from UDT, and Ramos Horta and, probably, Jose Amorim from the CNRM will be present. "Maybe we differ on many issues, but there is one thing which we uphold together: the need for the people to be consulted," maintains the CNRM's special representative. Furthermore, "the mere physical representation of Timorese in the wings is a sign of the Resistance's visibility and activity," adds the same leader.

RESISTANCE PESSIMISTIC ABOUT ROME TALKS

by Mario Dujisin

Lisbon, Apr. 16 (IPS) – Next week's meeting in Rome between Portugal and Indonesia will do little to help the cause of the East Timorese people, said special representative of the Maubere National Resistance Council (CNRM), José Ramos-Horta.

The aim of the Apr. 23 meeting, called by U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-

Ghali, will try to reach “a just solution” for the future of East Timor. Both Indonesia and Portugal will be represented by their foreign ministers Ali Alatas (Indonesia) and José Manuel Durão Barroso (Portugal).

But in a telephone interview from Australia Friday, Ramos-Horta predicted an inconclusive meeting based on the “radical, intransigent and inflexible position” of the Jakarta regime.

The CNRM, coordinated by Ramos-Horta, is made up of all the Timorese independentist parties and movements, and is the authorised voice of the guerrilla resistance in exile abroad. “Maubere” is the name of the Timorese people in their own language.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony in the archipelago of Java, was invaded by Indonesia one week after the declaration of independence from Lisbon on December 1, 1975. one year later it was annexed by the Jakarta regime.

Ramos-Horta was foreign minister during the one week that the republic of Timor was an independent state.

According to reports by Amnesty International and other independent humanitarian groups, the invasion and annexation resulted in the genocide of 210,000 Timorese out of a population estimated at 600,000 in 1975.

But the respective positions of Lisbon and Jakarta appear difficult to reconcile.

Portugal on the basis of a United Nations security council resolution approved Dec. 22, 1975, demands the holding of a referendum in which the Timorese can choose between independence and ratification of the Indonesian annexation.

But Indonesia does not accept the need for a plebiscite, and claims the territory as an integral part of its territory, maintaining that the annexation took place “at the request of the Timorese people.”

Jakarta asserts that in the 17 years of its integration Indonesia “has done more for Timor than Portugal ever did in 450 years.”

But Ramos-Horta dismisses such statements by saying that the position of human rights in East Timor is growing worse with every passing day. He said he would prove his accusation “with documents and audiovisual tapes which I will be bringing with me to Rome next week.”

Asked about Indonesian charges that the Timorese living in exile abroad are only “Portuguese tools,” he replied “one has only to read the international press to corroborate the way many of us criticize Portugal.”

“Although it seems ironic, Portugal, the former colonizer, has taken up an honourable position today in support of the right of our people to independence, which

leads us to maintain relations with them as equals to equals, based on mutual respect.

“What matters are concrete facts, and these show that Indonesia – a former Dutch colony – now occupies the role of a colonizer a thousand times worse than what Portugal was for five centuries,” said the spokesman.

“Indonesia was one of the countries which used to criticize Portuguese colonial policy the most in the decade of the sixties, but what else is it doing now but colonizing East Timor by force?” Ramos-Horta asked.

The resistance movement has suffered two major setbacks during the past six months – the capture of guerrilla leaders José Alexandre Gusmão (known as Xanana) last November, and Antonio Gomes da Costa (Mau Hunu) at the beginning of April.

But according to Ramos-Horta, the movement remains strong. “our resistance is being put up by a whole people, not by two persons. our 18 years of struggle have forged hundreds of young leaders who have been in the vanguard of the resistance.

EAST TIMOR: THE (PORTUGUESE) STRATEGY

Expresso 17 April 1993

by Luisa Teotonio Pereira

Original Lang.: Portuguese, Unabridged

(Lisbon) Behind Indonesia’s persistent refusal to modify its position in the slightest way, which has justified the pessimism expressed by the Portuguese authorities and by sectors of international diplomacy with regards short-term progress, the theatre of shadows on the stages of Dili and Jakarta has already begun.

Some of the artists have been around for a long time, others joined the company more recently. In the past, the former made several mistakes but always carried on. They planned to occupy East Timor in six days, and that was 17 years ago. They were convinced of the “conquest of minds and hearts” after having carried out the cruelest war, and found out that dominating a people that wants to be free is impossible. They invested in the new generations, while these trained to continue the Resistance. They believed that the international community is blind, deaf and dumb, but it sees, hears and, from time to time, speaks.

Meanwhile, East Timor is, as Ali Alatas said last year, a small but uncomfortable stone in Indonesia’s shoe. There are those who are now trying to remove it, without damaging the sock or hurting the foot. But there are also those who still do not feel the little stone in the boot and march on at the same pace.

The brutality of the invasion and the colonial occupation undertaken by the military regime – with its systematic repression and social and economic exclusion of the Timorese – gave rise to practically unanimous rejection. It is just not possible to change the nature of Indonesia’s presence in East Timor, no matter how many alterations are made in the military, police and security structures, or no matter how many material benefits are announced. The resistance is a fact acquired independently from the forms the occupation takes on.

Indonesia wants to secure regional supremacy, it wants to be the industrialised countries’ privileged interlocutor, and managed to get into the Chair of the Non-Aligned. But these ambitions are incompatible with the contempt shown towards the UN resolutions and with the defence of theses which question concepts such as the defence and promotion of human rights.

Opening up to the outside world exposes the Indonesian system’s weaknesses. The transformations in other points on the globe make clearer the demands for democracy, removal of the military from power, greater access to minimum standards of conditions for life, and question high-level corruption (namely by the President’s family).

Because of the international echo it gets, East Timor is becoming more and more a national issue. For the regime it means undesirable focus on its human rights violations. For the liberal and democratic sectors, it constitutes an open window for the world, a ground for learning about new forms of struggle, a chance for growth and calling of attention. Timor is becoming a crystallization pole of Indonesian society’s internal contradictions.

Paths and Shortcuts

Recently, Ali Alatas said he was hopeful that some progress in the search for a solution for Timor would be made. And he added: “But two hands are needed for clapping. At the start of negotiations, the parties are aware that give and take on both sides is necessary” (Reuters, Jakarta, 2 April 1993). But no important figure of the administration is truly convinced that the time has come to go down another path. The movements which are seen are just attempts to respond to a situation of increasing unrest and the sensation of having no control over a tumor that does not stop growing, a new situation in the Indonesian political scene.

Each sector – political, military, religious – seeks a shortcut. Security bodies fight against military and paramilitary information bodies, sniffing out different civil and religious institutions and

individuals. Information and counter-information are abused.

One of the priority targets of this campaign is Portuguese public opinion. After thinking that the Constitution was the main obstacle to Lisbon's giving way, Jakarta is now convinced that the impossibility of reaching an agreement to its liking is rooted in the Portuguese people themselves. Proof of this has been the facilitation by the regime (especially since just before Xanana's arrest) of the transmission of TV footage, including the interviews of the former Resistance leader, and the unspeakable statements made by Governor Osorio and Adviser Lopes da Cruz. To confuse and disarm the Portuguese is an assiduously pursued aim.

But voices from the democratic sectors, especially those of the human rights organisations, are being heard increasingly clearly. Amos Wako, the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy, met with their representatives. Clinton Administration officials try to listen to their opinions. Since the 12 November massacre, every major event in Timor has deserved a judicious comment from these institutions, and Indonesian jurists defended Timorese in court with competence and solidarity.

Promises from the Pacific

The web around Timor, inside and out, becomes more complex, a sign that the actors are more numerous and have learned to move with more subtlety. A climate of pre-negotiations can finally be felt: the awareness that some commitment must be found exists among all parties involved.

The Timorese Resistance has long since made it known that a settlement will have to be political and negotiated. Even in July, in his message addressed to the UN Decolonisation Commission meeting in New York, Commander Xanana Gusmão was saying: "The talks without pre-conditions are meant to safeguard the global mutual interests of the parties involved in the conflict. (...) We are not fighting against Indonesia, nor against the Indonesian people. In an independent East Timor, all our political efforts will be to privilege the relationship of cooperation and friendship between the people of East Timor and the Indonesian people, through the promotion of bilateral cooperation instruments, in the context of a politically and economically strengthened ASEAN, sparing no effort to make the region a peaceful and prosperous zone." Following his capture, the leader Mau Hunu reaffirmed these positions and repeated the appeal for the participation of Timorese in the negotiations and for the holding of a referendum.

Jakarta is searching for Timorese interlocutors who would sign a sham-agreement in order to convince the international community that everything is according to the law – thereby removing Portugal from the process. But when it publicly displays the need for such a show, it is because the weaknesses are being felt.

And what about Lisbon?! For so long counting on the oblivion which time would bring about, drifting without a course for a few more years, it now seems to have formulated a strategy. But the means at the strategy's disposal are not keeping up with the pace at which the situation is evolving. Credibility and efficiency are being put to the test. Principles should be maintained, and objectives reaffirmed: the referendum (the realization of the act of self-determination), increase the number of allies, increase the pressure on the Jakarta regime, find ways to alleviate the suffering of the Timorese, press for the opening up of the territory and abide by the Human Rights Commission's resolution.

Some say the Pacific is the most dynamic area of the world. An explosive area, say others. The promises it holds are not the same for everyone. In rigid and authoritarian states, whose survival depends on repression and the systematic violation of human rights, citizens organise themselves and publicly express their plans.

In a recent meeting in Bangkok, over 110 NGOs from 26 countries approved their agenda for the nineties and coming years. They demanded from their governments real determination in the defence and promotion of human rights; they supported the creation of a UN Special Commission on Human Rights and a regional mechanism sharing the same objectives and conditions (guarantee of independence, authority, capacity to respond rapidly and effectively to serious and urgent situations). They criticised the powers for the obstacles they put in the way of civilian society's freedom of action, and they asked: "What about the peoples who, every day, suffer the brutality of the oppressive regimes? It is not only the loss of sovereignty which the people of East Timor have to face. In this process of struggle to gain respect for human rights, they also have to face the fact of Indonesia chairing the Non-Aligned countries. A government which was not held responsible for its crimes and massive violations of human rights will try its utmost to block this process."

TIMORESE WANT TO DEFINE NEW STRATEGY IN ROME

Publico, 18 April 1993 Dateline: Lisbon By Rogerio Gomes Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

Publico has had access to a new document which reached Mario Soares and Durão Barroso from the Resistance. The document appeals for representatives, both of the Resistance and the Church, at the Rome talks, and defines a "new strategy" for the struggle. It also gives some warnings about Xanana Gusmão's behaviour, who could still "speak out and decide in the name of the Maubere people."

In a document delivered late last week to the Portuguese President of the Republic and Foreign Minister, the Clandestine Front's Executive Committee and the Maubere Resistance National Council appealed for "Timorese representatives" presence in the Rome talks between Portugal and Indonesia, due to begin next Thursday.

The communiqué, which left Timor in late February and is dated from Dili on 24 of that month, states throughout that the representation of the Timorese cannot be limited just to those which Indonesia is prepared to accept, but must also include those from the Nationalist Convergence, the Resistance National Council, and should also have the "active participation of Catholic Church representatives" from East Timor.

The clandestine front's appeal reinforces previous requests for the "international world" to put pressure on Jakarta "to accept a referendum in East Timor, under UN auspices," and for "Indonesia to respect the Maubere people's legitimate interests, allowing it the freedom to freely choose its own future and self-determination."

Regarding the Rome talks, the signatories state they are hoping "that the talks take place on the basis of honest and open dialogue, without any kind of pressure or intimidation" from the "foreign power," so that "a fair and adequate solution" for East Timor may be reached.

The last point in the appeal addressed to the Portuguese authorities demands the immediate release of "Commander Xanana Gusmão and other Timorese political prisoners" so that they may "find freedom to contact whoever they wish (...), acknowledging respect for their personality, as Timorese citizens."

Before and after an account of Timor's occupation, and the various diplomatic episodes since 1975, the communiqué analyses Xanana Gusmão's arrest, which should be considered as a "reference point

for successive discussions about human rights violations by East Timor's occupying power."

The "new strategy"

The Clandestine Front regrets that this did not happen, and it became indebted to countries whose "economic interests" "subjugated them to the Indonesian Government" and "forced them to keep silent." Referring to the same countries, the Timorese movement affirms that "they defended the invaders' interests, pretending they were not aware of the matter and the UN resolutions."

In this scenario, which generated "bad feeling among the Clandestine Front members, to the point of allowing itself to become dominated by desperation and loss of confidence in the face of such attitudes," the authors of the communiqué believe it "appropriate to outline a new strategy for the struggle by the Resistance," and which they describe under five points.

The first is based on the principle that the "peace plan is positive, a genuine and democratic referendum is aimed at, and through this, the Maubere people will be able to freely exercise their right to self-determination."

The communiqué then defines the principle that "the occupation and annexation of East Timor constitute international crimes," as does "the continuing violation of human rights principles in the territory by Indonesia's occupying troops."

The third is all about Xanana Gusmão, starting by defining him as the "symbol of our resistance, both armed and diplomatic, as well as clandestine." As such, the communiqué adds, "he will have all the power of representation of the Maubere people as long as he uses these powers to speak out, act and decide" in their name and "in their defence." However, the same point contains a clear warning to Xanana Gusmão: "Should he, on the contrary, speak out, act and decide in the name of a partisan group and out of personal interest or the interests of a group, then this organisation will remove all those powers from him through its Clandestine Front Executive Committee."

In point four, the Front states it is not trying to "create separatist attitudes, but, on the contrary, to unite all Timorese within the Nationalist Convergence, sharing the political ideology outlined by the Maubere Resistance National Council."

Lastly, under the "new strategy" Portugal is "responsible for continuing the decolonisation process under the auspices of the UN," which Indonesia obstinately pays no heed to and whose decisions it "continues to violate."

LITTLE EXPECTED FROM TALKS BETWEEN LISBON AND JAKARTA

by Mario Dujisin

Lisbon, Apr. 19 (ips) – Observers here are pessimistic about the results of talks on Wednesday between Indonesia and Portugal on the future of East Timor, invaded and annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

The meeting, between foreign ministers Ali Alatas of Indonesia, and José Manuel Durão Barroso of Portugal, will be held in Rome. It is likely to be a mere confirmation of the profound divergences between Lisbon and Jakarta, local analysts said.

The aim of the negotiations, organized by the United Nations, is to arrive at a "just solution" of the question of the former Portuguese colony.

At the last round of talks, held at the initiative of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in December in New York, the two foreign ministers did not budge an inch from positions on which both countries say they cannot compromise.

Last week, one of Boutros-Ghali's envoys, Amos Wako, visited Timor in order to obtain on the spot information, especially on the human rights situation.

However, there are doubts as to whether the information Wako has given to the Secretary-General for release in Rome will be favourable to Durão Barroso or Alatas.

The coordinator of the Maubere (Timorese) National Resistance Council, José Ramos-Horta, arrived in Rome on Monday to present, parallel to the meeting, "documents and audio-visual material which prove that human rights are being violated in Timor" by the Indonesians.

The only development that the Maubere resistance sees as "positive" is that Pope John Paul II will receive a group of Timorese Catholics. Most of the Timorese, who called themselves 'Maubere' are Catholics, whereas 98 percent of the inhabitants of the rest of the Indonesian archipelago are Muslims.

The Pope recently agreed to mention Timor, for the first time since the humanitarian organization 'Amnesty International' first started, in the late 1970s, to denounce the "genocidal killing of 200,000 Timorese." The territory had 650,000 inhabitants in 1975.

José Ximenes Belo, bishop of Dili – the territory's capital – had complained on many occasions that the Vatican had forgotten Timor.

Portuguese priest João Baptista of the 'Pray for Timor' organization Monday accused the Catholic church of "not always being at the side of the Timorese people."

However, "the pilgrimage of a group of young Timorese to Rome, at the same time as the round of talks between Lisbon and Jakarta, suggests that Pope John Paul II will say a word in defence of the Maubere people," he said.

While Lisbon wants a referendum on self-determination to be held in East Timor, Jakarta contends that the territory is an integral part of Indonesia.

Wednesday's talks come in a political conjuncture that is clearly in Indonesia's favour. In November, Indonesian forces captured pro-independence guerrilla leader, José Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmão, who 'recognized' in prison the advantages of the annexation of his country.

The guerrilla movement is essentially symbolic – a type of 'pro-independence' flame comprising an estimated 800 men. It received another heavy blow in early April when Xanana's successor, Mau Hunu (Antonio Gomes da Costa) was captured.

Ramos-Horta denied emphatically that any credence should be given to the pro-Indonesian declarations made by the two guerrilla commanders, since "they are two prisoners of war and their statements have no political or juridical value."

Portugal, recognized by the United Nations as the administrator of Timor until a referendum is held there, has reiterated that the capture of the guerrilla leaders has not changed the essence of the problem, which is Timor's right to self-determination.

Just days before the Rome meeting, Portuguese president Mario Soares recalled that "in Indonesia, there is a dictatorial regime that interrupted the normal course of Timor's decolonization, while Portugal's (stand) is that the Timorese people have a right to self-determination."

Prime minister Anibal Cavaco e Silva, predicted that "the constant violation of human rights will only harm bilateral negotiations."

Without naming Germany, Holland and Britain – denounced by the Timorese resistance as the "main supporters of the dictatorship of (Indonesian president) Suharto," the Portuguese leader deplored the support "some European countries" have been giving Jakarta.

"Business is more important than human rights," Cavaco e Silva charged.

(story received incomplete)

LETTER TO BOUTROS-GHALI FROM EUROPEAN POLITICIANS

This letter, endorsed by several European politicians, was delivered to the Secretary-General of UN, Dr. Boutros-Ghali, at the day before his meeting with the Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers, at Rome, on 21 April.

His Excellency, the Secretary General of the United Nations,
Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali,
Rome

Dear Secretary-General,

On April 3, Indonesian military forces captured the Timorese nationalist leader Mau Huno (Antonio Jose da Costa) in the south of Dili, East Timor. The 42-year-old Mau Huno took over the leadership of the Resistance, as head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance and commander of Falintil (East Timorese guerrilla army), after November 20 1992, the day on which Xanana Gusmão was captured.

Except for a brief encounter on April 7 with your Special Envoy, Mr. Amos Wako (about which no details have been made public), Mau Huno has been held incommunicado and subject to interrogation. He is not allowed to have any visitors, including members of his family, or meet representatives of humanitarian organizations and he has been unable to make contact with a defence lawyer.

We wish to express our deep concern at the plight of Mau Huno. We would also like to draw your attention to the serious political implications of his imprisonment. At a time when the international community – as was clearly stated in the resolution adopted by this year's UN Human Rights Commission – and the East Timorese themselves are in favour of negotiations without preconditions to find a just and comprehensive solution to the conflict which respects the legitimate interests of all sides, Indonesia has clearly chosen a strategy of confrontation. This inevitably raises doubts about Indonesia's goodwill towards this process on the eve of a new round of negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia, under your auspices, to be held in Rome on April 21.

Secretary General, we respectfully request you to do all you can to guarantee the safety and well-being of Mau Huno and to convince Indonesia that the international community would welcome genuine gestures from Indonesia to promote trust on all sides, not imprisonment and repression.

Lord Judd, Great Britain
Lord Avebury, Great Britain

Lord Rea, Great Britain
Ann Clwyd, MP, Great Britain
Senator David Norris, Ireland
Senator Joe Sherlock, Ireland
Prionsias De Rossa MP, Ireland
Liz McManus MP, Ireland
Eric Byrne MP, Ireland
Pat Rabbit MP, Ireland
Des Geraghty MEP, Ireland
Gen. Ramalho Eanes, former President of Republic, Portugal
Adriano Moreira, President of the Parliamentarian Commission on East Timor, Portugal

PORTUGAL ON TALKS: TOTAL CONTRADICTION

Publico, 21 April 1993 Dateline: Rome By Joaquim Trigo Negreiros Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

"Opposition," "antagonism," "contradiction." Durão Barroso did not spare synonyms to describe the distance between Lisbon and Jakarta in the talks on Timor, a further round of which is set to start today in Rome. Amid mutual accusations of "intransigence," mediator Boutros Ghali proposes "confidence building measures" which everyone considers necessary for this, until now fruitless, dialogue to be able to go forward.

Less than just 24 hours away from his meeting, to take place today in Rome under UN auspices, with Indonesian minister Ali Alatas, Durão Barroso stated it was "extremely difficult to avoid an impasse."

The Portuguese Foreign Minister believes that, in order to overcome the "total contradiction" between Lisbon (which supports recognition of the East Timorese people's right to self-determination) and Jakarta (which rejects outright any popular consultation on the territory's future), it is essential that Indonesia abandons the "intransigence" which Suharto's representatives are accused of.

Durão Barroso clarified that, with regards the Portuguese position, nothing new of any substance was expected: "We cannot alter our positions of principle."

This has been the situation since the exploratory meeting between the Portuguese (then Deus Pinheiro) and Indonesian ministers, last September in New York, – mutual accusations of intransigence and unfruitful meetings. Since then, Durão Barroso has substituted Deus Pinheiro, met with Alatas for the first time in December and, the scenario around the talks has evolved.

Yesterday, Durão Barroso himself recalled the two opposite courses of direction which have marked this evolution:

the Indonesian military's persistent determination to annihilate the Resistance in the territory, which makes Jakarta "confident with regards the situation in the territory," and the new signs of international condemnation of Suharto's regime, namely the most recent ones from the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva.

These two realities are the backcloth to today's talks, which started with bilateral meetings between Boutros Ghali and each of the ministers, and which led to a "triangular" working lunch, at which Portugal's and Indonesia's permanent representatives at the UN should also be present.

Yesterday, these diplomats met with Alvaro de Soto, Boutros Ghali's political adviser, at a one-hour preparatory meeting. De Soto, a Peruvian, also received the representatives of the Timorese Resistance who are in Rome.

All this took place in the palatial Hotel Excelsior, where all the delegations are staying and which will be the setting for today's meeting.

Wako's Report Raises Criticism

Both Portugal and Indonesia are leaving it up to Boutros Ghali to find "gaps" between the basic contradictions separating the two ministers. "The UN Secretary General has some duty to take the initiative," said the Portuguese minister, who considers the establishment of "confidence building measures" in the area of human rights and "respect for East Timor's own identity" to be "useful." Very vague? It will be up to Boutros Ghali to put materialize them...

Also on today's meeting's agenda are the reports of Amos Wako, Ghali's special envoy who was in Timor in 1992 and returned to the territory a few weeks ago. Durão Barroso insisted on the need for the facts gathered by Wako in 92 to be made public (until now only Boutros Ghali has had access). "It is not right (for him, the secretary general) to keep it (the 92 report) under lock and key.."

Another agenda item for today is the possible "reconciliation" meeting of Timorese, which has been the cause of breaks in the ranks of the Resistance.

On another polemical issue, the role of the Church in future talks, the Foreign Minister, who yesterday met with Monsignor Turam, his Vatican "counterpart," would only say that the negotiations on Timor were taking place in the "appropriate forum" of the UN, but that "all help would be welcome." At the time of going to press, it was still not known whether the Minister's tight agenda would allow him to accept the request for an audience, made by Father Mateo Zupi of the St. Egidio Community.
Smiles, and "Dear Friends"

Before Durão Barroso's arrival in Rome, a very smiling Ali Alatas told the journalists (whom he repeatedly addressed as "dear friends") that he expected "some progress" to come out of the talks today.

When asked about the content of the possible "progress," he was very reserved. He insisted on the need for the negotiations to cover the "confidence building measures," but left the concrete proposals to the UN Secretary General, who could have "new ideas."

For Alatas, who sent back to Portugal the accusations of intransigence fired by Lisbon on Jakarta, the chances of concrete steps forward are now in Durão Barroso's hands: "If one side continues to insist on saying that the only solution is to accept its own positions..."

And, amid smiles, he entered the elevator which took him up to the Hotel Excelsior's fifth floor – two floors above the rooms set aside for the Portuguese and UN delegations.

SECRETARY-GENERAL HOLDS TALKS WITH FOREIGN MINISTERS OF INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL

THEY AGREE TO CONTINUE EFFORTS TO SOLVE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

*UN Press Release SG/T/1795; 21 April 1993
(Received from a spokesman for the
Secretary-General.)*

ROME, 21 April – Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali held meetings here today with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, as had been agreed in the last round of talks held in New York on 17 December 1992, in the context of ongoing efforts, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to seek a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of East Timor. The Secretary-General met separately with each of the two Ministers and subsequently chaired a joint meeting and hosted a working luncheon.

Among the various aspects discussed, the Ministers considered possible confidence-building measures as a means of fostering an atmosphere propitious to addressing the substance of the questions.

Following today's discussions, the parties agreed to continue their efforts, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to solve the question of East Timor. A further meeting between the two Foreign Ministers will be held on 17 September in New York. Prior to this, talks will be held at

United Nations Headquarters between representatives of the two Governments.

