

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

## Volume 24: August 1 - September 30, 1993

Published by:

**East Timor Action Network / U.S.**

P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA

Tel: 914-428-7299 Fax: 914-428-7383 E-mail PeaceNet:CSCHEINER or CSCHEINER@IGC.APC.ORG

For additional copies, please enclose US\$10. per volume to cover costs; add an extra \$3. for international air mail. Activist rate: \$6. domestic, \$8. international.

These documents are usually produced approximately every two months, and mailed to subscribers.

If you would like to subscribe, send \$60 for the next six issues (US), or \$78 for international air mail. Reduced rate for activists: \$36 in the US, \$48 international. Subsidized rate are available for groups in Third World countries working on East Timor. Checks should be made out to "ETAN." Tax-deductible contributions can be made out to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN."

The material is grouped by subject, with articles under each category in approximately chronological order. It is also available on IBM-compatible diskette, in either Word for Windows or ASCII format.

Reprinting and distribution without permission is welcomed.

Much of this information is translated and supplied by TAPOL (London), Task Force Indonesia (USA), CDPM (Lisbon), CNRM, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Swedish East Timor Committee, Mate-Bian News (Sydney) and other activists and solidarity groups, but they are not responsible for editorial comment or selection.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>XANANA IN PRISON; SENTENCE SHORTENED.....</b>	<b>7</b>
SUHARTO 'PONDER'S' XANANA PARDON .....	7
PUBLIC STATEMENT: RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN EAST TIMOR .....	7
XANANA TRANSFER TO SEMARANG? .....	7
EVANS ASKS XANANA CLEMENCY .....	7
XANANA SENTENCE REDUCED .....	8
CONCERNS REMAIN ABOUT IMPRISONED RESISTANCE LEADER, DESPITE CLEMENCY .....	8
<i>LIBERATION ON XANANA</i> .....	9
PROTESTS GO ON AS GUSMÃO TERM CUT .....	9
JAKARTA POST ON SENTENCE REDUCTIONS .....	9
XANANA TRANSFERRED TO JAVA .....	9
XANANA SENTENCE COMMUTED .....	10
INDONESIAN NATIONAL DAY COMMUTATIONS .....	12
INDONESIA REDUCES SEPARATIST'S PRISON TERM .....	12
JAMES DUNN ON 'POLITICS' OF SENTENCE REDUCTION .....	12
ETRA COMMENTS ON EAST TIMOR LATEST EVENTS .....	13
XANANA ON HUNGER STRIKE AGAIN .....	14
XANANA COULD GET SAKHAROV PRIZE .....	14
XANANA GUSMÃO BEING TREATED LIKE A COMMON CRIMINAL .....	14
RED CROSS VISIT TO XANANA .....	15

<b>EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR.....</b>	<b>15</b>
APPEAL FROM EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS .....	15
MA'HUNU REPORTED RELEASED .....	15
AI ALERT: ARRESTS.....	16
MANPOWER ISSUES IN EAST TIMOR .....	17
LETTER FROM TIMORESE RESISTANCE LEADER KONIS SANTANA TO PRES. MARIO SOARES .....	17
INDONESIA TO PULL OUT COMBAT TROOPS.....	20
TIMORESE LEFT ON THE RIM OF APEC'S PACIFIC RIM .....	21
ABRI TIMOR VETERAN REMINISCES .....	22
SIGNS OF LIFE FROM THE RESISTANCE.....	22
AMNESTIES FOR MAU HUNO AND MAU HODU? .....	23
LETTER FROM EAST TIMOR.....	23
TIMORESE RELEASED .....	24
FURTHER ARRESTS IN TIMOR.....	24
RED CROSS PROBLEMS IN TIMOR.....	24
HUNDREDS OF EAST TIMORESE CHILDREN DIE OF DIARRHEA, CATHECHISTS REPORT .....	24
INDONESIA ESCALATES REIGN OF TERROR IN EAST TIMOR.....	25
BISHOP BELO TALKS OF CHURCH ROLE IN EAST TIMOR.....	25
EAST TIMOR CHURCH NOMINATED FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE.....	26
FOREST FIRES RAGE IN EAST TIMOR.....	26
<b>U.S. CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS VISIT; MASS ARRESTS.....</b>	<b>27</b>
CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR.....	27
US MISSION'S VISIT TO EAST TIMOR.....	28
US DELEGATION FINDS CITY DESERTED.....	29
US DELEGATION TO MEET (ALMOST) 'EVERYONE' .....	29
ARRESTS PRECEDE U.S. DELEGATION.....	29
REQUIRED COURSES.....	30
AI: INDONESIA MASS ARRESTS .....	31
<b>SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS EAST TIMOR.....</b>	<b>31</b>
SWEDISH MP'S TO VISIT INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR.....	31
SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION LEFT FOR INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR TODAY .....	32
SWEDISH VISIT TO EAST TIMOR.....	32
SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIANS ASSURED FREE MOVEMENT, ACCESS IN EAST TIMOR.....	33
FINNISH MP REFUSED ENTRY TO INDONESIA .....	33
INDONESIA WANTS NO VISITS .....	34
SWEDES IN EAST TIMOR: "CONSTANTLY WATCHED" .....	34
SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIANS INTERVIEWED FROM DILI .....	34
PARLIAMENTARIANS AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN JAKARTA.....	35
SWEDISH MPS DENOUNCE MASS DETENTION IN EAST TIMOR.....	36
SWEDISH MPS ACCUSED OF BIAS BY INDONESIA.....	37
BELO: "WE ARE LIVING IN A PRISON" .....	37
<b>SEVEN ASYLUM-SEEKERS STILL IN JAKARTA.....</b>	<b>38</b>
STATEMENT BY FOUR ASYLUM-SEEKERS WHO WERE IN FINNISH EMBASSY.....	38
PORTUGAL NEGOTIATING ON ASYLUM.....	39
FINNS DENY ACCUSATIONS OF BAD TREATMENT.....	39
MIXED SIGNALS ON ASYLUM .....	39
ALATAS: ISSUE 'DEAD' .....	39
PRINCEN: "I CANNOT MIND THEM FOREVER" .....	39
FOREIGN MINISTER CONFIRMS PORTUGUESE PASSPORTS FOR THE SEVEN TIMORESE .....	40

JAKARTA ARRESTS MORE TIMORESE.....	41
STUDENTS: PORTUGAL CALLS ON FINLAND TO ACT.....	41
MATEUS XIMENES: "THERE IS NO FUTURE HERE FOR US" .....	41
<b>EVENTS IN INDONESIA.....</b>	<b>42</b>
INDONESIA ON-BOARD CLINTON APEC .....	42
HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FRAUD?.....	42
AMNESTY CALLS FOR HALT TO LINKS WITH KOPASSUS .....	42
INDONESIAN VICE-PRESIDENT WARNS OF 'TRAITORS'.....	42
MAU HUDU INTERVIEWED ON TV INDONESIA.....	43
SUHARTO SPEECH KEENLY AWAITED .....	43
SUHARTO: INDONESIA ON VERGE OF ECONOMIC TAKEOFF .....	43
EAST TIMORESE SCHOLARSHIPS WITHDRAWN .....	44
INDONESIA EXPELS 'AGE' JOURNALIST .....	44
AMNESTY ANNUAL REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS .....	44
INVESTMENT NEEDED TO DEVELOP EASTERN INDONESIA RESOURCES .....	45
<b>THE TIMORESE EXTERNAL RESISTANCE .....</b>	<b>45</b>
EXTERNAL FRETILIN COMMUNIQUÉ ON REORGANIZATION .....	45
ABILIO ARAUJO DEPOSED .....	46
MARI ALKATIRI INTERVIEW .....	46
AGIO PEREIRA ON THE FUTURE OF THE EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE.....	47
FRETILIN: ROOTS OF THE FRICTION .....	48
SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO GABRIELA FROM FRETILIN.....	52
ABILIO ARAUJO INTERVIEWED .....	53
<b>PRO-INTEGRATION TIMORESE WANT TO TALK.....</b>	<b>55</b>
ABILIO ARAUJO, FRETILIN LEADER "THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS FOLDED" .....	55
LOPEZ DA CRUZ INTERVIEWED IN EDITOR.....	57
RECONCILIATION MEETING BACKED BY XIMENES BELO .....	57
INDONESIA TO MEET REBELS TO DISCUSS ISLAND'S FUTURE.....	57
LOPEZ DA CRUZ AVOIDS BRUSSELS.....	57
EAST TIMORESE TALKS CLOUDED IN UNCERTAINTY .....	58
HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES CONDEMNED AS TALKS ARE POSTPONED .....	58
<b>INDONESIA ACTS ON INTERNATIONAL FRONTS .....</b>	<b>59</b>
INDONESIA WORKS ON IMAGE.....	59
"NON-POLITICAL" VISIT TO THE POPE.....	59
VOX POPULI, VOX DEI (TIMORESE CHIEFS VISIT JAKARTA) .....	60
TIMOR: AN ALATAS-STYLE REFERENDUM .....	61
<b>LABOR RIGHTS; INDONESIA'S U.S. TRADE PREFERENCES THREATENED.....</b>	<b>61</b>
GSP LOBBY BEGINS ACTION .....	61
'GOOD US TIES' THREATENED .....	61
GOLKAR SEEKS LABOR REFORMS .....	62
INDONESIAN PRESS RESPONSES TO GSP CUTOFF THREAT .....	62
ALATAS: NO GRAND STRATEGY ON TRADE PRIVILEGES .....	65
LABOR STRIKES BACK .....	65
INDONESIA REPLIES ON GSP.....	66
INDONESIA: UNION OF PROBLEMS.....	66
LABOR UNREST GROWING IN INDONESIA.....	67
<b>UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES .....</b>	<b>68</b>
AI TESTIFIES ON IMPUNITY .....	68

U.N. STUDYING REBEL PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENDUM.....	68
DOUBLE-TROUBLE FOR JAKARTA AT THE UN IN GENEVA .....	69
HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION CONCLUDES 45TH SESSION AT GENEVA.....	70
INDONESIA INTERFERED IN U.N. PROBE, U.S. SAYS.....	71
GEOFFREY GUNN AND PEREZ DE CUELLAR .....	73
EAST TIMOR AGAIN TO BE DEFERRED BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY .....	73
PORTUGUESE STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY.....	74
ALATAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY .....	74
<b>INDONESIA-PORTUGAL NEGOTIATIONS AT U.N.....</b>	<b>75</b>
BOUTROS-GHALI PROPOSES POSTPONEMENT OF PORTUGAL/INDONESIA TALKS?.....	75
NEGOTIATION MUST SAY TO JAKARTA: YOU LOST THE BATTLE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD .....	75
CONTEXT OF COMING UN TALKS .....	75
ALATAS HOPEFUL ABOUT UN TALKS.....	76
INDONESIA ACCUSES PORTUGAL FOR ITS INFLEXIBLE STANCE.....	76
PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA - GET OUT FROM EAST TIMOR.....	77
STATEMENT FROM SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE.....	77
PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA MEET AT U.N. ....	77
THIRD ROUND OF TALKS HELD ON EAST TIMOR.....	78
INDONESIA, PORTUGAL REPORT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS .....	78
UN MOVES INTO TIMOR .....	79
PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL .....	79
ALATAS ON UN TIMOR TALKS .....	80
<b>EVENTS IN ASIA.....</b>	<b>80</b>
'MACAO SUSPENDS ITS SUPPORT TO TIMORESE' .....	80
JAPANESE SCHOOL SUPPORTER MEETS DARWIN TIMORESE COMMUNITY .....	81
W.W.II ENEMIES UNITE IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR .....	81
ET ISSUE IN JAPANESE POLITICAL SCENE.....	82
<b>EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA.....</b>	<b>82</b>
FORUM ON EAST TIMOR IN CANBERRA.....	82
INDONESIA TO JOIN WAR GAMES.....	83
PROTESTS AGAINST GARUDA AIRLINES .....	83
KEATING REBUKED FOR EAST TIMOR STANCE.....	83
TIMOR GAP - SPRATLYS MODEL?.....	83
PRESSURE APPLIED ON AUSTRALIAN POLITICIANS FOR GUSMÃO .....	83
18TH ANNIVERSARY OF FALINTIL.....	84
SUHARTO'S CANBERRA CRONIES INCREASE EAST TIMOR AGONY.....	84
NEW HOPE FOR EAST TIMOR, BUT IT DOESN'T COME FROM AUSTRALIA.....	85
MEET THE TIMORESE COMMUNITY IN NSW .....	85
BISHOP OF TONGA URGES AUSTRALIA TO RESOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICTS .....	86
ACFOA COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS.....	86
<b>EVENTS IN EUROPE.....</b>	<b>86</b>
INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST DENIED DUTCH VISA .....	86
FRANCE ACCUSED OF DUPLICITY TOWARDS THIRD WORLD ON HUMAN RIGHTS .....	88
INDONESIA LOBBY ENTICES EURO-MPS .....	88
EP QUESTION LINKED TO TIMOR.....	89
<b>EVENTS IN BRITAIN.....</b>	<b>89</b>
LORD AVEBURY WRITES HURD ON ARMS SALES .....	89
LONDON VIGIL TO OPPOSE HAWK SALE .....	90

UK 'LIED ABOUT TIMOR JAIL VISITS' .....	90
LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL: "OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR" .....	90
PRINCEN IN LONDON .....	92
<b>EVENTS IN PORTUGAL.....</b>	<b>92</b>
THE INDONESIAN PARTY IN FORCE IN PORTUGAL .....	92
RESISTANCE AND RENOUNCEMENT.....	92
INDONESIAN LAWYER ARRIVES IN PORTUGAL .....	93
ALI ALATAS ABOUT PORTUGAL: ATTITUDE AND FACT IN CONFLICT.....	93
SOARES: "ONE IS NOT BORN A DEMOCRAT" .....	94
<b>PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMEN SEEK INDONESIAN TIES.....</b>	<b>94</b>
BUSINESSMEN ADVOCATE RI-PORTUGAL TIES .....	94
PORTUGAL MASS MEDIA INFLAMES SOCIETY .....	94
PORTUGAL-INDONESIA ASSOCIATION .....	95
INDONESIA-PORTUGAL RELATIONS?.....	95
PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMAN PRAISES INDONESIA.....	96
INDONESIANS, PRESSURE & BUSINESS.....	96
MACEDO SPURNED BY EAST TIMORESE IN PORTUGAL .....	96
<b>EVENTS IN CANADA.....</b>	<b>96</b>
EAST TIMOR UPDATE #25 FROM CANADA.....	96
<b>EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES.....</b>	<b>97</b>
CALIFORNIA/NEVADA METHODISTS PASS RESOLUTION .....	97
EAST TIMOR'S DAY IS COMING .....	98
NEW INDONESIAN CIVILIAN AMBASSADOR TO US.....	98
DEMONSTRATION IN SAN FRANCISCO.....	98
BOEING ASSISTS AIR FORCE.....	98
EAST TIMOR AND THE CORPORATE MEDIA .....	99
EAST TIMOR - STILL EXPLOITED, PERSECUTED .....	100
ON TIMOR, US RUSHES IN WHERE AUSTRALIA FEARS TO TREAD.....	101
EAST TIMOR FOR I WAS A STRANGER .....	101
INDONESIA FAULTED ON HUMAN RIGHTS .....	102
U.S. LIKELY TO REVIEW APPROACH AFTER ROWS.....	102
ETAN/US NETWORK NEWS.....	103
A ROMANTIC LOBBYIST .....	105
<b>PRIME MINISTER KEATING GOES TO WASHINGTON AND DUBLIN.....</b>	<b>106</b>
KEATING ADVICE MISGUIDED.....	106
EAST TIMOR FOUNDATION REJECTS KEATING'S ADVICE.....	107
WE'RE ALL DRESSED UP, PLEASE TELL US WHERE TO GO.....	107
THE WRONG SIGNAL.....	108
CLINTON/KEATING PRESS CONFERENCE.....	109
PM WASHES BLOOD FROM OTHER HANDS.....	109
INDONESIAN ACTIVIST CONDEMNS KEATING'S 'MUSIC'.....	110
THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ON THE WRONG TRACK .....	110
US DIGS IN ON JAKARTA RIGHTS ABUSE.....	111
KEATING TO FACE WIDESPREAD EAST TIMOR PROTESTS IN IRELAND .....	112
AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF AGENT FOR JAKARTA.....	112
RIGHTS BREACHES 'MUST NOT SOUR RELATIONS'.....	113
IRISH PROTEST OVER TIMOR .....	113

<b>U.S. BLOCKS SALE OF F-5 JETS BY JORDAN TO INDONESIA.....</b>	<b>113</b>
CITING RIGHTS ISSUE, U.S. VETOES TRANSFER OF F-5 JETS TO INDONESIA .....	113
STATE DEPT.: F-5 RESALE BAN 'NOT PRECEDENT' .....	114
INDONESIA NOT TOLD F-5S DECISION .....	114
INDONESIA MIGHT SHOP FOR OTHER JET FIGHTERS.....	114
SELF DEFENSE AND REALITY.....	115
JAKARTA TO BRIEF US ON HUMAN RIGHTS .....	115
AMMUNITION FOR JAKARTA'S CRITICS .....	115
'SMALL' F-5 DEAL'S END WILL COST CALIFORNIA COMPANY DEARLY, CEO SAYS .....	117
LORD: HUMAN RIGHTS STILL HINDER RI-US RELATIONS.....	117
INDONESIA: WEAPONS OF DISCORD.....	118
TORRANCE FIRM A VICTIM AS U.S. BLOCKS JET DEAL .....	118
NEW US-INDONESIA TENSION .....	119
INDONESIA CANCELS PURCHASE OF F-5E'S FROM JORDAN .....	119
<b>FEINGOLD AMENDMENT LINKS ARMS SALES AND HUMAN RIGHTS .....</b>	<b>119</b>
TEXT OF FEINGOLD ARMS SALES AMENDMENT.....	119
AMNESTY WRITES U.S. SENATE ON EAST TIMOR.....	120
TWENTY GROUPS SUPPORT FEINGOLD AMENDMENT.....	121
U.S. MAY BLOCK ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA.....	122
TELL CONGRESS TO END U.S. ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA.....	122
END U.S. ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA .....	122
LIMIT THE ARMS TRADE.....	123
INDONESIA'S SUPPORTERS LOBBY AGAINST FEINGOLD.....	123
DOWN TO THE WIRE ON ARMS SALES CUTOFF .....	125
SENATE COMMITTEE LINKS ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA TO HUMAN RIGHTS.....	126
EAST TIMOR ISSUE SHOWS NO SIGN OF GOING AWAY .....	126
U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE APPROVES ARMS SALE CURB.....	127
JAKARTA REGRETS U.S. VOTE TO BAR ARMS SALES .....	127
TIMOR REBELS HAIL U.S. SENATE VOTE AGAINST INDONESIA.....	128
PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY APPLAUDS TIMOR AMENDMENT.....	128
CLINTON TIES ARMS SALES TO RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR .....	128
US SENATE MOVE TO BAN JAKARTA ARMS .....	128
INDONESIA DEFENDS TIMOR ROLE .....	129
ALATAS: US WILL ALSO LOSE OUT .....	129
INDONESIA THREATENS TO BUY ARMS ELSEWHERE.....	130
TOWARDS THE US, WE SHOULD BE MORE SAVAGE (GALAK) .....	130
FEINGOLD PROPOSAL ADOPTED BY ACCLAMATION .....	131
COMMITTEE ACCEPTS FEINGOLD AMENDMENT; FLOOR VOTE IN SEPTEMBER.....	131
JAKARTA MAY BUY EUROPEAN ARMS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS .....	132
SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT.....	133
PAPER URGES INDONESIA TO ADMIT ERRORS .....	133
INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP ON FEINGOLD AMENDMENT.....	134
US DIGS IN ON JAKARTA RIGHTS ABUSE.....	137
REMARKS BY SENATORS FEINGOLD, LEAHY, PELL.....	137
UPDATE ON FEINGOLD AMENDMENT ON EAST TIMOR.....	140
FEINGOLD AMENDMENT REPORTED ABANDONED.....	140
US AID BILL BARS MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA.....	140
<b>CULTURAL EVENTS AND RESOURCES.....</b>	<b>140</b>
"TIMOR ET TREMOR" CONCERT IN SYDNEY .....	140

JOURNAL REVIEW - <i>INSIDE INDONESIA</i> .....	141
TATA MAI LAU NEWSLETTER .....	141
LEARN ABOUT EAST TIMOR ON U.S. PUBLIC RADIO .....	141
NEW VIDEO ON EAST TIMOR.....	141
<b>MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES .....</b>	<b>142</b>
WHAT CLIMATE IS NECESSARY TO CREATE THE INDONESIAN DREAMS?.....	142
BACKGROUND ON EAST TIMOR.....	143
PUPPETEERS FOR EAST TIMOR.....	144
BRAZIL INITIATIVE ON EAST TIMOR .....	145

## **XANANA IN PRISON; SENTENCE SHORTENED**

### **SUHARTO 'PONDER'S' XANANA PARDON**

JAKARTA, Aug. 4 (Reuter) - Adi An-dojo Soetjipto, junior chairman of Public Judicature and General Criminal Law at the Supreme Court, told Reuters that an appeal for clemency, submitted last month by Xanana Gusmão's lawyer, was still being considered by President Suharto. "It is still under process. It is 100 percent the prerogative of the president (to decide Xanana's fate)," Soetjipto said. "It could be soon, it could be long." A district court in the East Timor capital of Dili in May handed Xanana a life sentence after a controversial three-month trial. Exiled Timorese have said Xanana, who led a ragtag guerrilla army, had not approved the appeal submitted by his military-appointed lawyer Sudjono.

### **PUBLIC STATEMENT: RELEASE OF POLITICAL PRISONERS IN EAST TIMOR**

*Press release by Professor Peter Wesley-Smith, Professor of Law and Dean, University of Hong Kong, Aug. 8 1993:*

East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão has been held incommunicado since the end of his "trial" in May 1993 in Dili, East Timor. The trial itself, and the subsequent denial of access by the International Committee of the Red Cross, other accredited organisations, and relatives, are clear breaches of international norms.

Ma'Huno, the long-term deputy to Xanana, was captured in April in a military operation. He too has been held incommunicado and little is known of his welfare.

A recent claim by a so-called Indonesian Roving Ambassador, Mr. Francisco Lopes Da Cruz, that Ma'Huno has been freed

under a presidential amnesty, would not face trial, and was "effectively released from prison," has been doubted by the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

The international legal community would welcome genuine evidence from Indonesia of the release of its political prisoners. Until proper verification, it is impossible to place any belief in claims by Mr. Da Cruz. Yet the Indonesian Government refuses to permit verification of any such claims.

The Indonesian legal system apparently does not show respect for the principle of the rule of law. If it did, the trials of alleged criminals would be open and fair; accused persons would be allowed access to lawyers of their choice and would be allowed to read defence statements of their own devising; prisoners would be permitted visits from responsible international agencies and from their families.

Certainly the rule of law does not countenance whimsical decisions by military authorities, and it abhors the arbitrary treatment of all persons whether arrested and not charged or convicted of an offence.

I call on the Indonesian Government to implement the rule of law, to bring its legal system into line with internationally acceptable practices, to allow observers from the international community to attend trials and interview prisoners, to release all political prisoners both in Indonesia itself and in East Timor (particularly those sentenced to harsh gaol terms after the Dili Massacre of 12 November 1991), and to abide by United Nations Resolutions on East Timor.

### **XANANA TRANSFER TO SEMARANG?**

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 10 (Reuter) - Jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão may be moved from Dili to a jail in Central Java, Antara reported on Tuesday. It quoted Major-General Suyono, military commander for Central Java, as saying he had not received any order to prepare a cell for Xanana but could do so if necessary. Dip-

lomats in Jakarta say the possible move of Xanana to a prison in Semarang could be intended simply to distance him from East Timor.

### **EVANS ASKS XANANA CLEMENCY**

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 11 (Reuter) - Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans urged Indonesia on Wednesday to grant clemency to jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão. "I did specifically mention to the vice president (Try Sutrisno) that it remains Australia's hope that the reconciliation process in East Timor will be assisted by (the grant of) an early presidential clemency to Xanana," Evans told reporters. Evans met President Suharto.

### **SMH: EVANS IN CLEMENCY PLEA FOR XANANA**

*THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD. 12 August 1993. By Terry Friel*

(JAKARTA, AAP) Wednesday: Australia today tackled Indonesia over human rights concerns and made an appeal for clemency for the jailed East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão.

In talks with Indonesia's vice-president General Try Sutrisno, the Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, also pushed for a reduced military presence in the disputed province and other hot spots and for approval of new trade unions.

"It remains Australia's hope that the reconciliation process in East Timor will be assisted by an early grant of presidential clemency to Xanana," Senator Evans said. "We think that would be a very, very helpful development in creating a more harmonious atmosphere there and also getting a better understanding in the rest of world about Indonesia's willingness to go down the path of genuine reconciliation."

In May, Xanana was sentenced to life for leading guerrillas involved in a 17-year war against Indonesian rule in East Timor.

An appeal by his lawyers to President Suharto for clemency is still pending.

In his talks with General Try, Senator Evans also pushed Australian concerns that Jakarta reduced its use of the military areas in troubled regions such as East Timor and Aceh, in northern Sumatra.

Senator Evans raised "The need of East Timor, and indeed elsewhere, for the process of nation building... and the maintenance of national unity to occur in as harmonious a fashion as possible, with the military playing, if humanly possible, a reduced role, particularly in East Timor."

He praised Indonesia's recent move to replace combat troops, in East Timor with territorial troops, whose main duties are public works such as road building.

But, despite recent improvements in the province, Senator Evans said serious problems remained.

"There's still obviously, on the basis of reports one receives, some distance to go in creating an atmosphere there that is a positive as well as hope for," he said.

## XANANA SENTENCE REDUCED

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA (Aug. 13) UPI - President Suharto has granted clemency to jailed East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão by reducing his life imprisonment to a 20-year jail term, state secretary Murdiono announced Friday. Murdiono told reporters that the presidential decree was signed Aug. 10. In a related issue, government authorities had on early Friday transferred Xanana from his cell in East Timor to a prison in Semarang, the provincial capital of central Java, Suara Pembaruan reported. Suharto also reduced the sentences of two convicted East Timorese who were involved in an anti-government demonstration November 1991 that led to the government troops opened fire on protestors. The two were identified as Carlos dos Santos Lemos and Bonifacio Magno Ferreira. Lemos, was reduced from 8-years jail term to six-year imprisonment, while reduced from six-year to four-year prison term. A third round of U.N.-brokered talks between Lisbon and Jakarta was scheduled to resume Sept. 17 in New York, after the second talks between the two countries last April in Rome resulted in no progress.

## XANANA SENTENCE REDUCED

*By Muklis Ali. Full text.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 13 (Reuters) - Indonesia's President Suharto on Friday reduced the sentence of jailed East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão to 20 years from life

imprisonment, State Secretary Murdiono said. The announcement is likely to go some way to mollifying critics of Indonesia's human rights record, foreign diplomats said. "Xanana Gusmão was given clemency by changing his jail term which is presently life to 20 years," Murdiono told reporters.

Xanana, 45, the leader of the Fretilin guerrilla movement fighting Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, was jailed in May for rebellion and illegal possession of firearms. The three-month trial in the provincial capital of Dili, 2,000 km (1,300 miles) east of Jakarta, was described as a farce by human rights groups and Portugal. Xanana's lawyer later submitted an appeal for presidential clemency. It was not clear whether Xanana himself had approved the move. Indonesian troops invaded the eastern half of Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year but the United Nations still does not recognise Indonesian rule in the territory. Some Western governments have lobbied Jakarta on Xanana's behalf, calling for a reduction in the sentence. In Indonesia, life imprisonment means exactly that, rather than a statutory term - for instance 30 years - common in other countries. Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on Wednesday urged Indonesian vice-president Try Sutrisno to grant clemency to help reconciliation with the tiny territory. Jakarta-based foreign diplomats generally welcomed the announcement.

"This is a good sign. It shows sensitivity to the problem at hand. It is a good gesture," one said. Some diplomats said the granting of clemency opened the way for further reductions in the jail term. Washington, particularly, has been increasingly critical of Indonesia's steely approach to security and worker rights, and U.S. President Bill Clinton told Suharto of his concern over East Timor when they met in Tokyo last month. Washington later barred the sale to Jakarta of U.S.-built F-5E fighters planes from Jordan, partly because of human rights abuses. U.S. military aid was suspended last year after troops shot dead up to 180 demonstrators in Dili in November 1991. Diplomats have also worried publicly over the relatively high number of Indonesian troops in East Timor, which they estimated at up to 14 battalions, each with about 650 men. Indonesia has said the West must not impose its own values on developing countries, arguing that human rights must be subordinated to freedom from poverty and other social concerns. Suharto, meanwhile, also reduced the jail terms of two other Timorese - Bonifacio Magno and Carlos dos Santos Lemos - both convicted in 1992 for their alleged roles in the Dili unrest the previous November. Murdiono said Xanana had admitted wrongdoing and accepted East

Timor's integration with Indonesia, but Timorese exiles disputed this. "We think it is all rubbish and we do not believe that Western governments will be at all fooled by this move," Margherita Tracanelli, a representative of the Timor exile group CNRM in Australia, said. Exiles said they refused to recognise Indonesia's jurisdiction over Xanana and other Timorese, and called for Xanana's immediate release under the auspices of the Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross. Murdiono said Suharto had reduced the sentence after consulting the supreme court and Justice Ministers Utoyo Usman.

## CONCERNS REMAIN ABOUT IMPRISONED RESISTANCE LEADER, DESPITE CLEMENCY

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL NEWS  
SERVICE 97/93

13 August 1993

AI INDEX: ASA 21/WU 03/93

Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader who was sentenced to life imprisonment on 21 May 1993 after a blatantly unfair trial has had his jail term reduced to 20 years on the orders of President Suharto. (For further information about the trial see East Timor: Xanana Trial a Travesty of Justice (NWS 11/50/93, 21 May 1993.) He has now been moved from prison in East Timor to a jail in Indonesia.

State Secretary Murdiono announced the outcome of the clemency petition yesterday, 12 August, stating that among the reasons for the President's decision to reduce his sentence was Gusmão's admission of wrongdoing and his acceptance of East Timor's integration with Indonesia. Amnesty International believes, however, that the reduction in Gusmão's sentence is intended merely to appease the international community in the wake of his widely criticized trial, which Amnesty International has described as "a travesty of justice."

The filing of the clemency petition itself has also been the subject of controversy. According to his court-appointed lawyer, Mr. Sudjono, the petition was filed in June with Gusmão's permission. The submission of such a petition by Gusmão would imply both an admission of guilt and a recognition of the right of Indonesia to try him. However, evidence provided by Xanana Gusmão's own defence statement - which was suppressed during the trial but which was subsequently smuggled out of the country - clearly demonstrates that far from accepting the notion of Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor, Gusmão remains adamantly opposed to it. Consequently, he totally



rejects the competence of any Indonesian court to try him.

It follows from this that he would likewise reject the legitimacy of an Indonesian President to grant him clemency. It is therefore highly unlikely that Xanana Gusmão would have sanctioned the filing of a clemency petition, unless he did so under duress. In his defence statement Gusmão alludes to the duress under which he made public admissions of wrongdoing shortly after his arrest, stressing that "I have always affirmed that the circumstances under which my earlier statements in Jakarta were made were such that they could not be viewed as credible."

*(The full text of Xanana Gusmão's defence statement, translated into English, is reproduced as an Appendix in East Timor: Unfair Political Trial of Xanana Gusmão (ASA 21/05/93) of July 1993. It is included in Volume 23 of East Timor Documents.)*

Amnesty International has remained seriously concerned about the health of Xanana Gusmão throughout his detention. The organization has repeatedly called upon the Indonesian authorities to allow the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Gusmão's family to visit him in detention. Neither his family nor the ICRC have seen Xanana Gusmão since he was removed from court on 21 May 1993. This has heightened anxiety about Gusmão's safety in detention, particularly in view of disturbing reports that he was beaten in custody after the trial ended. Despite assurances from the Indonesian Government that he is in good health, the continuing denial of access to him by his family and the ICRC has made his true state of health impossible to verify. Family visits will now be made even more difficult following the yesterday's transfer of Xanana Gusmão from a jail in Dili to a prison in Semarang, Central Java.

In June the ICRC was obliged to suspend visits to political prisoners in East Timor for the third time this year because of unacceptable restrictions placed on their visits by the military. Amnesty International is calling upon the Indonesian authorities to permit the ICRC immediate - and thereafter frequent and regular - access to all East Timorese prisoners.

## **LIBERATION ON XANANA**

*This is to give an idea of the kind of reports we still get here in the mainstream press. Liberation is a major French daily.*

*Bruno - Agir pour Timor.*

(Sat. 14/Sun. 15 Aug. edition)  
INDONESIA. The sentence of the East Timor independence leader Xanana Gusmão was reduced to 20 years on Friday by

President Suharto. Condemned to life imprisonment in May, Gusmão reportedly had publicly admitted his mistakes and recognised the integration of Timor into Indonesia.

## **PROTESTS GO ON AS GUSMÃO TERM CUT**

*The Age (Melbourne), 14 August 93. By Lindsay Murdoch. Abridged*

(Singapore) President Suharto today reduced from life to 20 years the jail sentence on the East Timor resistance leader Jose 'Xanana' Gusmão. The decision infuriated East Timor activists, who had demanded that Gusmão be set free. "This will only result in more resentment and hatred towards Indonesia," Jose Ramos Horta said from Geneva. Indonesia's State Secretary, Mr. Mardiono, said Mr. Suharto's decision was based on various factors, including what he called Gusmão's admission of wrongdoing and his acceptance of East Timor's integration with Indonesia. [2 paras on Xanana's defence speech] There is speculation that Gusmão decided to wait until the end of the trial to protest against Indonesia's rule so that witnesses and members of his family would not be put under pressure by Indonesian authorities. Mr. Suharto's decision came only two days after Australia's Foreign Minister Senator Evans, made an appeal for clemency for Gusmão, saying that it would help create a more harmonious atmosphere in East Timor and get "a better understanding in the rest of the world about Indonesia's willingness to go down the path of genuine reconciliation." INNES WILLOX reports from Canberra that a spokeswoman for Senator Evans said Australia welcomed the reduced sentence granted to Mr. Gusmão. She said it was a hopeful first sign that the sentence may be reduced [sic] even further if it was again considered by the Indonesian court system. The spokeswoman said that Senator Evans had told President Suharto that international opinion strongly favoured at least a reduction in Mr. Gusmão's sentence. She said Australia would continue to monitor Gusmão's condition but it was not clear what process would need to be followed to attempt to have the sentence further reduced.... Mr. Ramos Horta said Gusmão's wife, Emilia, who lives in Melbourne, would be mortified by the decision. He said he believed that moderates within the Suharto administration such as the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, had wanted an amnesty for Gusmão. "But the hard liners prevailed. In his typical consensus fashion Suharto decided on 20 years. But it means nothing and will only make people more angry," he said. He said he was confident

that the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee would, in September, agree on a total arms embargo on Indonesia over East Timor.

## **JAKARTA POST ON SENTENCE REDUCTIONS**

*Jakarta Post 14 August 1993*

*Summary only, with TAPOL's comment.*

When it was announced that President Suharto had granted clemency to Xanana Gusmão, reducing his sentence from life to twenty years, it was announced that two other Timorese, Bonifacio Magno Pereira and Carlos Lemos, had also been granted clemency. Wire service reports did not provide further details.

Jakarta Post reports that they each obtained two-year reductions; this brings Bonifacio Magno's sentence down to 4 years and Carlos Lemos' down to six. Jakarta Post added however that this was done in line with sentence reductions usually granted by the president on 17 August.

*Our impression is that this was done in a way deliberately to confuse. It is highly unlikely that either man asked for clemency; none of the convicted East Timorese are likely to have done so. Two-year sentence reductions are larger than the reductions granted for Independence Day which usually amount to 3 or 6 months. But by announcing it in this way, it gives the impression that Suharto's bestowal of leniency was not confined to Xanana and that the other two sought clemency.*

Such is the desire of the regime to impress the international community.

## **XANANA TRANSFERRED TO JAVA**

*AFP, 13 August 1993*

*Extract from report repeating the contents of the Reuters report about the Xanana 'clemency'*

*Original Language: French*

(Jakarta) Gusmão has been in the Kedungpane prison in Semarang since Friday, said the local chief of police of Central Java. Sugitjo, specifying that Gusmão had arrived during the night of Thursday/Friday from Dili, East Timor, where he had been imprisoned. The general confirmed, without giving details, that Gusmão, while being treated like other prisoners, would be placed in 'a special place' ('endroit special').

*Comment: As a civilian prisoner, Xanana's transfer outside of East Timor contravenes the 4th Geneva Convention.*

## **XANANA MOVED, NONE OF HIS FAMILY KNEW**

*Bernas, 16 August 1993. Abridged*

(Dili) The news about the transfer of Fretilin (sic) leader, Xanana Gusmão being moved from the police detention centre in Dili to Kedungpane Prison in Mijen, Semarang last Thursday night was not made known to a single member of Xanana's family.

His younger sister, Armandina who Bernas interviewed at her home in Dili on Saturday was very unhappy that her brother had been moved and that the family knew nothing about it.

She said that on that same Thursday in the morning, she made another attempt to meet her brother in prison but she was not allowed to do so. In fact, she was told to make a formal request for a visit.

"It's so awful that he's been moved. That very morning I went there and wasn't allowed to see him. They told me to submit an application for a visit," she said. "At the very least, our parents should have been told, but that didn't happen either."

Bernas' source said that Xanana left Dili at 8 pm on Thursday by Hercules from Comoro airfield, Dili to Ahmad Yani airfield in Semarang.

Bernas also visited Xanana's mother, Antonia Hendrique Gusmão at her home in Vila-Verde, West Dili on Saturday. "We have been told nothing up to now," his mother said, speaking softly because her husband, Manuel Gusmão was ill. "He is ill and can't come out to see you," she said.

Armandina also said that the clemency decision by the president was what they had thought would happen. Since his arrest, the family has been very confused about what might happen to him.

She said the family was thankful for the clemency decision, but realised it could lead to ill-feelings because Xanana now has a sentence of 20 years, while others have other sentences. "There could be feelings of jealousy, but I know that the clemency given to my brother is related to something unique in his case."

Armandina who works at a government office said that ever since her brother has been under arrest, some people have taunted her and made threats directly or indirectly. She said that since he was arrested, she had only ever met him once.

## **XANANA SENTENCE COMMUTED**

*Reuter, Jakarta, 13 August.*

The Indonesian president Suharto decided Friday to commute the life sentence

given to the leader of East Timor's rebels, Xanana Gusmão, to 20 years imprisonment.

"Xanana Gusmão benefited of a clemency act in seeing his present life sentence reduced to 20 years," Secretary of State Mardiono said.

Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese independence movement Fretilin, was imprisoned last May after a controversial trial that lasted more than three months.

Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor, and human rights organisations, had judged it was a parody of justice.

The Indonesian army invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year.

## **XANANA SENTENCE REDUCED TO 20 YEARS**

*Sydney Morning Herald, 14 Aug. 1993. By Lindsay Murdoch*

*Note: This was a front page article with a picture of Xanana. The same article appeared in The Age (Melbourne) on the same day.*

(Singapore) President Suharto of Indonesia today reduced from life to 20 years the jail sentence imposed on the East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão.

Indonesia's State Secretary, Mr. Mardiono, said the decision was based on various factors, including what he called Xanana's admission of wrongdoing and his acceptance of East Timor's integration with Indonesia.

Xanana, 45 leader of the Fretilin guerrillas fighting against Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, was jailed for life in May after a controversial three-month trial.

In Indonesia, life imprisonment means exactly that, rather than a statutory term.

Human rights groups and Portugal condemned the trial as a farce. Xanana's lawyer submitted an appeal for clemency, although it was not clear whether Xanana himself had approved it.

In Geneva, Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta, the East Timor resistance movement's international representative, said moderates within the Suharto administration had wanted a complete amnesty, but that the hardliners prevailed. "This will only result in more resentment and hatred toward Indonesia," he said.

At the start of the trial Xanana said he accepted that East Timor was part of Indonesia, but at the trial's end he attempted to read a statement denouncing the Indonesian takeover.

In Sydney, Mr. Robert Domm, the secretary of East Timor Relief Association, said that in a statement smuggled out of Indonesia shortly after the verdict was handed down, Xanana reaffirmed his commitment to

the struggle against Indonesia's invasion of East Timor.

"Twenty years or life; it's pretty much the same thing," said Mr. Domm, who met Xanana in his jungle hideout in 1990. "I'm not sure he'll survive another 20 years in an Indonesian prison."

Mr. Suharto's decision came only two days after Australia's Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, appealed for clemency, saying that it would help create a more harmonious atmosphere in East Timor and show the world "Indonesia's willingness to go down the path of genuine reconciliation."

A spokeswoman for Senator Evans welcomed the news of Xanana's reduced sentence.

Only last week, the United States blocked the sale by Jordan to Indonesia of four US-built F-5 fighters, citing concerns over Jakarta's poor human rights record.

Xanana is being held in a prison in Semarang, central Java. He was flown there from East Timor shortly before today's announcement. His wife and daughter live in Melbourne and his son lives in Sydney.

For 17 years, Xanana was the target of repeated manhunts by the Indonesian military.

Indonesian troops invaded the eastern half of Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's rule of the territory. Australia is the only country that does.

## **CNRM'S RESPONSE TO SMH: XANANA'S REMISSION AND GARETH EVANS**

*16 August 1993*

*This is a response to the article which appeared on the front page of the Sydney Morning Herald 14 Aug. 1993 by Margherita Tracaneli, CNRM Media & Communications Director.*

*This statement has been cleared by the Co-Chairman & Special Representative of the CNRM Jose Ramos Horta.*

It was good to see a photo of Resistance Commander Xanana Gusmão in the SMH on the front page yesterday. As media and communication director for CNRM it's not everyday that your issue gets front page in Australia. But I have to say that the whole exercise seems deeply flawed because of one major fact, the issue of self determination has still not been addressed.

The UN still demands that Indonesia leave East Timor which has been under Indonesian occupation since by what was by world standards a brutal invasion in 1975.

200,000 East Timorese would have been alive today if they had they not died in the

interceding years of Jakarta's war against a popular uprising by a people who refused to be subjugated.

One third of the population of the territory has died at the hands of Indonesia and the commuting of Xanana's sentence will not bring them back.

No amount of pleas from Gareth Evans will grant the East Timorese the right to choose their own future. This is all they ask. The right to decide for themselves as a people a nation a culture to decide their own future.

The Eritreans have done it in May this year. The Indonesians should remember that a referendum was held in the southern region of Ethiopia known as Eritrea and that the people there decided that they did not wish to be part of Ethiopia they wanted their own country. And that was after 30 years of a guerrilla war The war for a free and independent East Timor been going on for 18 years. Indonesia may only be at the halfway mark in a war it will eventually lose.

East Timor remains clearly and strongly on the UN agenda, the position taken by Australia is completely out of step with the rest of the world and totally in accord with that of Indonesia.

I challenge the Sydney Morning Herald to examine its allegiances closely, because the story in the SMH looks like a PR exercise for Australia Indonesia relations and clearly positions Gareth Evans as the victor, exemplified by a comment from a spokeswoman who welcomed the news of Xanana's reduced sentence.

You can imagine the reaction of the East Timorese to Gareth Evans's intervention, he is seen as no more than a puppet of the Indonesian authorities.

When I told Jose Ramos Horta about the so called Evans victory he had this to say:

"To suggest that we should thank him for intervening to reduce Xanana's life sentence to 20 years is adding insult to injury I have nothing to thank Gareth Evans or Australia for.

"20 years is a cruelty, and Gareth Evans makes me laugh when he thinks he will get the Nobel Peace prize whilst kow-towing to the dictatorship in Indonesia."

His intervention is simply an affront to these people who have had to stand by and watch 20 years of Australia's complicity and now Australia's Foreign minister moonlights as a PR man for the Indonesian Authorities.

This why the whole story is such a sad sham. Just like Xanana's trial.

Nothing less than total freedom for Xanana can be considered, would Evans ask for that?

Clemencies pleas and remissions are just smoke screens to distract from the fundamental truth (Xanana has never recognised the jurisdiction of the court to try him as stated in his defence plea statement, he has never instructed his lawyer or anyone else to plea for clemency and under International Law the Indonesian authorities have no right to try any East Timorese people.

EAST TIMORESE Resistance Commander Xanana Gusmão does not recognise the authority of the Indonesian courts to try him, he does not accept integration with Indonesia he is a prisoner of war.