The Secretary-General wishes to express his appreciation to both sides for their continued cooperation.

SELF-DETERMINATION 'SHELVED'

*Publico 22 April 1993 Dateline: Rome.
By Joaquim Trigo Negreiros Original
Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged*

Confronted, once again, with the abyss which separates them on the "basic question," Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas agreed in Rome to change the "focus" of the talks. Self-determination is "shelved," until 17 September, date of the new meeting.

The key words are no longer "referendum" or "self-determination," but have been replaced by "confidence-building measures."

Yesterday, after a real marathon of almost six hours of talks mediated by Boutros Ghali, Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas explained the change of "focus," to the battalion of journalists waiting for them in the lobby of the Hotel Excelsior, Rome – the setting for their second meeting on the question of Timor.

Faced with the inevitable impasse, which is the result of diametrically opposed positions on the recognition of the Timorese people's right to self-determination, Portugal and Indonesia are now going to limit the talks to establishing "confidence building measures," aimed at improving what has until now been the tense "atmosphere" surrounding the talks. The "basic question" will wait till later.

The subject was already broached yesterday but, on Boutros Ghali's express request, it was not commented upon by either party.

"I cannot say what the measures are," apologized Durão Barroso after the trilateral meeting which followed the bilateral meetings between the UN Secretary General and each of the two ministers, and the working lunch at which the permanent representatives of Lisbon and Jakarta at the UN were present.

The difficult task of finding common ground, on which to establish the "confidence building measures" that Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas should be ready to announce in September after the New York meeting, is now up to these diplomats.

The day before the meeting, and therefore before hearing Boutros Ghali's request for a "vote of silence," Durão Barroso would only make a vague reference to human rights and to "Timor's own identity" as being possible areas for the new measures. Ali

Alatas was even more reserved: in spite of recognizing the importance of coming to an agreement on mechanisms which would enable the talks to go forward, he refused to say anything on concrete measures acceptable to Jakarta. The only voice which hazarded a guess at a possible scenario was that of Ramos Horta, spokesman for the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM), who was in Rome following the talks, and insists on the need for Jakarta – in accordance with the recent UN Human Rights Commission's resolution – to ensure that non-governmental organisations have free access to Timor. For Ramos Horta, this could be a first and desirable "confidence building measure."

Alatas has seen Wako's Conclusions

Ali Alatas, who spoke to the journalists just minutes after Durão Barroso had left the hotel lobby, repeated almost exactly what the Portuguese Minister had said. The downpour of questions about the nature of the "confidence building measures" went unanswered: Alatas scrupulously kept his vote of silence, and would only talk of the agreement they had reached on the menu for lunch – Portugal and Indonesian reached consensus on "the same soup and the same fish..."

The only substantial information given by the Indonesian Minister was on the report of Amos Wako – Boutros Ghali's special envoy to Timor, who was there in 1992 and returned for a second visit to Timor a few weeks ago, without the contents of his first and "secret" gathering of information having reached the hands of the Portuguese Government.

Yesterday, Ali Alatas revealed that he was already aware of "some conclusions and some recommendations" of the mysterious report, which are said to have been sent to him in writing by Boutros Ghali, and to which he has reportedly replied, "on a confidential basis."

And Durão Barroso waits for the Summary

The Portuguese Foreign Minister, who criticised the Secretary General last Tuesday for keeping the Wako document "under lock and key" and promised to bring up the matter at yesterday's meeting, was given assurances that he would be sent a "significant summary" of the report "as soon as possible."

The fact that Ali Alatas was given "first hand" access to Wako's conclusions and recommendations suggests that the report is particularly hard for Jakarta. By giving priority to Ali Alatas, Boutros Ghali would be taking care to maintain the precarious equilibrium of the talks, allowing Indonesia some space for maneuver by delaying

Lisbon's access to a document which, according to a source close to Boutros Ghali, contained words such as "appalling" to describe the situation in Timor.

Resistance disappointed

Ramos Horta, João Carrascalão and Mari Alkatiri, the three Timorese Resistance representatives who were awaiting, in the Hotel Excelsior lobby, the outcome of the talks, were three disappointed men by the end of yesterday afternoon.

Alkatiri, of Fretilin, regretted Indonesia's "arrogance." Ramos Horta, CNRM spokesman, referred to Jakarta's "bad faith." João Carrascalão, UDT Vice-President, considered Ali Alatas's position to be "unacceptable."

They had all hoped for some progress on the "confidence building measures," and all regarded the scheduling of a further meeting to be the only positive note in yesterday's meeting.

Meanwhile, on the other side of the street and, as yet, unaware of the outcome of the talks, the 50 or so Timorese, who had gone to Rome for actions geared to make people aware of the issue, as well as for an audience with the Pope, faced the aggressive attitude of the carabinieri, and shouted "Free East Timor," waving Portuguese flags.

Ali Alatas, who stayed in Rome to see the Pope himself, remained inside the hotel, sheltered from the Timorese's shouts. Boutros Ghali, who left the hotel for the airport, to then fly on to Brussels, passed through the Timorese, with the windows of his imposing Maserati duly closed.

The Timorese demonstrators' enthusiasm had been strengthened a few hours earlier when, during a "general audience" with Pope John Paul II, he guaranteed them in Portuguese that he had never stopped accompanying, "with deep solicitude," the situation in the territory.

As he left the Basilica, the Pope responded to the appeals shouted out by two Timorese by saying that he prays for Timor "every day." Later, he approached the area reserved for the group and received a "tais" – a traditional Timorese woven cloth – which he placed around his neck.

Addressing the Timorese, John Paul II spoke of the "unforgettable memory" of his visit to Dili, and suggested a prayer "so that all those who are responsible for the future of East Timor seek, through open and brave discussion, the well-being of the population, respect for their rights and cultural and religious traditions."

While these words were sounding in the Vatican, on the other side of the River Tiber Ali Alatas was leaving the room where he had been for an hour and a half with Durão Barroso, and got ready for a 45-minute

meeting alone with the UN Secretary General. The marathon was not half over yet.

INDONESIA AND PORTUGAL HOLD TIMOR TALKS

New York Times, April 22, 1993. Page 11, full text.

ROME, April 21 (Reuters) – Indonesia and Portugal agreed today to hold further talks in September over the disputed territory of East Timor after their Foreign Ministers met with Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali of the United Nations.

Foreign Ministers Ali Alatas of Indonesia and Jose Manuel Durão Barroso of Portugal said they were still far apart on the main question of East Timor's right to self-determination.

East Timor, then a Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, a year after Indonesian troops invaded it. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation and is trying to find a solution acceptable to Portugal and Indonesia.

The ministers said they agreed to continue a dialogue about "confidence-building measures" to bring them closer together. Their next meeting was scheduled for Sept. 17 at the United Nations in New York.

Lisbon says East Timor should be allowed self-determination but Jakarta says the East Timorese have already chosen to be part of Indonesia.

Indonesia has been accused of human rights abuses in East Timor, where a dwindling rebel group is fighting its authority.

ROME TALKS PRODUCE NOTHING

TAPOL report, 22 April 1993

The UN-sponsored talks on East Timor in Rome between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers, Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas, made no progress at all on the question of East Timor. The only decision taken was to hold further talks between the two sides on 17 September 1993 at the UN headquarters in New York.

Neither side issued any statement, as it had been agreed that no statements would be issued, other than a brief press release by UN Secretary-General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali. [See below]

There was a boisterous demonstration outside the venue of the talks. Many dozens of people were present, including a number of East Timorese, who called for self-

determination and a referendum for East Timor.

Before the talks, Durão Barroso was quoted in the Portuguese press as saying that he was very disturbed that the report of Amos Wako to the UN Secretary-General following his visit to East Timor in February last year had not been made public. TAPOL learns that the Secretary-General has now agreed to make available to the Portuguese government a shortened version of the report, the same version that was made available to Indonesia many months ago. It is not clear whether this version of the report will be available to the public.

From other sources, TAPOL understands that Indonesia's strategy at the Rome talks was to stress the need for "confidence-building" measures between Indonesia and Portugal, leaving political issues (i.e. East Timor) to a later stage. These "confidence-building" measures might include cultural exchanges, exchange of journalists' visits, perhaps even setting up a Portuguese consulate in East Timor or re-establishing diplomatic relations between the two countries. For Portugal, the only "confidence-building" measures worth considering at present would be free access to East Timor for journalists and non-governmental organisations, the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and a general improvement in the human rights situation there.

TALKS BETWEEN LISBON AND JAKARTA YIELD LITTLE RESULT

Rome, Apr. 21 (IPS) – Nothing concrete came out of talks which the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia held here on Wednesday on the future of East Timor, the spokesperson of the territory's resistance groups said.

José Ramos-Horta, spokesman for the Maubere (Timorese) National Resistance Council (CNRM), told IPS that no progress was made at talks between Indonesia's Ali Alatas and Portugal's José Manuel Durão Barroso because of Indonesia's intransigence.

The talks were convened and attended by UN Secretary-General Boutros-Boutros Ghali, who said there was need for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor issue.

Ramos-Horta, whose group represents all pro-independence forces in the former Portuguese colony, said that Alatas once again proved his bad faith.

The Timorese resistance spokesman said, however, that he was not disillusioned

because “we did not believe that any positive result would ensue.”

He said Indonesia could have announced the liberation of Timorese prisoners as a goodwill gesture or declared that it was prepared to allow representatives of specialized UN agencies to enter the territory.

Where the future is concerned, he said he hoped the international community, especially the United States and the European Community (EC), would put strong pressure on Indonesia to get it to modify its position.

He emphasized that the CNRM would continue to fight for self-determination for East Timor, which could be obtained through a referendum organized by the United Nations.

Ramos-Horta said Indonesia was isolated and that independence for East Timor, invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed in 1976, was only a question of time.

Also on Wednesday, Pope John Paul II led a prayer that “all those who have a responsibility in the future of East Timor will seek, in frank and courageous dialogue, the well-being of that people, based on its rights and its cultural and religious traditions.”

Most of the approximately 450,000 Maubere, as the territory’s inhabitants call themselves, are Christians. At the Indonesian invasion, they numbered about 650,000, but some 210,000 were killed by Indonesian troops, international human rights groups say.

A UN resolution passed in 1976 recognizes the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, but has been ignored by the Jakarta government, which considers the territory Indonesia’s 27th province.

Radio Vatican called Wednesday’s meeting “the first opportunity for constructive confrontation between Indonesia and Portugal in the search for an agreement on the status of that territory and its inhabitants.”

Portuguese and Indonesian representatives said it was too early to talk of substantial progress. They said some measures, which they declined to disclose, had been adopted, and would be revised at a follow-up meeting to be held on Sept. 17 in New York.

At a press conference, Ali Alatas and Durão Barroso gave no details of the measures so as not to jeopardize the negotiations, as they said.

The Italian league of the international human rights federation announced that it had sent Italian foreign minister Emilio Colombo a note signed by various parliamentarians.

The note expresses “the sentiments of the Italian democratic world in favour of the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence.”

And, in a statement, the foreign ministry highlighted Boutros-Ghali’s decision to sponsor the talks on East Timor in Rome.

POPE PRAYS LEADERS FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION FOR EAST TIMOR

By Cindy Wooden, Catholic News Service April 22, 1993 Full text.

VATICAN CITY (CNS) – Pope John Paul II prayed that political leaders would find a peaceful solution to the contested territory of East Timor as high-level talks about the area’s future ended in Rome.

“I have never stopped following with profound concern the events in your beloved land,” the pope told a group of Timorese refugees attending his April 21 general audience.

“Together, and with fervor, we elevate our prayer to the almighty Lord so that all who have responsibility for the future of East Timor will seek, through a frank and courageous dialogue, the well-being of that people in respect for their rights and their cultural and religious traditions,” the pope said.

The same day, the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, who had been meeting with UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in Rome to discuss the disputed territory, said they would meet again in September.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976. Some East Timorese have been fighting for independence since then amid allegations of widespread human rights abuses by Indonesian forces.

The United Nations has passed several resolutions in favor of self-determination by the territory’s population.

The majority of people in East Timor are Catholic.

The Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, met the pope April 22 at the Vatican.

“Among the questions discussed was the problem of East Timor,” said Joaquin Navarro-Valls, Vatican spokesman.

The pope repeated to the foreign minister his hope that the “new conversations about the future of the eastern part of the island” would promote the good of the people and respect for their rights, the spokesman said.

Alatas and the pope also discussed regional Asian issues, given Indonesia’s role

in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, he said.

POPE RAISES EAST TIMOR ISSUE WITH INDONESIAN OFFICIAL

By the Associated Press, April 22, 1993. Full text.

VATICAN CITY (AP) – Pope John Paul II met with Indonesia’s foreign minister today and stressed the need to respect the cultural and religious traditions of predominantly Roman Catholic East Timor in negotiating its political future.

The former Portuguese territory was annexed by Indonesia, the world’s most populous Muslim country, after it intervened in a civil war there in 1976.

John Paul met for 20 minutes with foreign Minister Ali Alatas, who came to Rome for talks with his Portuguese counterpart and U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

On Wednesday, the two sides agreed to meet again Sept. 17 in New York.

Portugal wants to hold a referendum to let the people of East Timor decide whether to be part of Indonesia or independent. But Indonesia has ruled this out, claiming the East Timorese have agreed to integrate with Indonesia.

The Vatican said John Paul in his meeting recalled his 1989 visit to East Timor. During the visit, pro-independence groups staged a demonstration during a papal Mass.

John Paul urged a “fraternal and courageous” dialogue that would take into account “the rights and religious and cultural traditions” of the people, the Vatican said.

Portuguese Foreign Secretary Jose Manuel Durão Barroso said Wednesday that neither side had changed or softened its position during the Rome talks.

Both foreign ministers refused to specify what measures were under discussion or how close they were to agreement on them. But they said their UN ambassadors would continue the discussions in advance of the next round of talks in New York.

JOSE RAMOS-HORTA ON ROME TALKS

The following Memo was received on 27 April 1993 from Jose Ramos-Horta and Margherita Tracanelli of the CNRM for dissemination to East Timor solidarity groups around the world:

The following is an updated version of my Memo of 22.04.1993 sent to all solidarity groups, but I believe it has not

been put on E-mail as I was hoping. Apologies for the delay.

1. The second round of talks on East Timor took place on 21.04.1993 at the Excelsior Hotel in Rome, under the direct auspices of the UN Secretary-General with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas of Indonesia and his Portuguese counterpart, Jose Durão Barroso.

2. Note that the first round was held in NY on 17.12.1992 and ended in complete deadlock.

3. On the eve of the talks, the feeling here in Rome, according to Portuguese journalists and foreign correspondents who interviewed Ali Alatas upon his arrival at the hotel, was that the talks would not produce any positive result.

4. "My dear friends, be sure of the facts," was how Alatas patronised the journalists present. He did not appear to have brought any new ideas or proposals to Rome that would indicate a small progress in relation to December 1992.

5. A large Indonesian media and security contingent was present.

6. The East Timor delegation comprised Jose Ramos-Horta (CNRM), Mari Alkatiri (FRETILIN) and João Carrascalão (UDT). The three had met previously in Sydney and issued a joint communiqué on the talks and other issues.

7. They met at length with Minister Barroso prior to his meeting with UN SG and Alatas. They also met with the SG's staff for several hours and with a senior papal representative.

8. One issue the three took a strong common stand against was the idea floated by Indonesia's stooges regarding a meeting between East Timorese supporting integration and those supporting independence. Abilio Araujo, who did not see the need to be in Rome and to have a common position with his colleagues, is the only East Timorese to have favoured this idea. He was supported by Jose Martins, alleged leader of the so-called Kota party which does not in fact exist.

9. It is obvious to anyone conversant with current Indonesian politics that Alatas was in no position to offer any substantive "concession" even on the human rights front, let alone addressing the roots of the problem. Hence, the whole exercise was doomed to failure from the start. As long as Indonesia does not feel a real threat of substantial costs to its current policy, it will continue to stall.

10. On the other hand, it has been evident that Indonesia is having less and less room to maneuver. Though the talks were a failure (as we all expected), the fact that Alatas was forced to travel to Rome for the UN-sponsored meeting on East Timor was in

itself an admission of the international dimension of the conflict. It has also been evident to some observers that Alatas is becoming increasingly frustrated over his inability to "solve" the conflict according to his wishes.

11. It transpired from the talks with the Portuguese Foreign Minister and UN officials that the phased peace plan offered by the CNRM in April-May 1992 is now widely accepted as the most realistic, pragmatic and workable strategy that would lock Indonesia into a UN-mediated process. There seems to be no other way.

12. As has been reported, Amos Wako, the personal envoy of the US-SG, met in Dili with Xanana and Mau Hunu. This fact alone underlined the importance of the two East Timorese leaders. A UN official commented in private: "Xanana is a great man." He/she was referring to what Xanana would have told Wako.

13. Regarding Wako's second report, all we can say is that it was equally critical of the human rights situation in East Timor, no less strong than the first. Regarding the publication of the two reports, we doubt very much that they will be published any time soon as long as the talks continue. The SG is severely constrained by his role as mediator. If he were to release the reports, Alatas would simply walk out of the talks. On the other hand, the SG is telling Alatas that he has to make some visible gestures in exchange for not releasing the two damaging reports.

14. A press conference organised by CNRM's Media and Communications Director, Ms Margherita Tracaneli, was held in Rome, at the Foreign Correspondents' Club, the morning before the talks. Bearing in mind that we were in the midst of an Italian political crisis and a referendum, the media attendance was satisfactory. The joint press conference by the three East Timorese leaders impacted positively in the light of persistent media stories about the lack of unity in the nationalist ranks and the Resistance's twilight in the wake of the capture of Xanana and Mau Hunu. The media conference was conducted in a professional manner with the three East Timorese leaders fully briefed by the CNRM's media specialist, having each made a brief introductory remark of no more than 3 minutes. The CNRM made available to the Media a substantial amount of background information.

15. One negative note during the Rome talks was the political posturing by Abilio Araujo. His constant and obsessive attacks on Xanana Gusmão and stand on the said proposal (para 8) have been the single most

detrimental development to the East Timorese cause.

16. Mr. Araujo has been thoroughly discredited. It need only be mentioned that he has been completely isolated by his four FRETILIN CC colleagues. The Portuguese and UN officials were perplexed by Araujo's stand. "Stupid," "absurd" were the words used to describe his "brilliant" ideas.

17. 50 East Timorese and Portuguese travelled by bus from Portugal and staged a timely demonstration in front of the hotel.

18. Between now and September, as Indonesia's internal politics evolve and (if) the international visibility of East Timor is further enhanced, Alatas might go to New York with some substantive proposals in line with CNRM's ideas. The UN Commission on Human Rights resolution on East Timor was a clear signal to Indonesia that times have changed. We have to keep up the pressure.

NO PROGRESS IN TALKS ON TIMOR

Green Left #99, May 12. By Max Lane

The Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers and the UN Secretary-General met in Rome on April 27 to discuss East Timor.

The first round of these talks, held in New York in December, ended in deadlock. This time too, no major results ensued. Indonesia's Ali Alatas and Portugal's Durão Barroso simply agreed to meet again.

The Timorese delegation in Rome refuted reports, circulated by some pro-Indonesian lobbyists, that the national liberation movement was severely divided. The East Timor delegation comprised Jose Ramos-Horta (Maubere National Resistance Council - CNRM), Mari Alkatiri (Fretilin) and João Carrascalão (UDT). The three had met previously in Sydney and issued a joint communiqué.

Ramos-Horta said the delegation met at length with Durão Barroso prior to his meeting with the UN Secretary-General and Alatas. They also met with the Secretary-General's staff for several hours and with a senior papal representative.

Following the meeting in Rome, Alatas flew to Washington. Indonesia is obviously concerned with the fact that Washington co-sponsored the resolution condemning Indonesia on human rights violations in East Timor at the Geneva Human Rights Commission in March.

Alatas told the Indonesian press covering the story in Washington that he expects increased attention to be put on human rights questions by the Clinton administration, although he remained

confident of Washington's ultimate support for East Timor's integration into Indonesia.

In an obvious attempt to appease international public opinion, an Indonesian military spokesperson, Lt. Col. Anton Tompudung, announced on April 29 that the army would eliminate the East Timor field operation. Admitting – despite earlier statements that troop numbers were already low – that 10 battalions were operating in the province, he claimed that they were now due to be gradually withdrawn at the rate of two every six months. This is part of the military's plan to disband the special East Timor Operations command, KOLAKOPS, and replace it with a "normal" territorial army command, called KOREM.

The establishment of a KOREM is an indication that the army intends to make its presence permanent. The whole of Indonesia is divided up into regions each covered by a KOREM.

These commands are the de facto political administration of the country, ultimately responsible for all aspects of political control and security.

KOREM commands retain a powerful intelligence and security apparatus which is the real spearhead of Indonesia's occupation forces as the East Timorese resistance becomes more focused in the country's major towns. It is also extremely dubious that the army will withdraw all its rapid deployment combat troops. Only the complete withdrawal of all Indonesian forces can end the terror by the occupation army.

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATES

NON-ALIGNED NATIONS SEEK COMMON FRONT TO FACE WEST

by Thalif Deen

New York, Apr. 6 (IPS) – the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) Tuesday established a working group at the United Nations to formulate common positions on the politically sensitive issue of human rights.

The 73-member NAM coordination bureau here approved the group's unanimous decision to create the working group, whose first big challenge is to develop a common third world position for the world conference on human rights in Vienna in June.

A collective stand at the Vienna conference will be based on three regional declarations on human rights adopted at recent

meetings in Tunisia, Costa Rica and Thailand. The three declarations reflect the views of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

NAM is the biggest single political grouping at the United Nations, second only to the 129-member 'Group of 77' developing countries which acts primarily on economic and social issues.

Mindful of controversial bilateral issues such as self-determination and cross-border terrorism, India has proposed that the working group focus "on issues that unite, not divide us."

Third World nations have accused the West of using different yardsticks to measure countries' human rights records, and of turning a blind eye on violations by their allies.

Ambassador Razali Ismail of Malaysia said in a letter sent last week to Indonesia (the current chair of NAM), that the Malaysian delegation "witnessed with serious concern the politicization" of the commission on human rights at its 49th session in Geneva last month.

"The practice of selectivity and double standards was often accompanied by various forms of pressure tactics, including those at the capital," he says in the letter, adding that these were some of the challenges facing developing countries and members of NAM at the Geneva meeting.

The Malaysians were particularly critical of western nations who did not go the extra mile in condemning and penalizing the perpetrators of human rights abuses in the former Yugoslavia and in the Israeli-occupied territories in the west bank and Gaza strip.

The Malaysian delegation participated in preparing resolutions on the abuse and rape of women in the territory, particularly Muslim women in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Malaysia also supported a Palestinian initiative to have a special rapporteur appointed "to investigate human rights violations by Israeli authorities in the occupied Palestinian territories, including Jerusalem."

Redzuan Kushairi of Malaysia told the commission last month his country regretted that western nations, in initiating resolutions on country situations, did not deem it fit to conduct serious consultations on the substance of their resolutions with developing countries, regional groups and members of NAM.

Kushairi said the "confrontational and adversarial approach, accompanied by various forms of pressure tactics by certain western countries is not conducive towards enhancing the work of the commission in protecting and promoting human rights."

It was on the basis of a combination of these factors that the Malaysian delegation did not go along with the resolutions initi-

ated by certain western countries on a number of country situations, including China and East Timor, he said.

Kushairi also charged that certain countries had contacted its foreign ministry to find out whether the Malaysian representative had exceeded his brief in launching a blistering attack on the West.

"As a matter of principle, we take strong exceptions to approaches made by representatives of certain western countries to our authorities in Kuala Lumpur that in any way question the integrity of our national positions on issues before this commission or the underlying purpose of our membership in the commission on human rights," he said.

The Non-Aligned Movement is not as united on the issues described here as the writer would like us to believe. Many NAM members supported the UNHRC resolution on East Timor, and many others, who did not have a vote on the Human Rights Commission, also support ending repression and genocide in places like East Timor. Nevertheless, the East Timor support movement needs to broaden its base in Asian and Non-Aligned countries.

– Charlie Scheiner, East Timor Action Network / US

ASIA-PACIFIC NGO CONFERENCE ON HUMAN RIGHTS

**Coordinating Committee for Follow-up
in preparation to the World Conference
on Human Rights 1993.**

*PRESS RELEASE Wednesday, April 28,
1993*

The Asia-Pacific NGO Coordinating Committee, presently attending the Final Preparatory Meeting of governments leading up to the World Conference on Human Rights, denounces the statements made by certain Asian countries attempting to undermine existing international human rights standards. In the ongoing debates on the drafting of a Declaration to be presented to the World Conference, the government delegations of Pakistan, Indonesia, Malaysia and Syria have consistently taken every opportunity to object to a clear statement on the International Bill of Human Rights as a "common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations."

"These indications show a clear policy effort on the part of these governments to shirk responsibility and accountability for the violations of human rights of the Asia-Pacific people. It is precisely this attitude that has enabled the States to avoid the ratification of international human rights

instruments and to continue the violations," said Cecilia Jimenez, spokesperson for the Asia-Pacific NGO group.

The Asia-Pacific region abounds with cases of gross and systematic violations of human rights, such as those existing in East Timor, the occupied territories, Bougainville, Tibet, Bhutan, Kashmir and Burma. Only a handful of Asian states have ratified international covenants on human rights.

The Asia-Pacific NGO group also criticized the majority of the Asian states who justify the denial of international human rights standards by raising arguments of cultural diversity. "We refute the logic that a person being tortured in Asia, just because it happens in Asia, has a lesser right not to be subject to torture. The universality of human rights is a principle that must be enforced throughout the world regardless of culture, religion and history," Jimenez added.

The Asia-Pacific NGO Coordinating Committee reaffirmed the commitment of the Asia-Pacific NGOs to international human rights standards. "We demand that our governments do the same," the members concluded.

NORTH, SOUTH AND EAST TIMOR

*By Asian Students Association (ASA), 11
May 1993*

In a bid to blunt criticisms of their human rights records, Malaysia and Indonesia are currently attempting to turn the whole human rights debate into a North-South issue.

At the recent 49th session of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, Malaysia had argued for no action to be taken against Indonesia for its violation of human rights in East Timor because Western countries are practicing double standards in focusing criticisms of human rights abuses on certain countries while turning a blind eye on others.

In March, at the conclusion of the proceedings of the UN Commission of Human Rights, Malaysia urged Indonesia, the Chair of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM), to convene an urgent meeting to discuss strategies at the World Conference on Human Rights to be held in Vienna this June.

Malaysia intends to convince other Third World countries in NAM to join it in defending their human rights records by injecting the North-South dimension. The aim is to divert attention of human rights abuses in the Third World by making it a North versus South issue.

Malaysia had learned from its experience at the Earth Summit that playing the North-South card will put itself on the offensive – rather than be on the defensive on its destruction of the rainforests in Sarawak.

There is no doubt that Western countries are often practicing double standards, not only in the arena of human rights but also on many other international issues. But this does not mean that the human rights records of Third World governments be taken off the agenda.

There is indeed a North-South dimension on the issues such as environment and human rights and this must be strongly addressed. However, this does not go to say that the destruction of the environment or the violations of human rights by Southern governments and their ruling elites are therefore excusable.

The portrayal of global problems as merely that of a North-South problem has thrown Third World Network, a non-governmental organization based in Malaysia, into hot water. A report filed by Chakravarthi Raghavan of the Third World Network entitled "United Nations: Selective Focus on Human Rights Criticized," has raised the ire of the East Timorese people, for the views presented in it were merely a replica of the Malaysian government's position.

Supporters of the struggle of the East Timorese people for self-determination were angry with Raghavan's particular references in his article to the vote of the recent UN Human Rights Commission's resolution which condemned Indonesia for its repression in occupied East Timor.

The resolution condemning Indonesia was supported by 23 governments while 12 were against and 15 abstained. In his article, Raghavan reported that Western countries engineered the resolution and were those voted in favor, while Third World governments voted against -thus putting the whole vote in the context of North-South antagonism. He argued that the vote was passed despite Indonesia's willingness to cooperate on the issue of human rights in East Timor.

Supporters of the East Timor people responded that this amounted to misinformation for Raghavan had conveniently failed to mention 9 countries of the South which also voted in favor of the resolution. East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. This invasion was condemned by 2 UN Security Council resolutions which called for the withdrawal of all Indonesian troops from East Timor. The annexation of East Timor by Indonesia a year later was not recognized by the United Nations, nor by most countries in the world.

About 210,000 East Timorese, representing one-third of the population, have died as a result of the invasion. Continuing reports of grave human rights violations in East Timor by the Indonesia armed forces including large scale massacres, disappearances, tortures and rapes have been reported for the past 16 years by East Timorese refugees and the East Timorese Catholic church.

More recently, on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in the capital city of Dili, killing at least 271 unarmed civilians (a house to house survey also found 382 wounded, 250 "disappeared" and 364 arrested). The Indonesian government official number was 50 dead and about 90 "missing."

Those arrested at the November 12 rally were convicted and given sentences as harsh as life imprisonment for merely participating in or organizing a peaceful demonstration, while the few low-ranking Indonesian soldiers convicted in court martial got sentences of 2 years or less under typical charges of "firing into the crowd without orders to do so."

In the aftermath of the massacre, Indonesia's Vice-President, General Try Sutrisno, then Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces said, "Delinquents like these agitators must be shot, and they will be, whenever that is necessary."

The new Commander for East Timor installed after the massacre, General Theo Syafei commented, "Under my command, the number of victims would probably have been greater."

And the newly appointed Governor of East Timor, Abilio Osorio Soares, had this to say about the number of those who were killed, "In my view, many more should have died. Why only that much? Why did not all the thousands die?."

Such is the extent the remorse shown by Indonesian regime and its willingness to cooperate with the UN on the issue of human rights abuses in East Timor. The human rights situation has seriously worsened since the 1991 massacre. East Timor is being closed officially to foreign journalists and unauthorized visitors. And according to reports from inside, repression and violations reached an unprecedented level last November/ December 1992, at the time of the capture of Xanana Gusmão, the head of the East Timorese resistance.

It is in this difficult situation that actions must be taken by the United Nations on East Timor. It is thus rather sad that Third World Network, a well known international Third World NGO, had sought to portray the East Timor resolution in black and white – as wholly a North-South dispute, thus

playing into the hands of repressive Third World governments like Indonesia by subterfuging its repression of East Timor.

It will be disastrous that at the coming World Conference on Human Rights for the non-governmental organizations to take such a simplistic line of debate which most NGOs adopted during the Earth Summit.

This will do no justice to the millions in the Third World who are struggling for human rights despite great repression, and those who had died in their struggles – such as ASA activist Kamal Bamadhaj who was, along with hundreds others, shot dead by Indonesian soldiers on that sunny afternoon of November 12, 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor.

“I am a witness to the suffering of my struggling people and I’ll bear witness to their LIBERATION !” – East Timorese women in the struggle.

RESPONSE TO THIRD WORLD NETWORK FEATURES

Activists respond to an article on United Nations: Selective focus on human rights criticised. (See Documents Volume 21, page 73-75)

Sir,

We were interested to read Chakravarti Raghavan’s account of new North-South antagonisms appearing in the 49th session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission, posted on *twm.features* on March 16th under the above title.

Without commenting on the substance of his report as a whole, we would like, as East Timorese and supporters of the struggle of the East Timorese people for self-determination, to address the part of this report which refers to the vote of a resolution condemning Indonesia for its repression in occupied East Timor. We feel this part amounts to disinformation and would like to kindly ask you to post the following clarification.

We would also appreciate if you could convey this clarification to the author.

Sincerely yours,

Abé Barreto Soares
Agio Pereira, East Timor Relief
Association, Australia
Asian Students Association (ASA, Hong
Kong)
Free East Timor Japan Coalition
Friends of Women, Thailand
Institute for Community Education,
Malaysia
Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, France
Charlie Scheiner, East Timor Action
Network, USA

Carmel Budiardjo, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, United Kingdom

1. East Timor was militarily invaded by Indonesia at the end of 1975. This invasion, which blatantly violates the UN Charter, was condemned by two Security Council resolutions and eight General Assembly resolutions. The annexation that followed is not recognised by the United Nations, nor by most countries in the world. East Timor has been, and still is, on the list of non self-governing territories since 1961, and is discussed every summer at the UN Decolonisation Committee.

2. Continuing reports of grave human rights violations in East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces, including the death of at least one third of the population since the invasion, testimonies of large scale massacres, disappearances, atrocities, tortures, rapes and other ill-treatments have been available for several years from East Timorese refugees and the East Timorese Catholic church. They have been publicized by respected human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch.

3. On 12 November, 1991, Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration in Dili, killing at least 271 unarmed civilians, according to exact lists of names covertly compiled by the East Timorese resistance. This massacre was witnessed by foreign journalists, who all stress its peaceful character and were beaten up by Indonesian troops. A video of the massacre was smuggled out of the territory and was widely shown under the title ‘Cold Blood,’ including by the Malaysian television.

4. Now regarding Mr. Raghavan’s report:
> In the case of East Timor, where last year the Indonesians had >agreed to a Chairman’s statement and had been cooperating with UN >Secretary-General, the Portuguese pushed through a resolution >against Indonesia.

Disinformation #1: the draft resolution was sponsored not just by Portugal but by 24 governments, including governments from Europe and North America, but also Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Costa Rica. (For the uninformed reader, Portugal is the UN recognised administering power in East Timor, as former colonial power which has to carry through its process of decolonisation, interrupted by the invasion).

> Most of the western countries, except for Japan which abstained, >voted with the Portuguese sponsored resolution against Indonesia >which, among others asked that country to receive as many as three >thematic special rapporteurs. >> Several of the Third World countries who voted

with Indonesia >had complained at the way the attempts to have a compromise >Chairman’s statement, which would have adequately reflected the >cooperation of the Indonesian authorities and the actions they had >taken, had been thwarted.

Disinformation #2: Mr. Raghavan conveniently fails to mention that 9 countries of the South voted in favour of the resolution (see country breakdown below).

Disinformation #3: the resolution requests the Indonesian government to let UN officials visit, not Indonesia, but illegally occupied East Timor. (Accurately: two (not three) thematic special rapporteurs and two thematic working groups.)

Disinformation #4: according to our sources, the reason why the move towards a consensus statement failed was not intransigence of the Western countries, but Indonesia’s own intransigence, which hampered attempts of its allies to water down the resolution into such a consensus statement.

Disinformation #5 (the most serious): the ‘cooperation’ of the Indonesian authorities. Last year’s consensus statement, agreed on by Indonesia, asked inter alia:

A) “further investigation into the action of the security personnel on November 12, 1991, and into the fate of those unaccounted for (to) clarify the remaining discrepancies, namely on the number of people killed and those missing,”

b) “that those brought to trial are assured of proper legal representation and those not involved in violent activities are released without delay,”

c) (that the Indonesian government) “facilitates access to East Timor (to) additional humanitarian organisations and human rights organisations,” and

d) (that Indonesia) “improves the human rights situation in East Timor.”

Relatively to these points, we would like to observe that:

A) The Indonesian government uses an official number of 23 killed and 61 ‘missing’ (figures given by then Army Chief-of-Staff Edi Sudrajat to the UN Secretary General’s emissary Amos Wako in April 1993); the families of the victims have yet to know where the latter were buried. A house-to-house survey, necessarily carried out in secret, found 271 names of people killed at Santa Cruz, 382 wounded, 250 ‘disappeared’ and 364 arrested.

The reader may be interested by the following quotes of prominent Indonesians, showing their remorse:

General Try Sutrisno, then Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces, now Vice-President: “Delinquents like these agitators must be shot, and they will be, whenever that is necessary.”

General Herman Mantiri, Commander for Udayana (Eastern Indonesia) from January 1992 until March 1993: the shooting was "appropriate."

General Theo Syafei, new Commander for East Timor after the massacre, now also Udayana (Eastern Indonesia) Commander: "Under my command, the number of victims would probably have been greater."

Abilio Osorio Soares, the new "Governor" of East Timor, a civilian: "In my view, in fact many more should have died. Why only that much? Why did not all the thousand die?"

b) Demonstrators from November 12 were convicted and given sentences as harsh as life imprisonment for merely participating to or organising a peaceful demonstration, while the few low-ranking soldiers convicted in court martials got sentences of eighteen months or less under typical charges of "firing into the crowd without orders to do so."

c) Amnesty International was refused access to East Timor twice since the consensus statement: once in November 1992 and once in January 1993.

d) The human rights situation has seriously worsened since the massacre, the territory being closed officially to foreign journalists and de facto to foreign visitors; according to reports from inside, repression and violations reached an unprecedented level last November/December, at the time of the capture of Xanana Gusmão, the head of the East Timorese resistance. The latter is currently enjoying a show trial in Dili, where he could be sentenced to death. Portuguese journalists admitted to observe the trial were ordered to leave after less than a week.

It is a mockery to talk about the cooperation of the Indonesian authorities when, instead of respecting their own commitments, they do exactly the opposite.

> Even Australia which voted against Indonesia, in explaining its >vote clearly recognized the positive steps that Indonesia had >taken and its regret that it had not been possible to agree upon a >Chairman's statement.

Disinformation #6: Mr. Raghavan fails to mention that Australia is a faithful ally of Indonesia, the only country in the world that recognises the annexation of East Timor de jure. It is currently preparing to exploit the oil reserves of the Timor Sea in concert with Indonesia, effectively robbing the people of East Timor of their natural resources, although a case pending in the International Court of Justice could invalidate the Australia-Indonesia Timor Gap treaty. It is not surprising that such an ally should defend Indonesia; on the other hand, the fact that Australia felt compelled to vote

for the resolution shows the dilemma that the Indonesia government's conduct in East Timor creates for Jakarta's supporters.

Appendix 1: text of the resolution, adopted 11 March 1993.

(omitted here, see Docs #21, page 65)

Appendix 2: country voting breakdown.

In favour: Angola, Australia, Austria, Barbados, Brazil, Bulgaria, Canada, Chile, Costa Rica, Czech Republic, Finland, France, Germany, Guinea-Bissau, Mauritius, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Russian Federation, United Kingdom, Uruguay, USA, Zambia.

Against: Bangladesh, China, Cuba, Gambia, India, Indonesia, Iran, Malaysia, Nigeria, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syria.

Abstentions: Argentina, Burundi, Colombia, Cyprus, Gabon, Japan, Kenya, Lesotho, Mauritania, Mexico, Pakistan, Peru, Republic of Korea, Tunisia, Venezuela.

BUYUNG: INDONESIA COULD BECOME YUGOSLAVIA

by *Bob Mantiri*

(BRUSSELS, May 12, IPS) Continuing violations of human rights in Indonesia could create a situation similar to that in the former Yugoslavia, warns Adnan Buyung Nasution, a prominent human rights activist.

"Who could have guessed that Yugoslavia would fall apart after 75 years and that people who have lived together as neighbors for generations would end up killing each other," Buyung said on the telephone from his Jakarta home.

He will lead the six-man delegation to the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna, June 14-25.

Buyung, a lawyer by profession, is honorary chairman of the Indonesian Legal Aid Group LBH, currently handling several human rights cases there.

He says the human rights record of President Suharto's government will come under scrutiny during the conference, especially regarding the November 1991 massacre of East Timorese demonstrators in Dili, the capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. It was annexed by Indonesia in 1974.

Buyung was forced to leave his country in 1988 after he defended a dissident general who had been accused of subversion and the government sought ways of removing opponents of the "New Order" establishment which came to power in 1965.

He returned a few months ago, only to find the situation has not changed in his country. The army is still violating human rights in the former Portuguese colony in

Aceh – on the northern tip of Sumatra and in Irian Jaya.

He asked Suharto and the army to "work for a democratic society in which human rights are fully respected. In addition he should allow press freedom and freedom of political organizations."

But dissident, author Pramudaya Ananta Tur, once nominated for a Nobel Peace price for literature, says Indonesia's government, "deep in its heart has a distaste for human rights."

Pramudaya has spent nearly 15 years as a prisoner on the isolated island of Buru, one of the Moluccan islands in the Banda Sea. He was arrested in 1965 after an abortive communist coup. The army has accused him of having sympathies with the Communist Party, PKI, which he has denied.

He was freed in 1979, but is still denied the right to travel abroad or even leave his house in the outskirts of Jakarta. He is almost deaf as a result of lengthy interrogations.

"The Indonesian government says that it respect human rights, but that is only to please the outside world. If it does not do it Jakarta would not get the much needed loans and investments it needs," Pramudaya said.

He believes that as long as the military is in power, there will be no improvement of human rights in Indonesia. "A soldier by tradition follows an order and will never take human interest into consideration," Pramudaya said.

"For the army only one thing is important. To stay in power and to use all the means possible to keep that power," the author added. Like Buyung, Pramudaya fears that Indonesia will disintegrate if the dictatorial hand of the incumbent president will suddenly disappear. Suharto is 71 and has eliminated all possible rivals since he came to office.

"The founders of the republic disregarded the interests of the outer provinces. Indonesia consists of many ethnic tribes with its own tradition and culture. But they forget these characteristics and like in the colonial period gave most of their attention to the Javanese people and its culture," he added.

"President Sukarno, one of the founding fathers of the republic, brought all these differences under one common denominator, the Javanese. That could cause trouble for the future. There are already disintegrating symptoms like in Aceh, East Timor and Irian Jaya – three provinces which do not have any cultural links with the Indonesian culture," Pramudaya concluded.

Journalist and author Mochtar Lubis has a different opinion. "A majority of the Indonesian people have a deep conviction that the nation must be kept together. A

divided people could weaken the republic and destroy Indonesia. This consciousness among the Indonesian people is very strong.”

Mochtar Lubis is a former editor-in-chief of “Indonesia Raya,” which was banned in 1974 after he criticized the corruption in the government. He was thrown into prison for five months. He believes that in the “coming 25 years there will be no changes in the republic.”

“As long as the generals keep calling the shots, human rights will be under pressure and there will be no freedom of expression nor lessening of the anti-press laws.”

According to him during the 25-year of reign of the New Order government the gap between poor and rich has widened. “This may cause enormous social problems in the future, given the fact that by the year 2000 there will be 200 million people living in Indonesia,” Lubis concluded.

EVENTS IN EUROPE

EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT RESOLUTIONS ON XANANA

I felt it was worth outlining that the European Parliament passed no less than three resolutions in three months on Xanana Gusmão’s capture: on Dec. 17, Jan. 21 and March 11.

A new feature of these resolutions is that they explicitly link the situation in East Timor with the (economic) relations between the EC and Indonesia. The December resolution “warns Indonesia of the consequences that repeated violations of human rights and international law may have on relations with the European Community.” The January one reiterates this while the March one “expresses (...) its deep concern” that the situation in East Timor is affecting the relations between the EC and, not only Indonesia, but also ASEAN as a whole. This last point may be seen as an internationalization (or ‘ASEANisation’) of the issue. But how can we force these strong words to be followed by concrete measures of the European Council of Ministers? This is an open question.

– Bruno Kahn

IRISH SENATOR RAISES TIMOR AT INTER-PARLIAMENTARY UNION

Report from the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, 14 April 1993:

Senator David Norris, the main Irish speaker at today’s session of the Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting now under way in Delhi, India, strongly denounced the Indonesian regime for their genocide in East Timor. He also denounced European countries that supply weapons to Indonesia, mainly the British, German and French.

In addition he had read into the official records of the meeting a document entitled, “East Timorese women scream for help.” [This document was posted on reg.easttimor a couple of months ago.]

Senator Norris reports that his statement on East Timor received “thunderous applause” and many MPs present at the IPU meeting later congratulated him on the contents of his speech.

PRO-RI ASSOCIATION IN EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

Jakarta Post, 20 April 1993 Abridged

1. *Solidarity groups in the EC countries, please note.*
2. *Janssen van Raay led a European Parliament mission to East Timor in 1988. The team had been hand-picked by him to favour Indonesia but one member of the team Beate Weber saw through much of the deceit by their Indonesian minders and spoke out after her return.*
3. *Expect a Euro-Parliamentary mission to be allowed to visit East Timor soon, after the Political Committee has been trying for a year to visit, following last year’s hearing on East Timor.*

RI FRIENDSHIP ASSOCIATION IN EUROPE HELPFUL

(Jakarta) A leading legislator hailed the new Indonesian Friendship Association, established in the European Parliament this week, saying it will help Indonesia bolster its image among Europeans influenced by Portuguese “propaganda.” [quotes as is]

Theo Sambuaga of the ruling Golkar faction said yesterday that the association provides an opportunity for Indonesia to clarify its record on human rights, particularly in East Timor.

Sambuaga, deputy chair of the DPR Commission I on foreign affairs said the European Parliament has been critical of Indonesia because its information has come

mostly from a third party. The information in the hands of parliament is often “misleading and untrue.”

The Association was established by former Belgian foreign minister Leo Tindemans, who chairs the association, along with James Janssen van Raay, its Secretary-General and Maxime J.M. Verhagen, its deputy chairman.

The European Community last year refused to renew a cooperation agreement with ASEAN of which Indonesia is a member because of alleged problems involving East Timor, and the European Parliament has delivered several resolutions against Indonesia, all of which were initiated by Portugal.

The Association has sent out circulars promoting its objective of strengthening ties between Indonesia and Europe. It plans to organise visits, cultural exchanges and performances, and seminars on such topics as economics, culture, history, the environment and human rights, said van Raay in an introductory circular.

Sambuaga said the DPR has similar plans to establish a friendship association with Europe.

JAKARTA INTENSIFIES ITS EAST TIMOR LOBBIES IN EUROPE

Radio Nederland, 6 May 1993. Broadcast on the Indonesian language service, Gema Warta

Original language: Indonesian, Unabridged
Everything in square brackets is from TAPOL.

With the dissolution of the East Timor special military command, Kolakops, last week and the sentencing of Xanana Gusmão which is expected shortly, Indonesia is turning over a new leaf in East Timor. Formally speaking, East Timor will return to “normal,” now that a symbol of resistance has been removed.

Jakarta hopes to concentrate its efforts on international fora particularly in Europe which has till now been enlivened by campaigns from Portugal and the Ramos-Horta group. There are signs that Indonesia is creating new lobbies in Europe. The following is an editorial comment from Hilversum:

Ironically, Jakarta’s new lobbies have been able to develop because Fretilin’s hardline against Indonesia in the seventies has now given way to reconciliation with Indonesia, whilst the moderate Fretilin line promoted by Ramos-Horta who veered towards liberalism has now become strongly opposed to Jakarta.

One former hardliner is the Fretilin leader in Portugal, Abilio Araujo. Abilio Araujo

told Radio Nederland he was willing to meet Indonesian officials as part of a process of conciliation. He said that this was necessary in order to make it possible for the people of East Timor to be consulted.

This former Economics Minister of the Fretilin government has even proposed dialogue between pro-Indonesian Timorese and Timorese who are overseas as a back-up to the negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal.

Araujo says that he discussed this in February with a journalist from Suara Pembaruan, Petrus Suryadi [*believed to be part of Murdani's intelligence agency BAIS*] and Nuno Rocha, a former Portuguese journalist who now runs a travel bureau in Portugal. In the eighties, Rocha was close to [former Indonesian foreign minister] Mochtar Kusumaatmadja and [then] armed forces commander Benny Murdani, and has written a book entitled, "East Timor, the 27th province."

According to Araujo, Jakarta responded to his proposal for dialogue. The first meeting was to have been held in Rome, at the same time as the meeting between Ali Alatas and Durão Barroso two weeks ago. The pro-integration Timorese who were expected to take part included former governor Mario Carrascalão, the present governor Abilio Soares, the former advisor of President Suharto ambassador, Lopez da Cruz, DPR member Clementino, and others. Araujo was hoping that all Timorese groups in Portugal and Australia would take part.

But for reasons which are still unclear, Nuno Rocha suddenly announced from Indonesia that the dialogue should preferably take place in Bangkok. This was cancelled because, according to Araujo, Indonesia (then) insisted that the meeting should take place in Jakarta. In the end, the meeting was aborted because Araujo rejected Jakarta's conditions.

Araujo's proposal was meanwhile rejected by the CNRM, the grand coalition which was formerly headed by Araujo's arch rival, Xanana Gusmão, and Ramos-Horta. Mari Alkatiri, of Fretilin, also rejected it. In the end, the only person to support it was Araujo's former enemy in the seventies, Jose Martins. This former leader of the [non-existent] Kota Party has always been a great admirer of the architect of Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, Ali Murtopo. In the early days, Martins worked for BAKIN during the Komodo Operation but in 1976 he defected and denounced Indonesia at the UN Security Council.

Like Horta, Araujo wants de-militarisation and the right of self-determination for the people of East Timor.

It is no surprise therefore that the Araujo lobby and the Jakarta lobby channelled through the Suara Pembaruan journalist and the Portuguese businessman has come to nothing.

According to informed sources however, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry has been more successful, sending a DPR [parliamentary] team under Theo Sambuaga which persuaded the former Belgian prime minister and foreign minister, Leo Tindemans, to head a European-Indonesian friendship association. This lobby which seeks to compete with the Portuguese and the Ramos-Horta group within the European Community seems to have been a more serious effort.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION OF JOURNALISTS' RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

Paris, April 28, 1993.