Evans does not have the right or authority to speak to any Indonesian authorities on behalf of Xanana or any of the East Timorese. Jose Ramos-Horta is Xanana's (CNRM) Special Representative and Co-chairman of the CNRM, (started by Xanana), Xanana still remains the overall leader, but with his powers frozen, while he is in captivity, the leadership is now in the form of a troika. comprised of the leader of the armed resistance, Mr. Konis Santana, a clandestine leader, and JRH who has accepted the position only on the basis of a troika because of the importance of the leadership remaining inside the country.

Why does Evans pander to a cruel fascist military regime. Why does Australia have to hitch it's wagon to a military dictatorship? Could Evans be stupid enough to have fallen into a trap. I don't think so. Australia is obviously deeply compromised as a nation with regard to East Timor.

His appeals for clemency are an embarrassment to well meaning, clear thinking Australian people who understand the role of Indonesia for what it is, a third world colonialist dictatorial power continuing to perpetrate gross human rights atrocities. To appeal is to recognise the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor.

It does not make sense, why would he appeal for clemency for a political prisoner whose fundamental position the Australian government does not agree with. The hypocrisy goes even further with the continued training of Indonesian military here in Australia.(Evans told Ramos Horta that the training takes place to expose the Indonesians to more democratic practices) You can imagine Ramos Horta's response. He asked Evans "Are you then going to invite all the dictators in the world to send there troops here for training."

A joint naval exercise off the coast of Darwin is currently underway.

Evans's actions can only be seen as an extension of the orchestrations of BAIS, the Indonesian military Intelligence who are the masterminds of the so-called re-conciliation talks with the exiled puppets who have been

on the payroll for years. Is it now time to wheel in puppet Evans.

With fouling of the waters of the "reconciliation talks" the Indonesian authorities have wheeled in a couple of Portuguese fascists posing as businessmen as part of their Pro Jakarta lobby, complete non-entities in Portugal these are ex terrorists, responsible for bombings in 1975.

Seems like and odd pr move to me but it could it have the advice of their prestigious PR company Hill and Knowlton who are paid \$24 million dollars a year to polish up their clients tarnished international image I wonder if Suharto feels he is getting his \$24 million worth of good pr. That is about 1/5 of what Australia gives in aid to Indonesia every year..

We will be watching to see what tricks emerge when these two consorts are forced to confront the reality of the High Court action filed here in Australia which challenges the legislation on which the Timor Gap treaty was signed. What of the twelve companies currently involved in the current Gap exploration.

## RAMOS HORTA CALLS FOR SANCTIONS

*CNRM: COMMUNIQUE DE PRESSE 15 August 1993*

## "FREE XANANA IMMEDIATELY AND UNCONDITIONALLY"

The Co-chairman of the CNRM Mr. Jose Ramos Horta called from Geneva today for the immediate and unconditional release of East Timorese Resistance Leader Xanana Gusmão.

Commenting on the remission from life to 20 years on Xanana's life sentence Ramos Horta said,

"This is an affront to human dignity, Xanana must be released immediately and unconditionally, we will step up our campaign for his release and for comprehensive sanctions against Indonesia"

The Indonesian authorities have engaged in a propaganda campaign to alter their tarnished image among members of the international community. Their highly publicized recurring gross human rights violations are deeply embarrassing and now stand to threaten trade.

The Indonesian authorities have come under fire in the last few years from foreign governments, international human rights bodies and the UN.

The ploy to use ex terrorist Portuguese fascists to assist with a Pro-Jakarta lobby is the most recent in a long line of flawed moves employed by the Suharto Regime, attempting to polish blackened and macabre human rights record.

Of the Portuguese fascists, Jose Ramos Horta said,

"These people have become agents of Indonesian intelligence, terrorists responsible for bombings in 1975, and great supporters of Saddam Hussein. They have set up a Portuguese/Iraqi friendship Association."

Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL claims this and other moves could signal the desperation on the part of the Indonesian authorities to gain some respect in the international community in the wake of mass publicity surrounding the failed Clinton Suharto meeting where last month Clinton handed a letter to Suharto signed by 43 US Senators condemning the situation in East Timor.

Budiardjo said from Geneva "Offers of clemencies and remissions are a transparent attempt to ignore the fundamental truth, that the Indonesian authorities have no right under International Law to try East Timorese people, as they are illegally occupying East Timor. If the Indonesian authorities were genuine in their attempt to see the East Timor issue solved they would have commenced a "dialogue without pre-conditions" as set out in the CNRM peace plan."

Commenting on Xanana's rumored move to Semarang prison CNRM leader Ramos Horta said, "This move is in violation of the 4th Geneva Convention which is applicable to East Timor and Indonesia. Article 49 states that individual or mass forcible transfers as well as deportations of protected persons from occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power or to that of any other country, occupied or not are prohibited, regard less of their motive."

## INDONESIAN NATIONAL DAY COMMUTATIONS

Sun Aug. 15 1993. Abridged.

JAKARTA, Aug. 15 (AFP) - Indonesian authorities have reduced the sentences of 16,471 prisoners and paroled others ahead of the country's independence day celebrations this week, Kompas said Sunday. The agency quoted Director General of Correction Baharuddin Lopa as saying the sentence reductions ranged between one and six months and that 1,103 inmates had been paroled and a further 238 had been given various degrees of conditional leave. Sentence reductions and gradual releases are usually accorded every year around the time of the independence anniversary on August 17 to prisoners who have shown good behaviour while serving their terms, Lopa said. Repeat-offenders and those with life-sentences were not included. According to official figures, Indonesia has a total of

28,202 prisoners in 375 jails throughout the country.

## INDONESIA REDUCES SEPARATIST'S PRISON TERM

*New York Times, August 15, 1993*

BANGKOK, Thailand, Aug. 14 - The East Timor separatist leader who was sentenced to life imprisonment in May has had his sentence reduced to 20 years by President Suharto, the Indonesian Government announced Friday. The separatist, Jose Alexandre Gusmão, who is known as Xanana, had been found guilty of rebellion and firearms possession after a trial in East Timor, which was a Portuguese colony until 1975.

The President's decision was "based on the consideration that Xanana has acknowledged his mistakes and has accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia," a Government spokesman said in Jakarta.

He would not comment on speculation that President Suharto's decision had been influenced by international condemnation over the conduct of Mr. Gusmão's trial and over Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and annexed the next year.

The State Department confirmed this month that it had blocked the sale of four used F-5 planes to Indonesia for reasons that included "human rights concerns in Indonesia." Meeting with President Suharto in Tokyo in July, President Clinton raised concerns about conditions in East Timor.

*Comment from Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US:*

*Perhaps the NY Times is trying to compete with Liberation for inaccuracy. Xanana is not a separatist any more than the rulers of Kuwait are. The Times failed to point out that the government spokesman's statement that "Xanana has accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia" is a bald-faced lie.*

*Another piece of the whole truth for U.S. readers would indicate that a life sentence in Indonesia is the same as "life imprisonment without parole" in the U.S., and that 20 years (which probably is longer than Xanana will live, given his current prison- and torture-induced poor state of health) is longer than many Americans serving "life" sentences spend in prison.*

## INDONESIA MOCKS JUSTICE

*Letter to the Editor, The New York Times, August 25, 1993*

To the Editor:

"Indonesia Reduces Separatist's Prison Term" (news item, Aug. 15), reports that the life sentence imposed upon Jose Alexandre Gusmão, the resistance leader of East Timor, was reduced to 20 years because, according to Indonesian authorities, the defendant acknowledged Indonesia's "sovereignty" over East Timor.

This is far from true. Xanana Gusmão, in his defense plea, which the Indonesian presiding judge prevented him from reading, stated: "... under international law I remain a Portuguese citizen ... before my conscience I am citizen of East Timor. I therefore reject the competence of any Indonesian court imposed upon my motherland, East Timor, by force of arms and crime, to judge me."

I also object to the term "separatist" for Xanana Gusmão. East Timor was never part of Indonesia, not even in the pre-European colonial era.

The alleged "reduction" of the life sentence to 20 years is yet another affront against the East Timorese and once again exposes the inhumanity and cruelty of the dictatorship in Jakarta.

JOSE RAMOS-HORTA  
Sydney, Australia, Aug. 18, 1993

## JAMES DUNN ON 'POLITICS' OF SENTENCE REDUCTION

*Thu Aug. 19 1993*

There has been no substantial change in Jakarta's attitude to the East Timor problem, despite talk about a reconciliation process. In fact the so-called act of clemency is consistent with what the Indonesians have been doing for years. Periodically they have been coming up with minimum responses, cosmetic flourishes designed to head off criticism in countries of importance to the Suharto regime, but to discourage any hopes among the Timorese that a more just settlement might be negotiable.

The plea for clemency offered the Indonesian government a unique opportunity not only to improve its image abroad, but to do something towards healing the terrible wounds their brutal annexation has inflicted on the people of East Timor. Taking these considerations into account the sensible thing would have been to release Xanana and perhaps involve him in negotiations towards a permanent settlement. It should not be forgotten that during the last 9 years of his leadership of the Fretilin resistance, the Timorese leader had kept military clashes to a minimum and had himself repeatedly sought to negotiate with the occupying authorities.

In the circumstances Senator Evans' comment that this offer of clemency was an encouraging start is astonishingly naive and

inappropriate. Jakarta's feeble gesture is simply not good enough. If this country is to salvage any dignity from this sordid affair, we must persist in reminding the Indonesian Government that Xanana Gusmão's struggle against their illegal annexation of the territory was a legitimate act of defence, in terms of the prevailing UN standards. Their legal process against him has no such legitimacy, and a solution to the Timor problem, acceptable to the Australian people (as distinct from their government), must include his unconditional release.

James Dunn

*The writer is a former Australian Consul to East Timor, and author of Timor: A People Betrayed (Jacaranda Press).*

## ETRA COMMENTS ON EAST TIMOR LATEST EVENTS

*From Agio Pereira, East Timor Relief Association, Sydney. August 21, 1993*

The latest events surrounding the issue of East Timor further highlights the fact that Indonesia is desperate in terms of the way Jakarta's generals Junta handles the issue.

Last week, it was reported that Jakarta is going to "explain" its Human Rights record to Washington, without saying explaining in what sense.

The remission of Xanana's illegal verdict from life to 20 years imprisonment also highlights a number of important aspects:

1. that Jakarta is feeling the international pressure but this pressure is still insufficient to raise the minds of the dictators to an international common sense; if this action was taken as a measure to build up some sort of support for the forthcoming negotiations on the 17 September, under the auspices of the S-G of the UN, it is most likely to backfire because Xanana Gusmão himself never signed the so-called "clemency plea";

2. furthermore, the fact that Xanana Gusmão never signed the "clemency plea" and that the BAIS (Bedan Intelijens Strategis or Strategic Intelligence Body) appointed Indonesian lawyer, Sudjono, went ahead and managed to "succeed" confirms that Sudjono is part of the Indonesian governments' strategy to manipulate Xanana Gusmão's case. If he did not succeed in terms of destroying Xanana's own political prestige it owes only to Xanana's own courage, intelligence and determination.

3. As the negotiations under the auspices of the UN approaches, BAIS is organising more lies, more mis-information to feed the international community through the embassies and international journalists accredited in Jakarta. From Jakarta, we were told (The Australian, 17 August, 1993 - Matebian News' files) that RCTI (the "private" net-

work Rajawali Citrea Televisi Indonesia) broadcast the renunciation of political activism of Antonio Gomes (Ma'Huno) the imprisoned Fretilin Directive Committee Secretary. Another leader, Mau Hodu, also was reported by the same so-called "private" TV as saying that the independence struggle is a lost cause.

This is another clear example of manipulations Jakarta's junta of generals consistently use to lie to the international community; somehow they seem to believe that arrested and imprisoned political figures can "speak freely" and, worse then that, the generals seem to also expect the international community to believe them!

### The international scene:

Recently, some key events in the international arena showed signs of, not only increasing but, possibly, a sustainable support for East Timor cause. To mention some:

1. General Suharto's failure to address the G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

Suharto tried to use the G-7 meeting as a ploy to build his international prestige whilst leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). Ali Alatas even stated before the meeting took place (while in the process of using Japan and USA to lobby for a "yes, General Suharto" vote for Suharto to address the G-7s), that, if Pres. Suharto does not address the formal meeting, he would not go simply to meet the delegations separately because this would be an humiliation! In the end, however, nor Japan neither the USA were able to help general Suharto to address the formal meeting. The General simply had to meet the members of G-7 in their own terms - that is, in the corridors, as the diplomats would say!

2. In the Vienna International Human Rights too, Suharto's regime failed to convince the international community that his culture sees Human Rights from a different angle. This was a ploy Jakarta tried to use to a) legalize the crimes committed against the Indonesian people and the looting of Indonesian people resources to serve only a few generals and their families, and, simultaneously, b) to secure the continuity of international monetary aid to the regime in order to keep the Indonesian middle class quite, at least for the foreseeable future. But, this too failed. The international community was not convinced by the arguments of Suharto's regime; instead, it was reinstated that human rights should be taken into account when foreign aid is given and the universality of the concept of human rights was stressed. Even though this can still be manipulated by the regimes with strong business connection in the countries which are aid donors, it is nevertheless, an important statement which defeats the fundamental

arguments of dictatorial regimes in the Asian region such as those currently embedded in Indonesia and Malaysia. The impact of this decision has already been made clear to Suharto's regime by the Clinton's (USA) Administration when they stopped the sale of the F-5 Jet fighters from Jordan to Indonesia. This was significant because USA would also benefit from this sale in terms of aircraft maintenance, jobs and "good business" approach. The fact that this decision was made on the basis of human rights record was a clear statement in favour of those 43 USA senators that signed the petition for Pres. Clinton to raise the issue of Human Rights/East Timor in some of his 40 minutes meeting with Suharto in Tokyo. (Please see the article "Ammunition For Jakarta's Critics," by David Jenkins, SMH, 18 August 1993, p.13).

### FREE XANANA-FREE EAST TIMOR

The campaign for a free East Timor has been one of the main factors causing desperation in Jakarta's regime. Since the capture of the Timorese National Leader, Xanana Gusmão, this campaign gained renewed steam and forced Jakarta, once more, into damage control. Ali Alatas himself was reported as complaining that 80% of his time as Foreign Minister of Indonesia has answering East Timor! Ali Alatas even hired a professional public relations company with offices in USA (Burson-Marsteller, paying millions of dollars) to counteract the campaign to Free East Timor. Recently, this campaign handed a petition to the S-G of the UN, signed by more than 2,500 prominent people around the world. More signatures are expected to be sent to the UN to add to those 2,500. The petition appeals for the release of Xanana Gusmão and a political solution for the Timorese struggle.

To conclude:

The fact of the matter is that Indonesian generals have lost the political battle in East Timor; they know it too well. The desperate moves lately adopted by the regime (lies, misinformation, manipulation of the prisoners, hardliners approach, the use of former political leaders in Geneva giving them the former Timorese status as political leaders, etc.) are clear examples of desperation of a regime to avoid paying for the crimes committed against the Timorese people in almost two decades.

From a Timorese perspective, we must keep up the struggle in every front, as Xanana Gusmão asked, until we exercise our inalienable right to self-determination and independence. In this difficult but sustainable road towards independence, we do appeal to all members of the solidarity that have accepted the theme "FREE XANANA-FREE EAST TIMOR" to focus

only on East Timor in every move they make.

## **XANANA ON HUNGER STRIKE AGAIN**

*BBC 3 September 1993 Abridged slightly*

*This is very high-level confirmation of the hunger strike. Mantiri has been commander of Koopskam, the special command in East Timor, and before Sintong Panjaitan, was commander of the Udayana military command based in Bali. It is strange that he should have spoken about this and not the armed forces official spokesman. – Carmel*

*To understand Xanana's reason for resuming his hunger strike, we could see this in the context of his forced removal from Dili.*

According to the BBC's Adam Brooks in Jakarta, there is growing concern over the health of the imprisoned leader of the East Timor independence movement, Xanana Gusmão, following reports that he's been on hunger strike. He is currently in prison in the Central Java city of Semarang. A senior military officer confirmed that he had been protesting his situation by refusing food but said he had begun to eat again.

There have been persistent reports that Gusmão's health has recently been poor. It has now emerged that last month, Mr. Gusmão began to refuse food. A senior army officer, Lieutenant-General Herman Mantiri [armed forces chief of general staff, TAPOL] confirmed to the BBC that this was the case but said Mr. Gusmão had begun to eat again a few days ago and said a doctor found that his health was fine. However, other sources close to the military insist that Mr. Gusmão has for several months been in poor health.

No independent observers have seen him since his transfer from Dili to Central Java. The International Committee of the Red Cross have requested renewed access to him there but this has not yet been granted.

The news comes amid reports of a recent wave of arrests in Dili of youths suspected of pro-independence activism. It is not clear how many have been detained by the security forces. Sources in Dili say the move was intended to prevent unrest during a visit to East Timor this week of a group of US congressional staff members. The armed forces denied the arrests but said about fifty youths had been receiving guidance and training in national awareness in advance of the US visit.

## **XANANA COULD GET SAKHAROV PRIZE**

*Publico, 8 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) The European Parliament's LDR (Liberal, Democrat and Reformist) Group, which includes the Portuguese PSD members, is going to propose Xanana Gusmão's nomination for the 1993 Sakharov Prize, on account of "the courage he showed defending human rights in a territory where some of the most serious violations since the Second World War have been perpetrated."

The LDR's position still requires to be put to the vote, since the Portuguese deputies' proposal was opposed by their Dutch colleagues. Although the Dutch expressed their sympathy and solidarity towards Xanana Gusmão, their stated preference was Salman Rushdie (author of *Satanic Verses*, who was condemned to death by the Iranian Government) - a choice designed to avoid creating problems for Indonesia. Instituted in 1988, the Sakharov Prize is awarded annually by the EP to those who have distinguished themselves in defending freedom of spirit or human rights, such as Nelson Mandela, Anatoli Marchenko, or Alexander Dubcek. The acceptance by the EP of Xanana's name now depends on the LDR's ability to convince the other political groups, particularly the larger ones (Socialist and Christian Democrat) of the worthiness of their choice. The fact that there are Portuguese members within these two groups might help in the lobbying process, which will be necessary to get the LDR's nomination approved from among the various expected nominations. The LDR leaders appear relatively confident of their chances, bearing in mind that two of the five names, which until now have been awarded the Sakharov Prize, did in fact arise from nominations by its members.

## **XANANA GUSMÃO BEING TREATED LIKE A COMMON CRIMINAL**

### **Two-week hunger strike against removal from East Timor**

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign issued the following Press Release today, 24 September 1993:*

TAPOL has learnt from reliable sources that Xanana Gusmão, the East Timorese resistance leader who was sentenced in Dili last May, went on a two-week hunger strike in protest at his removal from East Timor and his re-location to a prison for common criminals in Semarang, Central Java. The

hunger strike, the only form of protest available to him in his present circumstances, continued until he was too weak to move out of his cell unaided.

In a letter to the British Government today, Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL said that his forcible removal from East Timor is in violation of the 4th Geneva Convention which prohibits "(I)ndividual or mass forcible transfers, as well as deportations of protected persons from an occupied territory to the territory of the Occupying Power... regardless of their motive." [Paragraph 49] The transfer of East Timorese prisoners from their native land was condemned last month by the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities as a violation of this Convention.

Thirteen East Timorese political prisoners who were tried and given harsh sentences after the Santa Cruz massacre on 12 November 1991 have all been transferred to prisons in various parts of Indonesia, in Kupang, Mataram (Lombok) and Jakarta, in contravention of the Geneva Convention.

Having ascertained that Kedungpane Prison, Semarang, where Xanana Gusmão is now being held is a prison for convicted criminals, TAPOL also protests against the treatment of Xanana Gusmão as a common criminal.

To make matters worse, before his transfer from Dili, Xanana Gusmão was not permitted to meet his family to say goodbye, even though his sister asked to meet him on the day he was moved. The prison authorities did not even tell her what was about to happen. Now that he is in Java, his chances of meeting them is more remote than ever. He has not met his family since he was sentenced on 21 May.

While Foreign Minister Ali Alatas claims that his government is showing greater openness and will give access to humanitarian and human rights organisations to visit East Timor, the government is perpetrating gross injustices against East Timorese political prisoners. The true nature of its treatment of the East Timorese is being concealed behind a smoke-screen.

TAPOL has called on the British Government to protest strongly to the Indonesian government against this violation of the Geneva Convention. The only way to remedy this latest injustice against Xanana is for him to be released and allowed to return to his native land without delay. All the other prisoners should also be released and returned home.

## RED CROSS VISIT TO XANANA

*The Age*, 29 September 1993. By REUTER

Representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross have resumed visit to East Timorese prisoners in Indonesia, including the guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, Red Cross sources said today. The visit were suspended in May after the organisation said the Indonesia would not meet its conditions. Rumors claimed the 47-year-old Fretilin leader had been on hunger strike, but Western diplomats in Jakarta said they believed he was now in good health.

## EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

### APPEAL FROM EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS

*EAST TIMOR NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE (CNRM)*

*NATIONAL RESISTANCE OF EAST TIMOR STUDENTS (RENETIL)*

*(abridged translation)*

#### APPEAL To all East Timor Solidarity Organisations

We appeal to all student organizations in the world which over the years, throughout the dramatic history of our tormented East Timorese people, have shown their sympathy, interest and solidarity with us.

Our people will never forget the generous and comforting moral and material support provided to our liberation struggle by organisations such as East Timor Alert Network, East Timor Action Network, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, British Coalition For East Timor and others. We can solemnly state that our people will be faithful to acknowledge such disinterested friendship and fraternity.

In order to be more effective in actions aimed at liberating our people from the murderous demands of Suharto and his clique, we APPEAL to all student organisations for East Timor in the world to unite in a LEAGUE, which could perhaps be called 'International Student League for East Timor' (ISLET). Its aim would be to coordinate all actions undertaken towards their governments and peoples by its member organisations. This should result in a greater synergy in the motivation, mobilization, and actions of those governments in relation to the East Timor problem.

For the practical implementation of our appeal in line with the current international

political conjuncture regarding East Timor, we would like to suggest that initially the US ETAN organisation chairs the League, and the Japan Coalition co-chairs it, while the Portuguese Student Organisation for East Timor takes up the Secretariat. We are of course open to any other preferences student organisations in the world may express through their votes.

Hoping that our appeal will be attended to by the organisations we are addressing, we remain

Clandestine front, 29 July 1993

Yours sincerely

Signed SAMALA RUA

Secretary General, President of the Permanent Commission.

## MA'HUNU REPORTED RELEASED

*Wed Aug. 4*

*Anyone who may have heard this report on BBC, Radio Australia, or Radio Nederland (Hilversum) – please try to send further confirmation and details. Not known at this point if the Indonesian press has picked up the story. Mahunu, Ma'Hunu, Mau Hunu are variant spellings – same person. Political leader Mau Hudu is a different person. Unclear whether he will also be included in any Presidential clemency (grasi). Unclear whether 'grasi' in anyone's case – Xanana down the hierarchy – will entail outright release or just commutation of sentences, and if release, conditions of the release.*

*– John (apakabar@access.digex.net)*

According to an interview of BBC-Indonesian with Mr. Lopez da Cruz (monitored in Brisbane at 11.10 p.m. local time, 4 August 1993), Mr. Mahunu, (the then Fretilin leader who replaced Mr. Xanana Gusmão, but later 'surrendered' to Indonesian authority in East Timor) has been released. Mr. da Cruz said that Mr. Mahunu has been interrogated and since enough information has been collected, it was decided to release him.

Mr. da Cruz said that Mr. Mahunu, since he took over the leadership from Mr. Gusmão has decided to surrender. Therefore, he is treated differently: that he is eligible to get the pardon (grasi) from the Indonesian president. It is expected, according to Mr. da Cruz, that Mr. Mahunu, together with other ex Fretilin members, will be given the "grasi" by President Suharto in the upcoming Indonesian Independence Day, 17 August 1993.

## MAU HUNU 'RELEASE' TIGHT

*Aug. 6 Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - A jailed leader of East Timor's guerrilla movement who was captured earlier this year will not face trial and has been effectively released from prison. Lopes da Cruz said by telephone that Antonio Gomes da Costa, alias Mau Hunu, had tried to surrender to Indonesian authorities before his capture on April 3, and so had been released under a presidential amnesty. "He is still under the protection of the security forces but he is free. He can go to his house, he can visit his family. He will not be taken to trial," said da Cruz, a Timorese who serves as Indonesia's ambassador at large for the territory. He did not say when Mau hunu was released. Mau hunu, who became leader of the Fretilin guerrilla movement after Xanana's capture last November, was imprisoned in the Timor capital Dili, da Cruz said.

## MA'HUNO ALLEGATIONS FALSE

*Press Release from CNRM – NATIONAL COUNCIL OF MAUBERE RESISTANCE, August 6, 1993.*

Allegations made by Indonesia's Roving Ambassador Francisco Lopes Da Cruz that Deputy Leader of the Resistance Ma'Huno, is free, are untrue and totally unfounded. Ma'Huno (Antonio Gomes Da Costa) did not surrender as Lopes Da Cruz has also alleged. Ma'Huno was captured in a military operation in Dili, East Timor in April this year.

He is a prisoner of war and remains in jail in Dili, East Timor.

Francisco Lopes da Cruz is also quoted as saying that Ma'Huno was eligible for a pardon from President Suharto because he surrendered and therefore will be treated differently.

From Lisbon, Jose Ramos Horta, Co Chairman and Special Representative of the CNRM said,

"I challenge the Indonesian authorities to allow Ma'Huno to be visited by Independent observers to ascertain his real status. Like Commander Xanana Gusmão he is a prisoner of war and should be protected under the Geneva Convention on humanitarian law."

The trial of Ma'Huno who was captured 4 months ago, is being delayed, say observers, for fear of further international attention on Indonesia's already highly publicized and damaging record of gross human rights violations. Ma'huno's trial would draw media attention causing the spotlight to be pointed at the Indonesian Military and their operations inside East Timor and in Aceh where according to a recent Amnesty International report thousands of civilians have been

killed by the Indonesian Military. The illegal occupation of East Timor since 1975 has seen a regime of continuing violence, and depopulation through transmigration programs, massacres and forced sterilization. The trial of Xanana Gusmão proved an embarrassing exercise for the Indonesian authorities who met with international criticism over the conduct of the so called trial.

Gen. Theo Syafei, responsible for the military operations in East Timor has made several statements to the media from his base in Bali indicating that all resistance forces must be crushed. The systematic human rights abuses, including arbitrary arrest, detention and torture and military operations to "keep peace" continue. The genocide has reached almost 300,000 people killed and disappeared.

### GOMES, MAU HUDU MAY MISS TRIALS

*Jakarta Post*, August 7, 1993. By 'par' Slightly abridged.

*Remark: Like Mark Twain's 'death,' earlier reports of Mau hunu's 'release' were greatly exaggerated. However, an Aug. 17 DPA story declares, "Syafei also said that another captured Fretilin leader Antonio Gomes da Costa would be released without trial. But no date was set when da Costa would be released." This is the first even partial confirmation I have seen by a senior military figure regarding Lopes da Cruz' remarks. ABRI Commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung also recently toured East Timor and, while sounding conciliatory toward the Church, made clear ABRI did not foresee a future outside Indonesia for East Timor. I can only again stress the dangers for the East Timorese of raising short-term hopes. Millenarianism seems to me a persistent and growing peculiarity in CNRM and allied clandestine organizations. I do not see a long-term strategy in place. 'Solidarity forever' is not a pleasant thought. — John*

(Jakarta) Two leaders of the Fretilin separatist movement, Antonio Gomes da Costa and Mau Hodu, Jose da Costa, who were arrested by the authorities in East Timor early this year (sic), are likely to skip trial, says Lopes da Cruz, the Indonesian Ambassador-at-Large for East Timor (sic, Duta Besar Keliling, in the Indonesian-language press). da Cruz told The Jakarta Post here last night that the two men would be free from prosecution if it was proven that before their capture they had intended to surrender to the authorities and had suggested their compatriots, who were still fighting, do the same. "From the region I heard reports that there is possibility they will not face trials," he said. According to da Cruz, the two men who were still being

questioned by the police in the provincial capital of Dili, were under the protection of the security forces. He said the measure was meant to protect the two men from possible attacks by their compatriots who disagreed with their calls to surrender. da Cruz said that the authorities also allowed the men some freedom. Gomes, alias Mau hunu, for instance, was allowed to visit his family, he added. Both Mau hunu and Mau hudu were close aides to Xanana.

*See article below "Amnesties for Mau huno and Mau Hodu?" for further developments.*

### AI ALERT: ARRESTS

*AI Urgent Action 264/93 EAST TIMOR Arrests*

AI Index: ASA 21/19/93  
9 August 1993

#### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: **Martinho Rodrigues Pereira and two others**

Three East Timorese have been arrested by Indonesian intelligence forces in Jakarta apparently because of their alleged political and human rights activities and are being held incommunicado. Amnesty International fears that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment while under interrogation by their captors. Based on past information, Amnesty International is also concerned that further political arrests may soon follow, and that those arrested may themselves be subjected to torture and ill-treatment. The families and friends of those detained may also be at risk of intimidation, harassment or arrest.

Martinho Rodrigues Pereira, a former political prisoner who is married with one child, was apparently arrested because of his non-violent political and human rights activities. He went missing from his home in Jakarta on 5 July 1993 and it was initially thought that he had gone into hiding because he feared arrest. However, Amnesty International learned today that he and two others, whose identities are not yet known to the organization, were in fact arrested by military intelligence forces on 5 July.

It is not known whether Martinho Rodrigues Pereira has been formally charged. However, he is understood to have been accused by military intelligence of assisting politically active East Timorese living in Indonesia. In particular he is thought to have been accused of orchestrating a recent asylum bid by seven young East Timorese. The seven, most of whom had suffered human rights violations at the hands of the Indonesian authorities over a period of years, entered the Embassies of Finland and Sweden in Jakarta on 23 June 1993 and asked to be granted political asylum. They are still waiting to leave the country and Amnesty Inter-

national has urged that they be permitted to do so.

### 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 extra-judicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance," political imprisonment and unfair trial.

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 (ICRC) access to political detainees. The information extracted from one detainee often becomes the basis for further arrests. In the last twelve months alone Amnesty International has learned of the arrest of more than 400 people who have been detained in East Timor either because of their alleged links to pro-independence groups, or because they are relatives or friends of individuals suspected of having such links. The true figure, however, is probably much higher. All those detained must be considered at serious risk. The use of unacknowledged, arbitrary and often incommunicado detention for interrogation facilitates and even invites torture and other ill-treatment, as a mounting volume of evidence from former detainees makes clear.

### RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters either English in or in your own language:

- Expressing concern for the safety of Martinho Rodrigues Pereira, and two others reportedly arrested by Indonesian intelligence forces in Jakarta on 5 July 1993;
- Urging the Indonesian authorities to clarify their whereabouts and to ensure that they are given immediate and regular 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 and that their relatives and friends will not face intimidation, har-



assessment and other violations of their rights.

#### 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 or +62 21 36 7782

Maj. Gen. A. M. Hendro Priyono [Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Priyono]  
Military Commander for Region X  
Pangdam X/Jakarta Raya  
Markas Besar KODAM X Jaya  
Jl. Mayjen Sutoyo  
Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ)

Lt. General Faisal Tanjung [Salutation: Dear Lt. General Tanjung]  
Commander of the Armed Forces  
Markas Besar ABRI  
Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia  
Telegrams: Lt. Gen. Tanjung, Markas Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia  
Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ)/+ 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ)/ +62 21 35 6404

#### AND, IF POSSIBLE, TO THE FOLLOWING:

Heikki Haavisto  
Foreign Minister, Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Merikasarmi  
00160 Helsinki Finland  
Faxes: +358 0 1341 5009

Margaretha af Ugglas Foreign Minister,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs  
Gustav Adolfs Torg 1  
S-10323 Stockholm, Sweden  
Faxes: + 46 8723 1176

PLEASE SEND APPEALS IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send appeals after 20 September 1993.

#### PEREIRA NOT IN DETENTION

From Amnesty International, 1 October 1993.

Further information on UA 264/93 (ASA 21/19/93, 9 August 1993) - Arbitrary Detention/Fear of Torture

#### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Martinho Rodrigues Pereira and two others

Amnesty International has just learned that Martinho Rodrigues Pereira, an East Timorese who was thought to have been arrested from his home in Jakarta on 5 July 1993, is safe and well and not in detention.

No further information is available about the two other people reported to have been arrested with Martinho Rodrigues Pereira.

Many thanks to all those who took part in the original action. No further action is required.

### MANPOWER ISSUES IN EAST TIMOR

*Jakarta Post. 2 August 1993. By 'akm'*

*Remark: East Timor's new, young intelligentsia provides perhaps the best hope for the territory's future in the new phase of the struggle for dignity, human rights, and perhaps even ultimate independence. The anti-independence Governor Abilio Soares basically shares the expert's views and has instituted an 'affirmative action' plan to place more East Timorese in Echelon 2 and 3 provincial administration positions. Soares admits the Echelon 1 positions are virtually all filled by 'outsiders.' Frustrated by still very limited 'domestic' investment, Soares has also embarked on a campaign to attract foreign investment, especially from Australia. - John*

(Dili) The large number of educated unemployed people and the fact that most individuals want to become civil servants represent two major manpower problems for East Timor, says an expert. Armindo Maia, an assistant to the rector of the University of East Timor, said here last week these two manpower problems must be overcome immediately or they will lead to more serious conflicts. Quoting a 1989 research report by Prof. Mubyarto, a noted economist and an expert consultant to the minister of national development planning [concurrently Bappenas Chairman Ginandjar], Armindo said that the problem of educated unemployed youth could ruin the political stability in the tiny province. The government should give priority to the settlement of this problem.

### LETTER FROM TIMORESE RESISTANCE LEADER KONIS SANTANA TO PRES. MARIO SOARES

*Provided by CNRM. Translated from Portuguese Abridged.*

East Timor  
14 August 1993

His Excellency the President of the Republic of Portugal:

Excellency:

By way of this letter we wish to inform Your Excellency about the current state of the Resistance within East Timor, in the

wake of our leaders' capture, and also about our main concerns regarding the need to find, as quickly as possible, a comprehensive, fair and lasting solution to the Timorese question, so as to put an end to the suffering of the tormented Timorese people.

#### I. The effects of our leaders' capture on the internal aspects of the struggle, and on the international front:

1. The Indonesian Government was never interested in prolonging the conflict in East Timor, on account of its internal and international repercussions.

For this reason, our Indonesian invaders have always attempted to find the quickest solution to the long and drawn out problem by military means, combining suppression by the use of arms with the practice of terrorizing the people with the crimes perpetrated by the infamous political police - INTEL, and seeking, as their prime objective, the total extermination of the guerrilla movement and neutralization of popular resistance. Achieving this goal would be decisive for the Indonesians in both their diplomatic activity, and in the eyes of international opinion, and would lead to the likely removal of the Timor issue from the UN agenda, thus legitimizing the situation as an accepted fait accompli.

With guerrilla leaders under arrest and communications difficult for the Resistance, Jakarta has tried to exploit the internal situation to the utmost, so as to convince the international community that, following the arrest of its leaders, resistance to its occupation has reached the height of failure. (...).

Although, Mr. President, the capture of the Resistance's most intellectual, influential, and wise leaders signified a strategic and decisive defeat for our struggle, it did not suppose, by any means, the end of resistance to Indonesian occupation, nor the denial of our people's right to freely choose its own destiny. On the ground, the Resistance is still alive and active on all fighting fronts! This is because, even though we acknowledge the importance of military force as a means of pressure, and the role played in the Resistance by our captured leaders, especially Xanana Gusmão as the symbol of Timorese resistance, the Resistance in East Timor has never been restricted to the armed struggle or to one leadership. Timorese resistance against Indonesian occupation is, above all, political, military, economic, cultural and diplomatic, - the armed struggle being just one facet of the overall resistance. (...).

With the capture of our colleague Ma'Huno, last and veteran member of the former leadership of the struggle, yet another sad chapter in our history came to an end. However, a new chapter of that history

started - the history of the Resistance's third generation. The history of the Resistance over the past 17 years is, therefore, the history of the succession of new generations - the history of the continual succession of the struggle's leadership!

Just as any other people in the world is proud of its historical accomplishments, our people is proud of itself for having defended a legitimate and sacred right. Our people is proud of being a people with a land, a fatherland! Our people is proud of being a people with its own, political, ethnic, religious, historical and cultural identity, which makes it different to the Indonesians. In that struggle to preserve its own identity, the Timorese people have always resisted Indonesian occupation, without counting the costs. At the same time, they have tried to construct unity among themselves, over the din of the battle and the bodies of its fallen heroes, going through dynamic political transformations in the process, in order to strengthen national unity, transforming our patriotic national resistance into an essentially nationalist resistance. Because of its non-partisan nature, the CNRM is the materialization of that national unity. In fact, the CNRM was the product of the dynamic political alterations which occurred throughout the process of consolidation of national unity and, as such, has become the symbol of that unity, that is to say, Timorese nationalist resistance in search of a common objective - liberation of the fatherland of all Timorese. (...).

We are slowly but carefully reorganizing - we cannot construct the new edifice of the Resistance on shaky foundations. We are prepared for battle, whatever obstacles the enemy may put in our way. We would rather die than to submit to the occupier's psychological pressures!

Believe us, Mr. President, that although our numbers have very much decreased, we are still determined to continue our fight for peace, justice and freedom for our tormented people. We are counting on the resolute solidarity of the Portuguese people in that fight because, for peace, freedom and justice, we have taken up positions in the same trenches.

2. In spite of the initial euphoria, which characterized Jakarta's diplomatic support-seeking offensive to gain backing for its claim, and with Xanana Gusmão's capture considered by Jakarta to be its trump card, the truth is that time and circumstances proved, once again, that the Timorese problem continues to be the sharp pebble in Alatas's shoe. The issue has become a greater concern to the international community, which has not been

taken in by Indonesia's lying propaganda.

Sadly, we have realised that the capture of our leaders has, again, served to alert international public opinion about Timor's drama, and has led governments, international human rights organisations, world leaders and outstanding politicians to speak out on the issue, thereby putting pressure (although clearly insufficient) on the Indonesian Government to respect the UN Charter, and General Assembly and UN Security Council resolutions on East Timor, and to respect human rights in the territory.

Among such initiatives were the following:

\* The commendable position taken by Your Excellency, as Head of State, straight after the arrest of our leader Xanana Gusmão...

\* The surprising and praiseworthy attitude of the US Government with regards the Timor issue...

\* The position taken by UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros Ghali, when he advocated the involvement of Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo and Xanana Gusmão in the talks without pre-conditions, sponsored by the UN, ...

\* The positions taken by human rights organisations, such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch, following Xanana Gusmão's capture,...

\* The eagerness of Indonesian human rights groups, such as INFIGHT and the LBH, to defend Xanana Gusmão. This demonstrated that the Timorese problem has earned the solidarity of even Indonesians themselves,....

All this goes to show that East Timor continues to be an issue: as Jakarta tries to put forward arguments in support of its sovereignty, those very arguments are put in question, thereby turning East Timor into a conflict requiring an internationally acceptable solution.

Mr. President of the Republic:

3. In spite of all these positive political developments surrounding the Timor issue, and the question of our imprisoned leaders, a comprehensive, fair and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor, and for our captured leaders, is far from being reached. The only reason for this is the intransigence and arrogance of the Indonesian rulers, in defence of their absurd and unacceptable claims on East Timor.

The guerrilla leaders, who have been captured and imprisoned by the Indonesian invader, are internationally recognised Timorese leaders. They are leaders of a people who have never been part of Indonesia, and yet they are being tried and sen-

tenced to life imprisonment (as in the case of Xanana Gusmão) by Indonesian courts, which have never had any juridical authority to take legal proceedings against our leaders and countrymen, since East Timor has never been recognised by the UN as being an integral part of Indonesia. East Timor continues to be a territory under Portuguese administration. (...).

Mr. President: we are all convinced that negotiations are the best way forward to find peace! It is only through negotiations that the best settlement of any conflict in the world may be found. It is, therefore, only by means of negotiations between all parties involved in the issue that a comprehensive, fair, and internationally acceptable solution for East Timor may be reached, - a solution which satisfies all parties involved, and which will secure fair and last peace for its people.

Indonesia and Portugal have now been having talks on East Timor for a long time, under UN auspices. Jakarta has never allowed any Resistance participation in those talks, which have always ended in failure. The reason behind this is that Jakarta's policy is based on legitimizing East Timor's annexation, the total extermination of the guerrilla, and on "progress" - believing that, on one hand, this would lead the Timorese population to come to terms with annexation, while on the other hand, it would indicate that there was an absence of resistance. Indonesia's attitude was also a result of the weak international pressure to force Indonesia to agree to negotiations with the Resistance. (...).

However, although the "opening up of East Timor" policy was aimed at proving that progress was being made, it brought new forces into conflict with the occupier's policies.

From 1989 onwards, the student movement became part of the scene. This led to the reappearance of East Timor linked with human rights violations, so gaining international solidarity.

Both in the occupier's territory and within East Timor itself, the student movement started showing signs that resistance was spreading from the mountains to areas controlled by the invader. A reversal of roles within the forces of resistance against the invader took place. Popular resistance, or rather, the political resistance developing inside enemy lines, was starting to take over the lead in the campaign to gain international support, while the Falintil started to lose ground. Student demonstrations organised for the Pope's visit in October 1989, as well as subsequent demonstrations (the most important being the brutally repressed Santa Cruz demonstration) attracted the interna-

tional community's attention to the Timorese drama. (...).

We believe that the international condemnation which resulted from the Santa Cruz massacre sparked off the "concern" about East Timor. This has embarrassed Indonesia in its relations with other countries, and even with its friends. (...).

But finding an internationally acceptable solution (as prescribed by the UN in its 1982 37/30 Resolution) is not enough, unless the Timorese Resistance - the party most interested because it has been the party which has most suffered during the 18-year long conflict - participates in the UN sponsored negotiations.

Portugal took a significant step forward in the search for a fair solution when it proposed "negotiations, without pre-conditions, sponsored by the UN," and calling for participation of "Timorese representatives."

The international climate is looking favorably on the efforts of Portugal and the Resistance to increase international pressure on Jakarta to sit down at the negotiating table with the Timorese, in order to find a political-diplomatic settlement.

Portugal has taken up a firmer and more responsible position regarding the issue, as Timor's legal administrative power, and has its diplomacy well rooted within the EC. Nevertheless, Mr. President, we acknowledge the difficulties which we believe constitute obstacles in Portugal's way: the serious difficulties, in the context of the EC, in building a European community; the global economic crisis which is particularly affecting Western Europe; the costs of German reunification; the national interests of each EC member country, and Portugal's economic dependence upon the Community's richer members, all combine to make Portugal a weak administrative power in terms of gaining strong support from its partners, to pressure Indonesia into agreeing to the Portuguese proposal.

Indonesia, exploiting this situation to the full, has been acting in bad faith - trying to dissuade EC countries from following rules on economic cooperation or development policy adopted by the EC. The EC establishes a link between development policy and human rights policy, and Indonesia has tried to divide the "twelve" on this, and make them renounce the principles and rules in that area.

The agreements signed between Bonn and Jakarta on technological, economic and commercial cooperation, the sale of warships to Indonesia, and the praise offered by German Prime Minister Kohl to the Indonesian Government on its improvement of human rights, are all signs which confirm that economic interests are outweighing

values of justice, law and principles, and only go to prove the effectiveness of Jakarta's strategy with regards "the twelve."

As for the Resistance, the disparity of initiatives taken have been another obstacle in reaching consensus, and has not helped Portugal in getting its proposal accepted. Jakarta has been exploiting the differences within the Resistance, and trying to divide it.

Contrary to what has been reported abroad, the invader has been increasing the number of its troops in East Timor, introducing more heavy weaponry, especially mortars, currently unleashing its latest offensive against the guerrilla all over the territory, supported by intense mortar shelling of the guerrilla areas, with the aim of totally and finally exterminating the guerrillas.

The enemy is intensifying its large-scale campaign to intimidate and "win over the hearts" of the population, promising to free the guerrilla leaders, especially our colleague Ma'Huno, - a promise aimed to reach the guerrillas psychologically.

Jakarta seems bent on repeating its past experiences: now, it is more "confident" than ever of victory, because it is convinced that "the days of the Resistance in the territory are numbered," and also seems to believe that Portugal's strategy depends upon the Resistance.