Proponent: Antonio M. Nieva

Executive Committee Representing Asia/Oceania

The International Organization of Journalists, in amplification of the objectives set forth in Chapter III, provisions 4, 10 and 12, resolves the following:

1. Declares its solidarity with the suffering people of East Timor in their struggle for self-determination;
2. Expresses its deep concern over the occupation of East Timor by another aggressor country in violation of all international laws, and the continuing repression of the East Timorese people, their rights and their freedom;
3. Calls on the occupying forces to allow journalists free access to information in East Timor;
4. Appeals to the United Nations to utilize all the resources at its command to compel the withdrawal of the occupation force and set the holding of a national referendum under its supervision to enable the East Timorese to determine their own political future.

BARROSO: AN "OCEAN" SEPARATES PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA

Diario de Noticias 13 May 1993 Dateline: Lisbon By Paula Ferreira Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

Yesterday, speaking to the parliamentary commission on Timor, Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durão Barroso, said that "what

separates (Portugal) from Indonesia is an ocean of issues."

Durão Barroso, who went to São Bento (parliament building) to brief the MPs on the talks with his counterpart, Ali Alatas, in Rome, seemed far from optimistic and admitted that the revelation of some "unconfidential matters" could jeopardize the negotiations.

The Minister, whose proposal that Amnesty International visit Timorese prisoners was rejected by Alatas, said that "this fight is more difficult than I had anticipated."

The Foreign Minister went on to say that Indonesia could be closing the doors on observers to Xanana Gusmão's trial.

For his part, Adriano Moreira, Chairman of this parliamentary commission, also showed little optimism, but expressed determination to join forces to achieve respect for human rights.

"The fact that the US Government proposed to reevaluate the question of Indonesia's territory represents a step forward in its sensibility," said the Christian Democrat MP.

A commission source told *Diario de Noticias* that Durão Barroso would be "very happy if the Assembly were to make funds available for a campaign in support of Timor."

DURÃO BARROSO IN MOSCOW: ANGOLA & TIMOR REVIEWED

Publico 5 May 1993 Dateline: Moscow By Jose Milhazes Original Lang.: Portuguese Abridged

"Minister Durão Barroso is the first western diplomat to visit Russia after the 25 April referendum." It was with these words that Andrei Kozarev, Russia's Foreign Minister, initiated the talks with his Portuguese counterpart.

Durão Barroso's main task in Moscow is the preparation of Cavaco Silva's visit to Russia, scheduled for 4 to 7 June. During the meeting, Kozarev underlined the importance of the forthcoming event, saying that Cavaco's meeting with Boris Yeltsin is expected to produce "not the signing of a statement, but of a treaty of friendship and cooperation which will serve as a strong impulse to the bilateral relations."

As well as dealing with preparations for the Portuguese PM's visit, the two diplomats studied the international scene, namely the situations in Yugoslavia, Angola and East Timor. During the subsequent joint press conference, their statements were more of a general nature (...). (...).

On the problem of East Timor, Durão Barroso stated that "Andrei Kozarev supported the talks, under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, to find a fair solution acceptable to the international community." (...).

FRIDAY VIGIL AT LISBON'S 'SPACE FOR EAST TIMOR'

A number of East Timorese and Portuguese will gather at the newly-opened centre, 'Space for East Timor' in Lisbon from 6pm on Friday 17 May to take action in response to the verdict against Xanana Gusmão, which the court in Dili will announce on Friday morning.

They will be linked up to GreenNet and will be watching for any news not only about the trial but also about responses around the world. Groups everywhere are asked to post any news they have as quickly as possible so that they can feed the information to the Portuguese press.

Three Portuguese journalists have been granted permission to be in Dili on the day of the verdict, two print journalists and one TV journalists, so people in Portugal are expecting to receive information about the verdict very quickly.

Please stay tuned.

CDPM

SOLIDARITY SHOW IN PARIS

A Portuguese/Brazilian show, in favour of Agir pour Timor, was performed Sunday, May 16th in Paris, at the Residence Andre de Gouveia ("Maison du Portugal").

The fundraising event, called "Tarde de Esperanca," featured a moment of poetry by Albino Paiva, some Portuguese folkloric dances by Rancho from Champigny, songs from Portugal by Isabel Lima, Portuguese Fado by Dinis Quintas, Cremilde Cruz, Flaviano (viola) and Antonio Campos (guitarra), and finally Afro-Brazilian dances by Claudio Bazilio.

130 people attended; about 7,000FF (US \$ 1,300) were raised by selling tickets, books, tapes and other material (there were also a few donations).

[Personal comments: 1) This comes as a bowl of oxygen for us. 2) Not a Portuguese myself, I was impressed by the quality of the show and the response of the mainly Portuguese audience. Enthralling folkloric dances, with audience participation at a point, and especially in the Fado section where many people started singing together with the artists and applause roared. But above all, it was a great solidarity event, where the people were tied together by the cause they were supporting and at the same

time were enjoying themselves. A big success, and hopefully an opening to more events of this kind. Bruno – Agir pour Timor]

LETTER FROM THE FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTRY

Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Cabinet of the Minister
The Technical Advisor

To Mr. Antonio Dias
President of Agir pour Timor
22 rue Jouvenet
75016 Paris

Paris, May 24, 1993

Mr. President,

The Minister of Foreign Affairs had knowledge of your letter of March 31st and charged me with answering you.

As you note, France is attentive to the evolution of the Human Rights situation in East Timor. This is why the French Embassy, as well as that of the other EC countries in Jakarta, attended from the beginning the trial of the FRETILIN leader, Xanana GUSMÃO.

France could ascertain that the access to the territory was opened more widely to Human Rights and humanitarian organisations, in conformity to the statement adopted by consensus by the 48th session of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations.

Being attentive to the situation, France intends to have a policy of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities and to encourage the talks taking place under the auspices of the Secretary General of the United Nations between Jakarta and Lisbon, in favour of a global, just and internationally acceptable settlement of the question.

Sincerely yours etc.
François Richier

BELGIAN-INDONESIAN AGREEMENT ON AID POSTPONED

Brussels, 4 June 1993. Report from Flemish Support Group for Indigenous Peoples, Antwerp.

The Belgian and Indonesia Governments failed to reach an agreement in their negotiations for a new aid programme to Indonesia. A Belgian delegation, consisting of Secretary of State on development Cooperation Eric Derycke and 4 members of parliament, came back last Thursday from Indonesia with empty hands.

Although an agreement was reached on the Belgian wish to reorient the aid to more socially oriented programmes and directed

towards vulnerable groups in the eastern provinces, it could not be signed because of the Indonesian refusal to accept the insertion of a clause on the wish of the Belgian government to support a specific human rights programme.

After many hours of negotiations and the complete revision of the draft wording from politically laden to the simple quest to imply the human rights issue in the programme outline, the Indonesian government, with clear instructions from President Suharto, could not agree with making any reference to the protection of human rights.

This made Belgian Secretary of State on Development Cooperation, Eric Derycke (Flemish Socialist) decide to stop negotiations for the moment and return home without the approval of a new programme of aid for Indonesia. In the long run this could mean, if new negotiations will not reach a solution, the stopping of the aid relation with Indonesia. It is obvious that this is not the wish of Secretary of State Derycke who planned to keep up the intensive cooperation with Belgium and Indonesia.

It is only because of the strong lobbying of KWIA, the Flemish Support group for Indigenous Peoples, that Secretary of State Derycke was obliged to stick to his point that there should be a human rights clause in the new cooperation agreement. KWIA had extensive contacts with the delegation members, and issued a press release demanding that the Belgian government would not drop its principles on human rights because of the possible strong pressure from the Indonesian government. KWIA urged the delegation not to return back from Indonesia without a result or a strong statement on the issue of the human rights in Indonesia.

Although this press release was very bad received, as well with the Secretary of State Eric Derycke and his collaborators, as at the Indonesian Embassy, and in this way crossed their strategy for a very low profile visit, and negotiations, without criticizing media attention, one can say it had put the records straight and once again showed the preoccupation of the non-governmental community on the permanent violations of the human rights and Indonesia and in the Indonesian occupied territories.

Although no time schedule was fixed yet, agreement was reached on the need to restart the negotiations in the near future. One can assume that both parties are waiting for the definitive results of the World Conference on Human Rights which will also deal with the topic of human rights and development. Both sides are hoping that one way or another, the final Vienna declaration could

strengthen their position to reach a final (but weakened ?) agreement.

At the moment KWIA is afraid that other factors within the Belgian Government and the European Community will put pressure on Secretary of State Derycke to withdraw or weaken his position. Any lobby towards one of these groups, aimed at asking support for Derycke's position would be helpful.

For more information: Wendel Trio, Coordinator, KWIA, Flemish Support Group for Indigenous Peoples, Breughelstraat 31-33, 2018 Antwerp, Belgium, tel:+32.3.218.84.88; fax:+32.3.230.45.40; e-mail:gn.kwia.

INDONESIA VETOES PACT WITH BELGIUM OVER HUMAN RIGHTS CLAUSE

AFP, 4 June 1993 Dateline: Jakarta Unabridged

A new cooperation accord with Belgium has been vetoed at the very top level of Indonesia's presidency because the Belgians insisted on a reference to human rights, diplomatic officials said Friday.

Belgian Cooperation Minister Eric Derycke left Jakarta Wednesday after failing to overcome a disagreement "over the wording of just one paragraph," Belgian ambassador to Indonesia, Marc van Rysselberghe told AFP.

According to another diplomatic source, the text of the working agreement was blocked "at a very high level inside the presidency of the Indonesian Republic."

The disputed paragraph had been prepared with input from top officials of Indonesia's planning and national development ministry and had been approved by Derycke, a diplomat said.

The Belgian-Indonesian agreement which has provided for the same amount of development aid since 1989 will continue, however, although one Belgian diplomat said that if the disagreement is not resolved, it would block new projects beginning next year.

According to a diplomat, the agreement would have provided 500 million Belgian francs (15 million dollars) in financial support and was to have been made official during the June 27-28 [sic: this should be 29-20] meeting of Indonesia's aid suppliers, working jointly under the Consultative Group on Indonesia.

It indirectly cited the human rights issue by offering Belgian aid in the training of Indonesian police officers and magistrates, he added.

With Belgium about to take over the EC presidency, it felt obligated "to respect European directives on the relation between

development aid and the socio-cultural conditions of recipient countries," a Belgian diplomat said.

In March 1992, Indonesia rejected any explicit tie between aid and human rights and refused any development assistance from the Netherlands, causing the collapse of CGI's predecessor, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, over which the Dutch had presided.

INDONESIAN HEADLINES JUNE 5-6

Belgium and Indonesia have failed to reach agreement over bilateral aid because of a row over linking aid to human rights. They said Belgian Secretary of State Eric Derycke left on Wednesday after failing to reach agreement with Jakarta on an assistance package worth about \$15 million because Indonesia refused to accept a clause referring to human rights. "The dialogue continues," a Belgian diplomat said. The Belgian diplomat played down the disagreement, saying that it had nothing to do with Timor but that his country had to comply with directives from the European Community, whose presidency it assumes next month.

BRITISH TO INCREASE INVESTMENT IN INDONESIA

Source: AP Date: 5 June 1993 Dateline: Jakarta Unabridged

Comment: Herein lies the secret of Britain's undying support for the Jakarta regime.

Britain plans to increase its investment in Indonesia, trade minister Richard Needham said Thursday.

Britain now has a total investment of US\$2.54 billion in 126 projects in Indonesia, ranking sixth behind Japan, Hong Kong, Taiwan, the USA and South Korea. It would try to move up to No. 1, Needham said at a news conference at the conclusion of his 3-day visit to Indonesia.

Indonesian Minister for Industry, Tungki Ariwibowo, who met with Needham earlier Thursday, said British businessmen were interested in investing in the mining and pollution control industries.

The two nations have agreed to encourage their businessmen to meet each other for further discussions, Ariwibowo said.

EVENTS IN CANADA

UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA RESOLUTION

Apr. 16, 1993

MOTION ON EAST TIMOR BY OTTAWA UC PRESBYTERY

The Ottawa Presbytery,
United Church Of Canada
7 Galt Street
Ottawa, Ontario K1S 5G4
April 14, 1993

Ms. Barbara McDougall,
Secretary of State for External Affairs,
House of Commons,
Ottawa, Ontario K1A 0A6

Dear Ms McDougall,

I am writing concerning a motion approved by the April 13, 1993 meeting of the Ottawa Presbytery of the United Church of Canada. Presbytery wishes to express its appreciation and approval of the stand taken by the Canadian government in supporting the resolution on the situation in East Timor at the recent 49th session of the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva. In view of the continuing gross violations of human rights documented in submissions made by Amnesty International and the Canada-Asia Working Group, Canada's stand was most appropriate. If there is no improvement in the human rights record of the Indonesia government, a review of our major trade and development aid would be in order. Meanwhile, we are pleased that the government continues its freeze on \$30 million of new bilateral aid to Indonesia.

We hope that this change in position by Canada at Geneva will lead to initiatives towards the implementation of UN Resolution GA 37/30 (1982) and support for the right of the people of East Timor to a free and fair act of self-determination under United Nations supervision.

We share the deep concern expressed by the 49th Commission resolution at the reports of continuing human rights violations in East Timor, and urge you to continue to press the Indonesia government to allow access by United Nations officials to visit the island and investigate the alleged continuing human rights violations, and to give free and unrestricted access to the International Committee of the Red Cross and to Amnesty International to work in East Timor.

In an earlier letter we expressed our concern about the case of the imprisoned resistance leader, Jose Xanana Gusmão, and we urge you to continue to monitor closely

Mr. Gusmão's treatment and that of other Fretilin supporters in detention. We again suggest that the Canadian government request that Xanana Gusmão be released immediately and permitted to play a full role in negotiations under the United Nations on the future of East Timor.

Yours sincerely,
Sara Surjadinata
Executive Secretary

EAST TIMOR POETRY PROJECT

The East Timor Alert Network (Canada) is working to publish a book on East Timorese poetry. The book will be used to raise funds for various projects. One idea is to help fund the East Timorese school in Darwin. ETAN needs poetry, photos, drawings, etc. We have received poetry from Abé and Aze in Canada already, but we need more submissions. If there are any ideas on how the book's proceeds could be spent please respond. Send comments and poetry to: ETAN/WEC (East Timor Alert Network) Windsor/Essex County) c/o Third World Resource Centre, Tecumseh Rd. West Windsor, Ont. N8X 1E8 Canada or by email to web:twrc.

PORTUGUESE CANADIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

April 22, 1993

The text of the resolution, drafted by ETAN supporters at the founding meeting of the Portuguese Canadian National Congress, will be available soon. The following letter from Ontario MLA Rosario Marchese to Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall and Minister of National Defence (and front-runner to become Prime Minister at the Conservative leadership convention in June) Kim Campbell is the first result of the resolution.

Rosario Marchese MPP
Toronto Fort York

Dear Secretary of State McDougall and Minister Campbell,

On the weekend of March 5-7, the Portuguese communities of Canada gathered together in Ottawa to create the Portuguese-Canadian National Congress, an organization established to provide a voice for the Luso-Canadian and Luso-descendant populations of our nation.

It has come to my attention that the first motion adopted by the general assembly of the newly-formed Congress was a resolution

supporting the people of the tiny nation of East Timor, formerly a long-time Portuguese colony and independent nation, which has suffered greatly under Indonesian military rule, since its invasion and illegal occupation by the latter, on December 7th 1975. I am also aware that, although the United Nations has never recognized Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, the Canadian government has supported the Indonesian military dictatorship with approximately \$50 million in financial aid a year, has consistently abstained or voted against United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the Indonesian presence, and has even sold ammunition and military equipment to the government of General Suharto, throughout the many years of this occupation. This financial and military support appears designed to secure advantageous conditions for the more than 300 Canadian companies now located in Indonesia and for the securing of favourable concessions for the expansion and relocation of those presently on Canadian soil.

The many Luso-Canadian residents of my riding are extremely concerned that their federal government is supporting the military occupation of a kindred nation, which is both illegal in the eyes of the United Nations and – according to Amnesty International and various church groups – has proved itself to be exceptionally brutal. Others are wondering how, in a time of disproportional unemployment for the Portuguese-Canadian communities, their government can be utilizing their tax dollars to ensure the relocation of Canadian jobs to a country where the average wage rates are exceedingly well-below Canadian levels.

I would like to add my voice to those of the Congress, in asking your government to uphold its promise of linking financial aid to the respect of human rights. I call on the federal government to cease any and all financial and military support of the Indonesian government, until which time they allow the East Timorese to determine their own future through fair and impartial UN-sponsored elections. I would also like you to call for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmão, the long-time leader of the East Timorese resistance who was recently captured and – according to Amnesty International – probably tortured. Mr. Gusmão, who is considered by the United Nations to be the legitimate political leader of the East Timorese is now facing trial under criminal, rather than political, charges. Finally, I would ask you to publicly condemn the continuing occupation of this tiny nation by the Indonesian dictatorship and to call on all other nations to end their support for this continuing brutality.

Sincerely,

Rosario Marchese

CANADIAN LABOUR CONGRESS LETTERS

These letters deal with East Timor and the Canadian Labour Congress (CLC). The CLC represents around 2.5 million unionized workers and is the most important labour organization in Canada. This statement will be sent to all Labour Councils around Canada.

March 31, 1993.

International Affairs Department
Canadian Labour Congress
2841 Riverside Drive
Ottawa, Ontario K1V 8X7

Dear Brothers and Sisters:

The Human Rights Committee of the Windsor and District Labour Council has been concerned about the ongoing situation in East Timor for some time and we are continuing to inform our local membership about the seriousness of human rights abuses by the Indonesian military.

We are enclosing some recent material from the Windsor branch of the East Timor Alert Network in which we are actively involved.

We are hoping that you might be able to feature East Timor in any forthcoming issue of Labour' World in view of Canada's involvement in Indonesia since the invasion of 1975.

Fraternally yours,
Les Dickirson, Chairperson,
Human Rights Committee,
Windsor & District Labour Council.

RESPONSE

April 8, 1993

Dear Brother Dickirson:

Thank you for your letter of March 31, 1993.

I fully agree that the human rights issue of East Timor needs more international attention.

The statements which appear in Labour's World arise from discussions within the International Affairs Committee of the Canadian Labour Congress. This Committee consists of members of the Executive Committee and is and is chaired by President White.

Your letter will be very useful in helping us to prepare for the next meeting of this Committee.

Thank you for your interest in this very important international question.

In solidarity,
R.W. (Rick) Jackson
Director, International Affairs Committee

CLC STATEMENT

May 1993

The Canadian Labour Congress expresses its outrage at continuous reports of massacres and gross human rights violations in East Timor. Such violations have included the arrest, torture, arbitrary execution and disappearance of thousands of opponents to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Amnesty International and other human rights organizations have reported that since the 1975 occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, more than 200,000 people have been killed by Indonesian forces. These killings account for nearly one-third of the East Timorese population as it existed in 1975.

Measures taken by the Indonesian authorities to discipline the military after the horrific 1991 massacre in East Timor's capital, Dili, were clearly only geared to appeal to aid donors and the systemic violation of human and trade union rights in East Timor have continued. The Canadian Labour Congress calls upon the Indonesian authorities to immediately cease all violations of fundamental human rights in East Timor and to release all political prisoners. We further call the United Nations to establish an effective human rights monitoring mechanism for East Timor and to take appropriate measures to ensure that the people of East Timor are freely able to exercise the fundamental right of self-determination.

While the Canadian Labour Congress agrees with the international community's consistent refusal to recognize the occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, we continue to be dismayed that governments, including Canada, have continued to conduct "business as usual" with Indonesia. For example, Canada has sold military equipment to Indonesia, including ammunition, helicopters and military transport planes, which have been used to repress resistance in East Timor under the banner of Fretilin. In the face of considerable pressure, Canada did interrupt new aid flows to Indonesia after the Dili massacre. However, Canada has failed to support United Nations resolutions against the Indonesian occupation. Meanwhile, there are an estimated 300 companies present in Indonesia and, with Canadian acquiescence, the international financial institutions continue to ignore the tragic plight of the people of East Timor.

The Canadian Labour Congress will continue to work directly and with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions to bring all possible pressure to bear on the Indonesian authorities to cease its occupation and human rights abuses in East Timor. We call on the Canadian government

to condition all aid, trade and international financial assistance to Indonesia on the basis of respect for fundamental human and trade union rights. We further call on Canada to play a leadership role within the international community to seek justice and the right to self-determination for the East Timorese.

CANADIAN MPS JOIN IN CALLS FOR PRESSURE ON INDONESIA

Ottawa, May 6 (ips) – East Timor's independence movement joined with Canadian members of parliament Thursday in calling for increased international pressure to force Indonesia to talk with the Timorese about self-determination.

Constâncio Pinto of the coalition National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), which opposes the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, called on Canada to end bilateral aid to Indonesia.

The CNRM is also urging Canada "to use its power and influence" to have the leadership of the Timorese resistance included in negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal over the fate of East Timor.

The former Portuguese colony was invaded and annexed by Indonesia in 1975. Amnesty International estimates that 200,000 Timorese – about a third of the island's population – have since died.

"I know that Indonesia has a lot of support from western countries, including the government of Canada," said Pinto, the exiled executive secretary of the CNRM.

"If the Canadian government has contributed its help to Indonesia, it means that the Canadian government has collaborated to kill our people."

East Timor became the focus of international attention in Nov. 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire at pro-independence demonstrators, led by Pinto. Scores of people were killed.

The massacre in Dili was captured on film, and sparked international condemnation of the Indonesia government.

After the massacre, Pinto lived as a fugitive inside East Timor for seven months. He later travelled to Jakarta and escaped into exile. Pinto told the press conference on Parliament Hill here that "many other atrocities continue" since the massacre.

"After the massacre, prisoners were taken everywhere. All of my friends are now in jail – life imprisonment – their ears cut off and fingers and nails pulled out," he said.

The resistance leader also said that his wife has also been jailed in East Timor in the past two weeks.

He said the biggest worry for the Timorese now is that the international red cross might leave – "so there is no more international organisation inside East Timor."

Pinto's call for a stronger Canadian response to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor is supported by several MPs.

The group of Canadian parliamentarians for East Timor has a membership of 30, representing the three major parties.

Canada's position since shortly after the 1975 invasion has been that the annexation of East Timor is a fait accompli, making East Timor a part of Indonesia.

"The government of Canada does not recognise the human rights resolution passed by the United Nations on a number of occasions," said liberal parliamentarian David Kilgore.

New Democratic Party (NDP) external affairs critic Svend Robinson said that prime minister Brian Mulroney's public statements that aid should be tied to human rights performance does not seem to apply to Indonesia.

"In my view it is a shameful abdication of leadership by the Canadian government, to continue bilateral government aid to Indonesia, in the face of genocidal policies in East Timor," Robinson said.

In the wake of the Dili massacre, Canada did suspend new aid projects to Indonesia worth about 24 million U.S. dollars.

But critics say that is not enough. Indonesia continues to receive the second-largest packet of Canadian bilateral aid, valued at over 37 million U.S. dollars.

Canada also reversed its position by co-sponsoring a resolution censuring Indonesia over East Timor at the U.N. Human rights commission in Geneva in March. But Kilgore charges that Canada took that stand only after the United States did so.

Barnabé Barreto Soares, the North American representative for the CNRM, told IPS that concerned nations have to take a stand on self-determination and not just on human rights.

"Human rights abuses are the consequence of invasion and occupation, because people still struggle for self-determination," he said.

CANADA BACKS EAST TIMOR SENTENCES DESPITE OUTCRY

By Dave Todd

Toronto Star, 26 May 1993. Also published in other Southam newspapers.

OTTAWA – Despite and international outcry over the life imprisonment sentence

imposed on East Timor's independence movement leader, following what Amnesty International calls a "travesty of justice," Canada says he got a fair trial.

At least that's what diplomats at Canada's embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, have told external affairs headquarters – even though they missed most of the proceedings.

Xanana Gusmão, East Timor's resistance leader for most of the 17 years since the former Portuguese colony was seized by Indonesia, was sentenced to life in jail by Indonesia on May 21 for sedition and illegal possession of weapons.

The capture last November of the elusive Gusmão by Indonesian troops was a crushing blow to his Fretilin guerrilla movement, which has been fighting for independence since Indonesia's 1975 annexation against the population's wishes.

Since then, an estimated 200,000 East Timorese have died of starvation, disease, execution or while fighting Indonesian occupation forces. Gusmão was held incommunicado by the military for 17 days after his arrest before representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross were allowed to see him.

He was denied access to a lawyer while under interrogation and he was not allowed to choose his own trial lawyer, say Amnesty International and the U.S.-based human rights group Asia Watch.

During one of the final sessions of Gusmão's three-month trial, the presiding judge ordered him to stop reading his final defence plea because he considered it "irrelevant."

Despite all of this, "we are of the impression that the trial has been run fairly and openly," external affairs spokesperson [Michel] Tessier said yesterday.

"What we know is what we receive from our diplomats over there," Tessier said that while Canadian officials witnessed some of the trial, for the most part they relied on a pool system, under which diplomats from a number of Western countries watched the proceedings on a rotational basis.

As for the allegations human rights organizations have raised about the conditions in which the trial was conducted, and before it began, "we did not make comment and we do not have to make any further comment on that," Tessier said.

However, according to an external affairs briefing note on East Timor written last December, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall raised concern about the fairness of Indonesia's judicial system during a meeting in July 1992 with the country's foreign minister, Ali Alatas.

EVENTS IN THE U.S.A.

CONGRESSMEN PONDER VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 8 April 1993. Abridged

(Jakarta) Members of the US Congress have accepted an open-ended offer from the Indonesian House of Representatives (DPR) to visit East Timor. Congressman Eni Faleomavaega said yesterday he was so delighted by the offer that he would have visited E Timor now if he had time.

The Congressman who was attending a two-day US-Asia parliamentarians conference which ended yesterday said that the Speaker, Wahono made the invitation on Tuesday.

"We are impressed by the Indonesian government's openness about East Timor," he said, adding that Wahono said they could visit Timor "any time they wanted to."

Lester Wolff, chair of the Pacific Community Institute that sponsored the conference asked DPR members to brief the meeting on latest political developments in East Timor, but they received mumbled and difficult-to-understand comments.

LETTERS EXCHANGE IN WASHINGTON POST

Letters to the Editor

April 7, 1993

Exaggerations About East Timor

Sven Bergman's piece on East Timor [Outlook, March 14, ET Documents, Vol. 21, page 117] contained many inaccuracies.

His contention that a third of East Timor population has been killed by Indonesian troops was untrue. The one internationally accepted census in East Timor was taken in 1980. The resulting population figure – 555,350 persons showed a decline of approximately 69,000 from the last estimate given by the Portuguese colonial government.

It is regrettable there has been loss of life since the Portuguese abandoned their colony in 1974. The civil war that raged in the security vacuum left by Portugal claimed many lives, as did malnutrition and disease brought about by a war-ravaged economy and a gross lack of health care services. In addition thousands of refugees flooded across the border to West Timor.

Mr. Bergman gave the impression that FRETILIN represented the majority in East Timor. This group, one of five political parties, represented only a minority albeit. a well-armed minority. Immediately following

the Portuguese departure, the people's assembly, an elected body representing the majority, chose a process of decolonization and integration with Indonesia.

As to the tragic incident of November 1992 (sic), the government moved decisively on the dismissal of two senior military officers and the conviction of several mid level and noncommissioned officers.

Mr. Bergman's comments regarding access to the former FRETILIN leader, Xanana Gusmão, were also inaccurate. Mr. Gusmão has been visited by representatives of the International Red Cross and members of his family. He also meets regularly with his attorney.

M. HANNIEF DJOHAN
Minister Counselor
Embassy of Indonesia, Washington

April 18 1993

Injustice in East Timor

M. Hannief Djohan of the Indonesian Embassy contends that Sven Bergman's March 14 Outlook article on Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor "contained many inaccuracies" [letters, April 7], but it is the embassy's letter that is grossly misleading.

Mr. Djohan disputes that as many as 200,000 East Timorese were killed by Indonesia during the past 17 years. But a 1985 study by Amnesty International concluded that the figure – largely from war-related famine and disease that Jakarta could have averted – was credible.

Mr. Djohan also states that in 1976, "the people's assembly, an elected body representing the majority, chose a process of decolonization and integration with Indonesia." The United Nations has never accepted this contention.

Djohan speaks of punishment meted out to Indonesian officers for their part in the deliberate November 1991 massacre of pro-independence demonstrators but neglects to mention that penalties for East Timorese who participated in the nonviolent march were 10 times as harsh.

Mr. Djohan states that the East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, has been visited by the International Red Cross, his attorney and his family. The only independent outsiders who have seen Mr. Gusmão alone are members of the International Red Cross – for one hour, just as Mr. Bergman stated. The attorney was not of Mr. Gusmão's choosing, however, and there have been charges that members of Mr. Gusmão's family themselves have been tortured, threatened or abused.

REED BRODY
Executive Director, International Human
Rights Law Group Washington

PRESSURE THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION TO CUT OFF GSP TRADE BENEFITS TO INDONESIA

Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network April 18, 1993

Indonesia currently receives millions of dollars worth of special trade benefits through a program called the General System of Preferences (GSP). Indonesia's status in the GSP program is being reviewed, and a final decision will be made soon. Pressure on the United States Trade Representative, through your congressional representatives, can help to cut off this expensive United States subsidy of Indonesia, a persistent violator of basic human and worker rights.

The GSP benefits allow some companies operating within Indonesia to export products to the United States without duties and tariffs. An amendment to the GSP law mandates that all participating countries maintain basic internationally-recognized standards for worker rights. These basic worker rights include the right to organize and form a union, the right to strike, and the right to minimum standards of workplace safety.

Nearly a year ago, Asia Watch filed a petition to the United States Trade Representative alleging worker rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. The petition was accepted for further review, meaning that an inter-agency task force would research these allegations in detail.

The decision over the continuation or termination of GSP benefits for Indonesia is now at the highest levels of the Clinton administration, with the United States Trade Representative and the State Department likely to be most influential in the decision. Therefore, now is the time to call your Representatives and Senators, express your opposition to continuing GSP benefits for Indonesia and encourage them to contact Mickey Kantor, the United States Trade Representative and Winston Lord, the Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific.

The key people to contact in the Trade Representative's office are Thomas Fusco (Deputy Director for GSP) and Jose Damond (Director for GSP), at 202-395-6971. The key person in the State Department is Peter Tarnoff (Undersecretary of State for Political Affairs) at 202-647-2417.

For more information contact the East Timor Action Network/US.

KANTOR WARNS ON GSP

Indonesian Headlines from TFI, May 6:

US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor warned Indonesia that its exports to the US may become ineligible for low tariffs under the GSP because of alleged violation of worker rights, including low wages. Among organizations which have petitioned against Indonesia on this matter are the AFL-CIO, Asia Watch, and the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund (ILRERF). The Indonesian government hired the law firm White and Case to file counter-petitions.

US President Bill Clinton announced he will meet with President Suharto at the upcoming G-7 leadership meeting in Japan this summer. Clinton said he was 'sending a signal' to developing nations that the US wanted to be their 'partner' in trade relations. Clinton also desperately wants the GATT talks to succeed.

Indonesian state banks have asked international lenders to allow the banks to forego temporarily repayment of Indonesian government loans. Lenders often channel their loans to the Indonesian government through the state banks. If approved, this concession would allow re-capitalization of the debt-ridden state banks, many of which have been unable to meet capital adequacy ratio requirements.

FEER: TRADE SANCTIONS AGAINST INDONESIA?

Far East Economic Review 6 May 1993
Storytype: article from 'Intelligence' briefs Unabridged

Comment: This fails to mention that the primary submission on labour conditions in Indonesia was made by Asia Watch, and it was concerned in particular about the absence of democratic trade unions and government policy to allow only a single trade union organisation. - TAPOL

HARD LABOUR

US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor, who has already shown he is capable of directly confronting Japan and Europe over trade issues, may be taking aim at developing Asian countries on the advice of the AFL-CIO organised labour group. Kantor has warned Indonesia in particular that its exports to the US may become ineligible for the low tariffs under the US generalised scheme of preferences (GSP) because of the country's alleged low wages. The AFL-CIO has previously tried to take away GSP benefits from countries such as Indonesia and Malaysia, but the previous US Republican administrations had largely ignored such efforts.

HARD LABOUR – DISPUTE OVER WORKERS' RIGHTS SOURS US-INDONESIA TIES

Far Eastern Economic Review, 13 May 1993

Byline: Susumu Awanohara in Washington

China and Japan are not the only countries in Asia worrying about their relationship with the US.

The US administration is about to decide whether Indonesia, accused by critics of violating workers' rights, should be deprived of preferential tariff treatment. With the Labour Department and the US Trade Representatives' (USTR) office taking a hard line against Indonesia, the verdict seems almost certain to displease the Southeast Asian nation. Even if Indonesia escapes becoming ineligible for low tariffs under the US generalised scheme of preferences (GSP), its case is expected to be judge "pending," leaving the threat of sanctions hanging as Washington continues to investigate Indonesian labour practices.

Some American friends of Indonesia are worried that the GSP case and other irritants, principally over human rights, could jeopardise the overall bilateral relationship. Asian diplomats in Washington meanwhile fear that a decision against Indonesia could represent the first step in a campaign that they see as US protectionism masquerading under the guise of human rights advocacy. Even US businesses are concerned that Washington is "alienating one of the leaders of the Asia-Pacific in the midst of an historic opportunity to expand our business with the region," as Robert Driscoll, president of the US-ASEAN Councils, puts it.

In June last year, human-rights group Asia Watch and the International Labour Rights Education and Research Fund (ILRERF), a pro-labour non-governmental organisation, separately petitioned the USTR to investigate Indonesian labour practices.

Under US law, the president must end GSP benefits to a trading partner which is not "taking steps to afford internationally recognised worker rights." These rights include freedom of association, the right to organise and bargain collectively, a ban on forced labour, restrictions on child labour and acceptable conditions of work.

Both the Asia Watch and ILRERF complaints were accompanied by voluminous evidence gathered by the petitioners to support their allegations. With acceptance of these petitions, the US Government began its own review of Indonesian labour conditions.

This is not the first time petitions have been filed to punish Indonesia for its labour

practices. But in the past, some petitions were rejected by the USTR as being invalid and others were accepted but later dropped after government investigation. Late last month, a mid-level inter-agency group led by the USTR, the GSP subcommittee, took up the Indonesian case. Private and official sources say that, essentially, all agencies expect one favoured putting Indonesia in the "pending" category; the Labour Department wanted immediate suspension of Indonesia's GSP privileges.

The same sources say that the Trade Representative, Mickey Kantor, personally reversed his agency's position from pending to suspension, though Kantor's office refused to confirm this. The Indonesian case is now going up to a higher-level trade policy review group where the hardliners pushing for suspension will face opposition from the departments of state and defence. The final decision is expected before the end of May.

ILRERF executive director Pharis Harvey says attitudes of some officials in the US were hardening even before President Bill Clinton – who champions human rights – took office. This was principally because of the Dili massacre of November 1991 in which Indonesian security forces opened fire at a funeral on the island of East Timor, killing scores of mourners.

Many observers expect that Clinton and Kantor, who are seen as pro-labour, will keep up the pressure on Indonesia. Some suspect that Kantor may have "non-Indonesian reason" to hit Jakarta: in order to win congressional support for the extension of the US GSP law, which expires in early July, the administration has to demonstrate that it is vigorously enforcing the statute.

The petitioners are naturally hoping for tougher US action against Indonesia. Asia Watch executive director Sidney Jones says that "if you don't use this kind of leverage, there'll be no improvement in worker conditions."

But Driscoll of the US-ASEAN Council adds that trade sanctions are "not the way to get progress on worker rights, which is needed, or to maintain US competitiveness in Indonesia, one of our hottest markets." He adds "We need all the help we can get from our government and they're going to do the opposite."

Even before the GSP issue, the US-Indonesia relationship was under stress after Congress last October forced a suspension of US aid to Indonesia for military education and training response to the 1991 Dili killings. Despite strong resistance from the Bush administration, legislators wanted to punish the Indonesian military. But those who opposed the move thought the aid actually helped to make the army "more re-

sponsible and humane." As one retired army official with long years of service in Indonesia complained: "Of all the money we spend on military aid, the best dollar we spend is in training, and we've cut it."

Then in March in Geneva, the Clinton administration joined Portugal in a UN Human Rights Commission resolution condemning Indonesia's alleged human-rights violations in East Timor. In previous years, the US opposed the Portuguese and pushed for milder statements on East Timor.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, visiting Washington, told REVIEW he was satisfied that the US position on East Timor has not changed fundamentally. The US has accepted Indonesian incorporation of East Timor, he said, without acknowledging that this was done through a valid act of self-determination. But after meeting officials and legislators here on 29-30 April, Alatas came away feeling that the US would become much tougher than before on human rights.

Former US ambassador to Indonesia Edward Masters cautions that publicly taking punitive action against "a country that is making progress in the areas that are of concern to us, that has been a moderate force in major international councils, and a country in which US has important economic and strategic interests," does not make sense.

Master's nightmare is that if Indonesia is cut off from US GSP it could also be excluded from the services of such US agencies as the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (which provides investment financing and insurance), the US Export-Import Bank and the US Agency for International Development. "This spiral needs to be stopped," he says.

TIMORESE VISIT CALIFORNIA STATE LEGISLATURE

On April 22, 1993, visiting East Timorese youth Maria Braz and Danilo Henriques were presented to the California State Senate by Senator Henry Mello, following a speech by Mello outlining the situation in East Timor.

They were presented to the State Assembly as well. Afterwards, they met with members of the State Legislature and members of Portuguese Caucus of California State Legislature, the latter of whom presented them with the following letter to President Clinton.

California is the most populous state in the U.S., and has a large Portuguese population. Maria and Danilo were two of five East Timorese exiles who spent most of April visiting twelve US states and Canada

on a speaking tour organized by the East Timor Action Network.

California Legislature
State Capitol
Sacramento, California
April 22, 1993

President Bill Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As Portuguese-Americans, as State Legislators, and as human beings, we are concerned about the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesian armed forces and by the gross violations of human rights there.

As you know, East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. Indonesia continues to occupy East Timor and claims the country as an Indonesian province. This claim is not recognized by the United Nations.

But Indonesia has not only annexed East Timor illegally. As documented by Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other human rights monitors, it has committed gross violations of human rights there. Young Timorese languish in prison for having engaged in peaceful protest. Others simply "disappear." There are numerous reports of widespread torture. It has been estimated that up to one-third of the East Timorese population has died as a result of Indonesian occupation.

While the plight of the East Timorese may be unknown to many people in this country, we can assure you that this issue is very important to Portuguese-Americans. We share a language, a culture, and a history with the Timorese. Our Portuguese-language newspapers in California report frequently about East Timor. Many of us have met Timorese. Their lives are not just abstractions or statistics for us.

But if we are to achieve self-determination for East Timor, we must act on a national level. The United States must make it clear to the Indonesian leaders that we will no longer tolerate their brutal occupation of East Timor, and we should refuse to supply aid and arms to Indonesia until it withdraws from East Timor.

We respectfully ask you to make that commitment.

Sincerely,

Senator Henry J. Mello, 15th Senate
District
Assemblyman Rusty Areias, 28th
Assembly District
Assemblywoman Kathleen Honeycutt,
34th Assembly District

Assemblyman Fred Aguiar, 61st
Assembly District
Assemblyman John Vasconcellos, 22nd
Assembly District
Assemblyman Jim Costa, 30th Assembly
District

INDONESIAN PUBLIC RELATIONS IN U.S. STEPPED UP

*"Intelligence" column of Far Eastern
Economic Review. 22 April 1993, unsigned.*

"Indonesia has entered into a US\$5 million contract with the US public relations firm Burson-Marsteller to help improve the country's human-rights and environmental image. Sources say the company will be tasked with the job of presenting government views on issues ranging from human rights, the environment and the situation in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor – all areas where Jakarta has come under increasing criticism from Western aid donors. Another US public relations firm, Hill and Knowlton, has been helping Jakarta present the government's economic reform programmes for some years"

ALATAS: CLINTON ADMINISTRATION ACCEPTS INTEGRATION

Jakarta Post, 1 May 1993

Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged

Comment: This is the only report we have seen about the Ali Alatas visit to Washington. Is this a correct rendering of the Clinton/Christopher position?

'US ACCEPTS DECOLONISATION IN EAST TIMOR'

The United States has reiterated that as far as it is concerned the decolonisation of East Timor has been completed, the Antara news agency reported yesterday.

The position was confirmed by Secretary of State Warren Christopher when he met with Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs Ali Alatas in Washington on Thursday, the report said.

Alatas told reporters after the meeting that he had reminded Christopher of the US position on the East Timor question stated during President Carter's administration. Christopher "did not deny" that this is still Washington's stance, Alatas said.

Washington has accepted that the decolonisation process was completed with the integration of East Timor into Indonesia in 1976 though it questioned the way it was carried out, Alatas said. Alatas said he does not expect the administration of President

Bill Clinton to raise questions about integration. Washington's only concern from the beginning has been about the implementation of human rights in the former Portuguese colony, he said.

On Indonesia's part, Alatas said the government must be more vigorous about disseminating information about the policies being carried out in East Timor to eliminate doubts and misconceptions among the US government in Washington.

Alatas said he was satisfied with Christopher as well as with several senators and congressmen during his stay in Washington.

He said he also briefed the Secretary of state about President Suharto's desire to address the upcoming summit of the Group of Seven countries in Tokyo in his capacity as chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Alatas said there was no stated objection from any of the G-7 members to the proposal. "It's a question of procedure and implementation. How and when."

CLINTON TO SUPPORT DEMOCRATIZATION IN INDONESIA?

Comment by John MacDougall, May 5.

[Today's (May 5) Washington Post carried an article on the likely broad outlines of President Clinton's policy on promoting democracy abroad. While Indonesia is mentioned only in passing, the thrust of the argument appears to be that in most cases only through sustained programs lasting many years can U.S. – and other countries' influence – bear fruit in moving states away from authoritarian rule. This policy would appear to recognize that each country's unique political, economic, and social structures mean different paths and rates in the democratization process, even if the democratization process itself is more holistic.

Briefly but perhaps not inaccurately summing up what all this would mean for possible greater democratization in Indonesia, the message seems to be that the struggle in various sectors is intertwined. There is no single 'key.' A larger middle class, proliferating NGOs operating under a less restrictive social organizations law, a freer press, liberalized election and political party laws, structural changes in the MPR and DPR – all may move matters part of the way. These struggles become in reality inseparable from each other. Even truly vexed issues like the future of East Timor may in reality be inseparable from this broad, long-term democratization process and might well be most realistically con-

*sidered in the same time frame. In any case, the concentration should be on facilitating change in Indonesian processes and structures directly, with international efforts having only small, incremental effects. In the end, the Indonesians must do the main part of the job themselves. And even then a favorable outcome is not assured, much less a stable favorable outcome.
Food for thought.]*

DETAILS OF CLINTON'S 'DEMOCRACY' PROGRAM SLOWLY BEGIN TO EMERGE

Washington Post, 5 May 93

by John M. Goshko and R. Jeffrey Smith

In his campaign rhetoric last fall, President Clinton spoke eloquently of the need to promote democracy abroad as "an investment in America's future" and a cornerstone of forward-looking U.S. foreign and defense policies.

So far, he has promoted democracy only in specific problem cases, such as Russia, where Clinton has said defeat of democratic reform could threaten hopes for a peaceful post-Cold War order, and Haiti, where the president has argued that continued dictatorship could send thousands of "boat people" streaming to the United States.

But administration officials say much thought is being devoted to making Clinton's vision a systematic feature of U.S. policy around the world. The aim, they stressed in recent interviews, is to establish democracy-building as a hallmark of Clinton's presidency in the same way that the last Democratic president, Jimmy Carter, is remembered for his championing of human rights.

To launch this new policy initiative, the administration has earmarked \$2.7 billion, or almost 13 percent of its proposed \$21.6 billion fiscal 1994 international affairs budget, for building democracy.

To oversee the policy, the administration is creating two new senior positions – one in the State Department to be occupied by former Colorado senator Timothy E. Wirth, and the other at the Pentagon to be held by Morton Halperin. At the State Department, the job of assistant secretary for human rights – to be filled by John Shattuck – also is being expanded to include directing the democratization effort under Wirth's guidance.

Specific elements of the policy are slowly becoming discernible. For example, the United States is expected to put new emphasis on monitoring elections in countries moving from dictatorships to democracies. Also likely, officials said, are new U.S. efforts to get the World Bank and other international lending institutions to put

money into development projects that promote democracy.

But the biggest elements, the officials said, will involve informational and educational programs and the kind of technical advisory initiatives with which the United States has been experimenting in Eastern Europe since 1989, when communism there began unravelling.

Spreading the message of democracy will be the job of the U.S. Information Agency and some new combinations of the various broadcasting facilities operated or financed by the federal government – the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberty and the still embryonic Radio Free Asia.

The advisory assistance programs are to follow the general approach described recently by Secretary of State Warren Christopher. “Democracy cannot be imposed from above,” he said. “By its very nature, it must be built, often slowly, at the grass-roots level.”

Some of the programs would be run directly by federal agencies such as the USIA or the Agency for International Development (AID). But officials also said they will continue the Bush administration’s practice in Eastern Europe of funding and relying heavily on nongovernmental organizations such as the National Endowment for Democracy, a federally financed, private, nonprofit agency created in 1983 to promote global democracy, and similar but more specialized organizations.

“We want a lot of small programs that can be exported to the grass-roots level,” said Wirth, who holds the rank of undersecretary of state. “We think we can accomplish a lot more to improve Russia’s environmental situation, for example, by getting organizations experienced in environmental affairs to work with private Russian groups than by giving the money to some big ministry hobbled by red tape and corruption.”

Just as Carter’s emphasis on human rights provoked hostility among foreign policy traditionalists in the late 1970s, the new drive is likely to be criticized by some countries as meddling in their internal affairs, trying to impose American values on societies where they do not fit or having very little real effect other than to make Americans feel good.

Officials in South Africa, Indonesia and other less developed countries with troubled human rights records already have expressed concern that Clinton’s term in office may simply be a rerun of Carter’s, resulting in a series of fiats dictated by Washington.

But administration officials said these pitfalls can be avoided if proper attention is paid to the circumstances and needs of specific countries, and if emphasis is placed on pushing through long-term structural

reforms rather than winning immediate human rights concessions.

For example, anticipating the possibility that Haiti’s 18 months of military rule soon might end, U.S. officials said they are talking about a sizeable aid program that would enlist various government agencies and private organizations in leading an international effort to rebuild, in effect, the country’s political, economic and social structure.

“You have to attack the island’s indigenous poverty by reshaping the economy to give hope to thousands of Haitians eking out a minimal existence,” said a senior official who declined to be identified.

“But that’s only the beginning,” he added. “We need to work on the court system and the administration of justice, on an independent legislature, on labor unions. And, most importantly, we have to professionalize the Haitian armed forces and teach them to respect civilian authority.”

Some of these tasks, he said, would be undertaken by federal agencies such as AID. But, the official added, “we see a place for international organizations, for church groups, for the expertise of private American institutions like the American Bar Association, the AFL-CIO, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce. And, like it or not, if we’re going to change the mindset of the Haitian military, we will need U.S. military advisers (to school them) . . . in our 200-year tradition of what an army in a democratic society is supposed to be.”

Some officials acknowledged there are unresolved tensions within the administration between those who see the policy almost exclusively in terms of emphasizing human rights – in Haiti and elsewhere – and others who believe that focusing exclusively on human rights sometimes can jeopardize long-term gains toward democratization.

“What do you do about a country like Peru where the president usurped all the functions of democratic government?” Wirth asked. “One school of thought says we should cut off all aid. Another – to which I subscribe – says that it’s important to work with them and try to move them back into the column of working democracies. So we cut off their military aid, but we kept giving them humanitarian aid as a carrot, and slowly they seem to be moving in the right direction.

“There’s no magic formula,” Wirth added. “You can’t say that if a country gets caught in X number of drug interdictions plus Y number of human rights abuses and Z torture cases . . . you fit a certain formula, and we can’t give you aid. You have to look further down the road at whether there is a capacity and a will to change.”

What some critics see as an even bigger source of potential trouble is the involvement of the U.S. military in the democracy-building program. To many liberals, that has ominous overtones, and their concern is only partially assuaged by the presence of Halperin in the Defense Department’s new assistant secretary post for democracy and human rights. Halperin was a prominent opponent of the Vietnam War and, like Shattuck at the State Department, a former executive of the American Civil Liberties Union.

Fueling this anxiety are past instances where “nation building” or “civic action” programs run by U.S. advisers in Latin America, Asia and elsewhere only served as a U.S. seal of approval for local military forces to engage in repression and corruption. A recent U.N. report, for example, charged that the El Salvador armed forces, trained and supplied by the United States throughout the 1980s, had murdered thousands of civilians during that country’s civil war.

“In El Salvador and other such situations during the Cold War, the main object was to shore up regimes of strategic importance to the United States, and often that meant turning a blind eye to the excesses of the military,” said one of the planners of the new program. “But the Cold War is over, and our military people now will be a lot freer to teach armies in the emerging democracies the dividing line between military professionalism and civilian control.”