All this is aimed to prepare the way to take up a firmer stand at the forthcoming Portugal-Indonesia negotiations, set for September in New York, and continue to reject the participation of Timorese representatives in the "negotiations without pre-conditions" proposed by Portugal.

In this light, the Timorese problem is at a cross-roads, and courageous measures to unblock the situation have to be taken.

Of course, it will be up to the Timorese to be responsible for taking the initiative. However, we are convinced that Portugal will share that responsibility with the Timorese, by considering Timor as a national problem.

An internationally acceptable solution must, necessarily be based upon a settlement which benefits all the parties involved.

It is true that the negotiations without pre-conditions offer plenty of room for maneuver to all interested parties. It is also true, however, that the negotiations without pre-conditions do not encourage Indonesia to agree to talk to the Resistance.

If the negotiations without pre-conditions are to give everyone a chance to propose possible solutions - which we fully support - we believe that now is the time to be more realistic. We think we ought to be putting forward concrete proposals which would lead Indonesia to accept the Resistance at the same negotiating table.

The Timorese Resistance has always shown itself to be open to discuss political compromise solutions, and to make important concessions. We are well aware that no right in the world is without its restrictions. Just as any citizen's rights are limited by his country's constitution, so do our people's rights end where the rights of the Indonesians begin.

The most realistic solution to the problem of Timor might well be found in the peace initiatives put to the European Parliament and UN in 1992 by the CNRM Special Representative abroad, Dr. Ramos-Horta. We believe that this peace proposal is so far the most realistic because it contains all the elements which guarantee, on one hand, the exercise by our people of their right to self-determination and, on the other hand, respect for the invading country's interests. The proposal might, therefore, succeed. (...).

We are quite aware that in a conflict situation, when all the right conditions are not there, one of the parties may not agree to talk. In our case, Indonesia continues to be inflexible, because conditions for putting greater international pressure on Indonesia are still inadequate. We are well aware of this.

No one more than the Timorese themselves wishes to end, as quickly as possible, the torment of our people. For this reason, we have constantly shown our readiness to negotiate and to make concessions. However, if the Indonesian Government continues its intransigent position, rejecting talks with the Resistance, we are left with no other option but to continue our fight with even greater political determination because that is what our people wants. We are sure that, by continuing to resist, we will create the conditions necessary for greater pressure to be put on Indonesia to be more flexible and accept talks with the Timorese.

Throughout these past 18 years, we have always known how to be patient and to wait, without ever ceasing to fight with ever increasing determination. We believe that, one day, the long waited peace will come to East Timor.

We are living in a world of great changes. Much has changed and will continue to change. The world cannot go on without change - humanity's history has demonstrated that. And here lies our people's great hope!

We are confident in the Portuguese negotiators' astuteness, intelligence, and creative capacity, and are sure that Portugal will know how to do its duty with dignity.

To conclude, we reiterate our vote of confidence, and express our hope that, during the next round of negotiations on the

Timor issue, a light at the end of the tunnel will finally be seen.

Respectfully yours,  
Nino Konis Santana

Head of the Executive Council  
The mountains of East Timor, 14 Aug 1993

## INDONESIA TO PULL OUT COMBAT TROOPS

JAKARTA (AUG. 17) DPA - Indonesia is planned to withdraw combat troops from East Timor and replace them with non-combat "territorial military" forces due to an easing of tensions, an official announced Tuesday. Major General Theo Syafei, commander for Udayana region which includes East Timor, said, "Withdrawal of the combat troops from East Timor is possible now that the security situation is considered secured." He said there are 10 military battalions in the former Portuguese colony, but only one battalion had been assigned to fight remaining East Timorese Fretilin guerrillas. But, he said, "As of October 1, there will no longer be combat troops in East Timor," adding, "we would withdraw this one battalion of combat troops and replaced it with territorial troops responsible for development projects." Indonesia began eliminating its military operation in East Timor last March. The military operation was established in late 1989 to fight members of the Fretilin guerrilla movement, which began its armed separatist movement after the Indonesian government seized East Timor in 1976. Government authorities estimated that there are now only a few armed Fretilin rebels clustered in several groups in the region. Their numbers declined after the capture last November of their leader, Xanana Gusmão. President Suharto, in a bid to ease Indonesia's human rights records in East Timor, granted a clemency to Xanana last week by reducing his life imprisonment to a 20-years jail term. Xanana, who was move last week from Dili prison to Central Java's Semarang jail, was sentenced to life imprisonment by East Timor's district court on May 20, after found guilty of rebellion and illegal possession of firearms. The Indonesian decision was welcomed by some Western countries and called for amnesty for other activities as well. The U.S. government and several western countries had been critical of Indonesia's human rights record and suspended military and other development assistance in the wake of the 1991 killing of at least 50 anti-government demonstrators in the East Timorese capital of Dili. Suharto also called over the weekend on traditional tribal chiefs of East Timor to help eradicate security problems in the region. Indonesian troops invaded East Timor,

forms of a half island located just north of Australia, after Portuguese left in 1975 and annexed the territory of 600,000 people in 1976, kicking off a bloody campaign that by some estimates has cost up to 200,000 lives -one-third of East Timor's population. However, 17 years after the annexation, East Timor issues remained a political thorn for Indonesia. The United Nations still refused to recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over the territory and regards Portugal as administrative power. Indonesia and Portugal have been trying to settle the future of East Timor through the United Nations. The third round of U.N.-brokered talks between Lisbon and Jakarta was scheduled to resume September 17 in New York. Syafei also said that the captured of another Fretilin leader Antonio Gomes da Costa would be released without trial. But no date was set when da Costa would be released.

## COMBAT TROOPS LEAVING TIMOR?

*Aug. 16 story, substantially abridged.*

*'On-site inspection' needed. Maybe at least it means no more Kopassus. Implications for remaining guerrillas? - John*

JAKARTA (UPI) - The government plans to withdraw all its combat troops from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor and replace them with "territorial troops" responsible for development projects. Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, the military commander for the Udayana region, which includes East Timor, said as security in the province improves, the combat forces would be fully removed by October. "The decision to abolish the combat troops is good," he told Jawa Pos. He said only one battalion of combat troops remained in the region and that by Oct. 1 there would no longer be any combat troops in East Timor. The number of Fretilin guerrillas has gradually reduced, especially since the arrest last November of their leader, Xanana Gusmão.

## COMBAT TROOPS TO BE WITHDRAWN FROM ET

*BBC Report synopsis, Aug. 17 1993*

*This posting, there are now several wire services reporting Syafei said ten 'territorial' battalions will remain - apparently referring to non-Korem 164 troops. According to these stories, Syafei said 10 battalions (averaging 650 men each) will remain. The total number of these non-Timorese battalions will not change around October, according to Syafei's latest remarks. Rather, the one remaining combat battalion will be replaced by a territorial one. In other words, this is a qualitative troop rotation. By the way, I did not mean to imply earlier that any crack troops from Kopassus or*

*Kostrad units were presently in East Timor. If anyone has further info in that regard, please pass it on. - John*

BBC-Indonesian, received in Brisbane 11.00 p.m., reported that according to the Commander of Udayana Military Area (KODAM-Udayana), Gen. Theo Syafei, all the combat troops will be withdrawn from East Timor not later than October this year (1993). He also said that the troops will be replaced by some 6000 of so called "territorial" troops (pasukan teritorial) which will be involved heavily on the development of East Timor.

However, Gen. Syafei did not mention anything regarding the possibility of withdrawing Kopassus (special army units) troops as well as other commando troops which, according to BBC-Indonesian, responsible for the various cases of human rights violation.

## INDONESIA TO WITHDRAW TIMOR COMBAT TROOPS -

*The Age (Melbourne), 18 Aug. 1993. Unabridged*

(Reuter, Jakarta, Tuesday) Indonesia today said it would withdraw all its combat forces from the troubled territory of East Timor, replacing them with troops engaged only in development projects.

The official Antara newsagency quoted Major-General Theo Syafei, the military commander for the region, as saying all such combat forces would be pulled out by October. He said 10 territorial battalions would remain.

"It is planned in September and October the ratio will become 10 to 0, meaning they will all be territorial battalions for the development of East Timor and no longer combat battalions," he told reporters in the island resort of Bali.

Since Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 it has fought a guerrilla war against a dwindling band of rebels. But despite its apparent military success, the Government has come under heavy international attack for its role in the tiny territory.

Last week, President Suharto reduced the sentence of the guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão, jailed in May for life on charges of separatism, to 20 years.

The 'Jawa Post' newspaper yesterday quoted General Syafei as saying that the withdrawal of combat troops was an indication of improving security in the territory.

"This abolition is mainly because the situation there is already good," he said.

In April, Indonesia said it would disband its special military command, which would in turn lead to a gradual pull-out of combat forces.

**TROOPS TO BE WITHDRAWN***Radio Nederland 18 Aug. 93*

Indonesia is withdrawing its combat units from East Timor. The military commander for the region says that over the next two months they will be replaced by army units engaged exclusively in development projects.

East Timor, a former-Portuguese colony, was occupied by Indonesia in 1975.

In the first year of that occupation, particularly, there was fierce fighting between the Indonesian army and Timorese rebels resulting in some 200 000 deaths.

For many years Indonesia has been subject to serious international criticism for its behaviour in East Timor.

**TIMORESE LEFT ON THE RIM OF APEC'S PACIFIC RIM**

*Sydney Morning Herald, 17 September 1993. By David Jenkins.*

*The following is an article published by Sydney Morning Herald (SMH). The author is David Jenkins, an expert writer in Indonesian political affairs. He spent six years in Indonesia as the SMH correspondent but later expelled from Jakarta for his objectivity in reporting the political affairs of Indonesia.*

*The timing of this article coincides with all the statements Paul Keating has been trying to throw in during his international tour, especially regarding the issue of Human Rights and East Timor.*

— Matebian News

At the Indonesian Army staff and command school in Bandung, mid-career officers devote clandestine operation (opsgalangan) which can be used to foment trouble in an area in order to set the scene for subsequent military intervention.

Eighteen years ago next Sunday, William Colby, Director of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, commenting on what was shaping up as the mother of all "opsgalangan" operations in East Timor.

Jakarta, he wrote, was sending guerilla units into the Portuguese half island in order to engage Fretilin forces, encourage pro-Indonesian elements "and provoke incidents that would provide the Indonesians an excuse to invade should they decide to do so."

Unfortunately for Jakarta, the pro-Indonesian Timorese were not up to the task. On December 7, 1975, the Indonesian armed forces launched a full-scale invasion of East Timor, with a combined sea and air attack on Dili.

It was not a shinning success. Timor provided everything that was then wrong with the Indonesian armed forces - poor

intelligence gathering, , poor training, poor leadership, poor communications, abysmal logistics support. Some Indonesian paratroopers were dropped by mistake into the sea. Some Indonesian troops on the ground opened fire on Indonesian aircraft.

On day one, a platoon commander from "Kostrad," the crack strategic reserve, misread his maps and blundered and blundered into an area already captured by the marines. It led to an exchange of fire and heavy Indonesian casualties. Kostrad lost 35 dead that day, including two majors and two captains.

"These troops," the former Indonesian Defence Minister, Benny Moerdani admitted recently, "had no discipline at all. They shot one another. Ah, overall, it was totally embarrassing." The troops also behaved with exceptional brutality towards the Timorese people who they had ostensibly come to liberate.

This week, nearly 18 years after the invasion, Indonesia announced that it had withdrawn all combat troops from East Timor, leaving "only" 10 "territorial battalions." According to the official Antara news agency, the territorial battalions are "helping to build roads, houses and cultivate crops."

This all sounds promising but can it be so simple? Not necessarily: Indonesia may be playing with thimbles and peas, and perhaps Antara is being disingenuous.

To understand why the troop withdrawal announcement needs to be taken with a pinch of salt you need to look closely at the Indonesian doctrine of "territorial warfare," which developed during the 1945-49 independence struggle against the Dutch.

The Indonesian Army, unlike a conventional Western army, is deeply involved in social-political (sospol) affairs. The commander of each of the nations 10 military regions presides over not merely an operational force of "territorial" (as distinct from centrally-based) combat battalions but a "territorial" command and control structure which is considered to be of at least equal importance.

This territorial staff structure corresponds broadly with the various tiers of the civilian administration and the police hierarchy, down to the village level, where there might be an NCO to monitor political and social developments and the work of the village headman. It form a parallel "shadow government" which is intimately involved in non-military function.

Territorial combat battalions are deployed in Support of the territorial command and control structure. But the troops, who are equipped with light arms, machine guns and perhaps a few mortars, can also be used to back up the police in the event of trouble anywhere in the military region.

A full-strength Indonesian territorial battalion might have 650 men. But in many cases numbers are below that, perhaps only 400-500 men. The level of training is well below that of a Kostrad strategic reserve combat battalion.

Until about a year ago, Indonesia had six Kostrad battalions in East Timor and six "territorial" battalions. Only two of the territorial battalions were locally based, using mainly Timorese troops but with officers and NCO's from outside the province. The other four battalions were on rotation from Java and other islands

When Jakarta says it has removed all combat battalions, it simply means that the six Kostrad battalions have gone. To help offset their departure, four more territorial battalion have been sent in, bringing the number to 10 battalions.

This means that the Indonesian army commander in East Timor still has as many as 4,000 to 5,000 troops at his disposal. That's quite a force.

Irian Jaya, which has twice the population of East Timor, 22 per cent of the nation's land area, and a residual, low-level problem with OPM separatists, has only three locally-recruited territorial battalions and one (sometimes two) outside battalions on rotation.

Judged by those criteria, East Timor should have only 2 1/2 battalions, not 10. That's a sign that something is still wrong in East Timor. It is also worth noting that the two largely Timorese battalions have a reputation for being the most brutal, reflecting strong local animosities. If 4,000 to 5,000 armed men are not enough, the local commander can call on up to three battalions of marines, which are kept on immediate standby in Java. Not to mention elements of the elite red beret Special Forces (Kopassus) unit, which is likely to play a continuing intelligence and raiding role in the province.

It is true, as Antara suggests, that the 10 territorial battalions can be deployed in road-building and other civic duties. But they are also used for intelligence gathering and ambush work. "They aren't representatives of Amnesty International," says an army source familiar with East Timor.

The fact that Indonesia has had to station some of its best military units in East Timor for nearly two decades provides proof, if proof is needed, that the Timorese did not welcome the Indonesians with open arms, Jakarta's propaganda notwithstanding. How could it have been otherwise?

In the five years to 1980, demographers estimate that as many as 100,000 to 200,000 Timorese died, many from starvation, out of a population of 650,000.

Then there's the military death toll. Indonesia has never provided an account of its

losses in East Timor although Moerdani acknowledged recently that 247 members of Kostrad died in the first five years of operations in East Timor. That figure only hints at Indonesian losses.

According to Indonesian and foreign military sources, 1,500 Indonesian troops were killed and perhaps 5,000 to 6,000 wounded in the five years to 1979, the period of heaviest fighting.

Terrible things have happened in East Timor. Paul Keating, however, chooses to put the telescope to the blind eye. The US, he told Bill Clinton, should not push countries like Indonesia too hard on human rights.

This has pleased Jakarta - the Indonesian Research Minister, Dr. B.J. Habibie, said it was "music to my ears" - but dismayed some Australians.

## ABRI TIMOR VETERAN REMINISCES

*Editor, 28 August 1993, Interview entitled "Thanks for giving me the opportunity <Terima Kasih, Saya diberi Kesempatan>, by Rahmayanti, Untung Widiyanto and Nazir Amin. Excerpts.*

*This item, from a long interview with the new East Java Governor Maj-Gen (ret) Basofi Soedirman, illustrates some remarks quoted in David Jenkins' SMH article. Only the Timor reminiscences are translated.*

Basofi Soedirman was Commander of Battalion 512 from Malang, which served in East Timor 1975?-1976, and 1978-79.

....

*Q: What were your most memorable moments in East Timor?*

A: Lots. I've probably been lucky. If I've won, it's because of luck. Success doesn't just drop from heaven, you have to calculate it. I often lost, and won too. Usually the winning came afterwards.

At one time we were taking the town Letepoh. I was a Battalion Commander, and it was my first time in East Timor. I was with four companies. The target was nearby. I ordered two teams to reconnoitre. They saw a crowd of about 100 enemies cooking dinner in front of the church. I asked: "So what are we going to do?." "If possible, attack straight away," they replied. I asked them again: "What are our chances?." "Look, we can flatten them sir," they answered. "Sure you can flatten them?." "Sure sir."

I thought for a moment. Because in fact the plan was to attack only the next morning. So that evening I checked the position of my troops. One reserve company was in the rear, they didn't report their position. In the morning at dawn the attack commenced. I

shot at those in front of the church with a smoke grenade. On the radio, one of my companies yelled out they were being shot at. I asked them, "What is your position?." He told me.

I thought, I'm shooting over there, but they're shouting from elsewhere. I shot another round. He shouted out again, I asked his position, "Perhaps we've already entered the town," they replied. "Are you sure?," I asked.

"Yes Sir."

Indeed they had already entered the town. It was they that my boys wanted to flatten the night before. I reported to my Brigade Commander that the target had been taken. "That was very quick of you," said the commander. People said I was terrific. The Commander congratulated me over the radio. I summoned those naughty boys and told them: "Do you know, those guys you wanted to flatten last night were our own friends?." They didn't say anything. Apparently there had been fog. So that the reserve company in the rear had without realizing it overtaken the three companies in front of them, and eventually had blundered into the town. Fortunately the town had already been evacuated.

*Q: You were so self-assured that you didn't do as your scouts urged you to do?*

A: That's what until this moment I can't understand. It was my feeling and intuition. Why didn't I attack at that time? When dawn came I found no enemies and could take the town. Between fame and infamy the line is very fine <Antara terkenal dan tercemar itu batasnya tipis>. Imagine if I had given the order at that moment, "Attack now!." Who knows what might have happened. Probably I would never have made it to Jakarta. Perhaps I would have been cut down <ngarit>. Ha ha ha....

## SIGNS OF LIFE FROM THE RESISTANCE

*Publico, 2 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Xanana's and Ma'Huno's successor gets a message out to the exterior. He is about thirty years old and has been in the bush since he was fifteen. His name is Konis Santana, and was unknown when he came to be Commander of the Falantil.

"The voice of the Maubere people, through the Resistance, kills. Timor calls its defences. The color of blood, rotting flesh. The fight goes on."

The voice is that of Konis Santana, successor to Xanana and Ma'Huno at the command of the Timorese armed resistance. With those words, he introduces a state-

ment, recorded in the mountains of East Timor, which was made public yesterday by the LUSA agency. The cassette containing the Resistance leader's first statements to reach the exterior was recorded on 26 July, in the mountains of Timor, and taken to Macau by a "courier" of the Resistance abroad. For 70 minutes Konis Santana expresses his "total confidence" in the efforts of the UN and Portuguese and US Governments, to find a political solution to the Timor issue, and testifies to the continuing vitality of the Resistance in the interior, which was believed to have been left considerably weakened following the capture of Xanana and Ma'Huno.

The message, which ends with homage to "our great, much loved, leaders Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno," also contains two Timorese songs recorded by members of the Resistance in the Timorese mountains.

Speaking slowly in Portuguese, apologising several times for his "lack of culture," Konis Santana gives a historical report of the Resistance's situation inside the territory since the Santa Cruz massacre which, on 12 November 1991, attracted international attention to the Timor issue.

After a series of comments on the massacre, at which time "the Maubere people showed its enemy, and the world, its heroism and bravery" and "became even more convinced of its stand and support for its armed wing resisting in the mountains," Santana refers to the wave of particularly violent repression which followed the events of November 1991.

"The (Indonesian) governmental forces, the police, and the nangalas (military), lit the dictatorship's fires," "oppressing and killing the defenceless people, forcing them with their weapons to be silent."

The intensification of Jakarta's repression in the wake of the massacre is well known and documented. Konis Santana refers to its devastating effect, also well known, and admits that "it was then that many (members of the Resistance) deserted to increase the flames of the Resistance." He condemns the actions of the "murdering criminals" in Indonesia's service, and does not spare the "cowardly Timorese" who, for "five thousand Rupees" helped them to "find out the clandestine organization's channels."

It is in this scenario, in which "the peace-loving people were put under intense surveillance and threatened with arms," that Konis Santana places Xanana Gusmão's arrest, on 20 November 1992, - the second "historical framework" referred to in the report which the current Resistance Commander sent out to Macau.

## Restructuring

Referring to Xanana's arrest, Konis Santana says "Many nationalists and patriots felt despair at the loss of that great leader, but they (the Indonesian military) had not taken into account the fact that it is the people who are waging the war and that, even with several battalions, Jakarta will be unable to defeat the Maubere people."

At this point, Xanana and Ma'Huno's successor revealed the newest information of his long statement: after Xanana's arrest, the Falantil underwent a restructuring process which had already been concluded at the start of this year, before Ma'Huno's arrest which brought Konis Santana to take up the command of the Resistance in the interior.

Without giving details of the restructuring (which is understandable reasons of security), Santana gives an exhaustive report, contradicting the picture of weakness associated with the armed Resistance following the loss of Xanana and Ma'Huno, of military operations carried out by the Resistance this year. One example is that of the attack on an Indonesian battalion post on 20 March, in which six soldiers were killed and, according to Konis Santana, "we acquired all the materials, accessories, and explosives."

As well as the armed Resistance's signs of life in the interior, Konis Santana reveals the existence of "concentration camps" in different parts of Timorese territory, to which entire families, suspected of links with the Resistance, are said to be sent. To the long list of executions of civilians carried out by Jakarta's military, Konis Santana adds another episode. This happened near Baucao, next to "an old inn which, at the time of the Portuguese, belonged to a Mr. Mouzinho," where the skeletons of victims of Indonesian repression are said to have been found. There were reportedly ten skeletons, which Konis Santana described as being "recent."

The Timorese leader gives assurances that the repression does not intimidate the Resistance, "which fears nothing, forgets not its leaders and policy of national unity, and which is ready to continue fighting." Emphasizing the message of vitality which he tries to get across throughout his long statement, Santana affirms that "the Maubere people and the Falantil are still determined."

In April, when Indonesian forces captured Ma'Huno - less than five months after he had occupied the seat left vacant by Xanana Gusmão - all Timorese activists were asking themselves who would take on the leadership in the interior. On learning the name of the new leader of the armed Resistance, many admitted they did not know who Konis Santana was. This is under-

standable. Konis Santana was only about fifteen years old when he joined the Falantil, and "disappeared" into the mountains of Timor. That was in 1975. Santana left behind his studies at the Dare seminary, through which many of the future Resistance members would pass.

Today, little more is known about the current Falantil leader. Publico learned that Konis Santana must be about thirty and is from Lautem, Los Palos, on the easterly point of Timor, where his father worked in the local administration.

## AMNESTIES FOR MAU HUNO AND MAU HODU?

AFP, 3 September 1993. Abridged

*Is this a smoke-screen for a possible tragedy likely to happen in Semarang where, the military have admitted, Xanana has again gone on hunger strike? Is the fact that Lt.-Gen. Mantiri confirmed the hunger strike a sign that some senior officers in Jakarta are afraid that Syafei's policy could have disastrous consequences?*

*When major political gestures happen in Jakarta with Muslim prisoners being released on parole on 17 August, there were photos in the press to show that the incident took place. Where are the photos of Mauhuno and Mauhudo getting their amnesties?* - Carmel

(Jakarta) The Indonesian government granted amnesties to two former leaders in East Timor, Antara reported Friday.

Major-General Syafei told Antara: "The amnesty was granted to them about a month ago but it was not publicized." He said the amnesties were granted because the two had since their arrests and during the period of orientation (sic) under the tutelage of the security authorities "shown a positive attitude."

He did not spell out the terms of the amnesty except to say they were "general" and in the same terms as those accorded to Fretilin members who surrender to the authorities. Both Mauhuno and Mauhodo were believed to have been freed for some time and were living with Indonesian families [? under private military custody?].

Syafei said amnesties have been granted to 24 E Timorese youths who had been actively involved in the demonstration in Dili on 12 November 1991. [This is presumably a reference to the 24 men arrested soon after the massacre who were sent off to do hard labour with military commands in various parts of East Timor.] Syafei did not identify or elaborate on the 24 released.

## LETTER FROM EAST TIMOR

*By Ani King Underwood in New Statesman & Society, 3 September 1993. Ani King Underwood is a freelance television journalist, working in the UK*

The uneasy calm of Dili, capital of East Timor, is reminiscent of Bucharest under Ceaucescu. The feeling that there is at least one pair of eyes watching you closely does not go away until you leave.

Indonesian soldiers are everywhere and people are frightened to talk to foreigners or even to be seen in their company. A courageous young East Timorese girl, who lives in Australia and is visiting her family in Dili, accepts our invitation for coffee in return for helping us find our way to the bank. But before we can drink the coffee, a fierce-looking Sumatran approaches our table and begins hurling questions at us in broken English. "Why are you here?" "How long will you stay?" "How do you know each other?" referring to the girl. His less than courteous manner turns into downright anger when he addresses the girl in Bahasa Indonesia, and she politely replies that she does not speak it. He leaves after realizing that we are not prepared to answer any more of his questions. "I worry about my family here. Once I go back, they will suffer for all my actions," says the girl in a whisper.

It is through whispers that you get a wider picture of what is happening here, nearly 18 years after Indonesia invaded what was then Portuguese Timor following a declaration of independence by the Revolutionary Front for the Liberation of East Timor (FRETILIN).

Before anyone utters a syllable, he or she looks around about three or four times.

"People disappear every day here, and no one can do anything about it." On Saturday evening, at sunset on the beach, two women light a small fire and begin to pray. As I watch inquisitively, a voice whispers: "They are praying for a lost son and brother, whose body was found dumped in the sea recently, after he was taken away by the authorities."

Our request to hire a car at the hotel reception is politely turned down. The head of the tourist office, again very politely says that he will try his best to find one. But "his best" does not work. Without a car, you have to go around by public transport or hire a taxi - and each time we stop a taxi, someone approaches the driver and tries to put him off. Luckily, my friend is a fluent speaker of Bahasa and eventually manages to negotiate a ride. Suddenly, everything falls into place. Driving eastward to Baucau along the coast road, every village we pass

has a military post at its entrance. In between the villages, the hills are dotted with radio antennae. Not even a fly could travel this road without being detected by the military. Alongside the road, there are small clusters of tin-roofed houses, lived in, according to the authorities, by people who have been moved from the interior of the country "to protect them from the terrorists." The "terrorists" are FRETILIN guerrillas still fighting in the mountains, against all odds and in depleted numbers. Their leader, Xanana Gusmão, was jailed for life in May, after a three-month trial described as a farce by human rights groups. His sentence was reduced to 20 years last month.

The Indonesian government says that it has spent large sums of money to improve the infrastructure since 1975. But roads have been built only in areas where there are military bases, and the new schools ensure that Bahasa is taught throughout, while Portuguese and Tetum (the indigenous language) are eradicated. There are no statistics about the number of schools that have been closed down. Other apparent improvements, including upgraded hospitals, have the sole function of attracting settlers from Indonesia. Most of the senior posts in East Timor are held by Javanese and, for all the infrastructural changes, the standard of living of East Timorese has deteriorated during the past 18 years.

Coffee, one of the main crops in the region, is marketed by the army. A Timorese family living abroad has tried time and time again to start up a business for exporting coffee, and each time it has been told that it can only do so if it sets up joint ventures with companies that are fronts for the army's commercial activities in East Timor.

For the East Timorese, the Catholic Church is the only institution that provides a refuge for their cultural, political and spiritual aspirations - and there are certain limitations even to its role. There are far more Catholics in Indonesia than in East Timor, and the Vatican has given only half-hearted support to the East Timorese. It is up to local priests to comfort and stand by a people that have seen more than 200,000 of their number (one third of the total population) vanish. According to one priest, since 1976 the number of practicing Catholics has increased from 30 per cent of the population to 95 per cent. The church service is the only place where Timorese are allowed to gather. Even then, vans with darkened windows are parked outside.

The harsh Indonesian occupation has created an atmosphere of resentment - especially among the young - that has reached the point of no return. The Santa Cruz cemetery massacre of November 1991 reinforced the Timorese view that it is impossi-

ble for them to accept Jakarta's rule. "If we are all arrested and even killed, the ghosts of the people killed in Santa Cruz will be there to fight for us," says one Timorese.

---

## TIMORESE RELEASED

*Publico, 7 September 1993*

Three students, who had been arrested during a demonstration on Sunday in Manatuto (200 kms. from Dili), were released yesterday, according to an Associated Press report, based on information from East Timor's military commander, Colonel Lomintang. The demonstration, in which about 40 young people carrying banners protested against Indonesia's annexation of the territory, was meant to draw the attention of three US Congress assessors who, after a short visit to Timor, were returning to Jakarta.

---

## FURTHER ARRESTS IN TIMOR...

*Publico, 8 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Fretilin's representative in Australia, Alfredo Ferreira, said yesterday in Darwin that, last Monday, the Indonesian army arrested about forty young people in Dili, who had taken part in a demonstration calling for respect for human rights. According to Alfredo Ferreira, the demonstrators numbered between one and two hundred young Timorese. Some of those arrested are said to have been released after interrogation, while others continue to be held in detention.

---

## RED CROSS PROBLEMS IN TIMOR

### JAKARTA ARMY BLAMED

*The West Australian - Perth September 15, 1993*

Canberra: The Red Cross continued to have trouble visiting people detained in Indonesian jails, Red Cross president Cornelio Sommaruga said yesterday. Mr. Sommaruga said Red Cross committee members had problems circulating among East Timor residents.

The Indonesian Government seemed to be more cooperative allowing the ICRC access to civilians but the military was less helpful, he said Indonesia undertook to allow Red Cross access to prisoners after the Government hesitated to allow the Red Cross to visit East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, convicted of rebellion and sentenced this year to life, later reduced to 20 years.

Mr. Sommaruga visited Indonesia in May to discuss access. Asked yesterday whether he believed Indonesia had honored its promise, he said it was difficult to say.

"In any case, we have had difficulties," he said. "The process of visiting all people detained because of the particular situation of East Timor has resumed. We have resumed our activities but have not been able to do it regularly and completely as we did want."

He said the Red Cross visited detainees, including those held in East Timor's capital, Dili, the site of a military crackdown after the November 1991 massacre there. Red Cross officials also visited Gusmão three times as well as other prisoners.

But the organization faced difficulties moving freely among the civilian population of East Timor in accordance with the Fourth Geneva Convention dealing with civilians, particularly in occupied territories.

"Protection of the civilian population means to be able to see the people, to circulate in the territory, to contact also the families of those who are in prison," he said.

"And this is now an activity which is somewhat difficult to be carried out in East Timor."

Mr. Sommaruga said he had the cooperation of the foreign affairs minister but dialogue with the military was difficult.

---

## HUNDREDS OF EAST TIMORESE CHILDREN DIE OF DIARRHEA, CATHECHISTS REPORT

*UCAN (Catholic news agency in Hong Kong), 23-24 September 1993. Unabridged (part dealing with East Timor only)*

(Jakarta) A diarrhea outbreak has killed more than 300 children in Ermera district, East Timor. As of late August, 326 children under five years of age and 20 adults in 15 villages in Ermera district have died since an epidemic began in July, according to Pos Kupang, a Catholic-run daily in Nusa Tenggara province, reporting from Dili.

The deaths came to light during a pastoral visit to the district by Dili's apostolic administrator, Salesian Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo. Catholic catechists in the district just southwest of Dili gave detailed reports to the bishop. They said local people are being haunted by the fear of death.

"When church bells rang," Bishop Belo said, "people were sad. They knew the ringing meant a parishioner had just passed away, and it has happened frequently (since July)."

A source in the Ermera district health office said the office has not yet been formally reported any cases but he did not deny



health centres throughout the district have been flooded by diarrhea cases since July. Diarrhea can lead to life-threatening dehydration.

Reportedly a task force from the provincial office of health and the military health services has been sent to Ermera district to investigate. Some health experts speculate local water supplies were contaminated by typhoons over the last two months, leading to the diarrhea outbreak.

*There are also reports of at least 262 deaths from diarrhea in West Papua. Antara quoted a local health official as saying that the outbreak in the Sugapa area bordering on Papua New Guinea has mainly affected the under-fives. "The death figure is high because the medicine supply is late and the locations are very difficult to reach," said Tony Sumpudus. He gave no further details and did not say during which period the people died.*

---

## INDONESIA ESCALATES REIGN OF TERROR IN EAST TIMOR

*Press Release from the National Council for Maubere Resistance, issued on 24 September 1993:*

Thirteen battalions each comprising 1,000 men, have been engaged for several weeks now in a major non-stop scorch earth policy inside the occupied territory. In parallel to this, a major crackdown against students, clergy and the general population is being carried out.

Timorese are being killed, arbitrarily detained, tortured, both physically and psychologically; consequently the local population live in a constant state of fear and terror.

Diseases such as tuberculosis and malaria are rampant, and killing an average of seven people a day, according to church sources. These facts illustrate the lies about Indonesia's so-called progress in East Timor.

Indonesia's contempt for international human rights standards has made a mockery of Alatas' role in UN sponsored talks on Timor.

Jailed East Timorese resistance leader Mr. Xanana Gusmão, has been denied some of the most basic rights as a political prisoner. Reports from a reliable source, who for security reasons cannot be named, said of the jailed leader that prior to his illegal transfer from Dili to Semarang in Java on 12 August, his request to see his family was denied.

Xanana later demanded to be placed in a political prison such as Cipinang. He has been denied access to paper and writing

materials, and his personal belongings have been confiscated.

When placed in Semarang, in a prison for common criminals, Xanana said:

"This prison is a prison for criminal offenders to recuperate. I will not and I cannot recuperate, so why do I have to stay here."

In protest at all of these abuses of his fundamental freedoms, Xanana began a hunger strike which lasted almost three weeks, during which time he had to be carried in order to attend a church service as he was too weak. To date, he has not been given access to medical attention.

Exiled East Timorese leader, CNRM co-chairman Mr. Jose Ramos-Horta said in a statement from Washington on Friday:

"We are sick and tired of Alatas' lies. We call on the international community to support us in our condemnation of Indonesia's flagrant abuse and arrogant attitude towards international human rights standards. The Indonesian authorities are responsible for the continuing genocide in East Timor and the mistreatment of Xanana and all the other East Timorese political prisoners. We strongly protest his capture and jailing, we call for his immediate and unconditional release and for an end to the charade and copious lies told by Alatas and Suharto in relation to the realities inside the occupied territory. We question Alatas's delivery on the promises he made last Friday at the third round," said Ramos-Horta. "It makes a mockery of the entire process."

Mr. Ramos-Horta said that a letter to the Assistant Secretary General, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, would call for the UN Secretary General to use his good offices as stated in the joint communiqué signed by Portugal and Indonesia last Friday, to send a special envoy to meet with Xanana and to investigate first hand the abuses occurring daily inside East Timor.

"We call on all human rights and humanitarian organisations, including Amnesty International and Asia Watch and the international media to press for access."

Margherita Tracanelli, CNRM, c/o Washington, (202) 667 9563

---

## BISHOP BELO TALKS OF CHURCH ROLE IN EAST TIMOR

*Sept. 27, 1993. [UCAN is the Catholic news agency based in Hong Kong]*

DILI, East Timor (UCAN) - Salesian Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has served as apostolic administrator in Dili, East Timor, for 10 years. First he served in that capacity as a priest, and was ordained bishop of Lorium, a titular see, in June 1988. When then Monsignor Belo was

named apostolic administrator, East Timor had 280,000 Catholics. By the time he was named a bishop, the territory had 540,000 Catholics. Today there are more than 632,000, about 85 per cent of the population.

In an interview with UCA News shortly before his episcopal ordination, Bishop-elect Belo explained that East Timor had an administrator and not a bishop because the politics in this former Portuguese territory were unsettled. Indonesia sent troops into East Timor in 1975 and declared it Indonesia's 27th province in 1976. The United Nations has yet to recognise Indonesia's integration of the territory.

Bishop Belo spoke with UCA News again recently and gave an update on the role of the Church in the development of East Timor. The interview appeared in the Sept. 24 issue of ASIA FOCUS.

*ASIA FOCUS (AF): Comparing before and after Indonesian integration, has the role of the Church changed in East Timor?*

Bishop Belo (BB): In the history of insurgencies in East Timor, local people have always relied on two alternatives. If they feel strong, they fight alone, but if they feel helpless, they rely on the Church to help voice their aspirations. During Portuguese colonization, the Church served as a channel for people's aspirations and was involved in education and socio-economic programmes. The Church protected people from abuses by government officials.

The (Portuguese) government - for certain political interests - acknowledged the Church's role in voicing people's aspirations by appointing the bishop of Dili as government advisor. Now, after integration the Church finds itself in a dilemma. The government of Indonesia asks the Church in East Timor to be active in promoting the government development programme. It also asks the Church to maintain a neutral position in politics - not to get involved in practical politics.

However, the Church can't close its eyes to various problems faced by the faithful as the result of integration. Regarding this issue, the Church faces a dilemma. If the faithful see the Church as too close to the government, they would dub it a 'Government Church.' If the Church is too vocal in voicing people's aspirations, the government would immediately accuse it of getting involved in 'practical' politics.

*AF: What is the basic attitude the Church brings to such a dilemma?*

BB: Considering that formal political channels aren't functioning yet, the Church is prompted to overcome the dilemma by declaring it takes the side of the people with-

out opposing the government. The Church also serves as a social control now and (will) in the future, should the formal political institutions fail to function effectively.

*AF: Does the Church always succeed with its social control function?*

BB: The Church's social control function will be effective only if it can change its image. The old image of 'ritual function' should be replaced with the image of a serving Church. The local Church needs to go to the people to get involved in their efforts to improve their socio-economic conditions. The East Timor Church is now striving to develop such an image, so (whether it succeeds or not) should be evaluated in the near future.

*AF: How does the East Timor Church get involved in development?*

BB: So far, the Church has supported development programmes launched by the government in East Timor. But it should be said that the Church can't participate effectively because the government doesn't have a concrete policy that guarantees Church participation in the development programmes.

The government only says it hopes the Church can help in organizing popular support of government programmes. As the Church is striving to become a serving Church that takes the side of the poor, most clerics here are quite critical about government calls to organize popular support of its programmes. They are not satisfied if they are used to mobilize people with out being allowed to voice people's aspirations.

*AF: What should the government do?*

BB: The government should find a more appropriate way to enable the Church to play a greater role in development programmes. Harmonious relations between the government and Church should be maintained. Misunderstandings between government and Church due to prejudices are based on false reports. It is regretful that certain government officials are of the view that the Church is challenging the government to win people's sympathy through development programmes. Some officials still question the fact that people's participation in Church construction projects is higher than in other projects like road and bridge construction.

The government should also minimize the adverse effects of integration. Local people see the growing number of migrants controlling the economy as negative effects of integration. The native-migrant dichotomy develops with the widening economic gap between the two groups. In such a crucial

situation the Church finds itself helpless, and develops a defensive attitude.

*AF: What happens if the Church fails to channel people's aspirations.*

BB: I do not expect such a failure. But if it really comes, it would bring wide implications.

So we should pray that such conditions do not take place. The Lord will give the best possible way to his faithful ones. Our Church will always support development programmes launched by the government for the benefit of all East Timorese people. And the Church would try its best to speak for the people when all political channels do not function well.

### EAST TIMOR CHURCH NOMINATED FOR NOBEL PEACE PRIZE

*Following is the gist of an article (in Japanese) in the September issue of "Higashi Timor Tsushin," the bulletin of the Kure YWCA East Timor Concerns Group*

*-Jean Inglis*

The Catholic Church of East Timor (Don Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo) was nominated as a candidate for the 1993 Nobel Peace Prize, the winner of which is to be announced October 15.

The nomination was submitted in January by TAKEMURA Yasuko, a member of the House of Councillors of the Japanese Diet.

The Church and its leader, Bishop Belo, was nominated because it has provided "the sole source of spiritual and moral refuge for the Timorese" throughout 18 years of occupation by Indonesia. The "horrendous consequences" of the occupation, the nominating letter says, "have deeply disturbed people of conscience throughout the world. Resolution of the East Timor conflict in keeping with internationally recognized norms of justice is an urgent priority for the international community."

In her letter Representative Takemura lauds Bishop Belo's "humble and unswerving faithfulness to his people...in the face of repression."

Bishop Belo's letter of Feb. 1989 to then UN Secretary General Perez de Cuellar calling on the UN to "initiate a genuine and democratic process of decolonization...through a referendum" is cited as an "outstanding contribution to the search for a peaceful solution to the East Timor issue" by bringing "into the light of day, and in the most appropriate forum, a crucial aspect of the East Timor issue which had previously been obscured."

Also mentioned is the Bishop's actions at the time of Pope John Paul II's visit to East Timor in 1989, when he attempted "to rise above...the seemingly insurmountable diplomatic complexities." ...and to lay before the Pope the plight of his people."

For his defense of his people, Bishop Belo has come under severe intimidation by the authorities. He has nevertheless sheltered in his own home "those fleeing from oppression and has visited the hospitals and prisons to intervene on behalf of the youth who are incarcerated or tortured for their political beliefs."

The nomination compares Bishop Belo to Nobel Peace Prize winner Archbishop Desmond Tutu as "one of the foremost peace activists of this century and as such...eminently worthy to be awarded the Nobel Peace Prize."

*In August 1990, Representative Takemura met with UN Under Secretary Ahmed Raf-feudin to urge the UN to act on Bishop Belo's letter.*

### FOREST FIRES RAGE IN EAST TIMOR

*Jakarta Post, 22 September 1993*

*It is important to get information about the background to these fires. If they are raging in all 13 districts, it's difficult not to conclude that there is some design. I was once informed by a Timorese that fires regularly occur in East Timor in the months of August and September, related to security forces activities and their need for land clearance. Can anyone enlighten us, please? Carmel*

(Dili) Fire has destroyed thousands of hectares of forest in the province, an official said yesterday.

The forest fires, the worst in many years, have occurred in all of the province's 13 regencies, said chief of the local forestry office, Elias Enes Careres.

Dili townspeople can see conflagrations gutting forests on nearby hills almost every night.

He said the cause of the fires has yet to be established. He ruled out speculation that it was intentionally started by irresponsible people.

### COMMENTS

**From "Lenito", 27 Sept.**

What a surprise reading the message that fires occur across the 13 districts inside East Timor. As I found difficult to confirm on this particular news, I can only say based on my experience of being a person who has grown up inside East Timor in the past decades. I have been involved in a survey on this area when I was in East Timor.

In fact it's true that fires occur regularly in a certain part of East Timor, in the coastal areas, and in the hills (specifically in a certain hectare of land!!!) by local farmers with purpose of land clearance in the dry season – August through November every year.

No wonder one could see every single day at that time, fires and smokes occur frequently. In general local farmers (especially those who have traditionally engaged themselves in farming) have a classic method of farm by 'slush and burning' the grass to cultivate their crops.

As I understand it nowadays farmers are forced to move down to coastal areas or in the settlement areas leaving their property, land, etc. in the mountains.

The conventional and easiest way of clearing the land is burning the grass which dried up during the dry season on their absence. All the grasses appeared "brown" and need to be wiped out. Consequently fires happened easily either deliberately or by coincidence by people passing through the street/path throwing the used cigarettes towards the 'object.'

Therefore, during that season one could regularly see smoke or blazing occurred in the hills, mountains, or in other farming areas. It's done due to shortage of manpower and time saving. That's the traditional way of land clearance as accounted by a Timorese to Carmel. I do agree on that.

Now, having read the last message that fires occur across the 13 districts, one may doubt of its incidence. Without prejudice, I can only say that in the last couple of years since ABRI through its combat battalions operating in southern coastal of East Timor such as Same, Suai, Viqueque and central region like Manatuto district which is 'arid region' fires occurred regularly and deliberately done by ABRI personnel. The idea is to make life harder for the guerilla combatants in the bush during the dry season and facilitating ABRI's operation of clearance.

Putting no doubt that at the moment the Indonesian army is actively campaigning 'once for all' against the guerilla remnants in the bush, perhaps one could link this phenomenon with the past experiences. It's rather an unusual case if fires gutting the forest in all 13 districts (is this a joke?), unless if this is a provincial programme implemented by 'Dinas Kehutanan Tk.I Propinsi Timor Timur.' However, the last is unlike as the head of Forestry Agency in Dili also regretted the incidence. So, I'm leaned to the opinion that if this is not done for 'pursuing' the guerrillas, then what is the purpose of burning the whole forest? Was it a regional program for farming? I hope I'm wrong in my speculation, but that's the wind that I can provide at the moment.

#### From Bruno Kahn, Oct. 2.

We have at least two eyewitness testimonies of fires in East Timor. One is by Gabriel Defert, the author of *Timor-Est, le Genocide Oublié*. Here is an account dating back from his visit in August 1990:

"Currently certain army units have as a main mission to clean up the Timorese vegetation in order to avoid that a small group of armed men can escape patrols. More or less everywhere fires are lit in bushes and thickets, which has disastrous consequences on the ecology of the island. Recall that the East Timorese climate is extremely dry and that vegetation is fragile there. So, after each provoked fire, the only thing which will grow up again will be *Imperata Cylindrica*, very high dense and cutting grass, as impenetrable as noxious."

In an interview that I don't have at hand, he describes how he met military units armed with flame-throwers and obviously burning the vegetation.

The second eyewitness visited East Timor in August 1989, fall 1991 and August 1993. He also describes how the vegetation is obviously burned at several places.

Both have photos showing the quite impressive damage.

#### From Estevao Cabral, Editor of FITUN, October 13, 1993

It is well known amongst Timorese that the Indonesian military set fire to large tracts of grass land and forests in East Timor every year. They do this in the summer months (July to September), because the fires burn more easily. The vegetation is at its driest at this time of the year and the fires are fanned by the high summer winds.

The main reason for these fires is to flush out the guerrillas located in the areas where there is natural protection from high grasses and dense forest. There are more fires in areas where there are military bases and in areas where different battalions are stationed.

I know that these fires have been lit for over seventeen years. I myself observed fires and smoke from 1976 onwards whilst I was with Falintil in the mountains, and again, while living in Dili up to 1986.

## U.S. CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS VISIT; MASS ARRESTS

### CONGRESSIONAL STAFFERS TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

Aug. 28 story, abridged.

JAKARTA (UPI) – East Timorese legislators expressed hope the planned visit by United States congressional staffs to the former Portuguese colony will not affect the life of the people in the region. Several staffers are scheduled to visit East Timor the first week of September to observe the implementation of human rights in the province, Antara said. Maria L.V. Oqintao [sic], chairman of the local legislative assembly, stressed that the visit would not have any consequence for the life of the people of East Timor. Oqianto accused the foreign media of attempting to give a negative picture of conditions in East Timor with the goal of "putting Indonesia in a bad light internationally." Oqianto said many people overseas are easily influenced by these "biased" publications which describe the people's life in East Timor as "miserable and full of violations of human rights." Oqianto expressed the hope that the U.S. staffers visit would open the eyes of the international community to the real situation in East Timor.

### HILARY CLINTON NOT GOING

Aug. 31, 1993

#### Department of Rumor Control –

According to the *Gazeta Macaense* of 31 August, published in Macau, Hilary Clinton will shortly visit East Timor with a Senatorial delegation. The article also says that Xanana will be moved back to Dili to meet with the delegation. Local UDT is given as the source of the information.

According to all available information, **This is not true.** It is true that there is a group of Senatorial staff (not Senators) in Indonesia, shortly to make a brief visit to East Timor. They are being closely monitored and guided by Indonesian authorities.

If anyone has concrete evidence or reliable information to support any of these rumors, or ideas about where and why they originated, please send it to me by private email. We don't need to spread false stories any wider than necessary. They could cause people to take action which might have disastrous consequences.

Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US.

## US MISSION'S VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

*Jawa Pos 1 and 2 September 1993 Dateline:  
Dili Abridged*

*Throughout both these reports and in most others we have seen, the visitors are referred to as "members of the US Congress and Senate," including direct quotes from military commander Theo Syafei. This is not true; they were congressional aides and officials of other congressional bodies. The only exception is a reference to the 'congressional staff' group in a news report in Jakarta Post of 10 September.*

*From visitors who have recently returned from Dili we learn that East Timorese also believed that this mission consisted of members of Congress and the Senate.*

*It is remarkable that Theo Syafei went out of his way to blame former US ambassador John Monjo for encouraging East Timorese to demonstrate. Five days after his remarks, a document made public under the US Freedom of Information Act revealed the special preparations made in East Timor in advance of the visit there by UN envoy, Amos Wako. This was written during the time Monjo was ambassador. It is interesting that even before this became public, Theo was attacking Monjo, something that we have not noticed before. It is highly unlikely that Theo could have had advanced warning of the FOIA revelation.*

— TAPOL

## US CONGRESS WILL VISIT DILI TODAY

*Jakarta Post: 1 September*

**Theo: If they want to see human rights, please...**

Twelve members of the US Congress and Senate will visit East Timor today as part of a visit to Indonesia. Some sources say the visit is for the purpose of getting to know about the implementation of human rights. As is known, the US Congress still persists in raising the question of human rights and asked Bill Clinton to raise this when he met President Suharto in Tokyo recently.

Yesterday, Major-General Theo Syafei arrived in Dili together with the group of governor Abilio Soares which has just returned from a religious visit to the Vatican and Paris. Theo said it was quite likely that the mission wanted to take a close look at human rights in East Timor. He said they were free to go wherever they wanted; however since they are guests of the state, security measures would be needed. "There will be special security for them, unlike when Portuguese citizens were on a visit recently

as they were not state guests." *[This refers to a recent visit of pro-Indonesian Portuguese members of the Portuguese-Indonesia Friendship Association. TAPOL]*

"Security will be for their own protection but only if they want it," said Theo. "For instance, if they want their hotel to be guarded, we'll guard it. But as yet, there has not been any request for this," he added.

He said they would have the freedom to meet anyone they wish, including Mau Hudo and Mau Huno.

Asked whether his own visit to Dili was connected with the mission's visit, Theo said: "No, I've come here only to accompany the governor on his return home. I fear that the group which has returned from Paris with souvenirs may have forgotten how to speak Indonesian or forgotten how to eat rice." The Governor smiled on hearing this and said: "The members of Congress and the Senate are welcome to visit East Timor. I can't comment further as I don't know what the purpose of their visit is. What I can say is that I support the visit."

He said they want to see the true situation so that false information they had been hearing up to now could be refuted by what they saw themselves.

The group will visit the governor this afternoon. It consists of 21 persons, made up of six members of the US Congress and Senate, and staff from the US embassy and from the Indonesian Foreign Ministry.

## "DILI INCIDENT WILL NOT BE REPEATED"

**said Theo in a dialogue with the US  
Congress group**

*2 September*

As was to be expected, members of the US Congress and Senate who visited Dili yesterday raised the question of human rights, focusing particularly on the 12 November incident and the trial of Xanana Gusmão.

"There were two things they asked me: how to differentiate between strike-force and territorial troops and whether there were guarantees that the 12 November incident would not be repeated," Theo told the press after his meeting with them.

"I told them there won't be another incident like 12 November. As for differentiating between strike-force and territorial troops, I said that the strike-force troops will all leave in October and only territorial troops will remain so that conditions here will continue to improve."

The visitors had asked why troops were used during the 12 November incident instead of anti-riot squads. In his reply, the military commander began by saying that the 12 November incident was the result of

forced circumstances. When there were attempts to provoke the people's aspirations and these aspirations took the form of displays of feeling [unjuk rasa], denunciations and demonstrations, social and psychological conflicts began to emerge between those who are pro- and anti- Indonesian. If aspirations are expressed through denunciations like this, said Theo, then a conflict is bound to happen.

"I guaranteed that so long as we implement our (present) system, incidents like 12 November will not recur. That incident had nothing to do with whether the troops used were anti-riot or not but because of the psychological atmosphere between the two sides that could only be resolved through conflict," he said.

"They also asked about the 24 people involved in the 12 November incident who were not put on trial. I told them that their interrogation dispositions (BAP) made it clear that they were anti-Indonesia. The decision that it was not necessary to try them was taken in Jakarta. We therefore sent them out to villages to be given guidance. Since they refused to accept the Republic of Indonesia, a system of guidance would be used to make sure they would accept the Republic of Indonesia. So the guidance programme was not of fixed duration and would continue until they accept the Republic," he went on. As a result of this programme, some have now accepted the Republic and have returned as citizens.

"I told them that the origins of the 1991 demonstration go back to what happened when the US ambassador, John Monjo, visited East Timor. There was a series of demonstrations in the presence of the US ambassador which were even praised by the ambassador as being a good thing to happen. Yet it is in contravention of our Constitution. This is what started all those demonstrations which raised matters of fundamental importance. They raised the Fretilin flag instead of the red- and-white flag, they carried photos of Xanana instead of photos of President Suharto. These are matters of fundamental importance that psychologically were bound to lead to conflict," said Theo.

He denied that in the run-up to the visit of the members of the US Senate and Congress, there had been any arrests, as some members of the group thought. The only thing that happened was that some people who had formerly been involved in demonstrations were rounded up to be given guidance by the state apparatus.

"I don't place much hope in the US Congress because I don't see any consistent principles in the US. On 5 and 6 September we are also going to receive a group from the US. The nature is much the same; there are

no consistent principles. This is why I don't place too many hopes on these visits. This will be just the same as previous visits."

After meeting Theo, the group meet the governor and raised similar questions. One member of the group named Sandra [Indonesians frequently refer to people by their first names only] said: "In the US Congress and in other countries, the opinion is gaining ground that there is no freedom of expression in East Timor and that democracy is not as it should be. For instance, we feel that many things that happened at the trials of Xanana Gusmão, Fernando Araujo, Saturnino da Costa Belo and João Freitas da Camara were unfair, such as they weren't able to get lawyers or even though they had lawyers, there were restrictions on expressing their views. How could such things happen?" she asked.

Abilio Soares replied categorically: "Nothing like that happened. We Indonesians firmly uphold democracy and justice. We also very strictly guarantee freedom of expression." He also insisted that the implementation of human rights in East Timor is highly respected. "East Timor's integration into Indonesia is a recognition of human rights in East Timor. During the 450 years of Portuguese colonialism, the people of East Timor suffered greatly and all their rights were abused," he said.

As for the arrests of some East Timorese, this was because these people had acted beyond the limits, such as breaking laws or holding demonstrations that clearly contravene the Constitution. "I don't think there were any people arrested in advance of your visit," said Abilio.

Asked by another member of the mission named Antonio about the handling of ex-Fretilin who had returned (from the bush), Abilio Soares said they have been given the freedom to determine their own fate. It's up to them whether they want to go and live with their families or go abroad, "even though they have been responsible for the occurrence of a civil war in East Timor," he said.

Some of these ex-Fretilin people have even been given jobs in the civil service. There are even ex-Fretilin who are now district chiefs, he said. Sandra who said she was concerned with international and human rights affairs at the US Congress asked about the arrest of people involved in the Dili incident. The governor said they were treated in the same way as the ex-Fretilin. "Why did some of them not have lawyers?" she asked. Abilio replied firmly that those who did not have lawyers had refused to be helped by a lawyer. "It was a different matter with Xanana Gusmão who made an official request for a lawyer," said the governor.

"Why are some of them being held outside East Timor?" she asked, to which he replied: "They are being held outside East Timor because it is considered better for them to be held outside East Timor than to be held here in East Timor. It's even the case that some of those who were involved in the 12 November incident are getting schooling in Java at the expense of the government."

*The confusion over whether the visitors were members of Congress or Congressional aides may be the result of increased sloppy reporting under Jawa Pos' new owners. In DeTIK, for example, now the country's most liberal newsmagazine (and required reading for Army officers), the reporters' angle in covering the visit was that the US had sent 'mere aides' and not real members of Congress.*

John MacDougall

## US DELEGATION FINDS CITY DESERTED

*Publico, 2 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Ten members of the US Congress, which yesterday started a visit to Dili in East Timor, was only able to meet with the territory's authorities, as no contact with the people had been arranged for them. This information was received by *Publico* from a source in Dili, who added that "the streets of the city are deserted."

The ten North Americans, whose purpose there is to evaluate respect for human rights, met yesterday with the Bishop of Dili, and will be going to Baucau today, before leaving the territory. According to the region's Military Commander, General Theo Syafei, "they are allowed to visit any place they wish," which does not appear to be happening. Syafei also gave assurances that the delegation would be allowed to meet Ma'Huno, Xanana Gusmão's successor as leader of the Resistance. The General did not confirm the delegation's meeting with Xanana Gusmão, currently serving a 20-year prison term.

The delegation asked Governor Abilio Osorio for information about ex-members of Fretilin and Timorese who had taken part in the 12 November 1991 demonstration, which led to the Santa Cruz massacre. According to the AP agency, the Governor gave assurances that the prisoners had been released and returned to their families.

The delegation, led by David Cox, had already met with Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, as well as with the Minister of Commerce. Two days prior to the delegation's arrival, the UDT claimed that hundreds of young, so-called "agitators," had

been arrested by Indonesian forces. Still according to UDT, the Indonesian forces went through every bus arriving in Dili from the interior with "a fine-tooth comb."

## US DELEGATION TO MEET (ALMOST) 'EVERYONE'

*By Jana D.K., Green Left #114, September 8, 1993*

JAKARTA - The Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) have announced that a visiting delegation of 12 US congressional aides will be allowed to meet with East Timorese fighters during a five-day visit which began on September 1.

Major General Theo Syafei, commander of the Udayana military command, whose jurisdiction includes East Timor, told reporters that the delegation will be able to meet with everyone, that is, almost everyone.

As it transpires, however, the "separatist rebels" which the delegation will be "free" to meet are two prisoners, Mau hunu José da Costa and Antonio Gomez da Costa, who are described by the military as being aides of the recently captured Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão.

The Antara news agency quoted Theo as saying, "The observance of human rights in East Timor is 'good enough' as far as we are concerned."

He also said that he believed the November 12, 1991, Dili "incident" occurred because of a psychology of confrontation and that "it was waiting to happen."

## ARRESTS PRECEDE U.S. DELEGATION

*Letter from East Timor Action Network/US*  
September 2, 1993

Dear Friend,

We received the attached press release last night by fax from Darwin, Australia. It describes a wave of arrests in Dili, East Timor, in advance of a visit of U.S. Congressional staff members.

The arrests began last week, with greatly heightened military security at Dili airport and other areas. Some reports say that several hundred young East Timorese, many survivors of the 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, were rounded up and taken outside of Dili. We have not been able to determine where they are or what has been done to them.

The American delegation arrived Wednesday mid-day (Sept. 1) and left Thursday morning, local time. Security was extremely tight during their visit. The East Timor Action Network/U.S. will continue to gather information on this new wave of

Indonesian military repression in East Timor, and we hope others will do the same.

Since a visit of American representatives was the excuse for the crackdown, the government and people of the United States have a particular responsibility to see that all those who were arrested are released immediately, without being tortured.

The Indonesian government took these harsh measures to prevent the U.S. and world community from learning what is really going on under its 18-year military occupation of East Timor. We owe it to the East Timorese people to distribute this information as rapidly and widely as possible.

Thank you for your quick response.

### **Darwin Supporters for a Free East Timor**

Phone/fax 61-89-275478 or 61-89-832113  
Press Release: 2 Sept. 1993

### **"Hundreds of young people again arrested in Dili." - Jose Gusmão**

News has been filtering out of mass arrests yet again of young people in Dili, East Timor, during the past week.

The arrests appear to be preemptive action by the totalitarian military rulers of East Timor in advance of the very short visit of a delegation of officials from the US Congress.

Once again these arrests show that there is no freedom in East Timor, that recent statements from Jakarta claiming that tensions have eased and all are happy are lies, and that the military command in East Timor is a law unto itself and is basically out of control.

The Southeast Asia office of CNRM (The National Council of Maubere Resistance) in Darwin is able to provide the names of 53 of those young people arrested. We call on the Australian government urgently to find out the names of all arrested, to intercede for their safety, and to protest this excessive and illegal behaviour, and for the press and public to help too.

The interim list of names and their suburb or school follows:

1. Fausto da Silva, Desa Kamea
2. Gil Lemos
3. Julio X. da Silva, SMN Dili
4. Sebastião Pedro da Silva, SMA Dili
5. Christiano Araujo, Desa Kampung Alor
6. Augusto Pachao Monteiro, SMP Hati Kudus
7. Tinoco, Desa Kampung Alor
8. Bento Pereira
9. Jose Maria
10. Isac da Costa
11. Francisco da Silva
12. Benjamin Madeira, SMA Dili
13. Alberto Carvalho, Kampung Alor

14. Hermenegildo Carvalho
15. Tiago de Jesus
16. Alberto Alves
17. Virgilio Augusto
18. Tomas da Costa
19. Julito
20. Olimpio Castro
21. Januario de Jesus
22. Jose de Jesus
23. Carlos Augusto, Bairro Pite
24. Pedro Fatima, Kuluhun
25. Januario (alias) Alico, Santa Cruz
26. Afonso Maria, Santa Cruz
27. Casimiro Andrade
28. Jovito das Dores
29. Rosalino Pereira
30. Gustavo Sarmento, Taibessi
31. Janio Lobato, Bairro Economico
32. Simplicio Madeira, Lahana Barat
33. Antonio Baptista, Vila Verde
34. Fernando Tilman, Kuluhun
35. Jose S. Bento, Audian
36. Lito da Costa, Kuluhun
37. Joaquim Sarmento, Bairro Economico
38. Anibal Magno, Kintal Bot
39. Danociano dos Martires, Quintal Mascarenhas
40. Jose Manuel, Balide
41. Francisco Atanasio
42. Octaviano dos Santos, Kuluhun
43. Aleixo de Jesus Tilman, Ai Turi Laran
44. Gelito Freitas da Silva, Bairro Formosa
45. Ambrosio da Costa Sarmento, Lahane Timur
46. Domingos Doutel Faria, Bidau
47. Constancio Manuel Alves, Camoro Beto
48. Narcisio Madeira Neves, Colmera
49. Leonio Maria das Dores, Fatu Hada
50. Eufrazio G. Nunes, Pertamina Comoro
51. Atanasio P. Gaspar, Bidau Aikadiru Hun
52. Celestino Morato da Cunha, Taibessi
53. Claudio Cortinhal, Bairro Pite

Jose Gusmão, Darwin Supporters for a Free East Timor (also CNRM SE Asian and Darwin Representative), PhFax 089-275478

Rob Wesley-Smith, DSFET, PhFax 089-832113

### **LETTER TO SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE AND KEY CONGRESSPEOPLE**

East Timor Action Network / United States  
September 2, 1993

Dear Senator \_\_\_\_\_,

We just received the attached list of names of people who have been arrested in East Timor in the past few days. These 53 names are among the several hundred who were rounded up beginning last week, in advance of the visit of a group of Congressional staff members.

We have not been able to find out where the arrestees have been taken or what has been done to them. Many are survivors of

the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops used U.S.-supplied weapons to kill hundreds of unarmed East Timorese people.

The staffers visited East Timor for eighteen hours this past Wednesday and Thursday. Military security was extremely tight before and during their visit.

As you know, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will mark up the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill this Wednesday. Senator Feingold is introducing an amendment to suspend U.S. government and commercial weapons sales to Indonesia until Indonesia respects human rights in East Timor and complies with U.N. Security Council resolutions for troop withdrawal and self-determination.

We hope you will support this amendment.

The Indonesian government arrested these young people to prevent the U.S. Congress from learning what is going on inside its 18-year military occupation.

Since a visit of American representatives was the excuse for the crackdown, the United States has a particular responsibility to see that all those who were arrested are released immediately, without being tortured.

Thank you.

---

## **REQUIRED COURSES**

### **Indonesia Denies Alleged Arrests in East Timor**

Reuter, Sept. 3. Full text.

(Jakarta) Independence activists said on Friday that 53 students had been arrested in East Timor before a visit by U.S. congressional aides, but Indonesian military activists said they had been sent on a course.

East Timor's National Council of Maubere resistance alleged in a faxed statement from Lisbon that the arrests were designed to prevent any "disturbances which may arise out of political demonstrations by the students who may have hoped ... to gain attention to their plight."

A group of U.S. congressional aides arrived in East Timor on Wednesday for a two-day visit organized by the Indonesian government and met military commander Major General Theo Syafei and the territory's governor Abilio Osorio Soares.

"There was no arrest, they (the students) were sent for a guidance course in Dili," military spokesman Major Leiden Simbolon said by telephone from the East Timor capital.

"It was a coincidence (the course started) when the congressional staffers arrived."

The U.S. Congress, which suspended some military aid after Indonesian troops

opened fire on mourners at a funeral in Dili in 1991, is due to debate soon whether to suspend all arms sales.

Indonesia has sought to improve its image over East Timor which it annexed a year after invading the former Portuguese colony in 1975. Last month it reduced a life sentence handed to rebel leader Xanana Gusmão to 20 years.

In July, Washington blocked the sale to Indonesia of U.S.-made Northrop F-5E fighter planes from Jordan partly because of Jakarta's human rights record in East Timor.

*Comment from Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US:*

*Fifty-three is the number of names the resistance was able to obtain so far. In actuality, several hundred people were arrested; it is not known where they were taken. The arrests started about 5 days before the visit, which lasted only 18 hours. The staffers had requested to meet with Bishop Belo and other East Timorese, but were not allowed to.*

*Is the topic of the required course "Endurance of Pain 101," or perhaps it's a graduate course in "Deprivation of Liberty"?*

*Fortunately, even Indonesia's supporters in Washington don't seem to believe this transparent lie, which provoked a groan from at least one opponent of the Feingold amendment.*

---

## AI: INDONESIA MASS ARRESTS

*EXTERNAL (for general distribution) AI  
Index: ASA 21/20/93. Distr: UA/SC*

6 September 1993

UA 306/93 Arbitrary Detention/Fear of Torture

### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

(The first 20 names on the previous list)  
And 33 others

Amnesty International is concerned for the safety of the above 53 students, and possibly many others, who were arrested by Indonesian security forces in East Timor in advance of a visit to the territory by members of the United States Congress on 1 and 2 September 1993. The current whereabouts of the 53 are unknown. Amnesty International believes that they may be prisoners of conscience, detained solely because of their non-violent political activities. It fears that they may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment while in the custody of the Indonesian security forces.

Reports indicate that the arrests were carried out in an effort to prevent any pro-independence demonstrations from taking place while the congressional delegates were in East Timor. Indonesian military officials

have denied that the arrests had taken place. Instead a military spokesman in Dili stated that about fifty youths had been sent on a "guidance course" in Dili in advance of the congressional visit. Individuals who are sent on such "courses" are in some instances obliged to stay in military quarters and are required to attend ideological training courses in the state ideology, Pancasila. In other instances Amnesty International is aware of such "guidance" taking the form of detainees being held at remote military posts where they are obliged to act as labourers and servants of the military and are subjected to various forms of abuse. Amnesty International regards this as a form of arbitrary, unacknowledged detention.

Amnesty International has also received reports that dozens of other people were picked up for interrogation prior to, and following, the congressional visit. The situation in Dili, as well as in Baucau, Los Palos and Manatuto, is reported to remain very tense, with the towns being kept under strict surveillance by the military. A Swedish parliamentary delegation is due to arrive in East Timor on 13 September for a three day visit and Amnesty International believes that further arrests and arbitrary detentions are likely to follow in the coming days as a consequence.

### BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Since Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 Amnesty International has documented a pattern of gross and persistent human rights violations by Indonesian security forces in East Timor. These have included extrajudicial execution, torture and ill-treatment, "disappearance," political imprisonment and unfair trial. 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 (ICRC) access to political detainees. All those detained must be considered at serious risk. The use of unacknowledged, arbitrary and often incommunicado detention facilitates and even invites torture and other ill-treatment, as a mounting volume of evidence from former detainees makes clear.

### RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters either in English or in your own language:

- expressing concern for the 53 people named above arrested in East Timor and seeking clarification of their whereabouts;
- urging that representatives of the ICRC, lawyers, relatives and doctors be granted

immediate and unconditional access to their place of detention;

- 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 will be humanely treated while in custody and that their relatives and friends will not face intimidation, harassment and other violations of their rights.

### 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

General Feisal Tanjung

[Salutation: Dear General Tanjung] Commander of the Armed Forces (ABRI) Jl. Merdeka Barat 13, Cilangkap, East Jakarta, Indonesia. Telegrams: Gen. Tanjung, Markas Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia Faxes: +62 21 36 1471/+62 21 37 8144/+62 21 35 6404

Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei

[Salutation: Dear Major General Syafei] Military Commander for Region IX, Pangdam IX/Udayana Markas Besar, KODAM IX Udayana Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia, Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, Kodam IX, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

Colonel Suntoro

[Salutation: Dear Colonel Suntoro] Commander Resort Military Command (KOREM) 164. Dili, Timor Timur. Telegrams: Col. Suntoro, KOREM 164, Dili, Timor Timur

---

## SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION VISITS EAST TIMOR

---

### SWEDISH MP'S TO VISIT INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

*The following press release was received from the media unit of the Center Party Parliamentary Office, Stockholm, Sweden, on 2 September 1993.*

Members of Swedish Parliament Mrs. Ingebritt Irhammar (Center Party), Mr. Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat) and Mrs. Ingela Martensson (Liberal) will visit

Indonesia and East Timor from 4 - 17 September.

The visit, which is taking place on their own initiative, includes meetings with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, representatives of the various Indonesian Parliamentary factions, and environmental and Human Rights organisations.

The three members of Parliament are all strongly committed to Human Rights, and have previously visited, among other countries, Palestine and Kurdistan. Amnesty International charges Indonesia with violations of Human Rights, specially in the former Portuguese colony East Timor, which in 1975 was occupied by Indonesia. One third of the population in the country is estimated to have been killed by war, famine and terror, since the invasion. The occupation has been condemned by the United Nations. The Swedish position is that the right to self-determination of the East Timorese people should be respected.

"We hope that Indonesia does indeed listen to the growing world-opinion on this issue," says Hans Goran Franck. East Timor was put in world focus in November 1991, when Indonesian military committed a massacre on peaceful civilian demonstrators in the East Timorese capital Dili. In the Swedish visit, four days in East Timor are scheduled. This is the first time since the massacre that foreign parliamentarians are allowed to visit the territory. Delegations from Japan, Australia, United States and the European Parliament, have all been refused entry. "We are grateful for the generosity showed by Indonesia, and we hope that this is signaling a new openness. We hope that also international Human Rights organisations shall be allowed to work in East Timor," says Ingela Martensson.

In March, the UN Commission on Human Rights sharply criticised Indonesia, and called for the Indonesian government to allow independent Human Rights organisations like Amnesty International, to work in the country. The resolution was supported by a great majority, including the United States. The US was earlier one of Indonesia's closest allies, but has after the election of President Clinton, started to review its support for the Indonesian military.

"We are coming to Indonesia with an open mind, and will seek to meet representatives of all parts of the Indonesian society. Indonesia is a great nation, unfortunately tormented by the drawn out and unsolved conflict in East Timor. Conflict should be solved through dialogue, and we believe that Indonesia, who in its capacity of a regional power played a prominent role in the Cambodian process, shall see the need for a dialogue also in East Timor," says Ingebritt Irhammar. The resistance movement CNRM

(which includes Fretilin) has offered a cease-fire and negotiations without preconditions. Its peace plan has been studied with great interest by the UN Secretary General, who has been mandated to hold consultations with the parts in the conflict; the occupying power Indonesia, the former colonial power Portugal, and the East Timorese liberation movement. Indonesia has however so far refused to talk to the resistance. The resistance leader Jose Xanana Gusmão was on 21 May sentenced to life.

"Xanana is a great man. Timorese, and also Indonesians I have met, speaks about him as a Nelson Mandela of East Timor. In my opinion he has a given role in a future dialogue. He should, against the background of the unfair trial, be set free. He is a fascinating person whom I really would like to meet," says Ingebritt Irhammar. Sweden and Indonesia has some cooperation around development projects through the Nordic Development Fund (NDF). This is also an important area of interest during the visit. They are hoping to meet both representatives of the Indonesian Government and activists from the Indonesian environmental movement.

*TENTATIVE PROGRAMME not included here, see below.*

## SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARY DELEGATION LEFT FOR INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR TODAY

*LUSA, 3 Sep. 1993. By Alfred de Tavares*

STOCKHOLM: The three Swedish parliamentarians, Mrs. Ingela Martensson (Liberal), Mrs. Ingebritt Irhammar (Center) and Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat) left separately for Jakarta today. They will meet in the Indonesian capital, prior to the commencement of the two week fact finding mission that will take them to East Timor and, hopefully, enable them to meet East Timorese activists and leaders that are in prison or in hiding.

Speaking to LUSA, before departure, Advocate Hans Goran Franck said: "We are pleased at the opportunity of examining at first hand the conditions in what has been described as one of the worst human rights records countries. Our primary purpose is to study closely the human rights situation in East Timor and further, the problems that deter their right to self determination." "We really hope that we will be able to study and judge the situation with our own eyes and to make all the necessary contacts to study the situation."

*LUSA: What contacts do you have in mind?*

H-GF: "We wish to meet and talk with government officials, opposition representatives and have free access to the victims of the Indonesian invasion and occupation in East Timor."

*LUSA: Do you have any specific person or persons in mind?*

H-GF: "Of course. The person we wish most of all to see and talk to is the imprisoned leader of the Timorese people, Xanana Gusmão. I have followed his case closely and so have the colleagues accompanying me. I have pressed the council of Europe to take up his matter in the highest forums; soon after his arrest, last spring I asked the chairman of the European Council of Ministers to intervene; they have done something but not enough. The same is the case with the Swedish government; only half hearted efforts."

*LUSA: Do you think your requests will be acceded?*

H-GF: "I can only answer to that after I have been there. Some of our requirements we have not yet presented and will do so after our meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister. But our mission has the support and interest of parliamentarians of all parties, inter-parliamentary bodies, NGO's and UN agencies. It is in the interest of Indonesia to cooperate with us. They face immense international pressure to change their repressive way of government and antagonizing us will not help them in that direction."

*LUSA: Is there any other important items on your agenda?*

H-GF: "Oh yes, quite a few. But I feel that the significant issue will be the request Ingela Martensson, Ingebritt Irhammar and I intend to make our hosts: to enable the seven Timorese students that sought asylum in the Swedish and Finnish embassies and who now are, reportedly in a situation of risk, to leave Indonesia with us. If we succeed, in spite of the offer of asylum to them by Portugal, we will press the Swedish government to accommodate them on our own refugee quota. As a jurist, I am of the opinion that the measure will be advantageous to them, as well as put the Swedish handling of the East Timor question in a better perspective."

## SWEDISH VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

*TT, Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå (Swedish National News Agency). 7 Sept. 1993. By Stefan Hjerten. Translated from Swedish.*

STOCKHOLM/JAKARTA Three Swedish Members of Parliament will visit



East Timor next week. That is clear after a meeting with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia, Mr. Ali Alatas, in Jakarta on Tuesday.

The three - Ingebritt Irhammar (Centre Party), Ingela Martensson (Liberal) and Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat) - are making a three week visit to the area. Lately the Indonesian hosts have made a series of attempts to change the itinerary, keeping East Timor out. The MP's got the impression that some kind of unknown force, probably the military who holds a tight grip on East Timor, wanted to keep them out.

"We went straight to the point, and asked who is really in charge in Indonesia," Ingebritt Irhammar says to TT: "We had heard rumours that the military would stop our visit to East Timor next week."

But Alatas assured Ingela Martensson, Hans Goran Franck and Ingebritt Irhammar, that the itinerary approved by the Foreign Ministry, is valid.

The parliamentarians will be in the disputed territory from 13 - 16 September. For many years it has been very difficult to get permit to visit East Timor, which was invaded and occupied by Indonesia in 1975, and later annexed by Indonesia. The UN and the former colonial power Portugal have never recognized the annexation. The issue is regularly discussed by the UN. Within the US Congress, there is strong criticism of Indonesia on the issue of East Timor. Last week a group of staffers from the Congress visited East Timor to investigate the situation.

The Senate Foreign Affairs Committee is currently debating a proposal to cut all arms trade from the US to Indonesia.

On September 20, the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal will meet with the UN Secretary General for consultations on East Timor.

The conclusions made by the Swedish MP's will find an interested audience, as few political observers have had an opportunity to stay for four days in East Timor, since the Indonesian invasion.

#### **CORRECTION / CLARIFICATION**

The news report says:

"Lately the Indonesian hosts have made a series of attempts to change the itinerary, keeping East Timor out."

According to reliable sources close to the Swedish Foreign office and the MP's delegation, this is not quite true. The facts are that the Indonesian Foreign Ministry had never proposed a complete cut out of the East Timor visit, rather a reduction from four to three days. This was also made clear by the MP speaking to the news reporter.

This clearly makes a difference, specially to the media in Jakarta reporting on the visit.

The error is partly a misunderstanding by the reporter at the Swedish National News Agency (TT), partly my fault when translating the piece to English for the ET conference..

My personal view is that there are pressures behind the scenes, from the military in ET, to keep the visit as short as possible, and if possible have it cut out altogether.

But, as the MP's are saying in the interview, Mr. Alatas has now given his assurances that the visit will take place according to the original itinerary.

— Jan-Erik Forsberg, *Swedish East Timor Committee*

---

### **SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIANS ASSURED FREE MOVEMENT, ACCESS IN EAST TIMOR**

---

*LUSA, 7 September 1993. By Alfred de Tavares.*

STOCKHOLM/JAKARTA – LUSA has been in touch with the three Swedish parliamentarians, presently on a three week fact-finding visit to Indonesia and East Timor - the first of its type since the Indonesian invasion and annexation of East Timor.

"After meeting with Foreign Minister of Indonesia Ali Alatas, upon our arrival in Jakarta, we are now certain that we will be enabled to visit East Timor," Mrs. Ingela Martensson told LUSA from the Indonesian capital today. "Until now we were not absolutely sure that we would be allowed into the area."

"From the information we had gathered we were given to understand that the Indonesian authorities had made several efforts to change our itinerary so that East Timor would be excluded from our visit," said Ingela Martensson, the Liberal member of the Swedish Parliament who has most engaged herself in order to make this visit a reality. "We received definite information that a powerful force, that we saw as the military authorities in charge of the East Timor region, will keep us out from the area."

"We went right to the heart of the matter and directly asked Ali Alatas to tell us who, in reality, decides the matters of importance in Indonesia; to let us know whether or not we will be able to visit East Timor. He has assured us that the original programme that has been cleared by the foreign ministry and also includes East Timor, will stand," said Ingela Martensson.

The three Swedish MP's, besides Martensson, Mrs. Irhammar (Center) and lawyer Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat), will thus visit the disputed former Portuguese colony from September 13 to 16.

Since Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor in 1975, and subsequently annexed it, it has been nearly impossible for political delegations from democratic countries to visit the area. Although an Australian delegation was allowed in some time ago, and a group of officials from the US Congress last week also was permitted to do the same, they were both, reportedly, so closely monitored that their usefulness was rendered insignificant. The Swedes hopefully expect substantially different possibilities. They will also be the first to visit Timor during such an extended period.

Said Ingela Martensson: "It would appear that the proposed legislation by the US Senate to impose a total weapons embargo on Indonesia, has born results; Indonesia would like to avert such a situation and appear to be willing to make gestures to preempt it."

Mr. Alatas is looking forward with keen interest to his meeting, on September 20, with the UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, along with the Foreign Minister of Portugal.

---

### **FINNISH MP REFUSED ENTRY TO INDONESIA**

---

*Swedish East Timor Committee, 8 Sept.*

Finnish MP, Mrs. Satu Hassi (Green Party) has been refused visa to Indonesia.

She had planned to go together with the Swedish MP's currently visiting Indonesia.

Mrs. Hassi's initiative was greeted by her fellow Swedish MP's, who offered her to be part of their delegation.

In Scandinavia, there is a long tradition of joint delegations and close cooperation between the five Nordic countries. Mrs. Hassi is a delegate to the Nordic Council (Nordisk Rad), a consultative assembly of Parliamentarians from the Nordic Countries. In the NR she is a member of the financial committee, which discuss the activities of the Nordic Investment Bank. This year the Nordic Investment Bank has granted a loan of 50 million USD, to Indonesia.

At the Nordic Council Annual Meeting in Oslo in March 1993, Mrs. Hassi brought up the issue of East Timor for discussion. She asked questions on the NIB financing of Indonesia, and proposed that the Nordic Ministerial Council should send a delegate to East Timor, to investigate the Human Rights situation.

Last week Mrs. Hassi applied to the Indonesian embassy in Helsinki for a visa.

Signals from the Indonesian Foreign Ministry to the embassy of Finland in Jakarta, at first said that there would be no problem. But later on Friday, the Indonesian Foreign Ministry decided to refuse her visa.

Mrs. Hassi says she will try to organise a new broader visit by Human Rights defenders in the Finnish Parliament, to Indonesia and East Timor.

If this move by the Indonesian Government was intended to discourage Human Rights activists in Finnish Parliament, they now seem to have made a gross miscalculation.

---

## INDONESIA WANTS NO VISITS

*Publico, 9 Sep. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) The Indonesian Government has tried to stop a Swedish parliamentary delegation, currently in Jakarta, from going to East Timor. The delegation should be arriving in Dili next Monday for a 3-day visit. According to one of the delegates, MP Ingela Martensson, who was contacted by the LUSA news agency from Stockholm, "The Indonesian authorities made various attempts to change our itinerary." She went on to explain how the delegation's visit to East Timor was only guaranteed after the three delegates went to see the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas and were insistent about it. "We got straight to the point and asked Ali Alatas to tell us who really makes the decisions on important issues in Indonesia," Ingela Martensson explained.

Alatas eventually gave assurances that the delegation's itinerary would be respected. The Swedish delegates, however, fear they will be unable to move about freely in Timor. They have meetings set up with Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, with local ICRC representatives, and with Indonesian military authorities in the territory.

On the eve of the beginning of the delegation's travel, there are increasing reports of new arrests in Timor. Yesterday, in statements made by phone to TSF, Dili's apostolic administrator, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, said he was in possession of a list of 74 people, arrested recently by Indonesian security and sent to different military command posts.

Bishop Belo's list adds to the concern already expressed by Amnesty International (AI) which launched, from its London Secretariat, an appeal to international public opinion with regards the situation in Timor. AI urged for the "immediate" sending of messages to the Jakarta authorities (including Minister Alatas, the Armed Forces Commander, General Feisal Tanjung, and the Operations Commander in Dili, Colonel

Suntoro), demanding the immediate release of the Timorese prisoners of conscience.

At the heart of AI's concerns is the plight of the 53 young Timorese detained earlier this month, just before the visit of the US Congress assessors. The human rights organisation, which published a document containing the names of the 53 Timorese, fears they may be "subjected to torture and ill treatment while in detention."

Still according to AI information, "dozens of other people" were said to have been arrested for interrogation, during the visit of the US Congress officials, the situation being much more tense in Dili, Baucau, Lospalos and Manatuto.

Also yesterday, the Bishop of Dili stated that he would only agree to take part in a "reconciliation" meeting if such a meeting included "all the Timorese, namely Ramos-Horta and his colleagues."

Mnsgr. Ximenes added that he had not been invited to the meeting "by any person in authority" competent to do so. Last month, the promoter of this meeting, Abilio Araujo, publicly stated in Lisbon that he had proposed that the Bishop participate in the meeting.

---

## SWEDES IN EAST TIMOR: "CONSTANTLY WATCHED"

*Tidningarnas Telegrambyrå, TT (Swedish National News Agency). 14 September 1993. By Stefan Hjerten. Translated from Swedish.*

DILI/ STOCKHOLM (TT) "It is difficult to see the real life. We are constantly watched, said MP Ingela Martensson over the phone from Dili on Tuesday.

Dili is the capital of East Timor, a small nation in the East Asian archipelago which 1975 was occupied by Indonesia. The Indonesian authorities have been very restrictive when it comes to approving visits from outside. Now from Monday to Thursday three Swedish MP's are in East Timor, Martensson from the Liberals, Ingebritt Irhammar (Center Party) and Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat).

They have met with the top-level of the Indonesian administration, the Governor and the military Commander. On Wednesday they will meet the Catholic Bishop. On Tuesday morning Ingebritt Irhammar and Swedish TV journalist Ragnar Hedlund were in the countryside, while Ingela Martensson and Hans Goran Franck visited prisons and discussed the judicial system with a judge. "The police gaol was empty. In the prison we met a person who had been sentenced to ten years for taking part in the demonstration in November 1991, but he did not want to answer any questions, says Ingela Martensson, over the phone to TT. Apparently

she is annoyed over being accompanied by official guides and being constantly watched. "When we are taken somewhere by car, there are military everywhere and sirens are heard," she says.

The interest in the visit, is great from the Indonesian press. When the MP's are back in Jakarta, they will give a press-conference. On Tuesday the front page of the local paper in Dili, carried the picture of Hans Goran Franck. The Indonesian news agency Antara on Tuesday went out with the news that "all combat soldiers has been withdrawn from East Timor. Only those occupied with development projects remain in the territory." Ingela Martensson has not got that impression. "It is said that Indonesia keeps ten battalions here and I can surely believe that, when I see all these soldiers," she says.

---

## SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIANS INTERVIEWED FROM DILI

*LUSA, 15 September 1993. By Alfred de Tavares. Slightly abridged.*

STOCKHOLM, WED 15: Late last night LUSA spoke with the Swedish Parliamentarians on the first visit of its type, in Dili, the capital of East Timor occupied by Indonesia. Following is a candid description of their activities in East Timor and Indonesia, since their arrival in Jakarta more than a week ago, by Mrs. Ingela Martensson, the Liberal Swedish MP who is the soul behind the initiative by the parliamentarians to find out at first hand, the facts of life in the former Portuguese territory:

In Jakarta," says Ingela Martensson to LUSA from Turismo Beach Hotel in Dili, "we have had many meetings with different persons - NGO's, religious leaders, parliamentarians and government and military officials."

"We held a prolonged session with the Foreign Minister of Indonesia Ali Alatas, who elaborated, in detail, the historic situation. He appears very positive towards the proposed initiative by the United Nations to mediate between Portugal and Indonesia, who he feels stand very far apart from each other, and who must meet half way in order to achieve a feasible solution in East Timor."

"We arrived in East Timor on Monday (September 13) and were immediately received by the governor of East Timor, Abilio Jose Osorio Soares and the commander of the military forces in the region."

Goes on Ingela Martensson: "On Monday afternoon we visited a 'strategic' village 84 km from Dili, that is administered' by the military. According to the briefing given us, the military plans to retire from this

village 'later on.' The people in this area, from the impression we received, were inhabitants from the mountainous region."

"On Tuesday morning we visited a jail and a police prison. The jail, according to our guides, housed 45 percent murderers, traffic violators, violent criminals and 4.44 percent political prisoners. We met with one of those sentenced after November 12. He was sentenced to a 10 year term."

"Tuesday afternoon, Hans Goran (Franck, Social Democrat MP) and I visited the Judicial Court. According to the judge we met, there are no political prisoners at all, only criminal offenders - even those who demonstrate or are politically active, the judge informed us, where sentenced according to the criminal code. The reason for this discrepancy being that political being forbidden in East Timor, they could not be featured in any court proceedings."

"This morning, (Wednesday, September 15) we will meet Bishop Carlos Belo and visit the "Parliament." In the evening we are invited to a formal dinner by Governor Soares."

"Tomorrow, September 16, we leave East Timor. Throughout our visit in East Timor our every move has been closely watched and all movements thoroughly monitored by the military as well as the police."

The Swedish parliamentary delegation consists of Mrs. Ingela Martensson (Liberal), Mrs. Ingebritt Irhammar (Center) and Hans Goran Franck (Social Democrat).

## PARLIAMENTARIANS AT PRESS CONFERENCE IN JAKARTA

*Original document, 17 September 1993*

1. Hans Goran Franck (67), international lawyer, Member of Parliament (Social Democrat), Swedish Parliamentary Delegate at the Council of Europe:

Peace, stability, democratic process, development and social justice is of vital importance. Indonesia and other countries can play an important role to reach these goals. However, the Indonesian annexation of East Timor cannot be accepted. A fair and lasting peaceful solution cannot be reached, without the participation of independent representatives of the East Timorese people. It is important that UN Secretary General B B Ghalib invites independent personalities with a high reputation from East Timor to take part in the negotiations. A referendum is also needed to have a solid solution. UN observers and peace-keeping forces are needed during a transition period. Indonesia has to withdraw the military forces or at

least minimize them essentially without any delay. An arms embargo is needed against Indonesia as long as the matters of self-determination and human rights problems are not solved.

An improvement of the implementation of human rights is urgent. Arbitrary arrests and detention are among the things very common. All political detainees and prisoners, including "Xanana" Gusmão, have to be released. A number of them are jailed for more than 28 years, even with death sentences. Capital punishment has to be abolished soonest. It is also of great importance that free trade unions are guaranteed and a confederation of trade unions will be permitted. Indonesia has to sign and ratify the International Covenant on Human Rights without any delay.