A nongovernmental specialist with long experience in human rights and democratization issues praised Clinton’s initiative, saying that his aides appear to understand “democracy is a very messy business that can’t be imposed by fiat or even by dealing with the bureaucrats who control the instrumentalities of government. It has to be tackled at the micro level, the grass-roots . . . and it requires a very long view.

“The last thing we need is an administration that demands immediate, American-style democratic reforms and elections in, say, Egypt or Saudi Arabia,” the specialist added. “The leaders there now might be far from perfect, but what you’d get in their place wouldn’t be democrats. You’d get the folks who tried to blow up the World Trade towers in New York.”

VICE PRESIDENT ALBERT GORE SPEAKS OUT ON EAST TIMOR

Report from ETAN/US, May 10, 1993

On Monday, May 7, 1993, U.S. Vice President Albert Gore received the Robert

F. Kennedy Book Award for his ecological book "Earth in the Balance." At the same time, Pacifica/WBAI news director Amy Goodman and New Yorker correspondent Allan Nairn received the RFK Journalism award for their radio documentary "Massacre: The Story of East Timor." The events included a luncheon and a dinner in Arlington, Virginia.

Allan and Amy invited Constâncio Pinto, a leader of the East Timorese resistance who recently escaped from East Timor, to attend the day's activities. They introduced him to the Vice President, with whom he had a useful discussion about the East Timorese situation. After the dinner, there was a question period, and Portuguese TV journalist Mario Crespo asked the following question:

"Vice President Gore, you deal with aspects of environment, and I would like you to focus on the human environment. Immediately after this ceremony two journalists who uncovered, who actually were witnesses to the massacre in East Timor will be honored for their work. I would like to hear your opinion, Mr. Vice President, on how do you view that the whole energy you bring into the administration here can be used to rectify the situation under which the East Timorese people are living and the Indonesian occupation."

The Vice President answered: "The radio documentary that will be honored shortly is an extraordinary work outlining the nature of the outrage that has been committed against the people of East Timor by the government of Indonesia. The history of the conflict there is long and complex but the essence of the injustice is starkly simple: unarmed innocent people in their homeland have been killed and imprisoned and mistreated. It is an abuse of human rights. How it is remedied represents a full range of other questions. But the international community has attempted to seek redress of the grievances justly expressed by the people of East Timor. Our government here in the United States has also done so and will continue to make efforts in their behalf."

The awards, and their significance for East Timor, were covered by Portuguese television and newspapers. Although Gore's cautious statement is weaker than candidate Bill Clinton's description of past U.S. policy toward East Timor as "unconscionable," it represents the highest-level public acknowledgment by an administration official that the problem of East Timor is far from being solved.

Cassette copies of the 28-minute radio documentary, which was broadcast on November 12, 1992 (the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre) are available for \$6

from the East Timor Action Network, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA. Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn have graciously given blanket permission for it to be broadcast on non-commercial radio.

CLINTON PUSHES FOR TOP UN POST ON HUMAN RIGHTS

10th May 1993

Dateline: Washington (New York Times)

The Age (Melbourne), Unabridged

The Clinton administration is pressing for the appointment of a high commissioner for human rights at the United Nations, as well as a special envoy to investigate abuses against women.

The initiatives are part of a nine-page proposal that was presented to a human rights conference in Geneva last week by Mr. Kenneth Blackwell, the head of the US delegation.

The Geneva meeting was held to plan a major UN conference on human rights schedule for June in Vienna. By the end of the meeting today, it became clear that the Vienna conference would evolve into a showdown between Western nations seeking tougher human rights standards and developing nations – opposing any new monitors of rights abuses.

Former US presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush opposed the idea of a high commissioner for human rights, whose job would be to coordinate UN human rights activities. The two Republican presidents had argued that establishing such an office would add to the UN's bureaucracy.

The proposal put forward by the United States on Thursday would designate a UN high commissioner for human rights to oversee the implementation of decisions of all UN human rights bodies, assume responsibility for human rights issues in the areas of peacekeeping and relief aid, and have the authority to send special envoys to investigate allegations of human rights violations.

The commissioner would also have the power to bring to the attention of the Security Council allegations of gross human rights abuses.

The US document also called on the UN to spend more money on human rights activities. The UN currently spends about \$US11 million (\$A14.5 million) annually – about one per cent of its total budget – on human rights efforts.

Some US diplomats are hoping the UN will increase spending in this area to about five per cent of its total budget. They hope to reach that level by shifting funds that are

already in the budget and not by asking overnments to contribute more.

"This is the new administration's action plan," Mr Blackwell said after presenting the plan in Geneva. "It builds on what the new administration perceives as American traditions, values and standards in regards to human rights, and it also offers new ideas and a new assertiveness in other areas."

The document strongly emphasizes the rights of women, including the appointment of a special envoy to investigate instances of violence against women, including "battering in the family, rape, female infanticide, honor killings and dowry murder."

But some women's groups criticised the US proposal for failing to mention "reproductive rights," meaning access to family planning services, including abortion. Some also want the US to support the idea that fear of persecution because of sex could be a basis for granting political asylum.

In March, the administration also reversed previous US policy when it supported a resolution expressing "deep concern" over human rights abuses in East Timor. Last year, a similar, though more strongly worded, resolution was blocked by the US, Australia and Japan.

In another area of concern among human rights advocates and some members of Congress, Mr. Clinton has yet to say whether his administration will renew China's favorable trade status without conditions.

ETAN/US NETWORK NEWS ISSUE NO. 6 MAY 1993

This newsletter is also available on paper: 8 pages with photos. Write for a copy.

INTRODUCTION

In 1975, the tiny half-island of East Timor was invaded by Indonesia. During 18 years of military conflict and occupation, the East Timorese people have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves, despite the killing of one third of their population – 200,000 people. The United States government provided weapons and diplomatic support throughout the genocide, and approved the invasion in advance.

The East Timor Action Network/U.S. was formed at the end of 1991, following a massacre in Dili, where Indonesian troops shot and killed over 271 young Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration. Several foreign witnesses helped tell the world that Timorese resistance, and Indonesian murder, continues. Since then, international popular support for East Timor has resurged, Washington is beginning to change its policy, and ETAN has

expanded to over a thousand activists and many local groups.

In September 1992, Congress overrode the Bush administration and cut off U.S. military aid to Indonesia. Last March, the U.S. supported a U.N. resolution criticizing Indonesia's human rights violations in East Timor, reversing 17 years of policy. Although the Clinton administration has yet to make an unambiguous statement, many in Congress are pressing for further action.

Network News is published bi-monthly and sent to members and supporters of ETAN/US. We regret that we cannot include background information in every issue, and encourage you to ask for our other resources.

“NEW GENERATION OF RESISTANCE” ENERGIZES NORTH AMERICANS

North Americans' awareness of East Timor took a quantum leap forward when five young East Timorese activists gave us a month of their lives, enduring a grueling pace of community meetings, university classes, media interviews, teach-ins, and discussions with US and Canadian officials, human rights activists, and UN diplomats.

Constâncio Pinto, Executive Secretary of the Timorese civilian underground until he was forced into hiding in November, 1991 (escaping five months later), gave us two months and endured an even more exhausting schedule – although we tried to be kinder to him than the Indonesia soldiers who tortured him in East Timor.

During their 14-state, three-province expedition, Maria Braz, Abé Barreto Soares, Elizabeth Exposto, Danilo Henriques and Constâncio met with staff of more than 30 Congresspeople and made their case to Ambassadors or staff from 25 Missions to the UN. They were presented to the State Legislature of California, and appeared on dozens of campus and community radio programs, as well as some mainstream newspapers and television. In addition to five Ivy League schools, they met with students and faculty at ten of the most prestigious and active universities in the country.

Everywhere they went, the Portuguese-American, Asian-American, and peace/justice communities received them with open arms. And everyone who met them was transformed, awakened, educated, and re-committed to work for Timorese self-determination. No longer just a body count, our very much alive East Timorese guests brought the reality of their country's occupation to us; for thousands of Canadians and Americans, East Timor is no longer just a far-away spot on the map where hundreds of thousands have been

brutally killed. It is home to the new generation our visitors represent – forced to leave as children when Indonesia invaded, but still committing their lives to the struggle and hope that they will be able to go home again.

The tour was initiated by the Timorese Association of Victoria (Australia), and coordinated in North America by the East Timor Action Network/US and the East Timor Alert Network of Canada. It was exhausting, wonderful and empowering; we're trying to see when we can do it again, to cover the other 37 states.

This article is reprinted from The Portuguese American, a weekly from Providence Rhode Island, April 14, 1993.

FEWER AND FEWER: THE UNLIKELIEST FAMILY SPREADS THE WORD

*By Cesar Silva Baptista
Special to The Portuguese American*

We all come into this world in the same way. As the ripe fruit of our mothers and fathers we enter life traumatically; if we are lucky, we are born into a stable, peaceful environment. For five East Timorese youth ambassadors touring the United States this month, freedom is not taken for granted. Childhood and their lives as young adults were harshly interrupted first by colonial abandonment and then foreign invasion with its ensuing genocide and terror.

Perhaps the darkest chapter in East Timorese history begins nearly 20 years ago, when Portugal had a revolution. The change of government from Salazar's Dictatorship to a cadre of short-lived communist revolutionaries forced one of Europe's poorest countries to face reality. A grave bankruptcy, brought upon by fighting three futile wars in Africa, also forced Portugal to abandon East Timor, a small half-island colony in between Australia and Indonesia.

The people of East Timor call themselves Maubere and speak a language called Tetun. But they also speak Portuguese and worship Catholicism, both vestiges of a half-millennium of Portuguese rule. However, Portugal did little to disturb much of Timorese culture during its tenure. The great majority of East Timorese continued to live in balance with the universe; in rural villages of bamboo stilt-houses and followed the ancient ways.

Elizabeth Exposto's grandfather was one such proud Maubere. He was a farmer and a landowner, sharing his land with his family, his animals and his crops. Together with his wife, he helped raise 19 children and taught them the religion and culture of his people.

When the Indonesian military overran East Timor without provocation, they murdered nearly one third of the population. After a constant state of terror had been reached, they forced the rural population into the equivalent of W.W.II Nazi concentration camps. Demented medical experiments, forced sterilization, starvation and slave labor were everyday experiences for those fortunate enough to be spared. Lizzie's grandfather and much of her extended family were processed in this way.

Lizzie was 8 months old when her parents fled the Indonesian invasion and went into exile aboard a Norwegian cargo ship bound for Darwin, Australia. She would not see any members of her family for 14 years, and some she never saw. One of her aunts had attempted to hide in the mountains with her children. With the promise of fair treatment, she surrendered to the Indonesian military. She didn't suspect it would be a trap, but days later the Indonesians revealed their betrayal by executing thousands of trusting East Timorese.

Having grown up in Melbourne, Australia, just one hundred miles away from her homeland, Lizzie is a normal happy teenager. Anyone would think she is Western. Her English is flawless, unless you count that thick Aussie accent against her. But who could? In person, she beams an optimism that feeds on the energy of well-paced youth. As the youngest in the group, it is her energy, approachability and good nature that help the others to hope for a future for the next generation.

Danilo Henriques also grew up in Melbourne. He was three years old when his family managed to escape the Indonesian paratroopers. The youngest son of enlightened government workers, his personality betrays a cosmopolitan upbringing. In immaculately hip clothes and swept back hair, he cuts the boldest image in the group. Danilo is the bait for an American audience, the dashing doer.

There can be no truer test of a post-modern man, than one who identifies with the neo-pagan aesthetics of western civilization. But although Danilo has prepared himself extremely well for those sorts of games, he also understands the higher calling of duty. Passion can not reside in a shallow heart, and it comes out in his voice when he adds his story to the groups' presentation.

There is no hesitation when he charges that the U.S. is directly responsible for his nation's fate. After all, Gerald Ford and Henry Kissinger had actually met with Indonesian President Suharto hours before he commanded the invasion that crushed his people's rushed attempts to set up their own state.

Danilo's natural stage presence may charm listeners, but underneath the eloquence of his message he demands action. After all, every US President, including Jimmy Carter has shmoozed with Suharto and increased arms sales. The very arms that rocketed villages and strafed defenseless civilians. The very ones that mowed down countless students in what has come to be known as the Dili massacre.

Constâncio Pinto did not escape the Indonesian invasion, but even if he had been offered the chance it is not likely he would have taken it. Three years after the invasion, he was only fifteen years old, but became a guerilla fighter on the front lines. It could not have been his calling because he was picked up a year later and was forced into servitude for a police commander.

He really must not have been much good at that either because he was released a few months later, and went to Dili and enrolled at St. Jose Externasto, a Portuguese school, to continue his education. For the next ten years, he studied and became a teacher at the school. Soon, he was organizing civilian resistance groups under the code name 007, and two years later was elected to Secretary of Executive Committee of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organization of East Timorese nationalist groups. Finally it seemed he had found the right post from which to fight for freedom.

Eventually, Constâncio was linked directly to the guerrilla forces and arrested. He spent a week in Indonesian jails which may be equal to a tour of Hell. They beat him to a bloody pulp for 12 hours, then kept him awake for four straight days by taking shifts at yelling in his ears, then they threw his limp body into an empty cement cell where the cold floor must have soothed his swollen body. When he was released he was watched and constantly intimidated with threats to his wife and parents.

With the beatings still fresh in his mind, Constâncio continued to lead the civilian resistance. When he was linked again to the nationalist cause he had to go into deep hiding. He still managed to organize the protest march that turned into a bloodbath on November 12, 1991. He was not far from the Santa Cruz Cemetery when Indonesian troops ambushed the peaceful students and killed them like they were killing animals.

Clandestinely Constâncio managed to escape to Lisbon, Portugal. He has not seen his parents nor his wife who has since borne him a son. He is so "hot" in fact that the U.S. Embassy in Lisbon attempted to bottle him up by refusing to issue a visa for him.

Constâncio is the heart of the delegation. His eyes are deep, drawing the unwittingly perceptive into his realm of brutal truths

and tragic knowledge. And when he talks, he seems to be only breathing. The words just roll out in a woody tenor as part of some kind of musical 'connectedness.' Ironically, terrorist bombers don't seem to have any trouble getting through the U.S. Foreign Service, while this gentle man was nearly denied the right to free speech.

Ever since Abé Barreto Soares saw Indonesian soldiers savagely brandishing the severed heads of East Timorese resistance fighters, he has wondered why things are the way they are. As a 9-year old, he weathered the decimation of his family during the invasion and became a model student. He was accepted to Java's Gadjah Mada University and earned a place in a cultural exchange program with Canada.

Yet Abé was torn with a profound conflict. He felt as if when he accomplished anything it was for the greater good of Indonesia. When he was an exchange student in Toronto, he received news of the Dili massacre. On television, he watched the senseless butchering of his peers and later learned that his Maubere friends in Jakarta had also been arrested. Suddenly he faced a very uncertain future. Although it was the hardest decision of his life, he sought political asylum in Canada and settled alone at the farthest point possible from his homeland.

Abé is the scholar in the group. His quiet nature is in contrast to the whirling turbine inside his head. And yet for all his thought, he cannot come up with any answers to THE question: Why? When he is not writing or speaking on behalf of the cause, he is resting or having polite conversation: the main faculties are for thinking only.

Maria Braz is the anchor of the group. At 24 years old the MBA candidate commands a relaxed sense of self that acts as a unifying force for her partners on their humble trip. She is the middle in age and the most well-rounded, able to speak Tetun, Portuguese and English well. She was also raised in Portugal, which puts her just about at the half-way point between East Timor and Australia, culturally speaking. She softens the contrast in world views that a mere 100 miles can make.

It doesn't hurt that Maria's heritage is from a now-legendary East Timorese noble family. The Atsabe royal family were known for their spirit of resistance as well as wise compromise. Of course, none of this is to say that she does not have a particular slant. As a strong woman, one of her dearest issues is the treatment of Maubere women by Indonesian forces, and their place in East Timorese society. She brings to the presentations a feminist point of view without male-bashing spitefully. However, it would probably be a safe bet that she

thinks this could all be resolved if we put a woman in charge.

Lizzie, Danilo, Constâncio, Abé and Maria arrived in Washington just over two weeks ago, and began getting to know each other better. They travel together in minivans and sleep in close quarters. For all their individualities, it is not surprising that they can put them aside until the freedom of East Timor is won. But it is perhaps surprising that they all share a gentle good-natured quality about them. There is no pecking order among them, no power trips, no head games. They are like family because as long as Indonesia remains in East Timor, every day there are a few less of them.

So many exciting events happened during the tour that we won't even attempt to recap them. Here are a few anecdotes.

HUNGER COMMITTEE DIES

While in Washington, our Timorese visitors attended an extraordinary press conference outside the Capitol Building. Ohio Representative Tony Hall, who has led Congress on East Timor for over a decade, announced he was beginning a hunger strike to protest the elimination of the House Select Committee on Hunger, which he had chaired. "Congress is afflicted with famine," Hall declared. "We are hungry for heart – heart for the needy, the powerless, and the forgotten."

Hall ended his fast after three weeks, having raised the consciences of many and persuaded the Congressional leadership to ensure that hunger issues would not vanish into the Capitol's memory hole.

INTIMIDATION AND HARASSMENT

While Constâncio slept in New York, an Indonesian general announced that he had been arrested in Dili, and the international media dutifully picked up the report. It didn't take very long to expose the lie, although the Far Eastern Economic Review printed it a week later, only later to run an "I am Still Free" letter from Constâncio.

However, Indonesian authorities began to harass Gabriela Lopes da Cruz Pinto, Constâncio's wife and the mother of his one-year-old son who has never seen his father. They arrested and interrogated her, demanding that she tell them where her husband was. Of course, they knew perfectly well where he was, and were simply trying to intimidate him. Gabriela was ordered to report daily to the military for further questioning. With the help of the International Committee of the Red Cross and a lot of calls and letters to and from American officials, the pressure on Gabriela has eased for the moment. We'll continue to pay close attention.

The Indonesian government is not the only one which gave Constâncio a hard time. When he applied for his US visa in Lisbon, it was denied, and was only granted after calls and faxes from Senators and university officials. The Canadian consulate in New York also hassled him until an MP called to tell them to issue a visa.

PROPAGANDA AND SOUVENIRS

If you missed the tour, or if you met our visitors but don't recall their every word, we have printed copies of their speeches; send \$5 for copying and postage for the set of five. We also have a detailed listing of tour activities, and are working on a commemorative booklet to try to capture the essence of the tour on paper. Paper Tiger TV is producing a half-hour video documentary of the tour, which should be available by the end of June for local cable broadcast. Contact ETAN for more information.

MEETING THE VEEP

On Monday, May 7, Vice President Albert Gore received the Robert F. Kennedy Book Award for Earth in the Balance. At the same time, Pacifica/WBAI news director Amy Goodman and New Yorker correspondent Allan Naim received the RFK Journalism Award for their radio documentary *Massacre: The Story of East Timor*.

Allan and Amy invited Constâncio Pinto to the award ceremony. They introduced him to the Vice President, with whom he had a useful discussion about the East Timorese situation. After the dinner, there were questions, and Portuguese TV journalist Mario Crespo asked Gore about the "human environment" of East Timor. He replied:

"The radio documentary that will be honored shortly is an extraordinary work outlining the nature of the outrage that has been committed against the people of East Timor by the government of Indonesia. The history of the conflict there is long and complex but the essence of the injustice is starkly simple: unarmed innocent people in their homeland have been killed and imprisoned and mistreated. It is an abuse of human rights. How it is remedied represents a full range of other questions. But the international community has attempted to seek redress of the grievances justly expressed by the people of East Timor. Our government here in the United States has also done so and will continue to make efforts in their behalf."

MANUFACTURING CONSENT BUILDS THE MOVEMENT

The feature-length documentary *Manufacturing Consent*: Noam Chomsky

and the Media has been playing throughout Canada and the US. It contrasts media coverage of the simultaneous genocides in East Timor and Cambodia, and has taught tens of thousands of people about East Timor. With the help of the producers, the East Timor Action Network is providing moviegoers with information about East Timor and how they can join the movement for self-determination. We have recruited hundreds of new activists in Los Angeles, Boston, Chicago, New York, San Francisco, Berkeley, Washington, Madison, Santa Cruz, Petaluma, San Jose, Portland and other places where the film has played.

This list of upcoming US playdates was provided by Zeitgeist Films, the distributors. Call them at 212-274-1989 if your city hasn't been scheduled. Starred showings are already covered by ETAN activists. If you can help in one of those cities, or another, please contact us. We have "instant tabling" kits and suggestions.

5/20-24 Ken, San Diego, CA*
5/21-27 Coolidge Comer Movie House, Boston, MA*
6/4 Oregon State University, Corvallis, OR
6/9-12 Crest Theatre, Sacramento, CA*
6/10-16 Neptune Theatre, Seattle, WA
6/11-13 Rice Media Center, Houston, TX
6/11-17 Oriental Theater, Milwaukee, WI
6/23-30 Neighborhood Film Project, Philadelphia, PA
6/25-7/1 Mayan Theater, Denver, CO
7/3 & 4 Music Box Theatre, Chicago, IL
8/15 & 18 Taos Art Center, Taos, NM
10/1-23 (weekends) Dobie Theater, Austin, TX*
10/8-10 Honolulu Academy of Arts, Honolulu, HI

Both of the following issues will be decided in the next few weeks. We can win – if Washington hears from enough people around the country. Call today!

NO FIGHTER PLANES TO INDONESIA

The government of Jordan would like to sell four US-made F-5E supersonic jet fighters to the Indonesian military for \$20-25 million. Under the terms of the original sale to Jordan, the US State Department can approve or prevent the re-transfer, which was requested late last year. Because of opposition from the public and from Congress, approval has become problematic, and the debate continues. ETAN distributed an Action Alert in early May, and the Institute for Policy Studies' Project on Demilitarization and Democracy is also active. Reuters and other media have begun to cover this controversy.

State Department spokespeople admit that the re-transfer process is moving slower than usual because "many in Congress, and

at State, have concerns about the human rights situation in Indonesia." Please contact State Department officials, Senators and Representatives to urge them not to reward Indonesia's brutal government with more instruments of war.

Last year, Congress overrode the Bush administration to cut off military aid for Indonesia to protest the Santa Cruz massacre and Indonesia's 17-year occupation of East Timor. In March, the US cosponsored a UN Human Rights Commission resolution which criticized Indonesia for ongoing human rights violations and refusing to cooperate with international human rights organizations.

Vermont Senator Patrick Leahy is pressing the administration to block the arms deal. At the May 12 confirmation hearing for Lynn Davis, Undersecretary of State for International Security Affairs, Leahy said "It is inconsistent for the United States to license sales of weapons to governments that, because of human rights problems, are deemed unsuitable for military aid. Indonesia is a case in point." Wisconsin Senator Russell Feingold told ETAN/Midwest activists that he will work to stop the sale, and support is growing.

The warplane sale is being pushed by Eidetics corporation of Torrance, CA and other US companies that would refurbish the fighters and transport them to Indonesia, and then upgrade Jordan's remaining 23 F-5Es under a separate contract. They claim that Russia or Britain will sell aircraft to Indonesia if the Jordanian sale is denied, but rather than compete with these two allies, the US should seek their agreement not to sell arms to Indonesia or other dictatorships.

Contact:

Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher, 2201 C Street NW, Washington, DC 20520. (202)647-6575; (202)647-7120 fax.

Undersecretary of State of Political Affairs Peter Tarnoff, (202)647-2417. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Winston

Lord, (202)647-9596. Also call Senators and Representatives (202)224-3121, and urge them to call the State Department.

CUT TRADE SUBSIDIES; SUPPORT WORKERS' RIGHTS

Indonesia currently receives millions of dollars in special trade benefits through a program called the General System of Preferences (GSP). Indonesia's status in the GSP program is being reviewed, and a final decision will be made soon. Pressure on the United States Trade Representative, through Congressional representatives, can help cut off this expensive subsidy of Indonesia, a

persistent violator of basic human and worker rights.

GSP benefits allow some companies operating within Indonesia to export products to the US without duties and tariffs. An amendment to the GSP law mandates that all participating countries maintain basic internationally-recognized standards for worker rights, including the right to organize and form a union, the right to strike, and the right to minimum standards of workplace safety.

Nearly a year ago, Asia Watch filed a petition to the United States Trade Representative alleging worker rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. The petition was accepted for further review, meaning that an inter-agency task force would research these allegations in detail.

The decision over the continuation or termination of GSP benefits for Indonesia is now at the highest levels of the Clinton administration, with Trade Representative Mickey Kantor and the State Department likely to be most influential in the decision. The review is already taking longer than expected, and sources say that Kantor supports suspending GSP. A debate continues between human rights advocates and proponents of a realpolitik approach to international economic and political relations.

ETAN/US distributed an Action Alert on this on April 18, and recent articles in the Far Eastern Economic Review and The Progressive highlighted labor abuses in Indonesia and East Timor. Ask us for copies.