2. Ingebritt Irhammar, Member of Parliament (Center Party):

Official statements have been made that there is a will to improve human rights in Indonesia. This must not only be lip-service. In order to support the individuals and organisations at different levels of the society who work for improvements also in democracy, strong international pressure on the Indonesian government is needed. It is necessary that all kinds of human rights organisations, journalists, international lawyers, parliamentarians will be permitted to freely go to East Timor and other areas like Aceh and Irian Jaya, to observe the situation. According to given information, too little of development support through the Indonesian government goes to the poor people. Development support is also used to increase the wealth of the upper level of society. Therefore it is necessary to channel support directly to the people through for instance NGO's and various religious organisations. Support through government channels must be closely controlled.

3. Ingela Martensson, Member of Parliament (Liberal Party)

The people of East Timor is totally controlled by the Indonesian government through military and police. They are not allowed to openly express their opinions about the status of East Timor, in spite of the United Nations has decided that there should be a referendum to give the people the right to decide their future. It is urgent that there will be a peaceful solution to the question of East Timor.

I appreciate the initiative of the Secretary General of the UN, B B Ghalib, to negotiate with Indonesia and Portugal. But representatives from the Timorese people must also take part in the negotiations. The historical decision on the Palestinian question shows the necessity of having representatives from the concerned people to be at the negotiating

table. In the meantime, the Indonesian military must be taken away from East Timor as soon as possible and the role of the police radically reduced. Weapons exports to Indonesia should not be allowed as long as the status of East Timor is not decided.

## PROGRAMME FOR SWEDISH PARLIAMENTARIAN VISIT TO INDONESIA/ EAST TIMOR

*From Swedish embassy, Jakarta 16 September 1993*

Saturday 4 September:

15 35 Arrival at Jakarta International Airport

Sunday 5 September:

A m Breakfast meeting at Hotel Kemang  
City tour of Jakarta: Monas, Fatahillah Square, Sunda Kelapa  
Visit to Indonesian Miniature Park

Monday 6 September

10 00 Coffee morning with Mr. Theo L Sambuaga, Vice Chairman Commission I (Foreign Affairs, Defence and Security, Information) - House of Representatives, At the Ambassador's residence

13 00 Meeting with four factions  
GOLKAR, PPP, PDI and ABRI, Arranged by the DPR Inter Parliamentary Coordination Board, at Lokawirasabha Bldg 6th Floor/610, DPR Building, Jl Jend Gatot Subroto, Senayan Protocol 571 5351, 571 5359, 571 5346 Contact person: Mr. Suzana Adibrata/Zahir

17 00 Meeting with Mr Hendry Fournier, ICRC At the ambassador's residence

Tuesday 7 September:

10 00 Meeting with HE Minister Ala Alatas Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Jl Taman Pejambon 6, Ph 366014.

10 30 Meeting with Dir Gen of Politics Mr Wiryono Sastrohandoyo, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

12 00 Lunch meeting with H E Msgr Pietro Sambu Apostolic Nunciature, Jl Medan Merdeka Timur 18

17 00 Meeting with Mr Lopes da Cruz

20.00 Javanese Classical Dance

Wednesday 8 September:

09.00 Mr Adnan Buyung Nasution, Chairman Legal Aid Institute (LBH); Ms Rita Serena Kalibonso (ex BITS scholar); Mr Irianto Subiakto (ex Bits scholar)

12.30 Luncheon with Mr Abdurachman Wahid of Forum Demokrasi

16.00 Meeting with Mr T. Mulya Lubis

18.00 Director H.J.C. Princen, Institute for the Defence of Human Rights

Thursday 9 September:

10.30 Meeting with INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development), 15-20 participants Organized by Mr Abdulhakim G. Nusantara

13.00 Lunch Meeting with Embassie's diplomats

20.10 Arrival Bali

Friday 10 September:

Recreation, sightseeing in Bali

Saturday 11 September:

08.00 Courtesy calls to the Governor of Bali, Prof Dr Ida Bagus Oka

09.00 Courtesy call to the Deputy Military Commander, Brig Gen Sulatin

Sunday 12 September:

Recreation, sightseeing in Bali

Monday 13 September:

11.10 Departure for Dili, East Timor

13.10 Arrival at Dili Airport Transfer to Hotel Turismo, Address: Jl Alfenida

14.00 Visit to Governor Soares

15.00 Visit to the Military Commander; Lingtang

P.m. Visit to a newly constructed strategic village; Visit to a school

Evening Visit to the ICRC

Tuesday 14 September

Visit to a prison in Dili; Visit to a police station in Dili

Visit to the District Court (Mr Franck and Mrs Martensson)

Trip to Baucau, talking to Father Rolando (Mrs Irhammar and journalist Ragnar Hedlund)

Wednesday 15 September:

A.m. Talk to local parliamentarians

10.00 Visit at ETADEP (NGO)

14.00 Visit to Bishop Belo

Dinner with Governor Soares and Indonesian ambassadors and consuls.

Thursday 16 September:

Visit to the Santa Cruz Cemetery

Visit to craft-industry

Press-Conference

Departure from Dili, Flight MZ 617

Arrival Jakarta

Friday 17 September:

Meeting with Mr Marzuki Darusman

Meeting with representative of the Press

Meeting with Mr. Hendry Fournier, ICRC

Meeting with Mr. Stephen Kelly, US embassy

Transfer to airport

21.00 Departure for Sweden by GA 890

## SWEDISH MPS DENOUNCE MASS DETENTION IN EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA, Sept. 17 (AFP) Three Swedish MPs called Friday for Indonesia to release civilians detained in East Timor during two fact-finding tours of the former Portuguese colony by U.S. Congressional staff.

"It is absolutely unacceptable that arbitrary detention is used on such a great scale and it must be stopped," Hans Goran Franck of the Social Democrat Party told journalists here after the group's four-day

visit to East Timor, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

"I am very concerned about the detainees, recently arrested in this country in connection with the two visits by staff of the U.S. Congress," Franck said.

Although Franck said they were unable to get an exact number of those arrested in connection with the U.S. visits earlier this month, he said the arrests were "on a rather large scale" and could number around 100.

It was urgent that the military "really give information about it and that all these people who have been missing now be released," he said.

Ingebritt Irhammar from the Center Party, citing church sources in Dili, said that many of the some 100 East Timorese youth who gathered to prepare a pro-independence rally on the eve of the arrival of the second U.S. group had been arrested and were still being held.

The Indonesian military said the more than 50 students that overseas East Timorese independence activists claimed were under arrest, were on "national awareness" and "guidance" courses that just happened to coincide with the visits.

The Swedish MPs also called on Indonesia to withdraw all its troops from East Timor, with Irhammar saying that their presence made the region "totally controlled."

"The main, important thing now for the people of East Timor is the withdrawal of military troops. They live as though they were in prison," Irhammar said, while Ingela Martensson from the Liberal Party described the troops as a "provocation" to the East Timorese.

Indonesian military authorities say there are 10 battalions in East Timor, but only one is made up of combat troops while the other carry out development work. An Indonesian battalion has about 650 men.

## SWEDISH LAWMAKERS CALL FOR ARMS EMBARGO ON JAKARTA

JAKARTA (AP, Sept. 17) A group of Swedish lawmakers called on Jakarta Friday to withdraw its troops from East Timor and said an arms embargo should be imposed on Indonesia until the status of the former Portuguese colony is determined.

"An arms embargo against Indonesia is necessary as long as the matters of self-determination and human rights problems are not solved," Hans Goran Franck of the ruling (sic) Social Democrat Party told reporters after a four-day visit to East Timor.

Swedish ambassador Lars-Erik Wingren said Franck, two other parliamentarians and

one journalist visited Indonesia on their own accord and paid for the trip themselves.

"As long as the military are still present in East Timor, I will recommend to our government the ban of weapon export to Indonesia," Ingebritt Irhammar of the Center Party said.

She said the people of East Timor lived under the complete control of the Indonesian government. She compared their living situation to a prison.

Franck also called for the immediate release of all political prisoners, including José Alexandre Gusmão, former leader of revolutionary front for an independent East Timor, or FRETILIN.

Gusmão, 46, was captured last November and is serving a 20-year prison term.

Indonesia was widely condemned overseas after government troops killed dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor in November 12, 1991.

East Timor was annexed by Indonesia in July 1976 but the United Nations still recognize Portugal as the territory's administering power.

## REUTER, 17 SEPTEMBER 1993.

### ABRIDGED

JAKARTA, Sept. 17 (Reuters) The first group of independent observers to be allowed to visit East Timor in several months, said human rights in the territory continued to be abused.

Three Swedish parliamentarians said the military continued to intimidate Timorese, using routine harassment, interrogation and arbitrary arrest of suspects.

"It is absolutely unacceptable that arbitrary detentions are taking place to such a great extent and that must be stopped," Hans Goran Franck, an opposition member of parliament, told a news conference on their return from Dili.

The three MPs painted a picture of continued rights abuses and an overwhelming military presence. They said that while Fretilin guerrillas no longer posed a threat widespread resentment against Indonesia remained.

"Silence doesn't mean that there is no opposition but that it is impossible for them to speak out," said Ingela Martensson, member of the ruling coalition's Liberal Party.

## SWEDISH DELEGATION DEMANDS WITHDRAWAL FROM EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA (UPI, Sept. 17) A delegation of visiting Swedish politicians Friday called for the "full withdrawal" of Indonesian troops from East Timor and an arms embargo against Jakarta until a solution is reached.

The three Swedish parliamentarians – Ingela Martensson from the Liberal Party, Ingebritt Irhammar from the Center Party and Hans Goran Franck from the Social Democrat Party – also called for a referendum to give the East Timorese people the right to decide their own future.

“An arms embargo is needed against Indonesia as long as the matters of self-determination and human rights problems are not solved,” Franck said.

The three Swedish politicians, who visited East Timor for four days during a two-week stay in Indonesia, said the East Timorese lived under controlled conditions.

“The East Timor people are (living) like in prisons,” Irhammar said during a news conference at the end of their Indonesian stay.

Irhammar said that during the visit to East Timor, the delegation often felt controlled, as if they were being surrounded by the military and police.

Franck said the future of East Timor and human rights conditions in the region should be addressed immediately.

“The Indonesian annexation of East Timor cannot be accepted,” Franck said, adding that a fair solution should come out of talks underway in the United Nations.

Representatives from Indonesia and Portugal are due to meet in New York Friday for the third round of U.N.-brokered talks on the region.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor after the Portuguese left in 1975, and annexed the territory with its 750,000 inhabitants in 1976. The U.N. does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and considers Portugal the administrative power.

Franck said that high-ranking representatives from East Timor should take part in the talks if negotiators want to work out a lasting peace.

Franck also expressed concern about the recent arrests of a number of students connected to a visit to East Timor by two U.S. congressmen. The government denies the students were arrested, saying instead that they were placed in a “training center” to be “guided.”

“The people of East Timor are totally controlled by the Indonesian government through military and police,” Martensson said. “The East Timorese people cannot speak up, they cannot openly express their opinions. This is very crucial...and therefore I would stress a referendum for the East Timorese to decide their future.”

The Swedish politicians said they believe that if such a referendum were held, most East Timorese would favor independence.

Irhammar called for the Swedish government to withhold exports of spare parts for weapons, its sole export to Indonesia.

Indonesia is scheduled to pull its combat troops from East Timor next month. A local military officer says that of the 10 battalions now in East Timor, one is for combat and nine are responsible for development projects.

Irhammar said Indonesia's commitment to improve human rights in East Timor “must not only be lip service.”

The U.S. Senate's foreign relations committee last week endorsed a foreign aid bill linking future arms sales to Indonesia to the improvement of the country's human rights record in East Timor.

## SWEDISH MPS ACCUSED OF BIAS BY INDONESIA

By Greg McIvor

Stockholm, Sept. 23 (IPS) - Indonesia accused a group of Swedish parliamentarians of bias Thursday after they denounced human rights abuses on the Indonesian-occupied island of East Timor.

The Swedish ambassador in Jakarta was summoned to the Indonesian foreign ministry to explain the MPs' remarks which followed a two-week visit to Indonesia.

The three parliamentarians held a press conference in Stockholm Monday in which they lambasted the Indonesian authorities for widespread human rights abuses across the country, particularly in East Timor.

They were the first foreign politicians to be allowed into East Timor since the massacre of 273 civilians by Indonesian troops during a funeral procession in the island's capital, Dili.

East Timor, they said on their return to Sweden, was “an island of total fear and terror.”

Human rights abuses included arbitrary arrests, deportations and harassment of the local population, they added. They also refuted Indonesian government claims that it had virtually no political prisoners, saying they visited a jail where around a quarter of the 400 inmates were there because of their opposition to president Suharto's totalitarian regime.

Wiryo Sastrohandoyo, state secretary at the Indonesian foreign ministry, accused the MPs' of bias and betraying the purpose of their visit.

He said: “they did not behave like guests in Indonesia who wanted to make a just and objective assessment of the conditions in East Timor. They behaved more like inspectors.”

The Swedish ambassador was called to the foreign ministry in Jakarta Thursday to explain the MPs' statements and alleged breach of protocol. Swedish ambassador Lars-Erik Wingren will have disappointed

human rights organisations by distancing himself from the MPs' views.

“I underlined that they expressed their own political views and not the Swedish government's,” he said.

“It was not an official visit and had rather little to do with the relationship between Sweden and Indonesia.”

In a letter to the United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali this week, the MPs' highlighted the poor human rights situation on East Timor and called for an international arms embargo against Indonesia.

## BELO: “WE ARE LIVING IN A PRISON”

*Publico*, 24 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Ximenes Belo gives his backing to a referendum and “freedom” for Timor, during an interview by a Swedish journalist.

“There is a dictatorship here,” the Bishop of Dili denounced in the interview he gave to the Swedish journalist accompanying the three MPs from that country to Timor. Mnsgr. Ximenes called for “freedom and democracy,” and for the Timorese be allowed “to prove” that they say “no” to integration, because life in East Timor “is not a humane situation.” The same journalist interviewed one of the Timorese who sought political asylum from Finland. The tapes of both interviews arrived in Lisbon yesterday, - the same day that Indonesian military sources confirmed that Xanana had been on hunger strike, that it became known that the Red Cross had visited the former Resistance leader, and that the situation in East Timor has been excluded from the UN General Assembly's agenda.

“We have neither freedom of expression nor of opinion and are, therefore, living as if we were imprisoned,” says Dili's Apostolic Administrator, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, in the course of an interview (made public in Portugal yesterday by the LUSA agency) by Ragnar Hedlund, a Swedish freelance journalist, who accompanied the three Swedish MPs on their visit to Jakarta and East Timor, between 4 and 17 September. Their aim was to check on the human rights situation in the territory, annexed by Indonesia.

Bishop Belo stresses the “need for some solution to be found” for the situation in East Timor, occupied by Indonesia since 1975: “We have been suffering for over 17 years and it cannot go on like this. It is not a humane situation.” Taking a very hard line towards the Jakarta regime, Mnsgr. Ximenes is in favour of Indonesia's military tutelage over East Timor coming to an end: “This military organisation has to be got rid of.

People have to be allowed to speak out freely, go around freely, and to create a clearly peaceful, free and democratic situation. Here, there is a dictatorship.”

In his statements to the Swedish journalist, the Bishop of Dili reveals that he receives “many complaints” from the people of East Timor - “every day, from all places.” He adds that, because it is “very unsafe, people cannot go about from one place to another” and, “in many villages, people cannot even go out to their rice or coffee fields.”

Mnsgr. Ximenes also says that the Timorese who oppose the occupation have a “very difficult” time: “they cannot get jobs, their homes are searched, secret service agents go after them at night, if they want to become civil servants they are not allowed, and their children are not permitted to study.”

Once again, the head of the Catholic Church in East Timor gives his backing to the holding of a referendum to decide on independence. Acknowledging that a victory for the “no” to integration is “possible,” he appeals: “Let us prove that.” He believes that it is necessary to put “more international pressure” on Jakarta, but pointing out that “We have the support of most western countries, of your government (Swedish), of the US, ... But it is very difficult to say what the eventual settlement will be and how it will come about.”

Insisting that the situation “is not any better” since the 1991 massacre in Santa Cruz cemetery, given that those who took part are still being searched for - “some are still in hiding in villages, in hideouts” -, the Bishop believes that the Timorese “are afraid of the army’s revenge, of interrogations, of being tortured and beaten.” He said “there are still many people looking for the bodies of their sons. Sometimes they come to speak to me and tell me “My son is still missing; there is still no sign of him.” The Bishop adds: “You had better ask the military,” sending the Swedish journalist off to the Indonesian military authorities: “Perhaps the military know where the bodies are, or where they have been hidden.”

---

## SEVEN ASYLUM- SEEKERS STILL IN JAKARTA

---

### STATEMENT BY FOUR ASYLUM-SEEKERS WHO WERE IN FINNISH EMBASSY

---

Jakarta, 8 August 1993

[This statement] concerns our bid to ask for political asylum from the Finnish Embassy in Jakarta on 23 June 1993 which was categorically rejected by both the Finnish government and parliament\*, on the grounds that there is no Visi Politik [political vision; meaning political element?] in the diplomatic relations between the Finnish and Indonesian governments.

During the time we spent at the Finnish Embassy, we were very badly treated by the embassy because the Finnish ambassador, Mr. Veli J. Olikain, permitted Indonesian security forces from various units, dressed in military uniforms and armed with pistols, to enter the embassy in order to force us out. On the second occasion, the Finnish ambassador instructed the security forces to interrogate us. And we were ordered to take off our clothes. It was as if the Finnish government was collaborating with the Indonesian government to force us out and hand us over to the Indonesian security forces.

The Statement regarding safety guarantees was drafted by the Finnish ambassador Mr. Veli J. Olikain personally, in collaboration with:

- Major-General Hendro Priyono, Jakarta military commander, - Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Ambassador at large of the Republic of Indonesia, with special tasks, - Mr. H.J.C. Princen, Director of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights, and - Mr. Jauhari Naatmaja, Director-General of the Department of Foreign Affairs, as witnesses.

We were compelled to sign the statement so that we would leave the embassy as soon as possible in the company of Ambassador at large with special tasks of the Republic of Indonesia and go to his residence, the intention being to force us to return to East Timor. But for more than three weeks we refused to be bullied into returning to East Timor because we feared that we might be murdered if we returned to East Timor.

During our stay there, we were very badly treated by the intelligence as well as by Ambassador at large of the Republic of Indonesia with special tasks, Mr. F.X. Lopes da Cruz, and were subjected to ‘intimidation, interrogation and terror.’

As an instance of this, on 28 July 1993, we were interrogated in turn by Mr. F.X. Lopez da Cruz and were forced to write down our biodata and background from the time we were still in East Timor as well as after we asked for political asylum.

All this further adds to the threats against us personally as well as against our families who are in East Timor; this could happen because the security forces regard the statement which we were forced to sign as providing no guarantee whatsoever for our

safety, with the result that (the armed forces, ABRI) intelligence are able to do whatever they want with us for as long as we remain in Indonesia (Jakarta).

And up to this very moment, we have been threatened in a variety of ways by the intelligence (ABRI), by means of intimidation, interrogation and terror. We therefore call upon or request Amnesty International and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross] in Geneva to press the Indonesian government to allow us to leave Indonesia (Jakarta) as soon as possible.

Although our request for political asylum was categorically rejected by both the Finnish government and parliament, we turn to Amnesty International and the ICRC in Geneva to resolve our problem on the basis of humanitarian principles or through the family reunion programme.

### Articles 14 and 15 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

#### Article 14

- (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.
- (2) This right may not be invoked in the case of persecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

#### Article 15

- (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.
- (2) No-one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor the right to change his nationality.

In accordance with these two articles, we have decided to become Portuguese citizens and no longer to be Indonesian citizens.

This is what we wish to say as a true and genuine statement.

Our heartfelt thanks for your attention and help.

(signed)

Mateus Brito Ximenes

Clementino Faria

Oscar Goncalves da Silva

Venture Valentin de Conceição

\* The reference to a refusal by the Finnish Parliament is based on the fact, according to Mr. Princen, that the Finnish ambassador repeatedly told the four that “neither the Finnish government nor the Finnish parliament would have anything to do with them.”

## PORTUGAL NEGOTIATING ON ASYLUM

*Tue Aug. 24 1993. Abridged.*

LISBON, Aug. 24 (Reuters) - Portugal said on Tuesday it was prepared to accept four students from its former colony East Timor who have asked for asylum. The students said they were being terrorized by Indonesia's security forces. The four students, who two months ago gave up their refuge at the Finnish embassy in Jakarta, have urged the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and human rights group Amnesty International to help them. "Up to this very moment we have been threatened by army intelligence through intimidation, interrogation and terror. We therefore call upon Amnesty International or the ICRC to press the Indonesian government to allow us to leave Indonesia as soon as possible," they said in a statement received in Jakarta. Diplomats say Portugal is treading cautiously with the students to avoid creating a political row. But Portuguese officials were negotiating discreetly through the Red Cross for the students to leave Indonesia, they added.

## FINNS DENY ACCUSATIONS OF BAD TREATMENT

*Aug. 24 1993, Abridged.*

HELSINKI, Aug. 24 (Reuters) - Finland on Tuesday denied allegations by four East Timorese students that they had been badly treated while seeking refuge in the Finnish embassy in Jakarta two months ago. In an appeal for help from Amnesty International and the International Committee of the Red Cross in Jakarta, the students accused diplomats at the embassy of allowing Indonesian security officials into the building to force them to leave. "The text is completely untrue," said Osmo Lipponen, director of the Asia, Africa and Latin America division at the Finnish foreign ministry's political department. Lipponen said Indonesian staff at the Finnish embassy had asked security guards to come in as the students refused to say what they wanted. He said the guards left the area after an inspection and after the students said they were applying for asylum. They had not been forced to strip, he added. Human rights group Amnesty International has accused both Sweden and Finland of neglecting their responsibilities under international law by not protecting the seven, whose present whereabouts are not known.

## MIXED SIGNALS ON ASYLUM

*Reuter, Aug. 25 1993. Slightly abridged.*

JAKARTA - Seven East Timorese students who have waged a two-month battle to flee Indonesia said on Wednesday they were hopeful of gaining asylum in Portugal. The seven told Reuters they believed that Lisbon, which ruled the tiny territory until 1975, had persuaded Jakarta to allow them to leave the country. Portuguese officials declined to comment on the report. "We will wait until we leave. We do not want to stay in Indonesia. We know what will happen to us if we do," said Clementino Faria, who with three of the other students appealed to Portugal for asylum on Tuesday. The students said they feared for their lives and the welfare of family members still in East Timor if they remained in Indonesia. They said they had been on the run since November 1991 when they participated in a funeral in Dili, when troops opened fire killing up to 180 civilians. They were speaking at the home of human rights activist H.J.C. Princen, who has acted as intermediary for the seven. Portuguese news agency LUSA earlier quoted one of the students as saying they would be leaving Jakarta in September. But Princen, speaking by telephone from the German town of Aachen, said that to his knowledge no agreement had been reached, adding that sporadic talks were still continuing. "So far all we know is that Portugal is willing to pay the costs of their trip and give them passports," he said.

## ALATAS: ISSUE 'DEAD'

*Thu Aug. 26 1993. Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 26 (Reuters) - Indonesia on Thursday said seven East Timorese students seeking asylum abroad had failed to meet criteria enabling them to be considered political refugees. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters he regarded the case of the students, who are seeking asylum in Portugal after being turned down by Sweden or Finland in June, as now over. "The student issue is finished. It is not a live issue anymore," he said. "There are certain conditions under international law to be fulfilled for the definition of seeking political asylum. They have asked Sweden and (Finnish) embassies and have been rejected. So it finished." He did not elaborate. The seven students, who took refuge in the Swedish and Finnish embassies two months ago saying they feared for their lives in Indonesia, said on Wednesday they believed they would soon be leaving for Lisbon. Portugal, which ruled East Timor until 1975, has agreed to receive them. But it has no diplomatic ties with Indonesia. When asked

whether the matter would be raised during talks with Portugal on the troubled territory in New York next month, Alatas said the student issue was dead. The students said they had been on the run since November 1991 when they participated in a funeral in Dili, when Indonesian troops opened fire killing up to 180 civilians.

## PRINCEN: "I CANNOT MIND THEM FOREVER"

*Publico, 3 September 1993. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Indonesian human rights activist Haji Princen is in Lisbon to discuss the future of the young Timorese men who, having lost the protection of the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta, are insisting on coming to Portugal. Princen wants to be certain that the Portuguese Government will take them, give them passports, and pay their travel costs. He insists: Lisbon ought to put pressure on Jakarta to allow them to leave, and to have the matter included on the agenda for the next round of talks between Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas.

Just because he goes around in a wheelchair does not mean he is not one of the most active defenders of human rights in Indonesia. He has been just that for a long time now. Born in The Hague, Princen fought for Indonesia's freedom against Dutch colonial power. Once converted to Islam, and having taken on Indonesian nationality, he has become an uncomfortable critic of the Suharto regime, which earned him eight years in prison. At the end of June he appeared in Portuguese newspapers, defending the young Timorese who, pursued by the Indonesian military, sought refuge in the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta. Three of them are now staying in Princen's own home, awaiting a decision. In his Lisbon hotel room, Haji Princen outlined to Publico the fate of the seven "boys," as he calls them.

*Publico:- What is the actual situation of the three young Timorese men who, as far as we know, are still in your house in Jakarta?*

Haji Princen:- Up until yesterday at least, the three were, in fact, still in my house. The other four, however, are experiencing some difficulties because the people who were renting them a place to stay have decided not to continue renting to them. The priest responsible for them told me about this last night on the telephone. I said to him that I would try to take back some money for them to pay their rent.

*Q: What is their state of mind at the moment?*

A: It is difficult to say. Some of them are not fully aware of the problem they face. The three in my house resent the surveillance they are under because every time they go outside they are, in fact, watched by the secret services, and this has not stopped since they left the embassy. My house is being watched by the secret services day and night...

I would say, though, that they are all right. They still believe in independence for East Timor and I think they are less realistic than others in Timor. They are not married, and have no children and, therefore, can afford the luxury of being more idealistic.

*Q: Do they still believe they will be able to leave Indonesia?*

A: They have no doubt about it. The problem is now in the hands of the Portuguese Government, which brings me to the reason for my visit to Lisbon. What are we to do? The "boys" and I started out on this adventure together: they looked for me, and I hope we can come up with a solution which will be good for all concerned.

*Q: At one point, that solution seemed to be close at hand, but then...*

A: I do not think so. It was the press that was very optimistic, especially after the Portuguese Government had said it would supply the passports and pay travel expenses. One of my aims here is to ask the Portuguese Government directly whether this is really true, as I have only heard rumours. I want to hear it come from Minister Durão Barroso himself, or from a high-ranking Ministry official here. Then, a realistic outcome will have to be sought.

### **On the Agenda for New York**

*Q: What do you mean by a realistic outcome?*

A: I mean that, if Portugal were unable to persuade the Indonesian Government to allow the seven Timorese to leave, then it should raise the problem at the forthcoming round of talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian Ministers (scheduled for the 17th at the UN in New York, under the auspices of Mr. Boutros Ghali). The question of what we are going to do with these boys should be asked in New York - I cannot mind them forever...

*Q: But there are still doubts about what specific solution can be reached.*

A: That is a job for the diplomats.

*Q: What link do you see between the East Timor question and the evolving internal situation in Indonesia?*

A: If we had more democracy, more freedom, and more respect for human rights in Indonesia, we would be able to speak more

openly about matters such as Timor. And we could do it in a less emotional way. Clearly, one of the difficulties is the army's position. It was the military that conquered the island, and to give it up would be a defeat. And a defeat would mean "losing face." I can understand that. I don't agree with the way in which they invaded Timor, but I can understand that. It is a matter which has to be resolved. How? That's the big question...

*Q: In spite of the link between Timor and the internal situation in Indonesia, the Timor issue is not always among the main concerns of human rights activists in Indonesia...*

A: That is true. I shall give you my own story. I got out of prison in 1976 and, a few years later, some Timorese came looking for me at my office. They told me all the horror stories from East Timor. That happened in the early 1980s. Only then did I realise the size of the problem. We have many human rights related problems in Indonesia, you know...

I want to say one further thing: I did not get involved with the Timor issue because I believed Timor to be part of Indonesia. That should be quite clear, because later on I may be held accountable for my words. I am involved with East Timor because there are Indonesians who are accused of having committed violations of human rights on the island. The authorities say it is not so, but I say it is. That is my position.

### **Nordic Nerves**

*Q: Going back to the seven Timorese - you said you began the "adventure" with them and were always in the midst of what was happening. From that viewpoint, how do you see the attitude of the Swedish and Finnish governments?*

A: In terms of international diplomacy, Sweden's policy, for example, has been to defend the Timorese. It so happens that, in Jakarta, the charge d'affaires was confronted with reality. He became very nervous, not knowing what to do. I tried to convince him to be very careful, because we were being watched by the whole world. I am not trying to defend him. I think he ought to have been more careful and he made some mistakes. Although I disagree with certain things, I must remain confident. The truth is that "the boys" saw him as one of their jailers. On the other hand, the military were always around the embassy, increasing the pressure from "under the door."

*Q: Do you think, then, that Sweden and Finland could have behaved differently?*

A: Yes, yes. But I am not in their shoes, nor are they in mine. I had to negotiate not only with the Swedes, but with Lopes da Cruz

(President Suharto's adviser on East Timor), and with Jakarta's Military Commander, who I already knew as I usually have problems involving the military. He gave me his word of honour that the young Timorese would not be given any bother. And, until now, he has kept his word. Of course, the secret service men are still wandering around my house but, according to my daughter, who is looking after the house at the moment, they have not been bothering "the boys."

---

## **FOREIGN MINISTER CONFIRMS PORTUGUESE PASSPORTS FOR THE SEVEN TIMORESE**

*From CDPM, 3 September 1993.*

(Lisbon) On 2 September, Indonesian human rights lawyer Haji Princen addressed a considerable audience, (which included Timorese refugees, human rights activists, and reporters), gathered at Lisbon's Timor Centre, situated right in front of Portugal's parliament building.

Accompanied by fellow lawyer, Jusfiq Hadjar, (representing The Movement of Indonesians Abroad for Human Rights and Democracy, based in Holland), Mr. Princen explained he had come to Portugal to meet with Foreign Minister Durão Barroso, President Soares, and others, to discuss the plight of the seven Timorese, who had taken refuge in the Finnish and Swedish embassies on 23 June. Three of the seven were now staying in Mr. Princen's own home, while the other four were at the house of a priest. All seven wanted to come to Portugal.

Mr. Princen said that, during his interview with the Foreign Minister, he had been given assurances that the seven Timorese would be issued with passports and their travel expenses met by the Portuguese Government. Mr. Princen considered that, if the Jakarta authorities allowed them to leave for Portugal, it would be a positive paving of the way for the next round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal, to be held in New York.

Based in Jakarta, Mr. Princen gives legal assistance to victims of human rights violations from various parts of Indonesia. East Timorese had been seeking his help since 1977. His meetings with them have to be held in secret as their situation in Jakarta is precarious; they are under surveillance, and harassed by security forces, and so are frequently forced to move from house to house.

With regards the seven Timorese who had gone to the embassies, Mr. Princen said he had been assured by Jakarta's Military Commander that "the boys" would not be



intimidated. They had, however, been followed and received death threats from intelligence agents.

Asked about the reported democracy in Indonesia, Mr. Princen answered that although the authorities were good at making Indonesia appear democratic, the reality he is confronted with every day there is that people are not free and there is no such democracy. With regards East Timor, he said he could not deny that progress (in terms of roads, schools, hospitals, etc.) had been made, but realised that the Timorese were unable to forget their dead. He did, however, feel optimistic about the future, likening the current situation in Indonesia to pre- 25th April 1974 Portugal. He said that, particularly after the Santa Cruz massacre, intellectuals, students, politicians in the so-called opposition parties, religious groups, etc. were becoming increasingly unhappy about the violence and human rights violations. It was, however, hard to measure this opposition, given that there is no real press or political freedom.

Answering a question about numbers of East Timorese political prisoners, the lawyer said that the enormity of Indonesia made getting accurate figures impossible. He himself was not allowed to enter all prisons. He cited International Red Cross figures of 500 to 1,000 Timorese political prisoners in East Timor, adding that the ICRC visits were also restricted.

On the question of what more Portugal could do within the EC, Mr. Princen said that although he found the Portuguese Foreign Ministry very well briefed on the question of East Timor, and was treating the subject as one of prime importance, other EC countries were not so well informed. He thought Portugal could try to create greater awareness of the situation in East Timor among its European partners.

Asked about the apparent differences between the positions held by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and the military authorities, Mr. Princen said Mr. Alatas was a very astute and able politician, and could sometimes give the impression of being more progressive than he actually is. However, Mr. Princen believed there were different approaches among the Indonesian authorities on the question of Timor, and that Mr. Alatas might not oppose more freedom for the territory, but there was no open discussion of this.

Mr. Princen warned against divisions among the Timorese community abroad, believing that the determination to continue to fight was a more important factor than being larger in number and militarily better equipped.

## JAKARTA ARRESTS MORE TIMORESE

*Diario de Noticias, 10 September 1993.  
Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Relatives of the three young Timorese, who sought refuge last June in the Swedish Embassy in Jakarta, have been arrested by Indonesian military in East Timor. This information was given today to the LUSA news agency by one of the young men. The three are currently staying at the home of lawyer and human rights activist Mr. Haji Princen.

## STUDENTS: PORTUGAL CALLS ON FINLAND TO ACT

*Finnish National Radio (YLE). 10 September 1993.*

*Report by the East Timor Group of Finland.*

The issue of East Timor was taken up during the visit to Portugal by Foreign Minister Heikki Haavisto today. During the talks, the Portuguese Foreign Minister urged Finland to monitor the situation of the three students who sought refuge in the Finnish embassy in Jakarta in June. "Finland has to follow their situation as long as it is needed." The Portuguese FM was also reported to have said that "Finland must demand that Indonesia should allow the students to leave the country." The main theme of the talks was reported to be the conditions for Finland's entry into the European Community. Finland is seeking Portugal's support for its application for membership.

## MATEUS XIMENES: "THERE IS NO FUTURE HERE FOR US"

*Publico, 24 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) According to statements made by 21-year-old Mateus Ximenes (one of the four young Timorese who sought political asylum at the Finnish Embassy in Jakarta) to Swedish journalist Ragnar Hedlund, "What we want, in the short or long-term, is to leave Indonesia because we know that, as young, nationalist, anti- integration activists, there is no future here for us if we stay."

Speaking on behalf of his companions, and the other three who, also in vain, sought help from the Swedish Embassy, Mateus Ximenes reiterated that they want to come to Portugal.

In the interview made public yesterday in Lisbon by the LUSA agency, Mateus Ximenes, referring to his experience at the Finnish diplomatic representation, tells of

the "inhuman treatment" they received there: "They did not let us use the toilets, and just gave us plastic bags for our physiological needs." He also affirmed that they were "searched and interrogated" by Indonesian secret service agents, who had been allowed into the Embassy premises by the Finnish diplomats.

Disillusioned by the treatment received at the Finnish representation in Jakarta, Mateus explains that they had chosen that embassy as it represented "a democratic country, more advanced than third-world countries, which scrupulously respects human rights."

The young Timorese goes on to describe their stay in the home of Lopes da Cruz (General Suharto's adviser), where they went after leaving the embassy and stayed until they were taken under the protection of Haji Princen (Chairman of the Indonesian Human Rights Institute), who took the three who had been in the Swedish Embassy into his own house.

Referring to their time at the house of Lopes da Cruz, Mateus Ximenes says they felt they were under "house arrest" there. He points out that they "were pursued by secret agents" trying to interrogate them, and had "to go into the bedrooms to escape them." The young man accuses Lopes da Cruz of not allowing them to receive telephone calls from abroad, as well as questioning them about why they had taken part in demonstrations against Indonesia's annexation of Timor.

During the taped interview, the young man tells how he and the other six Timorese - along with two others who, in the meantime, were arrested in East Timor by the Indonesian authorities - had taken part in the pro- independence demonstrations held at the time of the Pope's and US Ambassador's visits to Dili, and in the November 1991 demonstration which resulted in the Santa Cruz massacre.

On the run after that, Mateus reveals how he was wounded and took shelter in the Bishop of Dili's house, from which he was later transferred to a Catholic hospital in that city. After recovering, he went underground for over a year in East Timor, as did his companions. Pursued by the authorities, they fled to Jakarta, where two of them (Gaspar Carlos and Agostinho Pereira) were arrested.

While still being hounded, they decided to turn to the Finnish and Swedish Embassies in order to get out of Indonesia. It did not work. But they have not lost all hope.

## Xanana on Hunger Strike

Indonesian military sources have confirmed that Xanana Gusmão was on hunger strike in August. This report, which circu-

lated among Resistance members abroad, has now been supported by information from members of the Indonesian Armed Forces. According to the military, however, the hunger strike lasted only a few days and its aim was to protest against the conditions in which he was being held.

ICRC delegates in Indonesia, who visited Xanana last Tuesday, made no comment yesterday on the report. The Red Cross men flatly refused to give any information about Xanana's health and conditions of imprisonment.

The ICRC visit, which was officially announced yesterday in Jakarta, is the first one which the former Timorese Resistance leader has received since being transferred from the Dili prison to the one in Semarang, on the island of Java. The last visit by independent observers that Xanana had was in June. Since then, reports emerged that the former Resistance leader had gone on hunger strike. This has been confirmed by Indonesian military sources.

#### Off the UN Agenda

The situation in East Timor has not been included on the agenda for the UN's 48th Session, which began on Tuesday in New York. As far as the LUSA agency could gather from diplomatic sources, this non-inclusion could be linked to the British and Egyptian delegates' arguments that there was no need for the General Assembly (GA) to debate a problem which was already the subject of talks between Portugal and Indonesia, under UN auspices.

The decision not to include East Timor on the agenda was taken by the GA Committee, which consists of about 30 countries. The Committee went on to approve 161 agenda items, even after the recently elected GA Chairman, Samuel Insanally from Guyana, had urged the delegates to shorten the agenda.

#### COMMENT FROM BRUNO KAHN

In his interview by a Swedish parliamentarian, Mateus Ximenes accuses Lopes da Cruz of not letting the students at his home receive telephone calls from abroad.

I am aware of two instances in which this is not true. One is an interview that was accounted for on this conference (I don't have the references at hand, unfortunately). The other one is a telephone interview performed by a journalist of Radio France Internationale. The journalist told me personally that she had been able to talk to one of the students. As they spoke poor Portuguese, Lopes da Cruz also acted as an interpreter, apparently not distorting questions/answers too much if I judge by the answers the journalist told me she had received.

I feel this point, as well as the other accusations of the East Timorese students, should be double-checked as far as possible. Unfair accusations or exaggerations can feed pro-Indonesian propaganda.

*Comment from Charlie Scheiner. The Publico article as posted contains a double-translation – the original interview was in English, translated to Portuguese, and back to English. The subtlety about whether they were denied all overseas phone calls or just some could be a translation error. Someone should check the original tapes of the interview.*

---

## EVENTS IN INDONESIA

---

### INDONESIA ON-BOARD CLINTON APEC

*Abridged*

JAKARTA, Aug. 7 (Reuters) - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Saturday that Indonesia was ready in principle to attend an informal meeting of the 15-member Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) grouping in the United States in November. "We have studied it and, based on national and regional interests, in principle Indonesia will join that informal gathering based on Mr. Clinton's proposal," Alatas told reporters after meeting President Suharto. U.S. President Bill Clinton proposed that leaders of APEC states should meet in Seattle after annual ministerial talks.

---

### HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION FRAUD?

---

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA (Aug. 9) UPI - Indonesian lawmakers questioned Monday the fate of the recently established National Commission of Human Rights. The government, criticized by human rights groups for alleged violations, announced June 7 the establishment of the commission, headed by Ali Said, the former Indonesian Supreme Court chief. Two months later, however, Said has yet to announce the commission's staff members, prompting Parliament members Handjojo Putro and Andi Matalatta to question the newly-established commission. When announcing the commission, the government said it will consist of 25 people. But, there it is still unknown whether human rights activists in the country will be included.

---

## AMNESTY CALLS FOR HALT TO LINKS WITH KOPASSUS

---

*By Andre Frankovits, Campaign Director Amnesty International Australia.*

10th August 1993, unabridged

To the Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
Senator Gareth Evans.

In response to Amnesty International's call for suspension of joint exercises between Australia Defence Forces and the Kopassus regiment from Indonesia, you are quoted as saying that "any training that's done of Indonesian military personnel is designed to improve leadership skills ... not in any way designed to improve the capability of the Indonesians in dealing with internal situations."

The Kopassus regiment has been associated with grave abuses of human rights in East Timor, Irian Jaya, Aceh and throughout Indonesia.

Amnesty's most recent report documents the extrajudicial executions of at least 2000 people in Aceh during the past four years and the torture and "disappearance" of many more.

Of the Indonesian forces operating in Aceh none are more feared than the Kopassus regiment.

Says one Acehnese leader, "If you're taken away by the military you have a 50-50 chance of coming back. If you're taken by Kopassus you can forget it."

This is the reason that Amnesty called on the Minister for Defence to suspend all contact with Kopassus until and unless he is able to demonstrate that this contact will not contribute to a single "disappearance" or a single incidence of torture.

---

## INDONESIAN VICE-PRESIDENT WARNS OF 'TRAITORS'

---

*Green Left #115, September 15, 1993*

Since August 28, Indonesia's media have been preoccupied about a speech by Vice-President Try Sutrisno in which he talked about "internal elements who are prepared to become traitors to their people and nation."

Although ex-general Try did not name names, he explained that these "traitors" are those who "provide misleading material and information to outside forces with certain aims that can provoke internal discontent and endanger and harm national interests"

Media commentators are linking Try's accusation with the increasing international pressure on Indonesia, especially regarding labour rights and East Timor.

During recent weeks, US officials have taken actions highlighting overseas concerns regarding these two issues. The US ambassador criticised Jakarta for stopping the congress of the Indonesian Prosperity for Workers Union (SBSI), one of a number of independent initiatives to organise workers.

Washington has even threatened to withdraw trade privileges to Indonesia under the Generalized System of Preferences system. Washington has given Indonesia until February to improve workers' conditions; otherwise trade privileges worth Rp1.2 trillion per year may be lost. As a result, the Indonesian Ministry of Labour will shortly re-vamp its own "union," the All Indonesia Workers Union (SPSI).

Those active in campaigning on labour rights overseas include SBSI and the Solidarity Trade Union group, established in 1990. Saut Aritonang, head of Solidarity, told the September 11 Editor magazine that he had written to the ILO complaining about the government's contravention of various ILO conventions.

Activists from the Workers Solidarity Forum and groups such as the Advance Together Foundation have also lobbied internationally.

Reference has also been made in press reports to the revival of East Timor as an international issue, implying that this is also connected to the activities of Indonesians outside Indonesia. Groups such as Indonesian Democratic Forum, based in Holland, and Indonesian International Solidarity Forum, based in Holland and Indonesia, have issued statements critical of Jakarta's policy on East Timor.

Almost all representatives of the non-government, community, democratic and academic opposition have rejected Try's comments as unfounded, including ex-general Syaiful Sulun, the last speaker of the parliament, non-government parliamentarians and dissident academics.

Indro Cahyono, director of the environmental research group SKEPHI, was reported as being surprised by Try's statement, since SKEPHI was being invited to work with the new minister of planning.

Dissident academic Arief Budiman stated that he thought Try's main targets were the non-government organisations, "because they often talk about the workers, the Kedung Ombo [land compensation] case, strikes and so on." Budiman went on to tell Editor magazine, "...the government feels threatened. The intellectuals are confused too. If you speak overseas, you are called a traitor. If you speak at home, you are called anti-Panca Sila [the official state ideology], a dissident and so on."

## MAU HUDU INTERVIEWED ON TV INDONESIA

*Forwarded for posting by a source who must remain anonymous. Any further info on this show – identities and appearance of those interviewed, questions and replies, and the like – will be appreciated.*

RCTI this evening (15 August 1993) showed a program produced by reporter/presenter Desi Anwar on and in East Timor. I am afraid I didn't catch all of it; it was billed as part of the 48th anniversary celebrations and was presented as a special report, but apparently was shown recently, though when first shown broke down 'for technical reasons' during interview with Mau Hudu (sic). (AFP may have run story on it when first shown.) She interviewed several detainees, some of them in English. I caught only one interview, with Mau Hudu with whom she spoke to in BI. This is a friend's translation, who assures me pretty much direct quotes:

"If we can't achieve our struggle its is better for us to seek a better way. Peace is better. Our aims were difficult to achieve.

"Xanana told me to get back to the jungle but I was sick, so I waited for them to capture me.

*Q: What have you been doing for the past 16 months?*

"I have been in communication with the Simbolan (sp?) family [with whom he has apparently been quartered] with the aim of getting to understand each other. I now understand more the aims of integration..."

Can't vouch 100% for the authenticity of this, and not knowing very much about Mau Hudu have no context, but passing on for what it may be worth.

## SUHARTO SPEECH KEENLY AWAITED

*By John Owen-Davies. Abridged*

JAKARTA, Aug. 15 (Reuter) - Indonesia's President Suharto on Monday delivers a national day speech that diplomats say is likely to stress the need for further economic and political development in the world's fourth most populous country. Suharto will be making his annual address against a backdrop of calls for a more open society and continued criticism of Indonesia's human rights record. "There is a feeling Suharto is ready to loosen up in some areas and allow more differences to be aired within parameters of the 1945 constitution," a senior diplomat said. The 72-year-old former general has maintained a firm grip on power since the mid-1960s, when he replaced President Sukarno. A growing gap

between the rich and poor is viewed generally as the biggest challenge to stability in the nation of 180 million people, even more than ethnic and religious tensions. A big task is education and finding positions for an estimated 2.5 million people who join the job market each year. Diplomats believe Suharto, current chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement, is keen to upgrade his international profile in what they see as the twilight of his rule. The United States applauded Suharto's decision last week to reduce the jail term of convicted East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão to 20 years from life. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed the former Portuguese colony the following year. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's rule in the tiny territory.

## SUHARTO: INDONESIA ON VERGE OF ECONOMIC TAKEOFF

*Aug. 16 1993. Abridged story by Jeremy Wagstaff.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 16 (Reuter) - Indonesia is on the verge of an economic take-off that could lift it to the level of the newly industrialised world, President Suharto said on Monday in his annual state of the nation address. "We are confident that we shall succeed in entering the take-off stage because we have made the necessary ideological, political, social and security preparations," he said. OPEC-member Indonesia under Suharto's iron grip has long been a model of how developing countries can foster impressive growth with prudent fiscal policies and manageable debts. Suharto said real gross domestic product (GDP) growth last year reached 6.3 percent, pushing average growth over the past five years to nearly seven percent against a five percent target. Despite such achievements, the World Bank at the weekend warned that 27 million Indonesians, out of a population of 183 million, were locked in poverty that would be hard to reduce. Suharto acknowledged Indonesia was not over the hump of attracting investment from home and abroad but said the government was trying to iron out problems in the banking sector and free up regulations for investors. But Suharto also warned that such ambitious plans should not be at the expense of the nation's poor. He called for economic growth that was labour intensive to soak up a pool of unused or underused workers, to keep inflation below last year's five percent and the setting up of rural programmes to eradicate poverty in villages.

## SUHARTO: SOLVE CONFLICTS PEACEFULLY

*Aug. 16 1993. Abridged story by John Owen-Davies.*

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuter) - In a speech marking the 48th anniversary of independence, President Suharto said an aim of the second 25-year development plan starting in 1994 was to raise per capita income by more than four times from its present level. Indonesia has dragged itself up from being one of the world's poorest countries, with annual per capita income of \$50 in the 1960s, to achieve per capita income of \$650 in 1992. Suharto said differences in the vast archipelago should be solved in the framework of trust and respect for constitutional institutions. "Without such a basic attitude ... we may fall into a disaster caused by a tyranny of the minority or a dictator of the majority," said Suharto, who has ruled with a firm hand. "Our job is not to dampen the frictions, conflicts or controversies. Rather, we must develop the procedures and rules to solving these frictions, conflicts and controversies in a peaceful, ethical, fair, mature and civilized manner," he added.

## EAST TIMORESE SCHOLARSHIPS WITHDRAWN

*TAPOL Report, 17 August 1993*

The East Timorese students' organisation at one of the state universities in Indonesia has received a letter dated 16 August 1993 asking it to inform all East Timorese students at that university that scholarships and allowances for them are being suspended forthwith. No explanation is given for the decision, nor is there any hint of what the students are expected to do with no further means of sustenance.

The letter is signed by the head of the Social, Mental and Educational Guidance Bureau of the East Timor Provincial Office of the Department of Education and Culture [Kepala Biro Sosial, Mental dan Pembinaan Pendidikan, Kantor Wilayah, Depdikbud]

It is probable that similar letters have been sent to East Timorese students' organisations in other universities in Indonesia.

For several months rumours have been circulating about a decision to require all East Timorese students studying in Indonesia to return home. The letter does not say that the students must go back to East Timor but the implication is clear. This is also a way of forcing East Timorese who may be under suspicion by the security forces to return to East Timor where they will be at the mercy of the army.

Further information about this serious development may soon become available. Anyone who has any further information is requested to post it as a response to this topic.

## INDONESIA EXPELS 'AGE' JOURNALIST

*The Age. 17 August 1993. Unabridged. By Martin Daly, Canberra*

Lindsay Murdoch, South-East Asia correspondent for 'The Age,' was detained yesterday by Indonesian officials at Jakarta airport and expelled from the country despite holding a valid four-week journalist's visa.

Indonesia officials at the airport told Mr. Murdoch, 39, that he could not enter Indonesia because he was on a security list.

Mr. Murdoch's Australian passport containing the visa was taken from him and not returned until he was escorted from a flight that landed in Singapore this afternoon. He had been detained for 12 hours in the transit lounge of Jakarta airport.

But a spokesman at the Indonesia embassy in Canberra, Mr. Soekanto Wlenardi, said Mr. Murdoch was not on the "blacklist" that applied to citizens or foreigners who were prohibited from living in or entering Indonesia.

Mr. Wlenardi said Mr. Murdoch had been granted a week-long visa to attend a conference in Bali but had been sent back to Singapore when he arrived in Jakarta after the conference had ended.

He said journalists were issued visas for specific purposes and Mr. Murdoch's arrival in Jakarta was not consistent with the stated purpose of his visit.

Mr. Wlenardi said Mr. Murdoch could visit Indonesia at any time once he had the correct visa.

Mr. Murdoch's visa was approved last week by Indonesia's Department of Information Press and Graphics and Foreign Affairs and was granted on Thursday by the Indonesian embassy in Singapore, where Mr. Murdoch is based.

He applied five weeks ago to travel to Indonesia to prepare reports on the country's economic development and to cover a conference on regional affairs which was addressed by Australia's Foreign Minister Senator Evans.

The conference was held in Bali from 8 to 11 August but Mr. Murdoch's visa was not issued until 12 August.

Mr. Murdoch said today his treatment was outrageous considering he had been granted a visa through the proper channels.

Mr. Murdoch also said "I welcome the fact that I am not on any blacklist. If a mis-

take has been made, then a mistake has been made. We all understand how these things can happen."

Mr. Murdoch said it was important for Australian journalists to be given access to Indonesia to foster a better understanding and level of trust between the countries.

Mr. Murdoch believed that late last year he was taken off an immigration blacklist which includes several Australians. He was in Indonesia earlier this year to report on the trial of the East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

## LINDSAY MURDOCH BLACKLISTED

*Aug. 16 1993. Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 16 (Reuter) - Indonesia on Monday barred an Australian journalist from entering the country after detaining him at Jakarta's international airport for 12 hours. Lindsay Murdoch of the Melbourne Age and Sydney Morning Herald said he was deported to Singapore after having his ticket and passport confiscated overnight despite holding a valid journalists' visa. Speaking by telephone from Singapore, he said he had been told by immigration officials that he was on a black list. Murdoch said he has been accused by Indonesian officials in the past of writing "tendentious" reports. Murdoch said he had been refused a visa by Indonesia before and would reapply.

## AMNESTY ANNUAL REPORT ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*Aug. 20 1993*

Amnesty International's 1993 Report on Human Rights Around the World provides a detailed country-by-country summary of AI's work and concerns throughout the world during 1992. Below are summaries of the entry for Indonesia and East Timor. This material is copyrighted and is reproduced without permission for fair use only. The full report is available from Hunter House Publishers, P.O. Box 2914, Alameda, CA 94501-0914.

\*\*\*\*\*

### INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR:

More than 180 suspected government opponents were prisoners of conscience or possible prisoners of conscience, including some 30 sentenced during the year. At least 300 other political prisoners continued to serve lengthy sentences imposed after unfair trials. Hundreds of others were arrested and held without trial for up to two years as suspected opponents of the government and scores were feared to have "disappeared." Torture and ill-treatment of political detainees, peaceful demonstrators and criminal suspects were common and resulted in some

deaths. Government forces extrajudicially executed scores of alleged supporters of independence in Aceh and East Timor. At least two people were sentenced to death and one person was executed for murder; at least 33 prisoners remained on death row.

## INVESTMENT NEEDED TO DEVELOP EASTERN INDONESIA RESOURCES

*By Robin Bromby The Australian "Indonesia supplement" September 24, 1993*

Sumatra has growing economic links with Malaysia and Singapore, Bali its tourism industry and Java the mass of the population and commercial activity, but there remains a vast part of Indonesia which is trailing these in the rush to modernize.

Eastern Indonesia, as defined by the Indonesian Government, covers all the islands except for Java, Sumatra, Bali and Madura. The area contains 68% of the country's land mass.

A report issued by the Asian Development Bank (ADB) reveals the enormous resources the eastern islands possess - forestry, minerals, oil and fisheries - but also sets out the considerable barriers to transforming these resources into enduring wealth creation.

Environmental degradation is the greatest problem, caused by forest depletion, soil erosion, declining water quality and destruction of fish habitats.

The ADB report says a simple continuation of past development practices would prove disastrous for the eastern region, particularly if the rate of population from Java is to increase (under the Government's transmigration program). It stresses the need to control private sector activities given the extractive nature of the region's resources.

The ADB report says that the region is vulnerable.

"There is a frontier mentality evident among both transient and permanent migrants, a get rich quick attitude evident among some of them and a natural desire for a better life evident among both local and migrant populations," the report says.

More investment is needed but the eastern region suffers from the same constraints which face the South Pacific island States: poor communications, poor external trade links, a lack of skilled manpower, the small and fragmented local market and the cost of moving plant and equipment around the archipelago.

The report recommends development aid be targeted at the poorest Indonesian provinces: East and West Nusa Tenggara (whose income levels are half those of the national

average), East Timor, Irian Jaya and parts of Sulawesi and Maluku.

Nevertheless the scope of the resources are such that neither the Indonesian Government nor the private sector will be able to resist the economic prize they represent.

Indonesia has the world's largest tropical forest area (after the Amazon Basin) of which about 80% lies in the eastern islands. Apart from coal on Kalimantan, which is now being developed and exported, there are substantial deposits in Sulawesi and Irian Jaya; copper is found in Irian Jaya and Sulawesi; the eastern islands have the world's second largest nickel deposits and there are also largest reserves of bauxite, gold and silver.

Fisheries in the eastern region are still undeveloped, and the waters around the eastern islands are rich in tuna and other pelagic species.

About 65% of the work force in the eastern provinces is engaged in agriculture compared with the national average of 55.6% per cent.

But the ADB report says there were some marked variations from the average: in East Timor the proportion engaged on the land is 95.1% and in East Nusa Tenggara it is 81.5%.

Conversely the proportion of labour in the east engaged in manufacturing is considerably lower than the average - with East Timor, Irian Jaya and Maluku being at the bottom of the list.

*Table accompanying article - shows present population & the annual growth*

Kalimantan	9.11 million	3.32
Sulawesi	12.522 million	2.38
West Nusa Tenggara	3.37 million	2.15
East Nusa Tenggara	3.269 million	1.79
East Timor	0.748 million	3.02
Maluku	1.856 million	2.78
Irian Jaya	1.641 million	3.41
[source - Statistik Indonesia 1990]		

## THE TIMORESE EXTERNAL RESISTANCE

### EXTERNAL FRETILIN COMMUNIQUÉ ON REORGANIZATION

CENTRAL COUNCIL OF FRETILIN  
EXTERNAL DELEGATION

CONSELHO CENTRAL DA  
DELEGAGCO EXTERNA DA FRETILIN

August 20th, 1993

Dear Friends,

The Central Council of FRETILIN External Delegation - CCDEF - met in Lisbon, Portugal from 5 to 8 August, 1993.

The Deputy Head of the FRETILIN External Delegation, Mr. Mari Alkatiri, called the meeting to discuss urgent matters concerning the Organization.

The CCDEF is the ruling body of the FRETILIN External Delegation - DEF - and according to the DEF Constitution, the Central Council must sit at least once a year. However, is up to the DEF's leadership (the Head and the Deputy), to choose the appropriate time in the calendar year.

The refusal, for about two years, of Mr. Abilio Araujo - Head of FRETILIN External Delegation - to, together with Mr. Alkatiri, schedule the sittings for 1992, forcing, therefore the Deputy Head to, in consultation, with other 3 CCDEF's members, Roque Rodrigues, Jose Luis Guterres and Alfredo Borges Ferreira, call an urgent meeting. Abilio Araujo and Guilhermina Araujo (his wife) refuse to take part.

The CCDEF's members had to call forth the mandate given to them, by the PRESIDENCY of FRETILIN - CDF - on 10th October 1992, in which they were entrusted with full power to reorganize the FRETILIN external wing, also known as DEF.

CDF - PRESIDENCY OF FRETILIN is the ruling body of the whole organization and is based in East Timor. Is made up of a Secretary and two Deputies.

During the meeting the CC's members had examined carefully the role of FRETILIN in the struggle for self-determination and independence of East Timor.

The CCDEF's had also examined the role of Mr. Abilio Araujo as the Head of FRETILIN External Delegation and arrived at a decision that Mr. A. Araujo has committed acts of insubordination against the FRETILIN PRESIDENCY, by refusing to accept and challenging frequently the authorization of the FRETILIN leadership based in the MOTHER LAND;.

The CCDEF's had also examined the activities of the FRETILIN Committee, in Portugal - the smallest outside East Timor - and has ascertained that The FRETILIN Committee, in Portugal, has given full support to Abilio Araujo in rebelling against FRETILIN PRESIDENCY;.

Therefore the members of the Central Council of FRETILIN External Delegation, who met in Lisbon, from 5 to 8 August, 1993 had decided:

1. To remove Mr. Abilio Araujo from his position as Head of the FRETILIN External Delegation - DEF.

2. To dismiss Mr. Abilio Araujo as the FRETILIN Representative for Europe and Portugal.
3. To dissolve the FRETILIN Committee in Portugal.
4. That the Leadership of FRETILIN EXTERNAL DELEGATION be collectively carried out by Mr. Mari Alkatiri, Mr. Roque Rodrigues, Mr. José Luis Guterres and Mr. Alfredo Borges Ferreira.
5. That Mr. Roque Rodrigues be the senior FRETILIN Representative for Portugal and Europe and will be assisted by Mr. Olimpio Branco.
6. That two new FRETILIN Committees be organized in Portugal, one in Lisbon and the other in Setubal.
7. That members of the now dissolved FRETILIN Committee can only be accepted as members of the two now organized committees, with full rights, if they signed up in one of the two committees.
8. That, between now and then, none of those members of the former FRETILIN COMMITTEE can be seen or act as official members of FRETILIN Committees.
9. That in view of the above '8 the CCDEF ask the Japan Coalition for East Timor to withdraw the invitation initially addressed to Mrs. Inocencia Neves to visit Japan next October/November. In her place the CCDEF would like to suggest Mrs. Fatima Guterres, widow of a member of FRETILIN Central Committee, who was killed in action, before her own eyes. She can portray to the Japanese people her long suffering as guerrilla-woman (like many others) in the mountains of East Timor.

The CCDEF wish to express its appreciation for the support given by the solidarity groups, around the world, to the struggle for self-determination and independence of the East Timorese People.

On financial aid the CCDEF ask that all donations must be channeled to:

BANCO COMERCIAL DE  
MOZAMBIQUE

Departamento de Relacoes Externas da  
FRETILIN

Conta n: 5110/20.00.55.006.967/6 USD  
Maputo, Republica de Mozambique  
In solidarity,

Mari Alkatiri  
Roque Rodrigues  
Alfredo Borges Ferreira

## ABILIO ARAUJO DEPOSED

*[Radio Nederland - 10 Aug. 93- 0030 UTC]*

Abilio Araujo, the exiled leader of the East Timorese liberation movement Fretilin, has been deposed. The decision was made at a Fretilin meeting in Lisbon. The reason for Mr. Araujo's dismissal was his alleged support for an Indonesian proposal for a meeting to discuss the future of East Timor.

The former Portuguese colony was annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

The meeting was to be attended by supporters of an independent East Timor as well as opponents.

A Fretilin electoral committee will appoint its new leader in exile.

## COMMENT

*Mon Aug. 16 1993*

Reading an anonymous friend's posting in this net concerning the lack of Abilio Araujo's responsibility towards Fretilin and the member of the party, it remains me some of the clues I have heard so far about him.

His "black" records have been a big burden shouldering by the party (not to criticize) for years. It was presumably believed that he was the one who remains rigid and conservative among East Timorese abroad. One of it's outcome was the "break" (if I'm not wrong) between him with his long compatriot Jose Ramos Horta, and other conflicts among UDT, FRETILIN TRABALHISTA and KOTA abroad which led Xanana to establish CNRM. (Instead of resting in on old fashion matters, based on parties principles, this new umbrella organization took neutral stance).

Inside East Timor, I assume, old parties ideology (UDT, FRETILIN KOTA etc.) is not the main thing the nationalism relied on. CNRM stance is the current most popular "trend" inside the territory. Therefore, his absence will not affect any development undertaking now by the resistance.

For some, I think, his absence instead will bring new changes inside FRETILIN abroad. I had a chance talking with CARRASCALÃO several years ago while he was in his post as East Timor Governor. He did not mention clearly what he was saying in that event but he questioned himself, "Why the students must have a relation with Abilio Araujo?" (without mentioned others Fretilin members abroad names).

This man, he said, is distrusted and why those Fretilin exile should also have to rely on him? Carrascalão, by the contrary, praised Xanana and Ramos Horta who, in his opinion, were consistently carried out their duties. (this does not necessarily mean he is on the same line with them). The "kick

out" (if it is true) of Abilio Araujo from Fretilin regardless whatever he had done so far, will not be a big surprise or even controversial phenomenon, instead a long chance that has been waiting by many Timorese abroad.

SAMODOC

## MARI ALKATIRI INTERVIEW

*Semanario, 14 August 1993. By Henrique Botiquelha*

*Semanario: Is Fretilin in crisis?*

Mari Alkatiri: It is taking steps to put the crisis behind it. In fact the crisis of the external wing has been going on for about two years now. It boils down to individual action on the part of the head of the external wing, who has refused to take part in the meetings of the Central Council of the External Delegation of Fretilin, and has withdrawn himself from its convocation.

*Q: Who leads Fretilin at the moment?*

M.A.: There is a collegiate organ made up of four people; this is legitimate in that these four were mandated by the overall supreme organ of Fretilin, that is the 'Comissão Directiva' [Executive Committee]. Abilio insists in not accepting the legitimacy of this organ. On the diplomatic level there is the post of secretary for external relations which at this moment coincides with that of second-in-command of the Fretilin External Delegation, which I myself occupy.

*Q: And where does Abilio Araujo fit into all of this?*

M.A.: Abilio has been suspended from all his functions as head of the External Delegation. He has been relieved of his functions as Fretilin representative in Portugal and in Europe and all his powers have been withdrawn. Abilio still has a recourse open to him, he can appeal for the support of the Comissão Directiva.

*Q: What are the alleged motives for the suspension?*

M.A.: Fundamentally, his persistence in not recognizing the legitimacy of the Fretilin Comissão Directiva. This then leads to a vicious circle; if what exists in the interior of the country does not have legitimacy what legitimacy do we here have to represent Fretilin? Abilio went to the ridiculous extreme of withdrawing legitimacy from Fretilin in the interior, from the CNRM and from the collective organ in the exterior which is the Central Council of the External Delegation, thus retaining legitimacy for himself alone.

*Q: He rejects all these accusations. Is he lying?*

M.A.: If the line of his argument is the same as that of his letter of 5 August, then he is lying from start to finish.

*Q: What does this letter basically say?*

M.A.: It begins in a ridiculous manner transferring responsibility for the institutional impasse in the exterior to me, when he is well aware that this is not true. I convened the Maputo meeting, which he accuses of illegitimacy, to seek legitimacy from the interior to break the impasse. What he cannot say, but has used others to say, is that his motives are of a racial, ethnic and family nature.

*Q: Can you explain that?*

M.A.: Abilio considers himself the heir to everything. Firstly of all to the legitimacy and representativeness of the struggle. Secondly the heir to the great traditional families of Timor. We respect them but the struggle in East Timor involves all its people. He puts himself forward as the heir when in reality he is not. For Abilio the world is a mirror, in which he is on one side and on the other is his shadow.

*Q: But you are aware that Abilio Araujo has accused you of paralyzing the external wing of the party.*

M.A.: Quite ridiculous, because if the second-in-command paralyzes things then it is the business of the head to set in motion the process to dismiss that second-in-command. He knows very well that if he called a meeting of the organ it would be he that would be dismissed.

*Q: There has been much talk of the Abilio Araujo negotiations. Reconciliation and private talks, do you think that there is any link here?*

M.A.: There is no real proof of negotiations linked to reconciliation. Abilio comes across like an impresario. What needs to be raised is whether these negotiations are his alone or whether the cloak of the organization has been used. He must not forget that he is living in a glass house. However, all these questions will be looked into by the collective and Abilio will have an opportunity to better explain himself.

*Q: When?*

M.A.: There is going to be a plenary meeting before the end of December this year which will culminate in the restructuring of the Fretilin external wing.

*Q: Who will participate?*

M.A.: The four members of the Fretilin External Delegation, who are mandated by the Comissão Directiva to direct this process. Abilio wishes to put himself apart and to give an air of democracy he wants to convoke the congress which he is not enti-

tled to do. It can only be convoked by the Fretilin Central Committee. As this does not exist, its powers fall to the Comissão Directiva.

*Q: We have only spoken about Abilio; do you consider him the only problem facing Fretilin at present?*

M.A.: No, the main problem is Indonesia. I still feel I am a friend of Abilio Araujo as a person but do not ask me to become involved in the positions he adopts.

*Q: What about the Nationalist Convergence? Has it folded or will it appear in a new form?*

M.A.: The Convergence was a compromise platform. We have recently created a temporary coordination body from the various components of the resistance which is made up of three people, one from each component. Later we intend to set up a joint representation in Portugal for Fretilin, the UDT and the CNRM.

*Q: Do you agree that it is necessary to do something quickly to safeguard the culture of the people? What?*

M.A.: An attempt to safeguard the culture of the people of Timor must be sought after with the support of the international community, particularly the UN, so that Indonesia has to release the political prisoners, reopen the Portuguese language schools, gradually demilitarize the territory and open it up to the outside.

*Q: It is precisely this that Abilio Araujo is seeking.*

M.A.: But his means do not achieve anything. It is not through contacts with Lopes da Cruz and Abilio Osorio Soares, who are the most sinister elements which Indonesia has at its disposal, that we are going to ensure they keep their promises, seeing as this same Indonesia does not even keep its promises at the international level, and from Rome up to the present, has not adhered to one of the so-called measures of mutual confidence. It is precisely what I have just said. Neither Lopes da Cruz nor Abilio Osorio Soares nor Abilio Araujo will succeed in making Indonesia comply with the memorandum they draw up. The reconciliation will be used to go to the UN Secretary General saying that there is no need for talks with Portugal because the Timorese are getting on with each other. That is what is behind this. The information which we have received, confirmed by reliable sources, indicate that the Secretary General proposes to put off to November the third round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal. This is because Ali Alatas told the Secretary General in Vienna that the Timorese were going to meet and it would be better to let

this go ahead first and see what comes out of it. Prominent UN figures have said exactly the same thing: if the Timorese go ahead with this reconciliation, then the UN will wash its hands of the matter.

---

## AGIO PEREIRA ON THE FUTURE OF THE EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE

---

*Arena Magazine (August/September 1993)*

*(Arena Magazine published the full text including excerpts from Xanana Gusmão defence plea, Dili, 17 May 1993)*

With the arrest of Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão in November 1992, questions have arisen as to the future of the East Timorese struggle and its leadership. It is true that the capture of Gusmão has been a bitter moment for all East Timorese to bear, but the struggle has not faltered. The East Timorese struggle to gain independence has shaken this region for more than eighteen years; the determination of the people and its leadership is not likely to waver now. Moreover, the Fretilin leadership has this eighteen-year history of struggle and organization to draw upon. Immediately after Gusmão's arrest, processes the leadership and continuing the East Timorese struggle were under way.

The struggle for the liberation of our country began with the end of Portuguese colonial rule in April 1974. Its structure and philosophy were influenced by the liberation movements of Africa and their great and their great leaders, with their emphasis on anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist ideology. Leaders such as Amílcar Cabral of the Party for the Independence of Guinea & Cabo Verde, formed in 1956 in Guinea-Bissau, Agostinho Neto, former president of Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola, formed in December 1956 and Samora Machel, the late president of Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, formed on the 25th of June 1962, all influenced the early leadership of Fretilin.

FRETILIN is the acronym for the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor. It was originally called Associacao Social Democrata Timorese (Timorese Social Democratic Association), formed in May 1974. Soon after the invasion and the consequent occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, Fretilin leadership adopted the strategy known as the popular and long-term struggle, a strategy inspired by Mao Zedong's long march during the war against the Japanese occupation, and highly praised in Africa by many liberation movements because it was based upon the principle of 'masses mobilization.' This close resem-

blance of Fretilin to the liberation movements in Africa was largely due to the fact that we all had the same colonial master.

For more than four centuries, East Timor was isolated from Asia becoming a somewhat backward example of an European colonial possession which kept, both, a strong islander characteristic combined with a powerful western culture: the roman Catholicism. Unlike the anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism approach of early 70's, these two main characteristics are now the substance and strength of the Timorese (Maubere) National Resistance. Ironically, this is also a result of almost two decades of isolation which the Timorese people have been ruthlessly forced by the Indonesian military to endure in an attempt to end to the Timorese nationalism.

This is important to understanding the way in which the Timorese people, especially the new leadership, have conceived of the struggle since 1980. Five years after the invasion and occupation of East Timor, the Indonesian Armed Forces did not only managed to cause the death of 200, 000 Timorese, but also to kill about ninety-five per cent of the Timorese political leaders. In these unparalleled circumstances, one can not blame those who then thought that the will-power of the Timorese people to fight against the Indonesian occupation was eliminated forever. The facts, though, prove them wrong!

Xanana Gusmão and four other Fretilin senior cadres that survived the infamous bombardment of Mount Matebian in 1978 when twelve battalions, supported by air and sea bombardments, surrounded Mount Matebian, aiming to destroy the agricultural fields and to kill all Fretilin members in the area by an intensive military campaign of encirclement and annihilation. These leaders decided to pick up the remaining pieces of the structure of the resistance and to present them to the people to decide its future direction. The answer of the Maubere people was easy to foresee. As Xanana Gusmão himself put it: "Our people demanded that never to surrender!" What he and the other surviving cadres needed to do, however, was not as easy. Only after years of tireless consultation and debates, Xanana Gusmão came up with the new, Timorese born-and-bred theory of "national unity" in the political arena and "maximum flexibility" in the military field. These two approaches were simply a recognition of both the isolation of East Timor and the potential unity which the island spirit inevitably bring into the political process. To take advantage of the changing circumstances of the world politics, Xanana Gusmão conceived, in 1990, his now well-known diplomatic formula of negotiations without pre-conditions as a

way to find a just, peaceful and long lasting solution for East Timor.

After ten years of implementation of this new policy, Xanana Gusmão managed to build up not only a powerful political structure in the Indonesian occupied areas of East Timor but also a tremendous sense of nationalism which was not so obvious in the past. Xanana Gusmão himself became a charismatic figure which the people of East Timor cherish almost to a sacrosanct dimension.

He managed to bring up new commanders to take over the lacunae left behind by the past cadres and forged a new spirit of trust and unity among the commanders of FALINTIL (Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor). This capacity to respond to the most critical demands of the struggle and the spirit of mutual trust are the most powerful weapons of the Resistance today.

To implement and develop the philosophy of "national unity," Xanana Gusmão conceived the Conselho Nacional de Resistencia Maubere (National Council of Maubere Resistance) as the umbrella structure of the National Resistance. The effectiveness of this structure is further enhanced by the Comissão Politico-Militar da Resistencia (Politico-Military Commission of the Resistance) which is led by the senior leaders of both FRETILIN and FALINTIL. Falintil, the Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor, is a non-partisan military and para-military force. The Head of State, by constitutional decree, is automatically the Commander-in-Chief of Falintil, hence Gusmão, in his capacity as President of the National Council of Maubere's Resistance, is also Commander-in-Chief of Falintil.

From this brief outlook of the metamorphosis of the Timorese Resistance, one can understand why the capture of Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno does not mean lead to an end to the resistance. Perhaps, the opposite may be true. The imprisonment of these two leaders, might catalyze a process towards a political solution for East Timor. In the military field, Taur Matan Ruak, the Chief-of-Staff of FALINTIL and Konis Santana, the First Vice-Secretary of the Fretilin Directive Commission will now head the Politico-Military Commission of the Resistance. The National Council of Maubere's Resistance will not suffer major reshuffle. Only Jose Ramos-Horta, the Special (Diplomatic) Representative for the CNRM may be promoted to a more senior position in response to what is recognized as a more demanding diplomatic climate in the international arena. Neither Xanana Gusmão nor Ma'Huno, respectively the Commander-in-Chief of FALINTIL and Secretary of Fretilin have not been deposed.

Resistance. In fact, earlier this year, the National Council of Maubere's Resistance declared Xanana Gusmão, "the Symbol of National Resistance" of the Timorese People - an act which reflects the unequivocal trust the people of East Timor have in him.

We are now in a New World Order. Among other things, this is supposed to mean solving international conflicts via peaceful means. We are also in an era where geo-economics determine geo-politics. Such a climate, if managed with sound diplomatic instinct, can favour a solution for East Timor.

The leadership of the Timorese people have declared that it is unrealistic to expect a military victory over the Indonesian Armed Forces.

On the other hand, as Xanana Gusmão said, last month, in his statement to the Indonesian court in Dili, it is time for Indonesia to recognise, too, that it had lost the political battle in East Timor. The formula advanced by Gusmão - negotiations without preconditions - seems to be the only viable bridge to a political solution. The Indonesian Government, however, has yet to show an understanding of the political will of the Timorese people to fight against integration. They have again in recent times resorted to placing military hardliners in East Timor.

Internationally, we must pursue a strategy of building up a climate of dialogue conducive to the continuation of the negotiations between the governments of Portugal and Indonesia under the UN supervision, eventually, with the inclusion of Timorese national leaders such as Xanana Gusmão, Ma'Huno, Jose Ramos-Horta, and others. The future of East Timor will remain a litmus test for the UN and this so-called New World Order.

Agio Pereira

Former Fretilin representative in Australia.

---

## FRETILIN: ROOTS OF THE FRICTION

*The following article was published in FITUN, Mo. 11, September 1993. FITUN is published by Praxis which is based in London. The editor of FITUN is Estavao Cabral. The address of Praxis is Pott Street, London E2 0EF, UK.*

*In reproducing this article on reg.easttimor, TAPOL joins with FITUN in inviting conference readers to give their comments. Comments may be posted on the conference or sent by mail to Praxis.*

The first article in this issue has been written with a view to initiating a debate on the future of CNRM and of the External Delegation of FRETILIN. Readers are in-



vited to send letters to the editor of *FITUN* with their reactions.

### WHO REPRESENTS THE NATIONAL RESISTANCE ABROAD?

Xanana Gusmão, the national leader of the Resistance on November 20, 1992 was captured by Indonesian troops in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Since then, the remaining leaders abroad seem to be more concerned with their internal disputes than with confronting the Indonesians. They are in danger of allowing the Indonesian government and the military to gain ground in East Timor. The Indonesian government has been very active in wooing world opinion for the last two years, while in East Timor the Indonesian military continue to harass the civilian population and continue to attack the Resistance Movement in the mountains.

In this edition, *FITUN* examines the following: the political friction between FRETILIN leaders abroad and the issues arising from this; the significance of the proposal made by Abilio Araujo [former head of the FRETILIN External Delegation] for a 'reconciliation' between East Timorese who are pro and anti-Indonesian; and the ways in which the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) needs to develop as a political force.

### THE ROOTS OF THE FRICTION

When FRETILIN proclaimed unilateral independence on November 28, 1975, the Central Committee decided to have representatives abroad. The decision was taken when it became clear that the Indonesian intelligence were making regular intrusions across the border from Western Timor and that they were threatening to take over East Timor by military means.

The representation abroad came to be known as the FRETILIN External Delegation and was based in Lisbon-Portugal. At that time, the members of the delegation were: Abilio Araujo, Guilhermina Araujo, Jose Ramos Horta, Jose Luis Guterres, Mari Alkatiri, Rogerio Lobato and Roque Rodrigues. All were members of the Central Committee. Every representative had a specific diplomatic role to play: Mari Alkatiri, Jose Luis Guterres, Roque Rodrigues and Rogerio Lobato were based in Luanda-Angola and Maputo-Mozambique. They were placed in charge of political relations in Africa and in other continents. Abilio Araujo and Guilhermina Araujo were given the assignment of representing FRETILIN in Europe and Jose Ramos Horta became the representative at the United Nations.

Ramos Horta left FRETILIN in 1989 because, as he said at that time, not all of the External Delegation members were active in the cause. He was later appointed the spe-

cial representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), the umbrella organisation which includes not only the political parties (UDT and FRETILIN), but also churches and individuals who are against the Indonesian occupation. The appointment was a gesture of recognition by the CNRM in East Timor for the active role he had played in the international arena. Rogerio Lobato was expelled because he had become involved in criminal activity in the People's Republic of Angola.

The frictions that exist today within the Fretilin delegation abroad are long standing ones. There have been a number of internal fights for the leadership of the delegation. There have been struggles between Mari Alkatiri and Abilio Araujo on the one hand and there have also been struggles between Alkatiri and Abilio and Ramos Horta on the other. The longer they have been abroad, the more divisions have emerged.

The original Central Committee decision was that each member should be head of the delegation in turn and that, at each change-over, up to six members should decide who the next head should be. This worked for a while, up to the point when Abilio Araujo became the head. When his turn was over he refused to hand over the duty to others. This became a major issue within FRETILIN. Abilio wanted to stay on as the head of the delegation for good. Some people say that Abilio made this decision because of pressure from some militants abroad who did not want to see Mari Alkatiri, Ramos Horta and Roque Rodrigues heading the delegation. They are of Yemeni, Mestizo and Goan backgrounds respectively. However, if we take a close look at the situation, we see that the pressure from the militants must have been minimal because Mari Alkatiri, Ramos Horta and Roque Rodrigues all are members of the Central Committee. By voting together they could have fended off any challenge.

According to the internal party rules no one has the authority to appoint people to the Central Committee, except from the National Council in East Timor. However, at the moment the National Council is unable to make any major decisions. Whatever the circumstances may be, the external delegation has the obligation to keep information on their activities flowing back to the National Council back in East Timor. Information has failed to get through on occasion. It has been alleged that this is due to a lack of time or to other circumstances. In fact, Abilio and his colleagues expected the National Council in East Timor to send information to them but rarely reciprocated. They only communicated with each other within the National Council abroad when contradictions emerged between them. If

information did reach East Timor it was usually from one member discrediting another.

After years of representing FRETILIN abroad, only in 1989 did they wake up and begin to reorganize. This was after the resignation of Ramos Horta. When Ramos Horta became the special representative of CNRM those who remained in the FRETILIN delegation reorganized themselves. However, the reorganization is still incomplete. Moreover it is impossible to keep up with internal changes because there is no newsletter which can disseminate information to the party as whole. The only news that ordinary FRETILIN members get is via the national Portuguese print and broadcast media and via the solidarity group bulletins. FRETILIN put out three editions of a newsletter in French in the mid 1980s. Eventually, it was replaced by *Liatatoli*. This was an information bulletin edited by the Workers Organisation of FRETILIN. The original idea was that the Youth Organisation should have its own newsletter. But this idea was rejected by the Youth Organisation because it was seen as a form of internal competition. Ironically, the person who produced *Liatatoli* was Jose Guterres, the Secretary of the FRETILIN Information Office in Lisbon and a member of the Youth Organisation. This newsletter came to an end when Jose Guterres left for Macau to continue his studies. Since then the FRETILIN delegation has carried out limited information dissemination activities.

### ABILIO ARAUJO'S CHANGING POSITION

The struggle for power between Ramos Horta and Abilio Araujo has been the most serious one. There have been constant appeals from members of the Resistance in East Timor to the three individuals asking them to try to resolve their conflict. Abilio Araujo's apparent inactivity in Lisbon made it possible for Ramos Horta to gain ground. It enabled him to achieve sufficient success on the diplomatic front to gain credence among members of the Resistance Movement back in East Timor.

The decisive moment came in early August this year when Abilio Araujo was expelled from the party by the other members of the External Council of Fretilin. The reasons given for this action were: (1) the fact that Abilio was far too slow in convening meetings to define FRETILIN strategies; (2) the appalling statement he made about Xanana Gusmão and about the victims of the Santa Cruz massacre. The decision to expel Abilio Araujo was taken in the absence of Abilio and Guilhermina de Araujo. The Council members who made this decision were Alfredo Borges, Jose Luis Guter-

res, Mari Alkatiri and Roque Rodrigues. It has therefore been argued by some that this action was undemocratic. However, if Abilio and Guilhermina Araujo had been present, they would have been outvoted anyway, since there were four other members. Abilio had already proclaimed himself 'president' of the party since the capture of Xanana Gusmão on November 20, 1992. He therefore saw this as a 'palace coup.'

The dismissal has not been recognised by Abilio or Guilhermina or their followers. Instead, Abilio has called for a general Congress debate, which, according to Roque and others, he has no right to do. Abilio wants FRETILIN Committees abroad to be convened to a Congress where a leader would be elected.

FITUN has learned that before August this year, there had already been growing criticism of Abilio and Guilhermina Araujo. For example, it has been said that whenever Abilio was not available for a meeting, Guilhermina also did not show up. The situation of Guilhermina Araujo is still unclear. She has not officially been expelled but simply ignored. Some people have commented that Guilhermina became a member of the Central Committee because of her husband, Abilio Araujo. In fact, she has never done anything significant in her capacity as member of the External Council. She concentrates on her professional interest which is being Secretary of the Austronesian Borja da Costa Foundation, a foundation which oversees the promotion of East Timorese culture and education.

If a Congress of the type that Abilio wants to convene took place in Lisbon, it would of course only be the representatives of FRETILIN Committee members in Lisbon who would turn up. This is because those who represent FRETILIN Committees in Lisbon are Abilio's followers. Predictably, the outcome of this Congress would be that Abilio would automatically remain as 'President' of the party and 'head' of a delegation that has in fact already been dissolved. This would be a delegation made up solely of Abilio, Guilhermina and his followers.

Others in Australia, Macau and Africa would either lack resources to travel or would simply back up the decision taken by the External Council; that is, they would say that Abilio has no right to convene a Congress. A deep division would therefore emerge in the party. Abilio's response to this kind of development is likely to be that only the Lisbon members showed up to vote. Those from elsewhere did not vote. Therefore, only the outcome of the Congress convened by him is legitimate. Some experts' view is that the non-Lisbon based members should be pro-active and go to

Abilio's Congress in order to vote against him; or, at the very least, the absent FRETILIN Committee members should state clearly which side they support.

Jose Ramos Horta was nominated representative for the CNRM in 1990. This infuriated Abilio Araujo who expected a higher position in the Resistance Movement than Ramos Horta. It meant that Abilio would have to defer to Horta because he was now in a higher position within the umbrella organisation. Abilio must have seen the writing in wall in 1989, because he sent a letter to the Executive Council of the Party in East Timor in which he proposed himself as President of the Party. In the absence of a response, Abilio then took the law into his own hands. He appointed himself President of FRETILIN. He was perhaps convinced that he would get a positive answer. The proposal was not approved. Instead, it was stated by the Executive Council in East Timor that the question of the Presidency should be put on hold for the time being, until the war was over. This decision was seen by Abilio as an insult. His ambitions had not been fulfilled. His decision to appoint himself as 'President' aggravated the ongoing conflict between Abilio, Horta and the National Resistance in East Timor. Abilio carries on regardless. Recently, in signing a letter to the press in Lisbon, Abilio referred to himself as the 'President' of the party. But most people are saying he is deluding himself. This status has never been recognised by any members of FRETILIN except his immediate followers and by some media figures in Lisbon.

The conflict is still far from over. In FITUN's view, there will be two possible consequences of the dismissal of Abilio Araujo from the Head of the delegation:

Firstly, the existing personal conflicts will be greatly aggravated. It is unlikely that Abilio will give up and hand over to the others. He has always fought to impose his will! In counter attack, after the capture of Xanana Gusmão in 1992, he made proposals for a political 'reconciliation.' He actually means a 'reconciliation' between pro-Indonesian and anti-Indonesian Timorese. This proposal completely contradicts a proposal made by Ramos Horta in 1990 (see FITUN N0 8 and 9). Abilio's proposal carried no weight because it came at a time when he could see he was falling by the wayside in his attempts to become the leader of the Resistance Movement abroad and in East Timor.

Xanana Gusmão met with pro-Indonesians and with the Indonesian military in 1983 to discuss peace talks without pre-condition under the auspices of the United Nations. The meeting was vehemently condemned by Abilio Araujo at the

time. But later, he changed his mind when the meeting was seen as a defeat for the Indonesians. Up to that time, the Indonesian government and the military had never admitted that there was a Resistance Movement.

The second possible consequence of Abilio's dismissal is that it may reinforce the classic Indonesian government argument that a continued Indonesian presence is needed in East Timor because there is so much internal conflict among East Timorese. The Indonesian invasion has, of course, been condemned by the UN on human rights grounds. But the East Timorese now need to build a viable political movement to counter Indonesian propaganda. What the East Timorese certainly don't need is antics of the sort Abilio has engaged in over the last few years.

### **TOWARDS A BROADER AND STRONGER RESISTANCE MOVEMENT**

When Abilio was expelled from the party, the remaining members of FRETILIN came out with new strategies for the campaign against the Indonesians. They are reorganizing the party. They have set up new Committees in Portugal, Australia and Africa where East Timorese are based. These moves are designed to marginalise Abilio's faction. According to one member interviewed by FITUN they are preparing new strategies to confront Indonesian propaganda at every level. But, first, they have to restructure the party which is currently at sixes and sevens. In a meeting held in Setubal-Portugal in late August, Roque Rodrigues remarked that it is not their intention to compete with Abilio and his followers.

If we compare the CNRM with the FRETILIN External Delegation in its current state, CNRM is now clearly established. For most East Timorese, it is the only organisation which is currently active in the struggle abroad and in countering Indonesian propaganda exercises. It is therefore, the main umbrella organisation which we should be working with. This should not, however, mean that organisations and parties that are an integral part of CNRM should be pushed aside.

However, even the CNRM still has a lot to do. The organisation should be consolidated and the role of each of the groups and political parties within the Movement should be clarified, in particular with relation to decision making. Secondly, the role and responsibility of individual representatives that have already been appointed should be clarified. Thirdly, the range of political contacts should be extended to include more countries in the South. For

example, there is a strong case for having a representative in countries like Brazil where Portuguese is spoken. Last but not least, information dissemination resources and procedures should be extended. In particular, young talented Timorese should be given the opportunity to gain experience in dealing with the press, in counter propaganda work and in information dissemination within the Movement. At the moment the CNRM office in Australia only has a one member of staff who is not Timorese.

Meanwhile, the Indonesians are playing every card at their disposal to gain international support and improve their image at the international level. However, the Indonesian human rights record is appalling. It is well documented by many international observers and independent organisations such as Amnesty International. The Indonesian government is under continuing pressure in the international arena to resolve the conflict. The proposal for 'reconciliation' made by Abilio Araujo was immediately accepted by the Indonesian government, but they continue to deny the East Timorese the opportunity to discuss the sovereignty of East Timor. The East Timorese will never make concessions on this issue. Their struggle for this cause has cost more than 200.000 lives in the last eighteen years.

The Indonesian government is still seeking ways to gain ground. They continue to "Indonesianize" the East Timorese population by sending 'transmigrants' into East Timor. In the wake of the years of genocide, they are now trying to change the demographic profile of East Timor. This is for purely political ends. They have in mind the fact that they will eventually be forced to carry out a referendum. The Indonesians are following the same path in preparing for a future referendum as their cronies in Morocco did in the case of Western Sahara. This one of the main problems that Abilio is 'worrying' about. It is why he has put forward his proposal for the so-called 'reconciliation' as a 'better' approach.