Contact:

Mickey Kantor is the US Trade Representative; Thomas Fusco (Deputy Director for GSP) and Jose Damond (Director for GSP) can be called at (202)395-6971.

Also call State Department and Congressional officials, listed above.

ACT LOCALLY

The speaking tour and the Chomsky film motivated people all across North America, energizing existing local groups and catalyzing the formation of new ones. If you don't see a group or a contact in for your area, call the nearest one – they're all eager to clone themselves – or the national office.

We also have several campus-based groups, and we'll publish their addresses when the new school year begins.

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Help ETAN Ride the Wave

Due to the phenomenal success of the speaking tour and the Chomsky movie, ETAN is growing rapidly, and our work and expenses swell as well. Your contribution (checks payable to "ETAN"), is needed and appreciated. Tax-deductible donations of \$50 or more for ETAN's educational work should be payable to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN."

We have many T-shirts left, "To Resist is to Win" or "Indonesia's Killing Field," which sell for \$13 plus \$3 postage. Order from ETAN/NY or ETAN/LA, and specify L or XL.

Our two books, John Taylor's *Indonesia's Forgotten War: The Hidden History of East Timor* (Zed, 1991) and Michele Turner's *Telling East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992* (New South Wales University Press, 1992), have just been reordered. Both are excellent, imported and hard to find in North America. You can buy either from ETAN for \$20. We have videos, too.

ETAN just published volume 21 of our East Timor Documents series; this 134-page issue includes press articles, research papers, organizational alerts, background material and primary sources from around the world for events between February 15 and April 10, 1993. The Documents, published roughly every six weeks, sell for \$10 per issue (discounts for activists), plus \$2.00 for international air mail. Encourage your library to subscribe, or get it yourself; much of the information is unavailable anywhere else.

Some of the material in the documents can be obtained more quickly through the reg.easttimor conference on PeaceNet or via Task Force Indonesia's free East Timor computer mailing list. If you have access to a computer or an Internet connection, call PeaceNet at 415-442-0220 or email TFI at apakabar@access.digex.net.

**First Continental ETAN Conference
Join us in New York July 10-11, 1993**

ETAN/US and ETAN/Canada will hold the First Continental ETAN Congress in New York City this summer, probably on the weekend of July 10-11.

Local ETAN coordinators and activists from across the US and Canada, many of

whom have never met in this rapidly-growing movement, will come together to share experiences, assess our strengths, and plan strategy.

One day of the weekend will be spent on global or continental issues, and the other will be separate discussions to deal with structural or national questions peculiar to each country.

We're hoping, but not guaranteed, to piggyback on the East Timor part of the UN Decolonization Committee, which isn't set yet but will be in "early July," according to the latest information from the Secretariat. If the timing works, East Timorese activists and their supporters from all over the world will be in town, and we'll welcome their participation.

If you're interested in coming, please get in touch as soon as possible so we can plan logistics and the program. We'd also like your ideas for the agenda. This meeting will not be open to the public, but only to East Timor supporters and invited guests. Participants, with rare exceptions, will have to raise their own expenses, although we will try to keep housing and food costs down.

"Rights and Wrongs"

Globalvision, the independent TV producers who created South Africa Now a few years ago, have a new TV series on international human rights issues, currently being aired on PBS. A segment on East Timor is in preparation and will probably be aired in June. Ask your local PBS station for details.

Next ETAN Meeting

The next ETAN/US meeting will be on Sunday, June 13, at 2:00 at 339 Lafayette Street in New York City. The main items will be the upcoming Decolonization Hearing and Continental Conference.

**U.N. MOVES SLOWLY;
NEGOTIATIONS STALL**

East Timor became an issue at the Asian preparatory meeting for the UN Human Rights Conference, held in Bangkok in March. Indonesia successfully kept the International Federation of NGOs for East Timor from being accredited, but the controversy made East Timor far more visible than it otherwise would have been. At the major global conference in Vienna in June, many East Timorese and their supporters will be active.

The Indonesian and Portuguese Foreign Ministers met with the UN Secretary-General in Rome in mid-April to discuss East Timor, and agreed on nothing except to meet again in New York in September. A week earlier, UN envoy Amos Wako visited East Timor, observed Xanana's trial, and

met with Xanana and Mau Hunu. His observations have not been made public, nor has his report from his 1992 visit. In mid-May, the Indonesian military accused Wako of encouraging Xanana to resist, but Jakarta's Foreign Minister downplayed the charges, surfacing a split within the Suharto regime that has widespread ramifications.

This summer, the annual meeting of the U.N. Decolonization Committee (also known as the Committee of 24) will take place in New York. Many NGOs and Timorese from different places and perspectives will attend. ETAN/US will host international guests; let us know if you can help or attend the hearing, tentatively scheduled for early July.

XANANA SPEAKS OUT!

On May 17, Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who was captured last November, ended his apparent cooperation with his Indonesian captors. In a dramatic summation at the close of his three-month trial, Xanana declared that he is not an Indonesian citizen, does not support the integration of East Timor into Indonesia, and that the court has no right to try him. He also opposed the Timor Gap oil exploration treaty between Indonesia and Australia.

Judge Hieronymus Godang cut him off three pages into his 28-page Portuguese-language statement, calling it full of irrelevant political theory. This is unprecedented in Indonesian political trials, where defendants are generally allowed to speak, even if their statements are later suppressed. International observers (including UN, US and European diplomats) were unable to get into the courtroom, and, unlike previous sessions, the trial was not aired over loudspeakers. Nobody other than the court has seen Xanana's statement.

As we go to press (May 18), sentencing is set for May 21.

After his capture last November, Xanana confused many supporters by his apparent acquiescence with Jakarta, identifying as an Indonesian citizen and calling on guerrillas to surrender. Few believed his abandonment of lifelong principles was real, and there was much speculation as to what had been done or threatened to him or his family, who were also arrested in November. His comment "wait until the end," called out in the courtroom a few months ago, now becomes clear.

The pace of Xanana's trial slowed markedly after prosecution witness Saturnino da Costa Belo, a jailed Timorese independence advocate, called out "Free East Timor! Viva Independence!" in court on March 4. Saturnino was beaten and

dragged away, declared unfit to testify, and hasn't been heard from since.

The resistance suffered a blow in early April, when Xanana's replacement as head of the CNRM, Mau Hunu (Antonio Gomes da Costa) was captured by Indonesian troops. He has been succeeded by Konis Santana, and the struggle goes on.

Indonesia is trying to portray the resistance in East Timor as over (not the first time in 17 years we have heard that), using such devices as relabelling troops as police and increasing use of non-uniformed agents. They have also allowed foreigners into the territory, under close surveillance.

New York Times reporter Philip Shenon's April 21 front-page article "Fear and Repression Still Rule Area Occupied by Indonesia" was mostly about how everyone except government officials was afraid to talk with him. Three days later, he published an interview with Timorese Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, "A Voice, Often Silenced, Tells of East Timor's Fear." Belo discussed the widespread use of torture and gave details of people captured and then murdered after the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz massacre.

"We lack the freedom to speak, to walk where we want, to have different opinions," said the Bishop. "The people of East Timor need the help of President Clinton and the United States."

PELL: INDONESIAN ABUSE OF HUMAN RIGHTS CONTINUES IN EAST TIMOR

[The following was inserted into the U.S. Congressional Record by Senator Claiborne Pell (Democrat, Rhode Island; Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee) on May 24, 1993, pages S6358-S6361. Pell's statement (full text below) was followed by the translated excerpts of Xanana's defense plea which have been circulated by TAPOL.]

Mr. PELL. Mr. President, last Friday a miscarriage of justice occurred in East Timor. On that distant Southeast Asian island, an Indonesian court sentenced Jose Alexandre Gusmão to life in prison. Mr. Gusmão had long led the Revolutionary Front for an independent East Timor, popularly known as Fretilin. His activities on behalf of East Timorese independence predate the Indonesian invasion in late 1975.

I know it is hard for us so far away to understand the atmosphere of intimidation and fear pervading a land so few have been able to visit. A few of us may recall the Indonesian invasion on December 7, 1975, which resulted in the deaths from war or mistreatment of as much as one-third of the East Timor population. Some may

remember the massacre on November 12, 1991, when a procession of East Timorese, marching from a memorial mass for a Timorese youth killed by Indonesian security forces, were fired on by the Indonesian military. Approximately, 100 were killed then. At least 60 people remain missing.

Following the massacre near the Santa Cruz cemetery, eight East Timorese were arrested and tried. They were imprisoned from 6 years and 8 months to life in prison for participating in the march. Of the military, however, who fired on the East Timorese, only eight were tried. They received sentences ranging from 8 to 18 months. The disproportionate prison terms given to those who did the shooting compared to those who were shot at suggests why Indonesian justice in East Timor has to be viewed with great skepticism.

Thus, Mr. Gusmão's arrest last November by the Indonesian armed forces provoked outcries of international concern. For the first 17 days of his arrest he was kept incommunicado. Only after considerable international pressure were representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross [ICRC] permitted to visit him – once. No family members were granted access until April when his parents briefly visited him.

His family asked that lawyers from the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute serve as Mr. Gusmão's defense attorneys. They, however, were denied access to him. After corresponding by letter, they received a response purportedly from him, thanking them for their offer but rejecting it. Instead, he received a court-appointed attorney, a Mr. Sudjono, who was a close friend of the Indonesian police intelligence officer handling the case.

A week ago Monday Mr. Gusmão attempted to read a 27-page defense statement. The court stopped him after he had read only 2-1/2 pages, declaring his arguments were irrelevant to the case. If the court had listened, one of the things it would have heard him say was that:

"On 22 December, I read a letter that was addressed to me by the LBH [the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute]. On 23 December I replied to that organization, accepting a lawyer. But I was compelled to renounce it. On the 30 of the same month, I had to write a letter to the LBH refusing their offer. My initial letter which had been intercepted was returned to me.

Mr. President, I would like to include here, part of Mr. Gusmão's defense statement which has been smuggled out of East Timor. In addition, I would like to call my colleagues attention to a report released

by Asia Watch in April, entitled "Remembering History in East Timor: The Trial of Xanana Gusmão and a Follow up to the Dill Massacre." It provides a reasoned and balanced assessment of the issue.

In his defense statement, Mr. Gusmão proposes negotiations on the East Timor issue take place between Indonesia and the East Timorese under the auspices of the United Nations. Talks are already occurring intermittently between Indonesia and Portugal, East Timor's former colonial rulers. However, despite Portuguese requests, the Indonesians have never permitted East Timorese, representing independent political groups, from participating in them. It is my view that a resolution of this conflict can only take place if all sides participate under the guidance of the U.N. Secretary General.

I raised my concerns with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, when he was here last month. I told him of my deep distress at the situation and of the views in Rhode Island. Last year, I received a letter from one such Rhode Islander, Michael Bianchetta, who captured well the feelings of many when he wrote:

"After hearing firsthand accounts of the unprovoked massacre of Timorese mourners by the Indonesian army that took place last November and also some of the history at the Indonesian occupation in East Timor, I was appalled at the blatant brutality and genocidal acts of the Indonesian military."

I also spoke to the Foreign Minister about the case of an East Timorese woman, Gabriella Pinto, the wife of a young man, Constâncio Pinto, recently admitted to Brown University. Ms. Pinto has requested permission to leave Indonesia and join her husband. I asked the Foreign Minister to facilitate her departure and observed that I had received complaints she was being harassed by Indonesian security forces. Mr. Alatas assured me that she could leave and that reports of intimidation were incorrect. Today, I have been told by her husband who spoke to her on the telephone yesterday that she is receiving daily visits from security forces who threaten to prevent her departure. I hope such harassment will end and she will be permitted to leave as the Foreign Minister assured me.

Mr. President, by its actions the Indonesian government ensures that the issue of East Timor will not disappear. I have been to Indonesia. I have been impressed by the diligent efforts of the Indonesian people to develop. They have prospered and it is true that they have provided some of their prosperity to the East Timorese people to assist their development. Indonesia has done much to

add to Southeast Asia's prosperity, aiding most recently U.N. efforts to bring peace to Cambodia. But all of Indonesia's good works is easily undone in the eyes of the international community when killings, intimidation, and the ruthless suppression of peaceful dissenters takes place in East Timor. Indonesia does itself a disservice by its actions in East Timor. It would do itself an immeasurable service by recognizing that the East Timorese also have the right to determine peacefully their own future.

I ask unanimous consent to print in the *Record* excerpts of the defense plea.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the *Record*, as follows: (same as included in this document compilation)

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

AUSTRALIA'S ROLE IN TIMOR'S TRAGEDY

Green Left #97, April 28, 1993

MADELEINE BLACKWELL, the director of *Matebian Nia Lian* (Voices of Souls), a play by the East Timorese Cultural Group currently being performed in Melbourne's Theatreworks, believes that the story of East Timor reveals ugly truths about the nature of Australian society. In this article, she backgrounds the ongoing show trial of Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who was arrested by the Indonesian military last year, and the long struggle for that country's independence.

Indonesia's brutal invasion and occupation have resulted in the death of a third of Timor's population. There is not one family, one fibre of society or culture that remains intact, untoned. Those still alive form a terrorized population of around 400,000.

In 1989 the Catholic bishop of Dili, Monsignor Belo, wrote UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar urging the UN to organise a referendum so the world could hear the view of the Timorese people. His anguished appeal, "We are dying as a people and as a nation," found no reply.

For most of the 17 years since the invasion, Indonesia had virtually sealed off East Timor from the rest of the world while it conducted its military operations. Then on November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops fired on hundreds of unarmed Timorese demonstrators as they gathered at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili for a memorial mass in honour of Sebastião Gomes, a youth who had been shot by troops some days before.

This was by no means the first massacre the Indonesians had carried out in East Timor, but it was the first "televised" one. Foreign journalists also bore witness to the horrors of occupied Timor and lived to tell their stories and show incriminating footage.

The indifference of most of the world's leaders to East Timor's plight is not innocent. Resistance leader Xanana Gusmão pointed to the implications of the lack of international concern.

"It is because of this that our action is indispensable," he said in November 1991. "We need to show the world that, backed by international complicity, a people are being wiped out. Backed by the political cynicism of many 'democratic' governments, the universal principles and the resolutions of the UN continue to be intolerably and abusively disrespected. We will fight for Timorese participation in the dialogue under the auspices of the UN."

This "indispensable action" of which he speaks has taken form over the last 17 years of struggle. The courage of the East Timorese people's resistance, their untiring commitment to their fight for freedom, finds its symbol in Xanana Gusmão. The dialogue he speaks of here is a plea to be listened to and to participate in negotiations for a peaceful resolution of East Timor's future.

Ironically, as this struggle has moved more and more towards a political solution, Xanana Gusmão has been captured and put on trial by the Indonesian military, who do not seem prepared for any diplomatic and peaceful solution at all. Their newly appointed commander, General Syaifei, states: "The enemy is everywhere, in the towns which we control as well as in the bush. Xanana is just a symbol."

It is this symbol that Indonesia has put on trial. In doing so, it relies on the established support of its allies.

The United Nations has never recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and regards Portugal as the legal administrative authority. In spite of having adopted at least 10 resolutions defending Timor's right to self-determination and calling for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops, it has failed to stir the world into action.

After the 1975 invasion, the United States ambassador to the United Nations, Daniel P. Moynihan, was instructed to block UN resolutions that were in favour of East Timor's right to self-determination. He actually boasts in his memoirs, "The US wished things to turn out as they did and worked to bring this about. The State Department desired that the UN prove wholly ineffective in whatever measures it undertook. This task was given to me and I carried it out with no inconsiderable success."

By contrast, within four months of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the UN Security Council adopted a dozen resolutions. Pressure on the Security Council to adopt these resolutions took place as the US moved more than 250,000 troops into the Middle East, making the launching of a devastating war in the name of the UN inevitable.

"Big countries cannot invade little countries and get away with it," said Bob Hawke, referring to Kuwait.

During the rehearsal of *Matebian Nia Lian*, co-director James McCaughey wrote to foreign affairs minister Gareth Evans for an explanation of Australia's position on East Timor. The reply came:

"The Australian government recognises the sovereign authority of Indonesia over East Timor. De jure recognition by the then Coalition government first took effect in February 1979.

"That recognition was maintained by the Labor government which came to office in 1983 and was explicitly confirmed in a statement to parliament on August 22, 1985 by former Prime Minister Hawke."

Australia's betrayal goes back quite a long way. Prime Minister Gough Whitlam informed President Suharto of Australia's acceptance for the integration of Timor in September 1974, claiming that an independent East Timor was unviable and a threat to regional security but that it should decide its own future.

At Balibo five Australian journalists were killed by Indonesian soldiers in October 1975 while witnessing military incursions into East Timor. Their deaths provoked no official inquiry or protest. The following month, Fretilin declared independence. A week later Indonesia unleashed the full-scale invasion.

US President Ford and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger left Jakarta less than 24 hours prior to that invasion, leaving their embassy instructions not to involve itself in the matter and to cut down its reporting on Timor. The US ambassador's view was that if Indonesia was to invade it should do so "effectively, quickly and not use our equipment." Yet at the time 90% of Indonesian military equipment came from the US.

This was 1975. The US intervention in Indochina had collapsed, and Washington enjoyed close accord with the staunchly anti-communist Suharto government.

In July 1976 Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser was told during discussions with the Ford administration and Pentagon officials that "if Australia's relations with Indonesia worsened it could hinder US strategy for the region."

But the end of the Cold War has changed international relations. Neither the US nor Australia can use the "Soviet threat" as an excuse for overlooking human rights violations committed by US allies.

Nevertheless for the Hawke and Keating governments the rights of the Timorese – in fact the very lives of the Timorese – have been overshadowed by the enticing prospects of closer political and economic ties with Indonesia.

Australian business has about \$1 billion invested there, mostly in resource projects like gold, oil and uranium mining. In 1991-92 Australia gave \$113 million in aid to Indonesia, and there is an ongoing program of "defence cooperation" which includes joint military exercises, exchange of officers, exchange of intelligence and regular consultation.

On December 11, 1989, flying in an official plane above the Timor Gap that divides Australia from Timor, Gareth Evans and Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas drank champagne with their entourages to celebrate the signing of the Timor Gap oil agreement.

Evans had argued in Parliament that there is no obligation in international law not to recognise territorial acquisition by force. Especially when oil is involved.

PROPOSED MOTION BY AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENTARIAN

13th May 1993

Introduction: The following motion is an initiative of Garrie Gibson, Federal Parliamentarian from Queensland (member for Moreton) aimed at pushing for more support for East Timor. He is using the strategy UN Human Rights Commission to achieve this aim. We suggest that all individuals and organisations supporters of East Timor lobby their own Federal Member to support this motion in the Parliament.

NOTICE OF MOTION

Mr. Gibson

Mr. Speaker, I give notice that on next sitting Thursday, I shall move

That this House:

Congratulates the United Nations Commission on Human Rights for adopting a resolution highly critical of the human rights situation in the Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor.

Congratulates the Australian Government for supporting the resolution.

Calls upon the Australian Government to persuade the Indonesian Government to comply with paragraph 9 of the resolution

by enabling the United Nations Special Rapporteurs on torture and on extrajudicial summary or arbitrary executions and the United Nations working group on arbitrary detention and on enforced or involuntary disappearances to discharge their mandates in accordance with the terms of the resolution.

Welcomes the resumption of talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to arrive at a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor.

Moved: Garrie Gibson

Member for Moreton

Seconded: Laurie Ferguson

Member for Reid

EAST TIMOR RELIEF ASSOCIATION

13th May 1993

This is a set of info aimed at keeping everyone in touch with what ETRA Inc. is doing. The info sent here is to introduce you to the aims and objectives of ETRA Inc. A range of activities have been pursued by ETRA Inc. in order to help enhance the struggle of the Timorese/Maubere People both in East Timor and abroad. Because ETRA Inc. is an Incorporated body financial accountability is paramount. In East Timor, due to the military nature of this occupation, certain activities pursued by ETRA Inc. in East Timor have been very difficult to accomplish. Nevertheless, some activities are being undertaken in East Timor. Two "envoys" of ETRA Inc. Have been to ET in order to assess the situation and organise. Due to this situation of East Timor – transformed into the biggest prison in the world – it is wise to elaborate further.

In the international arena, ETRA Inc. has been actively supporting ET active groups such as arts, youth and political lobbying. Information dissemination has been one of the major activities ETRA Inc. develops abroad for East Timor. Information is, indeed, the blood line of East Timor support and, no matter how much info all groups disseminate, there is always further need to respond to this increasingly wide camp of support East Timor now duly enjoys.

ETRA Inc. has employed a Professional PR (Public Relations) Officer to enhance the professionalism of East Timor lobby in Australia and, when necessary, in other parts of the world. In the last Rome negotiations, the actions of the PR Director became visible in the way the Press Conferences, interviews and consequent media coverage of East Timor issue was presented.

In the coming month of September, ETRA Inc. will sponsor an exhibition of Timorese arts as part of a cultural offensive ETRA Inc. has undertaken in order to counteract Indonesian's "beyond the Java sea" propaganda.

ETRA's office/workplace has been made available to various Timorese active groups such as the youth and the "Free-Xanana Committee." Individuals, too, are always welcome to use the facilities.

ETRA Inc. has employed a Timorese on a part-time basis in order to develop the organisational support base in the Australian Community and to give public talks and attend conferences in order to raise the awareness of East Timor issue.

More activities can be added but we will live it for the next memo to you all.

Please keep in touch.

In solidarity,
Agio Pereira
Executive Director
ETRA Inc.

EAST TIMOR RELIEF ASSOCIATION INC.

Patron

Professor Fred Hollows*

Sponsors

Bob Debus (National Director of the Freedom from Hunger Campaign), Pat Walsh (ACFOA Human Rights Office), Tom Uren, Cancio Noronha, Jose Ramos-Horta, Janine Haines, the Honourable Justice Elizabeth Evatt, Reverend Dorothy McMahan, (Uniting Church), Archbishop Peter Hollingworth, Senator Nick Sherry, Garrie Gibson, MHR, the Honourable Michael Hodgman QC MP, Janet Hunt (Executive Director of the International Women's Development Agency), Martin Ferguson (ACTU President), Marcia Langton, Thea Astley, Monsignor Hilton Deakin (Vicar General, Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne), Dr Keith Suter (President of the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney), Pat O'Shane, Father Maurice Headin.

EAST TIMOR – WHAT CAN WE DO TO HELP?

In January 1992 the East Timor Relief Association (ETRA) was formed with two main objectives:

1. To provide resources for the East Timorese community in Australia to effectively campaign about their cause in their wider community: and
2. To raise funds for humanitarian relief efforts for East Timorese living under Indonesian occupation.

ETRA has applied for registration as an unincorporated body under the NSW

Association Incorporation Act and the rules are based on the model rules of the NSW Department of Business and Consumer Affairs.

WHAT IS ETRA?

The East Timor Relief Association has the following objectives:

1. To:
 - Assist the people of East Timor to preserve and enhance their cultural and social conditions
 - provide humanitarian assistance to East Timorese, including the provision of medicines, clothing and food.
2. To carry out educational work among the broad Australian community about the human rights, social and cultural situation in East Timor including:
 - publicizing current events in East Timor;
 - providing speakers to charitable, cultural and educational organisations
 - publishing regular reports about the work of the East Timor Relief Association;
3. To liaise in the broadest possible way about East Timor with governments and international and Australian aid, Church, human rights and United Nations bodies, including Amnesty International, the International Red Cross, the Australian Catholic Relief, Community Aid Abroad, the Australian Third World Health Group, and the Australian Freedom from Hunger Campaign.

HOW ETRA WILL HELP THE EAST TIMORESE

ETRA aims to assist the people of East Timor wherever the need exists and on an equal basis. Inside East Timor, this policy will be applied with the assistance of, and through the Catholic Church and other means where accountability is assured, including provision of medicines, clothing, food and other basic necessities of life. ETRA will also help the growing number of Timorese political prisoners and their families.

ETRA will support cultural, sporting and social organisations which are consistent with ETRA's Objectives, and fund projects that assist East Timor to preserve its unique culture and history. This includes supporting and funding projects in Australia which will benefit the East Timorese. ETRA will avoid high expenditures on administration and bureaucracy. Its full and part time offices will both administer individual projects, and be a resource for the East Timorese community in Australia.

ETRA's Committee will be accountable for how all funds are dispersed, and will publish regular reports on individual

projects, and an Annual Report will be issued detailing all income and expenditure.

WHAT CAN YOU DO?

There are a number of different ways you or your organisation can assist ETRA:

1. By immediately joining (see application form over page). The interim Committee has set an Entrance Fee of \$5.00 and an annual Fee of \$20.00 for individuals (\$10.00 concession) and \$50.00 for organisations (suggested minimum).
2. By making a donation.
3. By becoming active in the work of ETRA. In the near future Sub-committees will be established in every capital city to carry out ETRA's work.