Whatever friction there may be among the Timorese leaders, support for 'reconciliation' only comes from a few dozen people. Many Timorese in Portugal and in Australia who have never supported any political party have also rejected the move. If the Indonesians see Abilio's move as a victory for them, they are deluding themselves. Abilio's move has united Timorese more than ever before. Now that the case for their homeland is being discussed much more widely in the international arena, they feel that, at last, they have the opportunity to reject any cosmetic proposals. Abilio has lost credibility among Timorese; above all, as a result of the remarks that he made, about the Santa Cruz massacre on Novem-

ber 12, 1991: he described those who were killed in the massacre as 'adventurers' and said that their protests 'provoked' the Indonesian military. He also attacked Xanana Gusmão as traitor. The remarks have made him unpopular if not completely isolated. Most East Timorese involved in the struggle would now rather leave the question of the sovereignty of the country in the hands of the UN and Portugal with the participation of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance. They have no wish to be involved in meetings with pro-Indonesian Timorese. This is tantamount to abandoning the struggle to establish an independent country. Konis Santana, the new leader of FALINTIL recently stated that he has a firm belief in the will of the UN, the Portuguese and the US governments to find a political solution for East Timor. The political status of a future East Timor is at the heart of the conflict.

#### COMMENT FROM "LENITO," OCT. 28, 1993

Sir, in response to your article entitled "Fretilin : Roots of the friction" carried in Fitun No. 11, September '93, I feel obliged morally to share some thoughts as response from a young East Timorese perspective. The views expressed in this letter, however, are strictly personal. At the very outset, I wish to be pardoned for my rather simplistic approach to the subject, which has indeed drawn attention of very eminent activists, politicians, and scholars and if I'm not mistaken it has been studied in-depth from almost all angles and perspectives.

Your article carried an insightful analysis in an orderly manner over the current political friction between Fretilin leaders abroad and the issues arising from this internal crisis. I was very concern reading your extensive assessment on Abilio Araujo's changing position. Having read this, one may think how the East Timorese leaders abroad could sustain the struggle if they are not united solidly? While it is not my intention to comment upon the functioning of CNRM and Fretilin External Delegation or even to offer a critique of its many successes and failures, I perceive that there is undoubtedly an urgent need to review and to reconsider the question whether these people have adequately subserved the fundamental interests of the East Timorese people instead of sticking with internal political matters.

In my humble view, apart from other political perspectives, the UNITY among East Timorese is perhaps one of the most vital significance as it would also encompass the relevant questions and issues concerning us today, which may be brought up for discussion by other competent readers. A series of crisis occurred internally and the most obvi-

ous is Abilio Araujo's dismissal as Fretilin leader and a debate on the future of CNRM and of the external delegation of Fretilin. To best of my knowledge, there have been no doubts on the capabilities of these leaders such as Abilio Araujo, Jose Ramos Horta, Mari Alkatiri, Jose Luis Guterres, Roque Rodrigues, Rogerio Lobato (abroad), Jose Alexandre Gusmão, Francisco Xavier, FX Lopes da Cruz, Mario Carrascalão, Guliherthme M Goncalves, (inside Indonesia/East Timor at the moment) to name a few, and many others who had passed away such as Nicolau Lobato, Vicente Reis in the land of East Timor. They were the native ET pioneers, fighters, and adventurers who have marked the dramatic history of East Timor political life prior to 1975 onwards. Their views, struggle and devotion to the East Timorese people are acknowledged respectively based on their political lines.

As an East Timorese, it is very difficult not to get emotionally affected whenever one thinks of the terrible sufferings of the East Timorese people and of our sad plight at a time when we are fast approaching the 21st century.

As the international pressure is mounting, greater forces are pushing for the Timorese participation in the negotiation talks sponsored by the UN Sec.Gen. As far as the East Timorese people is concerned to achieve a just and comprehensive solution can only mean full respect for the rights of the Timorese people to self-determination and independence starting with the total withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces from East Timor. To commence with this, the East Timorese leaders abroad should promote measures of reconciliation among them to disarm Indonesia politically while solidifying further the links between the East Timorese regardless old party lines, and other vested interests or attributes involved.

However the fact tells us different scenario, as it's disgraceful observing the 'disunity' amongst East Timorese leaders both within East Timor and abroad. The more we talk about the East Timor issue in the international arena, hurdles remain in East Timor negotiations. Ironically, the East Timorese people's bargaining position remains weak as there is no progress of consolidation among East Timorese leaders abroad.

The Indonesians, for one, would be taking advantage of this internal crisis to intensify their strategy of diplomacy. Apart from the persistent ideas on developments being underway in East Timor since the Indonesian occupation, in the Indonesian point of view it is desirable and practical to deal with the issue once and for all. In their classic viewpoints, development conveys the message the East Timor are working together

(not fighting), they are participating (not dissenting), structures are being built (not destroying), living conditions are being improved (not ruined) and reinforces the benevolent (as opposed to malevolent) character of integration. On the other hand, the East Timor leaders abroad have consistently directed attention to the brutal Indonesian occupation in East Timor and by using dramatic eye-catching and reliable facts and descriptions of the human rights situation in East Timor. That's a great effort of Timorese activists to prevent eroding international attention towards East Timor.

Evidently, the crisis has just taken place as an interesting phenomenon emerged in Portugal recently (i.e. Abilio Araujo interviewed by TSF on September 29, 1993) reveals Abilio's polemical on how 'up in the Timorese mountains some are questioning the leadership of Konis Santana.' Apparently Abilio is still obsessed about making a solitary journey. As criticized by Mari Alkatiri's response given over the telephone from Maputo to TSF, that Abilio tries to make everything and everyone illegitimate. I agree with Alkatiri's argument that for their part, try at all costs to believe in those are leading the struggle inside East Timor. There is no way that they want to impose (from afar, in countries which are at peace) rules on how the game should be played, just so as to legitimize the choice of leaders within the country. It is on the basis that the circumstances themselves which legitimize the leadership, therefore Fretilin external delegation (presumably taking over by Mari Alkatiri cs) have to support those leading the struggle inside the territory.

A document signed by Konis Santana dated 25 April 1993, explained how the national resistance in East Timor has been re-shaped after Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno have been frozen. In other words, Konis Santana took over the leading role of the resistance to overcome what he calls "Vazio de Direccao." In Konis Santana's words: "the defeat only meant a lost of the leaders in a physical and intellectual sense" the loss of the capacity to synthesize the experience of the Maubere People's struggle and show how the right direction to take in order to materialize the ultimate objective - the liberation of the Homeland; but their knowledge sprouted from the blood, sweat and tears, the pain and suffering, the sacrifice, the lives given by all those who have given everything for the struggle that belongs to the entire people that resist the occupation lives on." (Source : Matebian News August '93 Vol. 1 no. 4, Sydney, Australia).

Concerning the reorganization of CNRM, Konis Santana postulated that "the CNRM whilst a national structure of the resistance

which unifies all those inside the homeland, regardless of their political tendencies, and social and religious belief, continuously searches for objectivity in its practical approach and to adapt and respond to the new realities." This message clearly reflects a hope from a fighting man to their comrades abroad.

Therefore I advocate to East Timor Leaders abroad that it is not an idea whose time has come to be the leader of the resistance, it is A RACE AGAINST TIME ! Instead of sticking with the internal matters, efforts should be directed to the diplomatic front (by all means) by creating a conducive atmosphere among Timorese in a way that will not give advantage to Indonesia. Some points of reconciliation as originated by Abilio Araujo and FX Lopes da Cruz may kill the struggle of East Timorese in the UN agenda. In Abilio's explanation, his plan of negotiation supposed to encompass four main pillars: pacification, demilitarization, reconciliation and self-determination. This was said in his interview to Expresso, on the 31 July last. Whatever the content is, an interesting editorial carried by Matebian News Bulletin September 1993 issue, described the fundamental differences of plan pointed out by Abilio Araujo and Jose Ramos Horta. Abilio argues that his plan differs from that presented by Jose Ramos Horta in the sense he does not defend the sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor at any stage, whereas the latter defends the 'autonomy under Indonesia' as a transitional phase. Despite the differences between the two plans, in my observation, somehow, the reconciliation must go on and talks between the Timorese of all political persuasions, especially the leaders (both within East Timor and abroad) should be encouraged in such a manner that does not enable the Indonesian officials to take advantage and distance the Timorese from one another, irreversibly. Progress can be made if the East Timor leaders must sit together first and clear up the internal frictions before going ahead bargaining the agenda. No one can deny that there must be genuine understanding between the Timorese politicians both inside and outside East Timor. No one denies that forgiveness must be given to the National Unity to become reality. Whatever we call reconciliation or other terminology one prefers, the genuine understanding can only sprout from a deep respect for our nationhood.

I'm convincing in my mind, after having considered all the approaches and dimensions relating to the issue, that our collective efforts should be aimed at advising mechanisms and lobbying strategies to bring about a negotiated and peaceful settlement bloodless transfer of power. By influencing public

opinion as shown worldwide on the one hand and by highlighting the emancipation cause of the East Timorese people at all international and regional forums, an awareness movement to the core the East Timor issue could be created.

Overall, the struggle lies in the hands of those who deserve to the East Timorese people who are living inside East Timor (a place which may be called a prison). Removing attributes of vested interest of ET leaders (political ambitions to be the leader as shown by Abilio Araujo abroad) is one of the element that should be redress. It's our moral duty to think of the lives of 200,000 and devote our energy and responsibility to the younger generation of East Timor.

Let us be guided in this battle for truth by the noble motto "To Resist in Every Front" under the spirit of "UNIÃO FAZ FORÇA" to continue the struggle. The diplomatic front depends on the Timorese abroad. There are relatively large Timorese communities in Portugal, Australia and Indonesia. Small, but active, groups of Timorese are also spread in some other countries and a lot of things need to be done as proposed by Fitun. I entirely second the motion that the organization, strategies and the role of the groups should be clarified, in particular to decision making. More interestingly, the idea of giving more chance to young talented Timorese to gain experience in dealing with the press, in counter Indonesian propaganda is an excellent idea.

Finally I quote a piece of statement carried by *Matebian News* September 1993 edition in its excellent editorial:

"That if we allow that the lives of 200,000 Timorese to be betrayed simply because of political vendetta in the leadership abroad, or political adventurism, the Maubere people will never forgive us. The real leaders of the East Timorese people abroad must sit together, reconcile their differences and disarm the Indonesian politically."

With or without the above leaders, the nature of this struggle and the total determination of the entire population of East Timor necessarily leads to the ultimate objective "Freedom in dignity and Peace For Justice." The cost in human suffering has been enormous and need to be ceased.

---

## SOLIDARITY MESSAGE TO GABRIELA FROM FREILIN

17 September 1993

To: Cherry Padilla, Director-Commission on International Relations, GABRIELA

Dear Sisters,

We, the FRETILIN women, send warm greetings to the women of the Philippines for this special occasion. We praise GABRIELA for its endurance and commitment to the struggle of Filipino's women towards justice and equality of women in the society.

The suffering of women, specially those who have to live under colonialism and repressive regimes, are beyond human tolerance and are unrecognized.

We have been the victims of the Indonesian regime and brutal occupation of our country for almost 18 years. We are being raped by the Indonesian soldiers; our husbands, sons and brothers are being killed; our daughters raped by the soldiers and carry babies conceived by violence. Above all that we are suffering, we must struggle to survive in keeping the hopes of our people to finally reach the sacred aspirations of East Timor - freedom and independence.

In this most difficult moment in our history we acknowledge the solidarity of every women in the world specially the Filipino women lead by GABRIELA.

Dear sisters, we would like to reaffirm our determination and commitment to continue the struggle against the Indonesian occupation until the day we achieve the liberation of our Motherland.

We wish you all the best and success in your 7th National Assembly.

The struggle continues.

Yours sincerely,

Filomena de Almeida for FRETILIN  
Women's Secretary

FRETILIN Committee of NSW  
P.O. Box 74, BONNYRIGG, NSW,  
AUSTRALIA. Ph/Fax: (02)727 2278

## ABILIO ARAUJO INTERVIEWED

*Lisbon radio TSF, 29 Sept. '93 (transcribed verbatim by UDT's Portuguese Regional Committee). Translated from Portuguese.*

Fretelin's Abilio Araujo, polemical again. For the first time, he tells how "up in the Timorese mountains some are questioning the leadership of Konis Santana," the Timorese guerrilla leader. Coming next, an interview by Manuel Acacio, worth listening to:

*Manuel Acacio (MA)/TSF interviewer: Abilio Araujo, contrary to what was planned, the reconciliation meeting between Timorese was not held before the Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas meeting. What is happening with the reconciliation meeting? Has it been cancelled? Has the idea been shelved, or is it still in preparation?*

Abilio Araujo (AA): It is still in preparation, and I have recently been in regular

touch with Mr. Lopes da Cruz, Monsignor Carlos Belo, and Father Jose Antonio da Costa, Vicar General of the Dili Diocese. We believe, therefore, that the meeting will take place within the next few weeks or months...

*MA/TSF: What exactly does this mean?*

AA: It depends on a few circumstances which are, in fact, making it difficult to hold the meeting. I understand, and have actually said, that I wanted Monsignor Belo to be present, and I also thought this to be important. However, they wanted Monsignor Belo and the Timorese Church to come as part of the delegation coming from the interior. And, straight-away, I said no to this, and said that the format should be: the lay leaders, as we could call them, the political leaders with political functions, and the Timorese Church ought to come as observers, supporting, and hearing, and listening - to all parties, with its protective shadow. And this was a very important fundamental issue which had to be resolved. So, this is one of the reasons why ...

*MA/TSF: And has it not yet been resolved?*

AA: We are trying to see if this issue can be worked out. However, it also involves some political input from the Vatican. So the situation is a little more complex than what I had originally thought. But today we are prepared to go ahead with the meeting with the people who are available, and with a format that is feasible, and this could become the first of several meetings.

*MA/TSF: Is Ximenes Belo's presence no longer a prerequisite?*

AA: No, it no longer is for me, because as long as members of the Timorese clergy are coming, that in itself will be a positive factor.

*MA/TSF: What exactly are you trying to achieve by this meeting? What good will it actually do?*

AA: This meeting will be a way for Timorese leaders, both from the interior and abroad, to make their positive contribution...

*MA/TSF: But in practical terms, how will this happen?*

AA: By making their contribution towards implementing the confidence measures which the two governments, Portuguese and Indonesian, agreed upon during the negotiations sponsored by the UN.

*MA/TSF: Wouldn't this meeting be playing on Indonesia's side? (...) There is a new factor which, I think, we should not forget. And that is that Portugal - Portuguese diplomacy - is not supporting the meeting. Jakarta has, however, given it the green light, and is looking favorably upon it. This is politically significant!?*

AA: I am not of the opinion that Portugal is, in fact, against this meeting. All my information, and all the contacts I have been making point to exactly the opposite.

*MA/TSF: But has the Portuguese Government supported you in any way? Has the Foreign Office told you to go ahead?*

AA: I do not want them to say yes or no.

*MA/TSF: But Jakarta has said yes, and that is what I find politically significant.*

AA: As we all know, this is a meeting which, in fact, involves risk for all parties: for Indonesia, Portugal, and for us Timorese...

*MA/TSF: Tell me something: what do you think about the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association? Is this a positive or negative element?*

AA: As I have already said on other occasions, I think that the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association is an activity, an Association created in Portugal by Portuguese people and as such, I should not be commenting on it.

*MA/TSF: But how does Abilio Araujo, Timorese and political leader, view the creation of this Association?*

AA: I think that, above all, who should be commenting on this is the Portuguese Government, the Portuguese State. If, until now, no political representative in Portugal has made comments on a Portuguese association of friendship between Portugal and Indonesia, it is not my place ...

*MA/TSF: Is that a criticism?*

AA: It is my position and, in fact, I repeat with the same determination, that if a position on this Association has not been taken, it is not for me to start commenting. As I have said to people connected with this Association, I just do not want - and this is a criticism - people saying that integration is the best way for East Timor. That is when I say that not even the people of Timor have had the chance to say that, and I am fighting in order that, one day, the Timorese people will be in a position to say what they want. So please, nobody, go around saying whether it is for the best or worst.

*MA/TSF: Two months ago, Abilio Araujo said that the armed struggle had failed. Has the diplomatic struggle also failed? In other words, doesn't your initiative of proposing a reconciliation meeting among Timorese on the one hand, and Manuel Macedo's initiative of founding a Portugal-Indonesia Association on the other, show that (...) new ways are needed to be found?*

AA: My proposed meeting among the Timorese is just the first part. The second

stage, which could come about after various meetings, will directly involve the Timorese in tripartite talks.

*MA/TSF: Early this month, a message came from the new Resistance leader, Konis Santana, up in the mountains. In it he says "the fight goes on," and gives examples of some military actions against Indonesia. Do you regret the statements you made?*

AA: Not only do I not regret what I said, but I do not even know Konis Santana. I know there is a leader of that name...

*MA/TSF: But do you accept the statements contained in that message as valid, or do you consider it propaganda?*

AA: I accept them as valid, that the armed struggle continues. When I say that the armed struggle failed, I mean I want to achieve a wider aim, which is the following: the armed struggle that we learned about as a concept, and in its dictionary definition, is about national liberation, which is a superior manifestation of political struggle. I do, in fact, still think and say that it has already given what it had to give.

*MA/TSF: Why do you not acknowledge Konis Santana as supreme leader of the Timorese Resistance.*

AA: Because leadership should result from structures which are functioning.

*MA/TSF: But in this case, that is impossible...*

AA: You know, in 1978, we went through very difficult times, like these. After '78, several commanders also proclaimed themselves to be supreme leader. We spent three years waiting, and during that time I did not talk about who was the top commander...

*MA/TSF: So, do you think that he has illegitimately proclaimed himself supreme leader?*

AA: I think that there are many here, abroad, who are nominating people. And that is why this situation has come about...

*MA/TSF: But of whom is this a criticism? Of Ramos-Horta?*

AA: Of all those who are interfering, from abroad, in the structures of the Resistance.

*MA/TSF: Do you think Konis Santana has been appointed leader from abroad?*

AA: I believe that those abroad share much of the blame for what happens in the interior (...) I think we have to pull down this curtain which hangs between the interior and the exterior.

*MA/TSF: So how can a new Resistance leader be chosen?*

AA: The Resistance has to get together, has to meet, has to choose who it will be ...

*MA/TSF: But how can it choose? From abroad?*

AA: No, from the interior!

*MA/TSF: In Konis Santana's letter, he says that the restructuring has already taken place.*

AA: I have doubts about a lot of things. I do want to say that, with this meeting among Timorese project, we have to reach a stage at which we are also going to get in contact with all of them.

*MA/TSF: Let us suppose, for a moment, that the UN Secretary General, Boutros Ghali, wanted to speak to the Resistance leader - who should he call?*

AA: Is he going in there? That would be my first question.

*MA/TSF: But this is just a hypothetical situation, merely theoretical. If Boutros Ghali wished to send a personal message to the Resistance leader, to whom should he address his letter?*

AA: I do not think he would do that.

*MA/TSF: Do you think that the model used until now by the Resistance is outdated - the organisational pattern -, and that it is necessary to break away towards something completely new?*

AA: I do not wish to comment on that. I think that it should be up to the ones in the interior to find the best forms.

*MA/TSF: But they have already found them. It is you who does not agree.*

AA: But there are many who, we could say, disagree. It is wrong to think that Abilio Araujo is a lone voice. I have contacts with many structures in the interior who believe that many things ought to be rethought...

*MA/TSF: Including Konis Santana's leadership?*

AA: Including that!

*MA/TSF: In other words, the Resistance is divided in the interior also?*

AA: Naturally. Divided because discussion is necessary, it is necessary ... we cannot function like statues on the altar - by simply substituting one fallen statue by another ... look at St. Peter. When he died, he was not the eleventh, or the twelfth. Another came along.

*MA/TSF: Given this complete picture of the Resistance, in terms of organisation, is Timor a lost cause? Of course, you are going to say no, but ...*

AA: No, I think that our Resistance over the past 18 years has given all it can. We have done everything in our power, and the people of Timor would be prepared to continue to do so. But I ask this: Could it be that the world wants the remaining five hundred

thousand to disappear ... for the world to then say that, like the Spartans (...) they fell, but fell as heroes. Is that it? I think that all this division, this division is the result of a powerful enemy's action upon us, just as the two hundred thousand dead was..

*MA/TSF: But this is precisely Indonesia's objective. In other words, in this struggle Indonesia is achieving its goal - the destruction of the Resistance. With divisions within the Resistance, with UDT's internal disagreements, the differences within Fretilin, and the differences among the guerrillas, that just leaves Ximenes Belo!*

AA: I don't wish to put it like that. What I say is that, if the political forces abroad, the countries, the media, carry out their battle - not conditioned by the situation within the Resistance but by this people's right, which exists and ought to be defended - and if the international community knows how to play its part, then I assure you that the Timorese would find...

*MA/TSF: So the Timorese people's struggle is in the hands of others?*

AA: I never said that. It has always been in our own hands. It has always been in our hands and, for that very reason, we too are going to decide which is the best way, from our analysis and equation process of the current facts.

## **MARI ALKATIRI'S RESPONSE TO ABILIO ARAUJO**

*Also on TSF Radio, Sept. 29. Translated from Portuguese*

Following is a verbatim transcript of Mari Alkatiri's response, given over the telephone from Maputo to TSF, after the Abilio Araujo interview:

*MA/TSF: Are there disagreements among the guerrillas up in the mountains?*

Mari Alkatiri: None. There are no disagreements of any kind. This information is reliable because we have sought to find out exactly how Konis Santana was chosen to head the Resistance, and everything indicates that, yes, he is accepted by all the guerrillas and has the acceptance of the Clandestine Front.

*MA/TSF: So how do you interpret Abilio Araujo's statements?*

Mari A: I think that Abilio Araujo is still obsessed about making a solitary journey. This is quite dangerous, because in order to make progress on his journey, Abilio Araujo tries to make everything and everyone illegitimate. And, lately, this has been his practice, and he continues to maintain that totally reprehensible position.

*MA/TSF: Abilio Araujo has stated in this interview that there are people abroad who want to be in charge in the interior. Do you accept this criticism?*

Mari A: Well, if there was ever anyone abroad who wanted to be in charge in the interior, it was Abilio Araujo himself. We only have to remember Abilio Araujo's most recent act, just 24 hours after Xanana Gusmão was captured, when he proclaimed himself leader of the whole Resistance, both interior and abroad. No one else to date has done that. Ramos- Horta, who had been designated for the leadership, turned down that very leadership on grounds that he was abroad, outside the territory.

*MA/TSF: Is the Resistance becoming more and more splintered?*

Mari A: No. I think the Resistance is experiencing very difficult times at the moment, comparable to those of 1978 - I would agree with Abilio Araujo up to that point, but there is a different reality. While in 78 the entire leadership had been decimated, now, with Xanana Gusmão and Ma'Huno's capture, the whole leadership was not decimated.

*MA/TSF: Is Konis Santana the supreme leader of the Timorese Resistance in the eyes of the governing bodies of Fretilin, to which you belong?*

Mari A: We, for our part, try at all costs to believe in those who are leading the struggle inside the country. There is no way that we want to impose (from afar, in countries which are at peace) rules on how the game should be played, just so as to legitimize the choice of leaders within the country. The situation inside the country is one of total war. It is, therefore, the circumstances themselves which legitimize the leadership. It is on this basis that, coherently, we have to support those leading the struggle inside the territory.

*MA/TSF: For Fretilin, there are no doubts about it - Konis Santana is the supreme leader!*

Mari A: He is the supreme leader. He is the Secretary of Fretilin's Directive Commission, and therefore supreme leader of Fretilin.

## **PRO-INTEGRATION TIMORESE WANT TO TALK**

### **ABILIO ARAUJO, FREILIN LEADER "THE ARMED STRUGGLE HAS FOLDED"**

*EXPRESSO, 30 July 1993. By Jose Pedro Castanheira/Mario Robalo*

The 'Reconciliation meeting' between Timorese scheduled to take place in Brussels towards the end of August, has provoked considerable uproar amongst the leaderships of the Maubere community outside the territory. The initiator of the project, Abilio Araujo a member of the Fretilin Central Council in the Exterior and one of the most high-profile resistance leaders, has come in for particular criticism. In his interview with *Expresso*, Araujo explains that his proposal came about as a result of the "exhaustion of the politico-military resistance" in the interior of Timor and that it can be seen as 'inaugurating a new stage' for all Timorese, and had the potential to avoid the 'destruction of our identity'

*EXPRESSO: You are at the centre of a number of accusations.*

Abilio Araujo: It looks like it.

*Q: For good or bad motives?*

A: Good, I think. Anything which has to do with courage and the pursuit of dialogue, is always good. Even when the person concerned is not in the right. Bad, is when there is no dialogue, when there is not courage to talk. Right when the first differences of agreement began, I invited Fretilin leaders, along with João Carrascalão and Zacarias Costa of the UDT, to talk with me. At the time it seemed to me that the misunderstandings had been overcome. Later on, I realised that in fact that there was another logic at work in the background, which impeded the development of the dialogue.

*Q: There are those who call you names and everything but traitor...*

A: It is possible that there may be individuals who think this. I accept that any Timorese whatsoever may think that he is as much a nationalist, a patriot, a lover of freedom for our people as I am. What I do not accept ...

*Q: These are lessons in patriotism.*

A: Exactly! There is not a single Timorese - apart from those who died, or who are prisoners - who could give me lessons in patriotism.

*Q: It would appear that you are isolated within Fretilin.*

A: All the Fretilin structure in Portugal supports the idea.

*Q: But anyone reading the press would receive the opposite impression.*

A: The Fretilin committee in Portugal is with me on this project.

*Q: Has Fretilin taken a formal position yet?*

A: Yes, in a press release at the time of the Rome meeting between Ali Alatas and Durão Barroso.

*Q: And what does the project consist of?*

A: My project consists of the following: to find a solution for Timor through dialogue, within the ambit of the UN and the talks in progress between Portugal and Indonesia, based on four fundamentals: pacification, demilitarization, reconciliation and consultation on self-determination.

*Q: But this was proposed by Ramos Horta, in 1992.*

A: No, Ramos Horta had a plan completely different to mine, which would involve the acceptance of a statute of autonomy within the framework of Indonesian sovereignty.

*Q: Why do you not accept the Ramos Horta proposal?*

A: Because I am in favour of self-determination and of the exercise of this right by the people of Timor.

*Q: Why do you speak of reconciliation with pro-Indonesian Timorese?*

A: Because self-determination presupposes that the people of Timor exercise freely this right. All Timorese, regardless of the options which they wish to support regarding elections, have the right to be present in the act of the holding of a referendum. Those who want integration with Indonesia should have the same rights as us and, in the event of a referendum, present this option to the people. I know many people who say to me that the best way forward is integration with Indonesia but who also say that it is necessary to have a referendum. They accept that it is only through a referendum that the people of Timor can opt for their independence. Thus on our side, if we are to be consistent, we also should accept that we will accept it if the people of Timor opt for another path and not independence. What I am aiming for at this stage is to bring together all the Timorese.

*Q: The impression that I get is that your proposal, rather than bringing together, is in fact dividing.*

A: Things are not exactly that linear..

*Q: But the other members of the leadership are against it.*

A: Not entirely. I will not mention names, but, through dialogue, we will reach an understanding.

*Q: Who will go with you to Brussels?*

A: A lot of people will be going. When the time comes we will see who.

*Q: Is it going to be a representative delegation?*

A: Very representative of Timorese intellectuals in the diaspora.

*Q: Covering the entire spectrum of the existing parties?*

A: Yes, even the UDT.

*Q: Will Ramos Horta be going?*

A: He has said that he does not want to... I would like if he was present.

*Q: And the church?*

A: Yes, it will.

*Q: Who will represent it?*

A: We will know that when the time comes.

*Q: Will the bishop of Dili be present?*

A: His name has been put forward by some sectors in the interior. I do not want to say any more than that but there is, in fact, involvement on the part of the local clergy.

*Q: What guarantees are there that the leadership in the interior, led by Konis Santana agrees with your idea?*

A: I regard Konis Santana as a leader of one sector of the resistance. The resistance in Timor has various components these days. Konis Santana's opinion, for me, is important but it is not everything.

*Q: Do you not recognise him as the leader?*

A: I recognise him as a military leader, of Falintil, but not as the overall leader.

*Q: Do you recognise him as the heir to Xanana Gusmão?*

A: No.

*Q: Why?*

A: Because there is much more. There are structures which are being recognised in Timor which will very soon be go public with very decisive strategies.

*Q: If you do not recognise Konis Santana, who do you recognise?*

A: We are now in a transition phase as in 78, a time in which there were various commanders. Many of them even proclaimed themselves commander in chief.

*Q: Do you not see a necessity to have a unique leadership in the interior?*

A: It has to be so. Time will play its part to smooth out the contradictions which exist at the moment. In a short while a new political constitution of the Resistance will be put into effect.

*Q: On the other side, who, apart from Lopes da Cruz (Jakarta's itinerant ambassador), will be going to Brussels?*

A: It would be fundamental that, from over there, all those who fill important positions should be present.

*Q: Is the proposal for a reconciliation meeting not the result of a folding of the armed struggle in the interior?*

A: I would indeed say that my proposal is the result of that which I consider the exhaustion of the politico- military resistance.

*Q: At this moment is there no armed resistance?*

A: It exists but not with the capacity of two or three or five years ago.

*Q: The military structure has been decimated?*

A: It is in the process of becoming extinct. When I say this, I in no way wish to denigrate the men of the armed resistance. On the contrary, I have a great respect for them. These men did the impossible, that is, under very unfavorable conditions, they maintained the armed struggle for 18 years. The commander himself, Xanana, in his defence in court, recognised our military defeat.

*Q: What do you mean by pacification, surrender and the end of the armed struggle?*

A: The bringing peace to the Timorese people. For this, the Timorese leaders on the other side have a part to play. They are not the puppets nor the lackeys they are made out to be, they should be respected.

*Q: Are you not forgetting the collaboration in Indonesian crimes of some Timorese in positions of responsibility?*

A: The biggest criminals are not the Timorese by any means. There are many Timorese who helped and continued to help. Obviously, there has also been some collaborationism, but we must judge in the light of the circumstances in which they find themselves. Pacification envisages all the prisoners being released. Freedom of movement is necessary - from the interior to the exterior and the exterior to the interior. It is important to protect the physical well-being of the people.

*Q: Pacification with the presence of Indonesian troops would seem difficult.*

A: That is why I am also calling for demilitarization and the withdrawal of the troops.

*Q: Are there any signs that this is possible?*

A: On the day that Ali Alatas went to Washington, it was announced that they had withdrawn five or seven thousand soldiers.

*Q: Has this been verified?*

A: No, but if there was international pressure they would have to withdraw. This would contribute towards an easing off of the situation. I also support the teaching of Portuguese in the schools, principally in the diocesan schools. More serious than the military defeat would be the extermination, the destruction of our physical identity and culture.

*Q: It is known that Indonesia put forward some conditions before giving their support to the meeting.*

A: They put forward even conditions of which three were immediately unacceptable.

*Q: Which?*

A: That the meeting would take place in Jakarta, that all that would attend from Portugal or the interior would be in favour of integration and that the delegation from the interior would include Indonesians.

*Q: Do you believe in Jakarta's good faith, considering the danger of Timor being hegemonized by Indonesians coming from other islands?*

A: The Timorese who are there - and of this I am certain - even those who do not see Timor with an independent future, are worried by the massive arrivals of transmigrants from the surrounding islands. This is Timor's drama.

*Q: Do you believe that the governor, Abilio Osorio, feels Timor's drama?*

A: I am in no way defending Abilio Osorio or the others. In the last 18 months there have been errors on all sides. Fretilin committed numerous errors in the mountains. We have recognised this for many years, and I do not mind repeating it. Abilio Osorio's brothers and brothers in law were killed by Fretilin. Possibly, some fell in the arms of Abilio Osorio ... We have to recognise that there were errors on all sides and we must inaugurate a new step between us. I want to show that we cannot be instrumentalized and that, on some points, we can arrive at a convergence or an understanding.

*Q: Is the scheduling of the meeting before Durão Barroso meets with Ali Alatas just a coincidence?*

A: It is intentional.

*Q: Why?*

A: As Lopes da Cruz has already said, this meeting could be the first of many or it could be the first and the last.



## LOPEZ DA CRUZ INTERVIEWED IN EDITOR

*Editor, 7 August 1993. by Rahmayanti*

*Original language: Indonesian. Abridged*

*Original title: East Timor not a luxurious problem <TimTim bukan masalah yang luks>*

Interview with FX Lopez da Cruz. He has been appointed as roving ambassador with a special task on East Timor. The interview is characterized by rhetoric about Portuguese irresponsibility and East Timorese love for Indonesian integration that is already familiar. There was no Indonesian military invasion. He recently reported to President Suharto that the East Timorese "kings," "the real owners of East Timor," wanted to meet President Suharto 17 August coming, to say they no longer recognized Portugal's rights as administering power. Suharto said this was not a new statement, but merely strengthens the Balibo Declaration of 1975 and the Integration Petition of 1976. The idea now is to give the kings some red-and-white flags, and some other gifts. But they badly want to meet the President.

Plans to meet informally with East Timorese leaders in exile have apparently made little headway. It was Abilio Araujo's idea, he says. Perhaps they could contribute to East Timorese needs of education, or contribute to peace by asking the guerrillas to come down out of the mountains. There would be no political statements. He reported conversations with Abilio Araujo about his (Araujo's) family in East Timor.

## RECONCILIATION MEETING BACKED BY XIMENES BELO

*Diario de Noticias (DN), 6 Sept. 1993.*

*Translated from Portuguese, Abridged*

(Lisbon) Bishop of Dili Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo supports the meeting of reconciliation among pro-Indonesia and pro-independence Timorese. This information was reported to *DN* by Fretilin's Abilio Araujo, who, on Saturday, had been in contact with Mnsgr. Ximenes and with the Vicar General of the diocese, Father Jose Antonio Costa.

Saturday's *Expresso* reported that the meeting - between Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz (a Suharto adviser) - was at risk, precisely on account of the lack of support from the Bishop.

## INDONESIA TO MEET REBELS TO DISCUSS ISLAND'S FUTURE

*By Bob Mantiri*

Brussels, Sept. 9 (IPS) - representatives of the Indonesian government and East Timorese resistance leaders will meet next week in Brussels to discuss the political future of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

According to diplomatic sources here Thursday the Indonesian delegation will be headed by Francisco Xavier Lopez da Cruz, member of the advisory council on East Timor - which advises the Indonesian president. da Cruz is a former deputy governor of East Timor.

He was a member of the União Democrática Timorese (UDT), the largest party in East Timor, which first opted for association with Portugal but later supported integration with Indonesia.

Though it is not yet confirmed, it is expected that José Ramos Horta, leader of the Maubere national movement, will be among the East Timorese representatives.

It will be the first meeting between Indonesians and east-Timorese resistance leaders, since Indonesia's president T.N.I. Suharto in July 1976 formally proclaimed East Timor Indonesia's 27th province - after government troops invaded the island a year before.

Indonesian troops, however, despite their military supremacy, did not succeed in breaking the East Timorese resistance movement Fretilin - which waged a guerrilla war against the Indonesian troops from their hide-outs in the mountains in the northern part of the island.

The talks, scheduled for next Friday and Saturday, came after president Suharto, two months ago, gave the green light for a meeting between Indonesian officials and East Timorese resistance leaders.

But an Indonesian diplomat emphasized that the meeting is 'informal' and that Indonesia will "categorically reject any proposal for an independent East Timor or for a referendum in the former Portuguese colony."

The diplomat added: "Indonesia is prepared to talk about autonomy in East Timor, which could be introduced step by step, but the island will remain a province of the republic. let there be no doubt about that."

He further said that the talks with Portugal on East Timor, under auspices of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in New York, will continue, according to a U.N. resolution Portugal is still administratively responsible for East Timor which it left in August 1975, after allowing the situa-

tion in its territory to deteriorate to the point of civil war.

The presence of Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas in a later stage of the talks is not excluded by the senior Indonesian diplomat, who spoke on the condition that his name is not revealed.

Diplomatic sources said that the military attaché of the Indonesian embassy in the Hague played an important role in organising the Brussels' meeting.

The talks will coincide with the opening of the U.N. general assembly in New York, where the East Timor issue is expected to be raised by Portugal.

Portugal and other members of the European community have criticised the violations of human rights of the Indonesian army in East Timor.

On Nov. 12, 1991, Indonesian security forces shot dead a number of East Timorese pro-independent demonstrators, according to Jakarta 50 people were killed, but amnesty international estimated the death toll was around 100.

President Suharto appointed a national commission of inquiry and also ordered the army chief of staff to conduct an inquiry into the military role. the investigation resulted in the sacking of two generals and four senior officers.

Two weeks ago the army in Jakarta announced the withdrawal of all security forces from East Timor, except those units who are taken part in development projects in the villages.

*Comment Sept. 12, 1993:*

*After speaking with Jose Ramos-Horta today, I can say it is absolutely certain that no representative of CNRM will participate in these talks. JRH will communicate to IPS his unhappiness with this kind of irresponsible speculation which has no basis in fact. -*

*Charlie Scheiner*

## LOPEZ DA CRUZ AVOIDS BRUSSELS

*From LENITO, Sept. 16*

Minutes ago, I have been briefly confirmed by the first hand person (i.e. FX. Lopes da Cruz) by phone that he himself will go to Europe next week, not tomorrow as scheduled before. Whilst the Brussels meeting still goes on tomorrow, and Lopes will go to Dili instead. 'No clear reasons explained unfortunately.

I wonder who are the members representing the Indonesian delegation if Lopes da Cruz is absent? Does it affect the meeting without his presence? How they gonna 'discuss' the issue if 'the originator of the talk' doesn't attend the talk in Brussels? Is this a joke?

On the other side, Abilio Araujo and his colleagues from Portugal are going to see the 'puppet people' sent by Jakarta I suppose. Nothing is special and substantial will emerge on the talk for attendants as they will measure how level playing field in the international fora. Each party is going to show off who is the 'hero and traitor' for the East Timorese people.

## **EAST TIMORESE TALKS CLOUDED IN UNCERTAINTY**

JAKARTA, Sept. 17 (Reuter) - The first informal talks between Timorese leaders in Indonesia and abroad, due to have opened in Brussels on Friday, will not go ahead, Jakarta's emissary to the meeting said on Friday.

Timorese exiles said the talks, the first such contacts between Timorese fighting or supporting Indonesian rule in the former Portuguese colony, had been due to start on Friday.

But Lopes Da Cruz, Indonesia's roving ambassador for East Timor and head of the Jakarta delegation to the planned talks, said by telephone that no date had yet been fixed.

"Really it has not been postponed because until now we did not decide the time, the place and also the composition of the two delegations," he told Reuters from Dili on Friday.

Indonesia and Portugal were due to begin a separate round of talks at ministerial level on Friday in New York, the third aimed at resolving the issue of East Timor. Lisbon has led international opposition to Jakarta's rule in the territory.

In a related development, the first group of independent observers to be allowed to visit East Timor in several months, said human rights in the territory continued to be abused.

Three Swedish parliamentarians said the military continued to intimidate Timorese, using routine harassment, interrogation and arbitrary arrest of suspects.

"It is absolutely unacceptable that arbitrary detentions are taking place to such a great extent and that must be stopped," Hans Goran Franck, an opposition member of parliament, told a news conference on their return from Dili.

The three MPs painted a picture of continued rights abuses and an overwhelming military presence. They said that while Fretilin guerrillas no longer posed a threat widespread resentment against Indonesia remained.

"Silence doesn't mean that there is no opposition but that it is impossible for them to speak out," said Ingela Martensson,

member of the ruling coalition's Liberal party.

Diplomats said Indonesia, facing strong criticism over its human rights record in East Timor, had hoped to use the meeting between Timorese leaders as a sign it was fostering reconciliation.

Since its invasion in 1975, Jakarta has fought a sporadic war against a dwindling but tenacious band of guerrillas and faces a lingering revolt from students and other groups.

In an incident that reignited international concern, Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners in Dili in late 1991, killing up to 180 people.

The U.S. Senate, which has already barred military aid, was due this month to debate a bill that would ban some arms sales to Indonesia because of its record in Timor.

## **HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES CONDEMNED AS TALKS ARE POSTPONED**

*By Greg McIvor and Bob Mantiri*

Stockholm, Sept. 17 (IPS) - Indonesian-occupied East Timor lives in "total fear and terror," said an all-party delegation of Swedish MPs who completed a visit to the region Friday - the day Jakarta postponed private talks with Timorese resistance groups.

The postponed talks were due to start in Brussels between Indonesia and members of the resistance in East Timor. talks were also scheduled with Portugal in New York, where Lisbon plans to demand action to help the Timorese at the U.N. security council.

Human rights group amnesty international estimates 210,000 out of an original population of 650,000 have died under Jakarta's brutal rule since Indonesia's 1975 invasion of the former Portuguese colony.

Forced colonization of the territory and continued repression have kept East Timor in continued crisis and led to worldwide condemnation and aid boycotts.

Indonesia's roving ambassador and former vice governor of East Timor, Lopez da Cruz, was due to meet resistance leader José Ramos Horta in Brussels Friday, but the talks have been postponed to an unspecified date, said Indonesian sources.

The Indonesians had said that the informal talks would centre on giving East Timor more autonomy. but the Timorese still demand a fully independent East Timor - feeding speculation that this was the reason why the informal talks were postponed.

The Swedish MPs were the first foreign politicians to be allowed into East Timor since the massacre of between dozens of civilians by Indonesian troops during a fu-

neral procession at a cemetery in the East Timor capital, Dili, in 1991.

Ironically the visit was made possible in part by Jakarta's gratitude for last June's refusal by Sweden to give political asylum to three Timorese students who took shelter in the Swedish embassy in the capital.

Speaking by telephone from the Swedish ambassador's residence in Jakarta, delegation members told ips of widespread human rights abuses and continued harassment of the local population.

They said the Indonesian government, despite denials, kept a massive military presence in East Timor. they called for a trade boycott and an immediate international arms embargo.

The MPs said they were frustrated in their attempts to talk to the East Timorese due to continual surveillance by the military and secret police during their fact-finding visit.

But the MPs did meet Catholic bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, an outspoken critic of Indonesian rule. they also met a survivor of the 1991 massacre, currently serving a 10-year prison sentence.

"It is a totally controlled society," said Ingbritt Irhammar, a centre party MP. "people don't dare to meet you or even look you in the eyes because they are scared they will be punished."

Jakarta has claimed the number of troops in East Timor had been had been cut and a few left to supervise development projects, but Irhammar said government informers and secret police were widespread, while army kept 8,800 men on the island.

"They intimidate the people. sometimes they harass them and sometimes there are beatings," she said, adding that between five and six hundred people had recently been arrested and moved to remote parts of the island for "education programmes."

In reality, said Irhammar, they were deported to forestall any protests during recent foreign diplomatic visits to Indonesia. she said the deportees, mainly men, had disappeared and were being held incommunicado from their friends and relations.

The Swedish MPs backed claims by aid organisations in Jakarta that around 90 per cent of development aid to Indonesia was lost to government corruption. "it is very important that development aid goes directly to organisations that can be trusted, like the Catholic church," said Irhammar.

However, this is difficult to achieve without a change in Indonesian law, which requires all foreign aid must be channeled through state organisations which allocate the funds.

Indonesia currently receives around two billion dollars of development aid a year from a consortium of international donors.

in addition, it receives bilateral aid from a variety of countries including the Netherlands and Scandinavia

Portugal – former colonial power in East Timor and most vociferous critic of Indonesian rule – plans to raise the issue at the U.N. general assembly in New York next week.

Lisbon has effectively blocked the renewal of economic and trade cooperation between the EC and Indonesia and its five other partners in the association of south east Asian nations (ASEAN) – Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines.

On Friday 35 traditional leaders in East Timor issued a statement in Dili “categorically rejecting” Portugal’s U.N. mandated responsibility as ‘administering power’ in East Timor since 1975.

They accused Lisbon of “surreptitiously, suddenly and irresponsibly” abandoning East Timor in 1975 “in the turmoil of a civil war.”

In Strasbourg, France, the European liberal group of members of the European parliament are to nominate East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão for the Sakharov prize.

Group member Jessica Larive said Friday that the nomination was intended as a signal from European parliament to Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor.