Members of ETRA will receive regular newsletters, notification of events and activities, and a copy of the Annual Report and will be entitled to stand for official positions and vote in annual elections for the committee. In March 1992 a Special General Meeting of ETRA was held at which an Interim Committee was appointed to bring ETRA into existence and overseas affairs for a period of about twelve months. In line with the policy of the East Timorese National Convergence, efforts were made to include Timorese of different organisations and viewpoints on the Interim Committee, which is now developing Rules to provide for a fully democratic organisation in which members elect the Committee by postal ballot. In the next twelve months an election of members will decide the composition of the Committee.

WHY EAST TIMOR?

In November 1991 the world's attention was once again focused on the plight of East Timor. The unprovoked slaughter of at least 100 unarmed Timorese was just one more incident of horror inflicted by Indonesia's illegal occupation over the last sixteen years. Since 1975 at least 100,000 Timorese have died directly as a result of military actions, and perhaps as many as 200,000 have been killed by war, disease and famine.

Nearly the entire population have been forcibly uprooted from their traditional land, and now live under tight Indonesian control. They are victims of a policy of deliberate cultural genocide, forbidden to practice their age-old cultural traditions. Children forced to learn Indonesian songs and dances, to speak only Bahasa in school, and all manifestations of Timorese traditions are repressed.

Yet successive Australian Governments have not only turned their backs on the Timorese, but have actively lobbied the international community in favour of Indonesia. According to Foreign Minister Senator Gareth Evans, East Timor is a "closed book."

However, the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, survival and development as a nation are not "closed" for them. Our politicians' appalling record makes it even more imperative for ordinary Australians to take practical steps to publicly raise this issue and help those most in need.

APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I enclosed a cheque for \$..... as payment of Entrance Fee; – \$5.00 Annual Fee – \$20.00 Individual (\$10.00 concession) or \$50.00 Organisations (minimum recommended).

Return to: East Timor Relief Association Inc.

PO. Box 23, FAIRFIELD NSW 2165
Phone & Fax: (02) 891 2876
(02) 7287395

Donations can be made direct to ETRA's Commonwealth Bank Savings Account in Sydney:

Account Number 2006 – 138297

Authorised by the Interim Committee of the East Timor Relief Association Inc. – Australia.

* The late Professor Fred Hollows passed away in March this year but ETRA Inc. have decided (with his agreement before his death) to keep his name as a Patron. The present Patron is Justice Elizabeth Evatt.

FRETILIN 19TH ANNIVERSARY IN AUSTRALIA

The FRETILIN Committee of NSW is commemorating the 19th anniversary of FRETILIN foundation.

It was on 20 May 1974 that the ASDT, Associação Social Democratica de Timorese (Timorese Social Democratic Association) germ of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent of East Timor – FRETILIN – was founded.

The FRETILIN Committee of NSW released a pamphlet – written in Tetum (East Timorese lingua Franca), Portuguese, Hakka (Chinese) and English – for the event with the following:

ANIVERSARI OF ADST
GERMEN OF FRETILIN
(EMBLEM)
20 MAY 1974 – 20 MAY 1993
UKUN RASIK AN
RULE OUR OWN COUNTRY
19 YEAR OF EXISTENCE
19 YEAR OF DETERMINATION
STRUGGLING FOR ONE UNIQUE
AIM: THE INDEPENDENCE OF EAST
TIMOR

The creation of ASDT, was the revival of a desire that has always been latent in the

hearts of our ancestors: the INDEPENDENCE OF EAST TIMOR. FRETILIN promoted this earnest desire throughout all “knuas” of EAST TIMOR, by using a powerful symbol: A hand holding the reins of a horse towards the place he had chosen. This symbol found its expression in the anthem of FRETILIN “FOHO RAMELAU” which mean: if the rider can steer the horse towards the place he had chosen, the people of EAST TIMOR too can have the power of being the owners of their own destiny . A simple analogy but, powerful enough in the mobilization of the TIMORESE PEOPLE towards INDEPENDENCE.

FRETILIN LEADERS IN INVERTED CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

M'HUNO BULERE KARATAIANO (BUKAR)

1988-1993. Captured by Indonesian troops on 3 April 1993.

XANANA GUSMÃO

1981-1988. Captured in Dili by the Indonesian troops on 20 Nov. 1992.

Obs: FRETILIN leadership decided to make FALINTIL a non partisan army. XANANA GUSMÃO became a non-partisan Commander of the Armed Resistance against the Indonesian occupation and the leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

NICOLAU LOBATO

1977-1978. Killed in action on 31 December 1978. Obs: Nicolau Lobato was Vice-Presidente of FRETILIN from 1974-1977.

XAVIER DO AMARAL

1974-1977. Dismissed by FRETILIN Central Committee in 1977.

FRETILIN Committee of NSW

P.O. Box 74, BONNYRIGG, NSW 2176, Australia.

AUSTRALIA WANTS U.S. MILITARY IN REGION

Indonesian Headlines – May 26

Australia welcomes a U.S. presence in Asia and wants the superpower to continue its stabilizing role, Australian defence chief Vice Admiral Alan Beaumont said on Wednesday. Beaumont, who took over as Chief of the Australian Defence Force last month, was speaking after meeting Indonesian President Suharto and Defence Minister Edi Sudradjat during a four-day visit to Australia's northern neighbour. Beaumont said Suharto had reassured Australia that its sometimes volatile neighbour presented no threat.

ABC RADIO TALK-BACK ON EAST TIMOR

Sandy McCutcheon of Radio National hosted a one-hour talk-back program on East Timor today 31 May 12-1 pm. Guests on the program were Pat Walsh of ACFOA Human Rights and Harold Crouch of the Australian National University. Ian MacIntosh, interviewed in Jakarta at the beginning, said that foreign press interest in the Xanana trial had been fairly poor, and repeated that various features of the trial proceedings were in conflict with both Indonesian and internationally agreed standards of fairness. A significant number (3-4) of the callers were East Timorese, and all callers except one expressed moral outrage about Australian (Foreign Minister's) complicity in Indonesia's treatment of East Timor. The one exception ("John" in Sydney) said the East Timorese in Indonesia and the Tibetans in China had better knuckle under, or else these respective countries would fly apart like the USSR or Yugoslavia.

The most informed comment came from Walsh and Crouch, who were billed as opposites, which was perhaps unfair. Crouch defended the "pragmatism" of the Australian government on East Timor, suggesting that proximity did make a difference to policy. Whilst individuals must show moral consistency, he almost said states did not have to do so. Indonesia is a powerful neighbour not easily affected by an insignificant Australia intent on "putting its foot down."

Walsh agreed that the East Timorese were not in a position to do much to keep the issue alive, but noted Indonesia was itself doing more than anyone to keep it alive. He pointed out a range of things Australia could simply stop doing that would help things along (e.g. Timor Gap oil negotiation).

Comment: The format of the program brought out very well the point made by so many observers that the gap between government policy and public opinion in Australia is nowhere wider at the moment than on the issue of East Timor. By not addressing that issue in that popular forum I think Crouch weakened his case. The point that Australian official protests are not only ineffective in Jakarta, but costly to Canberra, is simply a restatement of government policy. Though not invalid for that, it is not an argument that carries much conviction in the moral terms in which the debate is carried on in Australian civil society. A related point, almost never mentioned, is the fact that East Timor as a problem in the first place is due to a similar

gap in Indonesian society. I think much more of our discussion needs to start from the existence and intransigence of that gap both in Indonesia and Australia.

The calculation of costs and benefits that Crouch engaged in, always a perilous exercise in such "civil" society, would have been done much more productively if he had addressed the statement of one caller in particular. This caller questioned Evans' tendency to state the East Timor problem in black and white terms (either we comply with Jakarta or we declare war on them). As it was, Crouch left hearers with the impression he agreed with Evans' bald statement. Perhaps being cast in an opposition role in the program format created a wrong impression. To my mind, Walsh' more piecemeal approach – what are the things Australia could stop doing right now? – bridges that gap between moral argument and public policy so much more positively than Evans' scoffing reductionism does.

Gerry van Klinken

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

BBC DOCUMENTARY AND PICTURES OF TIMOR IN AFRICA

Publico 24 April 1993 Dateline: Lisbon Original Lang.: Portuguese. Unabridged

A 40-minute BBC World Service documentary about Timor was broadcast by South African TV yesterday. Entitled "In Cold Blood – The Timor Massacre," the BBC documentary which reached South African households emphasizes the fact that the Indonesian Army uses weaponry of British, French and US origin, and it presents statements, nearly all in Portuguese, testifying to Indonesian repression. Among the accounts of atrocities, Aleixo da Silva shows the scars on his body left by torture, and Emilia Gusmão tells how she was forced into being a concubine to Indonesian soldiers.

Referring to the Santa Cruz massacre, the BBC documentary speaks of over 100 Timorese murdered, and of a further 80 killed in the wake of the November 1991 incidents.

A ROAD TO TIMOR

Anne Treseder

*The following article was published in *Jornal Portugues*, a newspaper published in California for the Portuguese-American community, in April 1993. It was written by the coordinator of the East Timor Action Network/San Francisco Bay Area.*

Alberta Lemos, editor of *Jornal Portugues-California*, asked me recently why I had become involved in the campaign to free East Timor from Indonesian occupation.

My journey to Timor began almost eight years ago when I decided to learn Portuguese. After searching for someone who could teach me Continental Portuguese, I found a tutor whose family was from Beira Alta. During the first lesson, he told me about his grandfather, Aristides de Sousa Mendes.

Aristides de Sousa Mendes was Portuguese consul in Bordeaux, France in June 1940. Against the direct orders of Portuguese dictator Salazar, Sousa Mendes issued thousands of Portuguese visas to Jews (and others) fleeing the advancing Nazi armies, thus allowing these refugees to escape to the safety of neutral Portugal. He was severely punished by Salazar for his "disobedience," and died in poverty in 1954.

When asked why he had thrown away his career to save the lives of strangers, Sousa Mendes responded that as a Catholic, he could not do otherwise. He said, "I would rather stand with God against man, than with man against God."

The story of Aristides de Sousa Mendes moved me very deeply. I traveled to Portugal later that year, and met his family there. I vowed to help them obtain recognition for their father/grandfather, who was all but forgotten in Portugal and elsewhere. I became involved in the efforts to "rehabilitate" and honor Sousa Mendes, and returned to Portugal often. I began reading Portuguese-language newspapers. And here and there in these papers, there were mentions of East Timor.

When I read about the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, the subsequent slaughter of one-third of the Timorese population by the Indonesian occupiers, and the silence of the rest of the world in response to that genocide, I thought, "I hope that someone does something for the Timorese." But I did nothing.

Then came news of the November 12, 1991 massacre of over 200 mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, by the Indonesian army. There had been many previous massacres, but this one was

witnessed by British and American journalists. News of it actually reached the English-language press. It seemed as if we were hearing the last gasp of life from inside East Timor, the last cry for help to the outside world. Again, I thought, "Someone really should do something."

But as I continued to work on the case of Aristides de Sousa Mendes, I realized that that "someone" was me. Sousa Mendes did not wait for "someone" to help the refugees fleeing the Nazi concentration camps. He knew that the responsibility was his. How could I expect anyone else to learn from the example of Aristides de Sousa Mendes if I did not? How could I claim to be honoring him if I totally missed the point of what he did?

It was then that I started working on East Timor. At first, I could not find a group with which to work. For a minute, I thought, "Well, I've tried, but there is no group. So I guess that I'm off the hook." But then I realized that there are lots of things a person can do alone.

One person can write letters to the President, to Senators and Members of Congress, and to the press. One person can talk about Timor to his or her friends. One person can attend meetings and raise the issue of East Timor. One person can refuse to purchase Indonesian products, and tell the salespeople why. One person can inspire other people. And soon, that person is not alone.

And that's exactly what happened. People from all over the country who cared about East Timor found each other and formed the East Timor Action Network (ETAN/US), a national organization. And I eventually found ETAN/US. Other people began working on East Timor within their parishes or Pax Christi groups. Still others, on their own, continue to write letters and talk to their friends.

All of us are making a difference. Congress and the President are beginning to listen. If we all work hard enough, if we all are stubborn enough, East Timor will be free.

For more information, contact:
East Timor-Action Network/US

East Timor Action Network/San Francisco Bay Area
P.O. Box 210547
San Francisco, CA 94121-0547 USA
(415)387-2822
clara@ced.berkeley.edu

International Committee to Commemorate
Aristides de Sousa Mendes
401 Grand Avenue, Suite 500
Oakland, CA 94610 USA
(510)828-0171

INDONESIAN ANNEXATION DISCUSSED BY PALOP SUMMIT

by Mario Dujisin

Lisbon, May 7 (ips) – the annexation of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor by Indonesia was included in this Friday's agenda of the meeting between the foreign ministers of Portugal and the Portuguese speaking countries in Africa (PALOP).

The second day of the summit started with a plea from José Ramos-Horta, foreign coordinator of the Maubere national resistance council (CNRM), asking for renewed solidarity with East Timor.

Ramos-Horta suggested that the ministers appoint a special envoy for the Timor issue, "in order to sensitize the other African counties." he also called on Brazil – the world's largest Portuguese speaking country – "to add its voice to those of PALOP and Portugal in the solidarity movement."

The foreign ministers of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal and São Tome-Principe, started their two-day meeting in Lisbon on Thursday. Attention at the summit is focused on the peace processes in Mozambique and Angola, as well as on Portuguese aid to these former colonies in Africa, which have been independent since 1975.

However, the Timor issue was placed on the agenda because it has been of primary concern in the Portuguese and PALOP foreign policies for 18 years. Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed a year later.

East Timor "is the historic extension of Portugal in the far east, part of the PALOP in south-east Asia and a Brazilian rainforest between the Indian and Pacific oceans," Ramos-Horta declared.

He called the Indonesian trial of guerilla leader Alexandre Xanana Gusmão, who was arrested in November last year by "Jakarta's occupational army," a "political farce."

Ramos-Horta denounced the trial because Gusmão has been denied "his right to reply in Portuguese," despite the fact that Portugal is recognised as the administrative power in East Timor by the United Nations until "a referendum on its autonomy is held." Jakarta has refused to authorize such a referendum.

He called on the ministers to make an effort to "stop the mock trial" of Gusmão, because "he could be under renewed physical and psychological pressures such as reprisals if he should insist on declaring he is not an Indonesian citizen."

The CNRM leader cited examples of successful diplomatic action taken by the CNRM in the last few months.

"The whole world is now aware of the tragedy of the Maubere (Timorese) population" particularly following the "condemnation of Indonesia by the United Nations human rights commission and the European parliament," he added.

These statements "against Jakarta" will insure that independent Timor will take "the place it deserves among the Portuguese-speaking countries" in the future, Ramos-Horta concluded.

EAST TIMOR AND A FILM ABOUT ACEH

Harold Crouch

(Published in National Graduate (Australian National University), Autumn 1993)

In late November last year the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra presented a screening of the outstanding Indonesian film, Tjoet Nja' Dhien. The film deals with the brutal war conducted by the Dutch in order to incorporate the sultanate of Aceh, in the north of Sumatra, into their empire. Tjoet Nja' Dhien took over the leadership of the struggle against integration after the killing of her husband by the Dutch in 1899. However, her guerilla campaign was eventually overwhelmed by the superior military might of the colonial power. In the end she was betrayed by one of her commanders who led Dutch soldiers to her place of hiding. Although defeated, the Indonesian embassy's programme notes tell us that 'the spirit of defiance that burned endlessly in her soul was undiminished.'

Ironically, the film was shown a week after the capture in Dili of the East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão. Like Tjoet Nja' Dhien, Gusmão had been leading a guerilla struggle against integration with a regime based in Jakarta. Like the Dutch in Aceh, Indonesian forces have used extremely brutal means, not unlike those portrayed in the film. Also like the Acehnese struggle, the resistance in East Timor faces overwhelming military forces and seems to have little chance of achieving victory. Finally, like Tjoet Nja' Dhien, Xanana's hiding place was revealed to the authorities by one of his followers, although in this case spokesmen for the resistance claim that the 'traitor' had been subjected to severe torture.

Seventeen years after the invasion of East Timor by Indonesian forces in late 1975 it is clear that many Timorese do not recognise the 'integration' of East Timor into Indonesia. The legitimacy of the Indonesian claim to East Timor is based on what the

Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, has called the 'proper exercise of the right to self-determination.' This self-determination exercise consisted of the formation of a People's Assembly through military-organised elections in early 1976. The 'representative' character of that assembly can be gauged by its unanimous decision after two hours' discussion to seek integration with Indonesia.

Indonesia undoubtedly has achievements to its credit in East Timor. Indonesians often compare physical conditions now to the situation at the end of Portuguese colonial rule. They point out that there are now 39 high schools and one college compared to only one high school in 1975; there are ten hospitals compared to two in 1975; and there are 536 kilometres of paved roads compared to only twenty in 1975. But for many Timorese the crucial issue is the occupation itself and the brutality that accompanied it. Indonesians in Jakarta often wonder why the Timorese people are not grateful for the development that has been brought to them but no amount of development can replace a killed father or son, or wipe out the memory of a raped mother, wife or daughter.

It is of course inaccurate to portray the East Timor people as united in resisting Indonesian rule although it is not possible to ascertain their exact attitudes. East Timorese society was already riven by political divisions before the Indonesian invasion and it was the outbreak of fighting between parties in 1975 which provided the Indonesian army with the opportunity to intervene. While only a couple of hundred guerrillas continue to hold out in the jungles, it is clear that the resistance movement, Fretilin, retains a solid base of support. In addition, many more are opposed to Indonesian rule although not directly involved in open struggle against the Indonesians. Some of this sentiment is expressed through the Church. On the other hand, other Timorese leaders have come to the conclusion that integration is a fait accompli and that there is little alternative to trying to make the best of it. This attitude seems to be found particularly among members of political parties opposed to Fretilin before the Indonesian invasion, such as the former governor, Mario Carrascalão. Finally, some Timorese have always supported integration and have been beneficiaries of Indonesian rule, both politically and commercially.

Although military operations have reduced overt guerilla resistance, it is clear that many young people in Dili and elsewhere continue to resent Indonesian rule. Demonstrations during the visits of the Pope and the American ambassador in 1989

and 1990 culminated in the march through Dili in November 1991 which ended in the Dili massacre. After the massacre, the Indonesian State Secretary, General Moediono, noted that the demonstrators were too young to have directly experienced the fighting in the late 1970s and concluded that they 'still don't understand the history of integration,' apparently implying that the problem could be overcome through better history lessons in the schools.

Like Tjoet Nya' Dhien's struggle in Aceh, the resistance to Indonesian rule in East Timor has been overwhelmed by Jakarta's superior military force but 'the spirit of defiance' is still 'burning.' As long as the struggle continues, Indonesia will have to bear the costs in the form of the damage it does to Indonesia's national reputation and the resources that need to be allocated to security operations in East Timor. While some dissidents in Jakarta feel that the costs outweigh any benefits, the military does not share this view.

Withdrawal from East Timor would undoubtedly have negative consequences for the military. First, the credibility of the military in the eyes of the populace in general would be seriously undermined. People would ask 'How come they are forced to withdraw from a province with only 700,000 people?' Second, the credibility of the military leadership would be undermined in the eyes of the military itself. Soldiers would ask, as they did of the Russian occupation of Afghanistan, 'Why have so many young soldiers been sacrificed for nothing?' Of crucial significance would be the anticipated implications for perceptions of Jakarta's power in other regions. While outside observers might argue that East Timor, which was never part of the old Dutch East Indies, is a quite different case to those of other Indonesian provinces, people in outlying regions might simply draw the conclusion that the military no longer has the will to put down regional rebellion.

There seems, therefore, little prospect of an Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor. At the same time, low-level resistance is likely to continue. If East Timorese get a chance to view Tjoet Nya' Dhien, they might reflect on the words of its director, Eros Djarot, as recorded in the Indonesian Embassy's programme notes. 'I directed the movie,' he said, 'in order to join my voice with the songs of our brothers in the disinherited half of the world. Whoever listens to this song with compassion shall proclaim that every man, every society, every nation on this Earth has the right to live in freedom, in a free world.'

JUST RELEASED: "XANANA" - A DOCUMENTARY

"XANANA" is the name given to a new documentary produced in Melbourne by Louise Crow. It lasts only 30 minutes but it briefly portrays the history of the life Xanana Gusmão beyond politics. It was released about the time Xanana himself was given the life sentence verdict by the generals of Jakarta.

At the end of the documentary, once you've seen it all, you can not avoid thinking that the title "XANANA" is not just a name. It is a symbol of commitment to justice, to the fundamental rights of peoples, especially the defenceless peoples; it is also a symbol of the will to resist, even though, there may not be immediate help from the outside world.

"Xanana" shows how a normal human being can turn into a strength which "normal" persons tend to believe it only happens in the movies. From Martin Luther King and Gandhi to Steve Biko; from Nelson Mandela to Mr. X, "Xanana" is what he is: just a normal person of the so-called third (or fourth) world, leading a struggle which many say is unwinnable; yet, as his commitment to his own way of thinking and to his own family is portrayed in this brief historical perspective of his life, his commitment to the struggle is likewise.

The life of Xanana, if one is to imagine beyond this documentary, is not similar to that of any other leaders mentioned above. The isolation of East Timor, the lack of press coverage of the struggle on the ground (East Timor), the lack of a friendly border, the lack of an "anti-white" component; the lack of a clear sense of leaders with immediate well-known prestige and the lack of "British or north American factors," produced an uniqueness in the struggle of the Maubere People which Xanana himself embodies with a sublime sense of duty. If anything, the documentary "Xanana" sends a clear message to the viewer: those courageous freedom fighters in the mountains of East Timor, in the prisons of Indonesia and in the clandestine front in East Timor are simply "Xananas"- but, they are, ultimately, the citizens who fight to give life to the spirit of the United Nations Charter! And, in a future perspective, one can add that "Xananas, too, can win."

If I was to suggest a title to "Xanana II," I would say "Xanana – The Voice of the Voiceless."

Agio Pereira

"Xanana"

Producer: Louise Crowe

Directors: Louise Crowe and Bruce Dynan

Contact: Louise Crowe tel.03 417 7800
fax: 03 419 8959

ALGERIA'S DIPLOMACY

Faits et Arguments, May 1993 Original language: French Text: full

Note: this monthly is "presented by the French communist representatives in the European Parliament."

Reaffirming the right to self-determination of the Saharawi people

At the initiative of the intergroup "Peace for the Saharawi people," presided by Mireille Elmalan [read: vice-presided], the Algerian Ambassador to the EC reaffirmed on April 21st in front of the Europarliamentarians the total and indefectible support of his country to the Saharawi people in the framework of the United Nations peace plan "which must not be deactivated, either in its content or in its objectives." He emphasized that the support to national liberation movements, in Western Sahara as in Namibia, in South Africa as in East Timor, was a constant of Algeria's foreign policy.

In the same meeting, the intergroup also talked about the recent report of Amnesty International giving an account of "disappeared" people (among whom many inhabitants of the Western Sahara), revealing the existence in Morocco of secret detention centres where the prisoners are totally isolated from the outside world and are detained without charges or judgment in conditions putting their lives in danger.

Remark: just as Indonesia co-presides the peace conference on Cambodia while being less than democratic in its own practice, Algeria supports national liberation movements (especially when they fight against its traditional foe Morocco) while suppressing elections at home and setting up a policy of repression. I am not saying the Islamic fundamentalist party which won the suppressed elections would do better...

Bruno Kahn

U2 CONCERT IN LISBON

[Remarks: U2 came to Portugal and gave a concert last 15th of May, in Lisbon's Sporting Stadium. It had a big audience, around 65000 people.

According to some friends that went to the concert, 3 big banners (some meters long) were hung in a iron fence in front of the stage. One of them had written "Indonesia get out of East-Timor."

The concert's organization was quite sympathetic with the Timorese that went there as they supported the hanging of the banners.]

Sete, 13th May 1993, Joco Govern Dateline: Lisboa Original Language: Portuguese Abridged

Adam Clayton (U2 bass player) gave a big interview to "Sete" in which he referred to E.T..

Joco Govern asked him: "Doesn't seem to you that we are living in an era with lots of information and images? Doesn't the visual concept of ZooTV Tour give an answer to this, (...)?"

He answered yes and he added "... We know the world by the television. We stay most of the time in front of computer games and T.V. sets. I don't know if this is good or bad but this isn't the way I want to live. There is the feeling that everything we watch on T.V. is true, unless it's T.V. Newsjournal (laughter). Lots of people are more concerned with "Dallas' Jr" then with what happened in Kuwait. For example, people are more interested on what's going on in "soaps" then what is happening in East-Timor. ..."

On the end of the interview, Joco Govern gave him some literature and a T-shirt about E.-T.