Gusmão was sentenced to 20 years in jail earlier this year by Indonesian authorities for his leadership of a resistance movement in East Timor, invaded in 1975 and later annexed by Jakarta.

The Sakharov prize, named after former soviet dissident Andrei Dimitrivitch Sakharov, the 1975 Nobel prizewinning physicist and human rights champion, is a yearly award, given by the European parliament to people who distinguish themselves in the fight for freedom and human rights, Larive said.

Past winners include Czechoslovak dissident politician Alexander Dubcek, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Burmese opposition leader Aung Sang Suu Kyi (story received incomplete)

---

## INDONESIA ACTS ON INTERNATIONAL FRONTS

---

### INDONESIA WORKS ON IMAGE

---

15 Aug. 1993. Substantially abridged.

JAKARTA, Aug. 15 (AFP) - In the wake of mounting international criticism, Indonesia has taken a series of steps seen

here as aimed at lending legitimacy to its 17-year rule of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor. In the latest move, 35 traditional East Timorese tribal rulers invited to the capital to attend the republic’s 48th anniversary ceremony at the palace Tuesday, on Saturday presented Indonesian President Suharto with a political declaration in which they rejected Portugal’s authority over East Timor. It lashed at Lisbon for having left its colony in disarray in 1975, and labelled Portugal’s wish to “decolonise” East Timor as “unrealistic, mistaken and wrongly placed.” It said the decolonisation process had now been completed as the East Timorese people had chosen to join Indonesia, as stipulated by the Balibo declaration, in which leaders of the four East Timorese parties in November 1975 agreed to enter the Indonesian republic. Suharto has also endorsed a plan to hold an informal discussion sometime this year between East Timorese who are for integration with Jakarta and those opposed. Jakarta has said the talks were first proposed by a vocal anti-Indonesian East Timorese now living in Lisbon, Abilio Araujo. Fretilin has since suspended Araujo as the group’s external leader because of this. Indonesia has also invited several founding members of the Portugal-based Portuguese-Indonesian Friendship Association to visit Indonesia for 12 days.

---

## “NON-POLITICAL” VISIT TO THE POPE

---

Reuter, 20 August and Editor, 21 August  
Reuter item unabridged. Editor item abridged.

Reuter reported that leading figures from the largely Catholic territory of East Timor will on Saturday visit the Pope in Rome, but their Indonesian overlords said on Friday that the visit was not politically motivated.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the 47 pro-Indonesian Timorese, including the Jakarta-appointed governor Abilio Soares, would be met by Pope John Paul II in their personal capacities. “It is clear that we don’t see it as a political visit. We see it as a religious visit.” Alatas told reporters.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and annexed it the following year. The UN does not recognise its rule. The diocese in mainly Catholic East Timor is administered direct by Rome, not by Indonesia’s Catholic Church.

*The Editor account is different from the Alatas statement in many ways:*

## “POLITICAL” MISSION TO THE VATICAN

The group consists of some thirty community leaders from the 13 districts in East Timor; the national carrier, Garuda is providing tickets free of charge.

The idea originated with Suharto’s ambassador-at-large, Lopez da Cruz whose proposed it to the President and several ministers. He said: “My task as ambassador goes in two directions. One is the need to make a breakthrough to stabilize integration internally and the other is to finalize integration on the international arena.”

Guard’s agreement to pay the fares and the green light from Minister of the Interior Yogie Memed set the plan in motion.

Two weeks ago, a message was received from the Vatican via its ambassador in Jakarta that the Pope would make time for the visit if the governor of East Timor was part of the group. “In other words, I was, indirectly, being invited,” Soares told Editor.

It is understood that the purpose of the mission is closely connected with the political objective of promoting world recognition of integration. Looking at the voting last time at the UN General Assembly (in 1982), Indonesia only needs three more votes to win. It is expected that the visit to the Pope will help win these extra votes.

Some months ago in an interview with Editor, Abilio Soares expressed the view that if he met the Pope, “the Holy Father would become more convinced of the desire of the people of East Timor to integrate with Indonesia.” Soares hoped that the Pope would give a commitment to issue statements which might influence some European countries to support integration. (Editor, No. 34, 22 May 1993)

However, a few days ago, Soares denied that the mission was political. “It is purely for religious purposes. This will be an opportunity for them to receive the Pope’s blessing.” Naturally, political objectives might be achieved. If the Pope asks any questions, “I will answer in my capacity as the governor of East Timor.”

Lopez da Cruz also thought that political benefits would accrue especially if the Pope welcomed the delegation as coming from Indonesia. “We know how great the Pope’s influence is.” And if he says anything, he will be certain to use diplomatic language that does not offend either Portugal or Indonesia.

## Sun Aug. 22 1993 Visiting the Pope

*In one Indonesian press story, East Timor Governor Abilio Soares was quoted*

as saying the Pope had requested an audience with him. Well, now. – John

#### **TAPOL COMMENT, AUG. 25, 1993**

*This item erroneously reports that the delegation headed by governor Abilio Soares would meet the Pope last Saturday. That was the day of its departure from Indonesia.*

*Further regarding the political nature of the mission, Jakarta Post of 21 August quotes Abilio Soares as saying that when he meets the Pope, he will urge him to take the Dili diocese out of direct Vatican control and put it under the Indonesian Council of Bishops, arguing that Bishop Belo is actively involved in the Council's activities. It is noteworthy however that Bishop Belo himself is not accompanying the mission.*

*Another mission member, Manuel Soares said he would tell the Pope "that the integration preferred by the majority of East Timorese is the best and realistic alternative." He went on: "Hopefully, we, aside from getting spiritual blessings, will be able to help the government solve the problem of East Timor."*

#### **VOX POPULI, VOX DEI (TIMORESE CHIEFS VISIT JAKARTA)**

*Economic & Business Review Indonesia, August 28, '93*

Now it is the voice of the East Timor people, at least those residing in the region, against that of the United Nations.

While the United Nations sticks to its recognition of Portugal as the administering power over the region, 35 East Timor tribal chiefs (liurai) - on behalf of the people - firmly denounced Portugal for irresponsibly abandoning its former colony in 1975 on the verge of a civil war.

"Since July 17, 1976, the East Timorese people have proudly become citizens of Indonesia, having the same rights, obligation and responsibilities as their brothers and sisters from the other 26 provinces," the tribal chiefs said in a statement read to President Suharto at Jakarta's State Palace.

On that day, their Balibo Declaration expressed the desire of East Timorese to integrate with Indonesia.

"We've come here to represent the entire East Timor people... to renew our vow to make the integration with the Unitary Republic of Indonesia workable," the tribal chiefs said.

They called Portugal's demand to pursue the decolonization process through a self-determination act as "unrealistic" and "no longer appropriate."

Indonesia has been locked in a diplomatic battle to gain international recognition of the integration. The foreign ministers of the two countries are scheduled to meet again next month at the United Nations to discuss the issue.

#### **Friends of integration**

The ceremony was also witnessed by three visiting members of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), an organization in Portugal representing people who sympathize with East Timor's integration with Indonesia and are striving to restore bilateral ties between the two countries.

The three are Jose Martins of East Timorese descent, Manuel Macedo and Gaspar Santa Rosa. Martins is a former president of a pro-integration East Timorese political party and also a signatory of the Balibo Declaration.

"Despite having no political strength at present, I believe I can convince my government to finally recognize the East Timor integration," Macedo said.

#### **COMMENT FROM 'LENTO'**

Having read an article entitled Vox Populi, Vox Dei posted by Oki Zakaria taken from the *Economic & Business Review Indonesia*, August 28, 93 edition), I have some thoughts to share in this net as I have been closely following the developments of East Timor's political fate in the international arena.

The article visualizes the event where 35 East Timor tribal chiefs (liurai) on behalf of the people firmly denounced Portugal for irresponsibly abandoning its former colony in 1975 on the verge of a civil war. Furthermore the tribal chief said in a statement read to President Suharto at Jakarta's Sate Palace : "Since July 17, 1976, the East Timorese people have proudly become citizens of Indonesia, having the same rights obligation.....from the other 26 provinces."

Interestingly, the event coincided with the presence of three visiting members of Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), Jose Martins, Manuel Macedo and Gaspar Santa Rosa. (NB. The three are pro-integrationists representing people who sympathize with East Timor's integration with Indonesia and are striving to restore bilateral ties between Portugal and Indonesia.

In my observation as an observer on Eastern Indonesian Studies, and as a person who had chance to visit East Timor a couple of times recently, I have some insights on this particular event which has been largely covered by Indonesia's leading newspaper and magazines in Indonesia such as Kom-

pas, The Jakarta Post, Indonesian Times, Republika, Tempo and etc.

The fact is true as carried by the *Economic & Business Review Indonesia* as the event itself has taken place. But after reading the whole story one may ask the TRUTH of the statement presented to president Suharto. More specific, one may doubt of the GENUINE ASPIRATION of the poor tribal chiefs who know nothing about politics and were invited to go to Jakarta just for presenting this artificial statement. A point to be raised whether these tribal chief were genuinely expressing their statement to President Suharto or not?

I am a little bit doubt on this as the way I observed these people inside East Timor, they have no desire to do so and if we link with a series of resentment among the East Timorese people on Indonesia's occupation, it may give us a clue of how they really feel. They are sick of the atrocities against its people, although economic progress is remarkably achieved. They are not happy at all ! Interestingly to notice why these people are not happy at all, while the Indonesians are pouring resources to develop this province. Maybe this is 'food for thoughts' for you -readers- in this net.

It appears to me that this is a sort of "Legitimated Campaign" from the Indonesian officials to the international community. Taking the moment of Indonesian's independence anniversary day, Jakarta deliberately invited the tribal chiefs to present this ARTIFICIAL statement to legitimate Indonesia in the international arena. More importantly to prove Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor to the UN

(NB. The UN never recognizes Indonesia's annexation and still sticks to its recognition of Portugal as the administering power). It's for this purpose that Indonesia is actively pursuing 'a once for all diplomatic campaign' in the international arena. The Title of the article above suits the Indonesian mockery ( VOX POPULI, VOX DEI).

I'm fully aware how clever the Indonesians are by inviting the innocent tribal chief from 13 districts across East Timor to have a 'tour' to Jakarta and 'show up' their aspirations against Portugal and the UN. A sophisticated approach by Jakarta to the East Timorese people and this is consistently done on demand at any international fora. A series of the likely event has taken place, for example in the late 70s, Jakarta invited numerous East Timorese (those who were pro-integration) to give their testimony in New York (at the UN hearings). Recently a group of the East Timorese people including the governor Abilio Osorio Soares has been sponsored by Jakarta again to have a 'pilgrimage' to Rome and France.

This phenomenon tell us that Jakarta is willing to pay a high cost for eliminating 'status quo' of East Timor in the UN or elsewhere. At the same time I do acknowledge how Jakarta politicized the predominantly Catholic Church in East Timor to approach the Vatican in this particular case.

The situation inside East Timor is so volatile, intimidation, pressure are ON and OFF according to the 'key holder' which is undoubtedly accrued to ABRI officials in East Timor. The people of East Timor have no power to revolt, otherwise they will be claimed as the 'two head' by ABRI and this could be easily noticed from the passivity of people 'obeying' any rules imposed by the policy makers. No wonder we often hear, listen, watch and read reports that the Church led by Bishop Belo, is the ultimate and reliable place for the East Timorese people to complain their oppressed feelings inside East Timor.

Based on this preliminary observation, I can only say that in fact so many ARTIFICIAL things made up with the purpose of removing that small sharp piece of gravel in the Indonesian backyard.

Therefore I have no surprise observing the Indonesian roving ambassador, FX. Lopes da Cruz in his breakthrough programme of inviting the three Portuguese businessman to Jakarta to have a glimpse on Indonesia's handling over East Timor. Again Lopes da Cruz played an important role behind the scene to impress Jakarta on his new role as an ambassador. Feeling of being unable to impress the international community, he made a series of programme (of course under Suharto's approval) to invite the three pro integrationists mentioned above in order to influence the public opinion.

Internationally, as the East Timor's political situation persists, the progress report of the UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros-Boutros Ghali provides us a very wightful insights of how he's going to mediate the question of East Timor. The problem now lies on the so called Confidence-Building Measure which had been agreed upon by the two foreign ministers (Alatas and Durão Barroso) to carry on ways of exchanging journalist between the two countries and equally important and intrinsically linked to the process of human rights inside East Timor.

It's believed that the improvement of the conditions in East Timor is SINE QUA NON to progress in the talk. It's in that spirit and in views of the continued concern of the international community in that respect that the Sec Gen. Boutros Ghali has been closely following developments affecting the enjoyment of the human rights and

fundamental freedoms of the East Timorese people.

So it's now on the hand of Indonesia to prove itself as a civilized country, respects the dignity and freedom of servitude of the people in that territory by giving up that tiny territory. Indonesia is better off by leasing ET.

Ironically nothing substantially achieved in their dialogue in Rome on 21 April '93 and in New York on 17 September 1993. All sides concerned realize the need to make progress on CBM that could help pave the way for discussion of the core issues. Overall, the problem stills lies on the Indonesian side as it still persists to be defiant against UN resolutions. The conventional argument well-echoed so far is that the East Timorese people have implemented their referendum through their Balibo Declaration in November 1975. Yet that argument provides a deep controversy among observers, which undoubtedly was artificially designed by (guess who??). Home work for you guys..... Similar pattern occur to the chief tribal as displayed at Jakarta's state palace.

My ultimate question is how long we gonna witness the 'puppet drama' ON and ON for the East Timorese people imposed by Jakarta?

### **TIMOR: AN ALATAS-STYLE REFERENDUM**

*Semanario, 18 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Indonesia is prepared to hold a very special kind of referendum in East Timor: limited to men in Jakarta's trust.

According to sources close to the Jakarta Government, Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, is prepared to hold a referendum on East Timor's self-determination. But it would be an Indonesian-style referendum - i.e. an auscultation of the traditional authorities in Timor, in the name of the people.

It was not possible, before going to press, to find out whether Alatas had put this proposal to his Portuguese counterpart, Durão Barroso, during the negotiations yesterday in New York.

In this way, Indonesia's diplomatic chief is trying to show he is making some concessions and is prepared to meet half-way to find a solution, as he had announced this week. But Durão Barroso is not likely to go along with it, because a referendum of this kind would be no more than institutionalizing the Liurais' (traditional Timorese authorities, who were recently in Jakarta) position, which is in favour of integration and of radically cutting ties with the Portuguese Government.

The referendum would also include the deputies in Dili's Assembly, and the main forces of Timorese society, but it would never be an auscultation of the people themselves. The Indonesians justify themselves by citing the UN Charter, which does not specify the kind of referendum to be carried out. But, even knowing beforehand that Durão Barroso would not accept such a proposal, Jakarta believes it highly important to show good will, because time is on its side.

---

### **LABOR RIGHTS; INDONESIA'S U.S. TRADE PREFERENCES THREATENED**

---

#### **GSP LOBBY BEGINS ACTION**

*Aug. 9 story, abridged.*

JAKARTA (UPI) – The government, alarmed at possibility of losing trade benefits granted by United States, plans to set up a special team to keep the privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences, officials said Monday. The team will include officials from various ministries, and hopefully could overcome the U.S. Trade Representative's objections mainly based on the treatment workers receive in Indonesia. Radu, a spokesman of the Trade Ministry confirmed the government's plan, but declined to explain further when such team will be established. Trade Minister Satrio Budiardjo Judono said he hopes the team will be able to lobby to have "the USTR withdraw its threats and allow Indonesia to continue with GSP facilities." Radu said a team from the USTR was scheduled to arrive in Indonesia next month to have talks with government and officials. Officials said the U.S. mission will probably decide whether the GSP facility will be lifted or extended. Paian Nainggolan, chairman of the expert staff at the Trade Ministry told Kompas newspaper that the USTR team would also visit various factories in the country in order to collect more evidences.

---

### **'GOOD US TIES' THREATENED**

---

*Aug. 11 story, substantially abridged.*

JAKARTA (UPI) – Indonesia will argue "loud and clear" to defend its labor policies before a U.S. mission scheduled to arrive next month to discuss trade privileges, the Coordinating Minister for Trade and Industry Hartarto said Thursday. Hartarto's deputy, Trade Minister Satrio Budiardjo Ju-

dono and the Minister for Manpower Abdul Latief were appointed to co-chair the Indonesian team that will negotiate with a mission from the U.S. Trade Representative and the GSP committee scheduled to arrive in Jakarta in September. "We will spell out the government's policy to U.S. government loud and clear," Hartarto said after chairing a team meeting to discuss the issue. Hartarto, however, said the team did not discuss the possibility of a new worker policy. In its efforts, the Indonesian government has also hired the U.S. law firm White and Case to get more inputs. But, an official at the Trade Ministry said Thursday that the country hired the consultant not only for the GSP issue but for the various problems such as textile issue in the United States, adding that hiring a such consultant as a "normal" thing. "We hired them for quite some time." Judono said there are 6,000 Indonesian commodities getting GSP facilities from the United States, but not all of them have been capitalized. Judono expressed his belief that with the GSP issues, the "good" relations between Indonesia and the United States would be affected.

## GOLKAR SEEKS LABOR REFORMS

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 13 (Reuter) - Members of Indonesia's ruling Golkar party have called on the government to improve its labour record, and admitted that some government practices violate labour regulations, Antara said on Friday. "It has to be acknowledged that there are still some actions of the government that violate stipulations set by labour regulations," said Tadjudin Noer Said, a member of the committee on industrial and labour problems. Indonesia has set up a team to defend its record to Washington, but diplomats and labour analysts said it showed little sign of actually implementing the requested reforms. Antara quoted Abdullah Zainie, deputy chairman of the assembly's dominant Golkar faction, as calling for one overall ordinance to replace numerous existing laws and to protect workers' rights and welfare. "There is no regulation governing workers' welfare such as their rights on minimal wages, health and insurance," he was quoted as saying.

## INDONESIAN PRESS RESPONSES TO GSP CUTOFF THREAT

### CUTTING GSP BENEFITS IS A DANGER

*Republika, August 5, 1993:*

The danger that the United States may cut off GSP benefits may well come to pass. And a threat like this, ostensibly tied to the labor issue, will not be the first that Indonesia has experienced, according to Bakir Hasan, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Trade.

As Reuters reported yesterday, the US on Tuesday expressed disappointment at the attitude Indonesia had taken toward giving its workers the right to organize. This was linked to the refusal to let the SBSI hold its congress last week. Timothy Wirth, a senior official in the Clinton Administration known as a hardliner on human rights, said sharply, "We will take tough action if Indonesia continues to treat its labor force unfairly."

Officially, there has been no Indonesian reaction to the US accusation. But several sources said that the government was trying to improve the condition of workers...Payaman Simanjuntak of the Manpower Ministry, said Indonesia was taking the threat from the US seriously...President Suharto himself had instructed all ministries to work toward establishing an SPSI unit in every workplace. The government has not been hesitant to bring industrialists who violate labor regulations to court, and it has continued to raise the minimum wage and social security benefits.

SBSI, which has so attracted US attention, is not a real labor union, said Payaman. It was formed by NGOs, not workers. "It's like having journalists form a union for plantation workers," he said as an illustration.

Payaman said his ministry had no authority to grant SBSI a permit for its congress. "SBSI isn't a labor union, so why come to us for a recommendation?" he said. The SBSI congress in Cisarua, scheduled for July 29-31, was cancelled because it did not have a permit from the police.

Imam Taufik, the head of Indonesia's trade and business council, KADIN, said the US attitude should be looked at from a different perspective. Textile producers in the US felt threatened by textile production in Indonesia, and they saw that they could weaken the latter by tying the issue to the handling of labor problems.

For Imam, the US threat shouldn't be taken too seriously. "Indeed, it's time for us to increase the exports of non-quota items," he said, "and as we develop in this regard,

we shouldn't be haunted by the spectre of the US [cutting GSP]."

### THE THREAT OF CUTTING GSP IS NOT FAIR

*Media Indonesia, August 5, 1993*

The threat from the US to cut GSP benefits because of the labor situation here are not fair, according to Payaman Simanjuntak, because the government has done its utmost to improve the lot of workers. "Does the US really just want to cut GSP because of the workers, or is there some other motivation?" he asked.

If the US was defining labor problems by the failure of SBSI to obtain a permit for its congress, then it did not realize that granting such a permit was beyond the authority of the Manpower Ministry. But the unwillingness of the government to grant a permit was perhaps due to the fact that the status of SBSI was unclear. Looking at its founders and members, Payaman said, SBSI wasn't a union but an NGO. "What element of this organization came from workers?" Payaman asked. "Most of them come from legal aid organizations."

Last June, Indonesia received word that the US was extending GSP until February 15, 1994, and at that time would decide whether or not to extend it further. But several recent developments on the labor front have caused the US to sharpen its warning...

Payaman said the GSP benefits had a positive impact because they helped lighten the burden for our exporters. Unfortunately, too few exporters took advantage of them because their businesses were already too encumbered.

Roving Ambassador Sayidiman Suryohadiprojo said that Indonesian need not fear the threat from the US, because America was in serious economic straits itself and its own producers were having difficulty competing with Asia. That was why it was going around threatening many countries, including Indonesia.

### "THE THREAT TO CUT GSP"

*Republika (editorial) August 6, 1993*

Once again, the US is threatening to withdraw GSP benefits. It is Michael (sic) Kantor, supported by a number of senators, who has been the most persistent in raising GSP, citing the minimum wage and the limits on workers to exercise their rights...

In fact, on the issue of labor, the Indonesian government has already undertaken several reforms. The right to strike, for example, has begun to be broadened, although there still are many who object to the conditions that have to be met. The same with the

minimum wage, which in several regions has been raised. The government has also upped the pressure on businesses to form an SPSI unit in each workplace.

But it must be admitted that conditions for our workers are not yet satisfactory. SPSI is widely condemned as impotent. The same with the minimum wage. Even if the new wage determinations are fulfilled, wages will still be low, below \$2 a day. Even industries like textiles, garments and so on which make a huge profit from exports apparently do not automatically give high wages to their workers.

But from another angle, American pressure on Indonesia cannot be separated from economic conditions within the US. The US economy is gloomy. Domestically, the US is best by high unemployment and inflation. Abroad, it has to confront economic giants like Japan.

In such a situation, the hardline attitude toward GSP in fact does not stem from concerns about human rights, as the US always claims. There is a more important factor behind it: the desire to protect its economy at home. As long as it can show no results, these threats are going to keep coming, and it is not impossible that they will be enforced.

For Indonesia, there is no choice other than to continue to improve the welfare of workers. The accusations of the US are not always true. But the fact is that the conditions of our workers are cause for grave concern. As long as this is the case, the labor issue can be easily exploited – whether by Indonesians or outside governments – to put pressure on us. And even if we respond to this pressure, it is not a question of “bowing to it or not.” This is a basic issue which we must come to grips with, under pressure or not: improving the lot of a group of our people: the workers.

### **IMPROVE WORKING CONDITIONS, DON'T FORM A DIPLOMATIC TEAM**

*Kompas, August 10, 1993*

The government was urged to improve the conditions of workers rather than stick to a policy of forming a diplomatic team to negotiate with the U.S. With such a policy, Indonesia hopes that the US will not suspend GSP benefits and this is considered by a group of non-governmental organizations to be an inappropriate step, especially if the diplomatic team simply wheedles the US into not cutting GSP by making a few economic concessions.

This was the collective opinion of Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, director of LSAM; Drs. Teten Masduki, coordinator of Solidarity Forum; and Arist Merdeka Sirait of Sisbikum (Channel for Social Information

and Legal Guidance) in Jakarta yesterday...“I don't think we need a team to lobby the US not to cut off GSP; the government should move to improve the position of the labor force,” said Abdul Hakim.

In connection with the threat from the US, the Indonesian government announced that it was preparing a team composed of people from the Ministries of Trade, Industry, Foreign Affairs, Information and Home Affairs to meet with the US Trade Representatives and have it take back its threat so that Indonesian could continue to enjoy GSP benefits.

Teten Masduki said that the US threat was based on recommendations of Asia Watch regarding the conditions of Indonesian workers in 1992. Masduki also said that every year, the US threatened to withdraw GSP from developing countries. But Masduki also asked if the US threat, as a statement of concern by the US government about labor conditions in Indonesia, might not have behind it American economic interests. For example, when a similar threat was made in 1987, the threat was dropped after Indonesian allowed Hollywood films to enter the country. “This was a concession given by the Indonesian government,” Masduki claimed.

Abdul Hakim suggested that the Indonesian government form a team to investigate labor conditions rather than a diplomatic team to confront the US threat about GSP. That investigating team should be the Indonesian answer to the American threat. It should immediately document the nature of the labor problem in Indonesia, then make recommendations to the Indonesian government about how to improve. “Such a step would be of more benefit to Indonesia,” Hakim said. “It would be a great mistake for the diplomatic team to offer concessions to the US so GSP was not withdrawn. If it does so, the beneficiaries will only be the US government, US multinational corporations, and Indonesian conglomerates, while the lot of the workers will remain unchanged,” he said. He added that it would also hurt the Indonesian economy, since penetration by the US into that economy would increase while the labor issue would remain unresolved.

Arist Merdeka Sirait...said that Indonesia should take concrete steps toward improving the lot of workers, such as opening a way for workers to form their own organizations for realizing their aspirations, together with decreasing the involvement of security forces in labor conflicts. Another step the government could take would be to repeal labor regulations that were in violation of the basic Labor Law.

Reached in Bali, Trade Minister Satrio Budihardjo Joedono explained that in con-

fronting US pressure, it wasn't necessary to tidy up all aspects of the labor problem. The government was prepared to make improvements, but it should be understood that there were some things that one did not need to rush to improve...He was not prepared to elaborate.

At the same time, Sofyan Wanandi said that the emergence of pressure from the US was caused by reports by Indonesian groups to Washington on labor issues. “This happened particularly after the failure of the plans to form SBSI,” he said. But he said that in several areas, the government should take steps to clean up its labor problems, because GSP benefits were being increasingly used. “And the potential for benefiting from these facilities is also high, because up till now, Indonesia has made little use of them.” However, he added, “we still do not need to allow the formation of free labor unions such as that planned by the founders of SBSI.”

### **ANSWERING THE US THREAT WITH NATIONALISM**

#### **“It Must be Admitted That Our Workers Are Skin and Bones”**

*Harian Terbit, August 10, 1993*

Indonesian workers continue to cry out. The government forms a diplomatic team. And SPSI as the only labor union issues a statement that with the formation of this team, the presence of a labor union in each workplace cannot be put off any longer.

Moreover, in reacting to the threat of the US to cut GSP, business leaders who have enjoyed the profits from their trade with Uncle Sam are urging the government to fight as hard as possible so that they can continue to enjoy these benefits.

This is an outline of the general reactions through last Tuesday (August 8) in response to the US threat to cut GSP which helps non-oil exports to the US.

The Indonesian people, through their representatives in parliament as well as NGO groups, are asking the government to pay attention to the welfare of workers. “Don't treat this threat as trivial,” said Budi Hardjono, deputy head of Commission VI in the Parliament, while his friend, Abu Hasan Sazili of Commission I urged some introspection on businesses and the government.

“The life of our workers is real cause for concern. The labor problems have not changed over the last 15 years,” says Mukhtar Pakpahan, general head of SBSI, the labor union not recognized by the government and which just recently tried to maneuver with its congress which was preempted by security forces.

Mukhtar is not totally in agreement with the opinion of the representatives of the people in the parliament. If members of parliament Budi Hardjono, Royani Haminullah and Sazili come forward with statements about the need to improve the welfare of workers, the head of SBSI is far more strident. "The workers are shouting, arbitrary dismissals are still happening, the minimum wage has not been met, there are no worker representatives in the factories. If there are, they're created from the outside, not by the workers themselves."

If you want a picture, said Mukhtar, the body of a worker is the body a human being who is all skin and bones, his eyes hollow, weakened because of malnutrition.

This portrait could be close to the truth. The rate of organization achieved by SPSI, the only union recognized by the Indonesian government, is troubling. Of 36,000 firms with 25 workers or more, less than a third have SPSI units in the workplace. This is acknowledged by the head of SPSI himself, Bomer Pasaribu, SH...

But the three members of parliament we contacted questioned the attitude of the US. Royani said that attitude could generate a burst of nationalism, while Sazili regretted the bias the US showed against Indonesia. The US, they said, was measuring developing countries with the standards of industrialized countries. Sazili asked the US to look at the situation with a sense of proportion.

The director of National Unity Guidance in the Ministry of Home Affairs said he had highly credible information that this labor issue was being manipulated by foreign elements with the goal of crushing the competitive power of Indonesian products abroad.

## **TURBULENCE WITH THE U.S.**

*Media Indonesia, August 14, 1993*

In the last few weeks, Indonesian-American relations are experiencing a little turbulence. Two occurrences with political and economic dimensions are causing these waves. First, the US has threatened to cut off GSP benefits which facilitate the entry into the US of Indonesian exports. Second, the US has officially not agreed to a plan to sell four F-5 Jordanian fighter planes to Indonesia.

One can read that the explicit reason for these decisions is nothing less than the assessment by the US of human rights conditions in Indonesia. The US has threatened to cut off GSP – and will make a determination in February 1994 – because labor rights in Indonesia are cause for concern, while its denial of the sale of the Jordanian F-5s, according to a US official quoted by

Reuters, is linked to a number of sensitive issues, among them human rights.

After Bill Clinton won the US election, we all took it for granted that the protection of human rights would form the basic orientation of US foreign policy. On the other hand, as President Suharto has always stressed, as a people who hold high humanitarian values, the Indonesian people from the very beginning have guaranteed the protection of human rights.

What we wish to underscore here is the fact that there is not a significant difference with regard to the desire to hold aloft humanitarian values.

The only thing is that once each side tries to implement these values in the life of its people, the quality of that implementation is obviously not the same. With the complexity of the issue and the limitations that exist, it perhaps can be understood if the degree to which Indonesia has achieved the objective of protecting human rights does not fully match the ideal. This awareness should form the basis of our determination to improve.

But should the quality of achievement in this regard be the primary (or the only) variable in relations between states? There is a kind of arrogance about one country's possessing the means of measuring this achievement. It can be debated whether the US should be considered the champion of human rights – hasn't the US's treatment of blacks violated human rights?

Another issue for consideration is how well we understand how US foreign policy is linked to domestic economic concerns. With a substantial trade deficit, and a dollar that is steadily declining in value, American goods can't compete with imports, including those from developing countries. It can thus be understood why recently the US economic system has become so protectionist. The threat to revoke GSP can thus be understood as another means to protect its own commodities.

It must be admitted that the US in a very real way constitutes a potential market for Indonesian exports. In 1992 for example, the value of our exports to the US was \$4.4 billion. Of this, the trade that directly benefited from GSP was only \$643 million. Therefore, we should not exaggerate our concerns when considering the threat from the US.

But however this may be and whatever the reasons behind it, it is certain that we must constantly ask ourselves what we have done and will do for the betterment of our people. The threat from the US is only one of many challenges that we must take on wisely.

## **"THE THREAT TO WITHDRAW AMERICAN GSP" (COMMENTARY BY H.A.L. TOBING, LECTURER IN BUSINESS LAW AT PADJAJARAN UNIVERSITY LAW FACULTY.)**

*Kompas, August 14, 1993*

*[The bulk of the article is an explanation of the US Trade Act of 1974; the history of GSP as a way of helping developing countries; and the provisions of Sections 501 and 502. The following translation is an excerpt from the final paragraph, with a subheading "The Threat of a Cut-off":]*

If we examine the contents of Title V Section 501 and 502 (c) above, there is in fact a legal means that we can take advantage of to respond to the threat. Factors no.5 and 6, that is the desire of developing countries to obtain GSP benefits, and the level of economic development of the country concerned, are "weapons" we can use to keep GSP.

As with charges of "dumping" or the charges of Super 301, the key word in using these weapons is "negotiation." Experience shows that these threats are useful as a means of forcing us to do a little introspection. There is much news in the papers about strike, lay-offs, inhumane treatment of workers and so on – demonstrating that we must acknowledge that the problem exists.

The problem is how to handle it wisely, paying attention to the factors behind it while giving the welfare of the workers top priority.

By combining the improvement of labor conditions with use of the loophole given us by Sections 501 and 502 of the Trade Act of 1974, together with inter-departmental coordination linked to negotiations, we can renew our hope of winning this trade conflict with the US.

## **THE GSP PROBLEM**

*Mimbar Umum (Medan), August 14, 1993*

The problem of GSP has become a serious issue within government as well as among major industrialists.

The US government has just threatened to suspend GSP, linked to the labor situation in Indonesia and above all, the problem of banning the SBSI Congress in Cisarua, Bogor.

Last year, the problem of GSP was on the agenda of the general session of the ILO, and the US government has repeatedly threatened developing countries, including Indonesia, with revocation of GSP but it has always backed off...

Since President Bill Clinton took power, the issues of trade and the environment have



been treated very restrictively, so the labor issue must also be taken seriously...

To confront the US threat, the Indonesian government needs to look for new markets in Europe and Africa as well as Australia where our products, which have already succeeded in breaking through the American market, are beginning to seep in. In this way, the threat from the revocation of GSP can be reduced.

New markets for Indonesian exports, which we have not yet broken into, include Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia and some countries in Western Europe. We need to increase our promotional activities as well...

We hope the Indonesian government will be open and more flexible in explaining our labor situation to the US, so that our exports can spread ever more widely in US markets.

### **CUTTING GSP COULD KILL SMALL HANDICRAFT BUSINESSES**

*From Antara, the Indonesian news service*

If the US carries out its threat to cut GSP benefits, it could kill small handicraft industries in Indonesia.

The head of regional trade and industry council (Kadinda) in the Central Javanese district of Bantul said on Thursday that most of the commodities receiving GSP benefits were products from small handicraft industries which were exported to the US. Up until now, the US has only given these facilities to commodities which are not the product of modern industry or big businesses but rather medium to small producers including handicraft firms in several areas of Indonesia.

If GSP benefits are cut off, these firms could go bankrupt, he said. If the threat was carried out, it would be a catastrophe for both countries, but not of the same magnitude. However much Indonesian exports have been able to penetrate US markets, the level is still tiny compared with the amount of US trade to Indonesia.

### **THE LABOR LOBBY AT THE WHITE HOUSE**

*Jakarta, Jakarta, August 21-27, 1993 (No.372), p.22-23*

The labor issue is disturbing relations between Indonesia and the US. There was a serious warning from Washington. If the rights of workers are not improved, Indonesia will lose GSP. Through these trading privileges, Indonesia chalked up exports worth \$642 million, the majority products from small industries and labor-intensive operations.

How did the labor issue get on the agenda of GSP after seven years? In June 1992, labor unions and the human rights lobby in the US (the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund and Asia Watch) submitted a petition. Its contents? That the US government should cancel the trading privileges of six developing countries (Bahrain, Fiji, Guatemala, Indonesia, Malawi and Oman) if these countries did not protect labor rights.

As a response to the "June Petition," the interagency GSP subcommittee reviewed labor rights and practices in Indonesia. They tried to see if Indonesia was respecting worker rights, since the determination of whether a country receives GSP is based on international labor rights such as the right to organize and conditions about the minimum wage.

The US government, said Carla Hills of the US Trade Representative's office in Washington, took up this petition in its annual review of GSP in August 1992. The GSP subcommittee collected information on Indonesian labor problems from, among others, the ILO, the government of Indonesia and Asia Watch.

#### *(description of GSP)*

The labor issue is important because of the strength of the labor lobby in the US. The AFL-CIO has 3 million members. Every month, they pay dues of one dollar. This means in one month they get a fund of \$3 million. It's not surprising if the voice of Lane Kirkland, president of the AFL-CIO, is heard even in the negotiations on NAFTA.

Recently, American labor unions also demanded that the US cancel trading privileges for Malaysia, on the grounds that Malaysia violated worker rights. This demand has not yet been considered by the US. But the US is being cautious. They surely do not want to lose the market for its own exports to ASEAN – the 3rd biggest market after the European Community and Japan.

### **ALATAS: NO GRAND STRATEGY ON TRADE PRIVILEGES**

*Aug. 20 1993. Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 20 (Reuters) - Indonesia said on Friday it was concerned about U.S. threats to cut trade privileges over workers' rights but had no strategy for ending the row. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said, "Of course we regard it as a serious problem, because we don't want this understanding or misperception to persist." "But we have no grand strategy to go against it other than to invite them ... to see for themselves and ... to talk." Alatas said that Indonesia would

follow the fate of the Feingold amendment, to be considered by a congressional committee on September 8. If passed it would prevent Jakarta from buying military training and spare parts for its U.S.-built aircraft. "We think the Feingold Amendment is misdirected, a misperception of the entire situation and we will of course try to find out how it will fare in the congress," he said. Alatas defended Jakarta's labour record. "Still we believe we are making improvements, we are getting better and better and there should be no reason for the United States and any other country to have this misunderstanding and misperception which we hope to be able to remove," he said.

### **LABOR STRIKES BACK**

*Tue Aug. 24 1993. Slightly abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 24 (Reuters) - Indonesian lawyers said on Tuesday they were challenging the legality of labour regulations they said formed the backbone of government repression of workers. It was the first major assault on Indonesia's labour laws, which are already under attack from the United States. "(These legal challenges) are part of our campaign against the lack of freedom to organise, military intervention and wage policy," said Rambun Tjajo, a lawyer and member of the Forum for Labour Solidarity. Speaking by telephone, Rambun said the forum had on Monday filed one petition calling for the Supreme Court, under a new ruling which allows it to review all regulations, to repeal a 1986 decree allowing the army to intervene in labour disputes. Rambun said in the past year the army had used the decree to break up 77 strikes and in many cases effectively dismiss strike leaders. He said the decree violated higher laws which recognise workers' rights to strike. The United States has singled out Indonesia's ban on a recent congress of the country's largest independent trade union, the Indonesia Welfare Labour Union (SBSI) as a major obstacle to retaining GSP privileges. SBSI leaders say they will challenge the legality of the ban in court next month. Indonesia effectively allows only one major union, namely the All-Indonesia Workers Union or SPSP. Diplomats and lawyers say that while laws exist to protect workers they are either contradictory or ignored. Others are so restrictive that they prevent workers from organising. Lawyers from the forum said their own legal challenge to such restrictions was not timed to coincide with the U.S. row, but added the publicity was advantageous to their cause. They said they also planned to challenge decrees restricting rights of association, dismissal and collective bargaining.

## 'STOP SIGN' FOR SBSI

*Abridged.*

UPI, Jakarta, Aug. 24 - An official has ruled out legalization of the Indonesia Welfare Labor Union, the country's largest independent trade union. "Based on a decree issued in 1986, the government only recognizes a single trade union, the All Indonesian Workers' Association," said Sutoyo N.K., director general for social and political affairs of home ministry. Mochtar Pakpahan, chairman of SBSI submitted Monday a proposal to the home ministry in a bid for SBSI to be legalized. Pakpahan's move came after security authorities had barred SBSI from meeting. The ban sparked a wave of criticism from the country's human rights activists.

## INDONESIA REPLIES ON GSP

*Tue Aug. 24 1993 Abridged.*

JAKARTA (Aug. 24) UPI - Indonesian lawmakers said United States trade privileges are essential to the country's efforts to boost its commodity exports and the fate of millions of workers. "Should the Generalized System of Preferences be lifted, the Indonesian workers will die slowly," Taheri Noor, a lawmaker with the government's armed forces faction, told seven visiting U.S. congressional staffers. Members of the inter-parliamentary body of Indonesia's House of Representatives met earlier this week with the visiting U.S. congressional staffers. Tati Darsoyo, who led the Indonesian team, said "there is no problem" between the two governments, but that threats to revoke the GSP have come from those related to U.S. labor organizations.

## INDONESIA: UNION OF PROBLEMS

**Government faces growing criticism on labour relations**

**[ the mysterious death of a Labour activist MARSINAH included ]**

*Far Eastern Economic Review, 26 August 1993. By Margot Cohen.*

Indonesia's labour pains are growing more severe, as domestic and international clamor rises over a government clampdown on an upstart trade union and the UNSOLVED MURDER of a female labour activist. The timing could not be worse for President Suharto's government, which has already put been put on notice that it risks losing some trade concessions under US Generalized System of Preferences (GSP). Last year, about US\$600 million worth of Indonesian exports to the US benefited from

lower import tariffs because of the GSP programme.

In June, the US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor warned Indonesia it had until FEBRUARY NEXT YEAR to improve its labour record or face a CURTAILMENT of GSP ACCESS. The Trade Representative's office will dispatch a mission to Indonesia next month to investigate complaints lodged by US non-governmental labour groups, including charges of military intervention in labour disputes, restricted freedom of association and negligent supervision of child labour.

Indonesian military spokesmen have denied interfering in labour disputes - maintaining that they are called in to protect factory property and keep the peace. Other government officials have emphasized the importance of maintaining the GSP benefits, which last year covered some 14% of Indonesian exports to the US - primarily toys, copper ore, furniture, and hand-held phones.

"The American market is ... the largest destination for non-oil goods from Indonesia," former trade minister Dr. Arifin Siregar reminded journalists on 6 August, shortly after being appointed Jakarta's new Ambassador to Washington.

Criticism of Indonesia's labour practices picked up steam on 29 July after police banned what would have been the first national congress convened by "the Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI)," an independent labour organisation established 15 months ago. SBSI is one of two labour unions which have been set up in the past three years as independent counterparts to the government-dominated "Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (SPSI)."

Only the government-dominated union is considered to be a legitimate labour organisation by the authorities, though it is not recognised as such by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Jakarta authorities have the final say over the appointment of the government-dominated union's leaders, many of whom are members of the ruling GOLKAR party [plus members of the Indonesian Armed Forces, ABRI - text added].

"SPSI (the officially blessed union) is not a truly independent workers' organisation," concluded a recently completed review by the US Trade Representative's office. "Indonesian law and practice effectively prohibits the formation of organisations as alternatives to the SPSI," the report added.

Indonesia's labour-intensive industries have developed rapidly in the past half-decade and have played a key role in the nation's drive to boost non-oil exports. But over the same period, the official union has come under mounting criticism for doing too little to protect the interests of workers. Its

estimated membership is also a mere 6% of Indonesia's industrial workforce.

One indication of the officially sanctioned union's effectiveness, labour activists say, is a sharp upsurge in wildcat strikes and labour stoppages. According to government figures, there were 251 strikes in 1992, compared with only 19 in 1989. Some labour activists allege the real number of strikes is considerably higher.

Disputes over wages are the most frequent causes of strikes. With an average daily minimum wage of Rps. 2,380 (US\$ 1.14), Indonesia's workers are among the lowest paid in the region [ASEAN - text added]. Non-governmental labour activists contend that many Indonesian businesses continue to pay their workers less than the minimum wage.

The decision to ban the 29 July meeting of the independent union elicited an unusual public expression of disappointment from the US Embassy in Jakarta, which reminded the government that it had used the independent SBSI's existence to rebut accusations that Indonesian workers didn't enjoy freedom of association. "The Indonesian government specifically mentioned the SBSI as an example of workers to organize," a US Embassy spokeswoman said in a statement.

A Ministry of Manpower official said his office could not approve a meeting permit for the new union because it did not meet the eligibility requirements for a new union. "[SBSI] does not represent the workers," said Payaman Simanjuntak, director general of industrial relations and labour standards at the ministry, in an interview with the REVIEW. "It was set up by non-workers - the non-governmental organisations, and legal aid."

Payaman had earlier told local reporters that he doubted the furor over the meeting ban would harm bilateral relations with Washington. "I am quite sure that the United States would not risk victimizing its good relations with Indonesia just for the sake of criticising a labour case, which it does not understand," the Jakarta Post newspaper quoted Payaman as saying.

In the wake of negative publicity, however, chairman Mochtar Pakpahan of the SBSI independent union is considering taking another crack at union registration. The Manpower Ministry formally rejected the union's original registration application on 30 June. Pakpahan, a labour lawyer who was dismissed from his post as lecturer at a Batak Christian college in 1985, insists that his union is primarily run by workers.

In an interview with the REVIEW at the group's dilapidated headquarters, Pakpahan said that among his union's 79 branches in 27 provinces, only 20% of the branch leaders are lawyers, while 80% are workers -

most of them concurrently officeholders in the government-approved SPSI. "If they declare they are resigning [from SPSI], then companies might be ordered to dismiss them," he said. This was the fate of several branch leaders, he added.

Pakpahan estimated his own union's membership at 100,000, with women accounting for roughly 40% of the factory-level leadership. However, only 11 branches nationwide have submitted official membership reports, accounting for some 36,000 workers, including more than 10,000 in Bali. Some branches have shown themselves a bit overzealous in reporting membership: Pakpahan was forced to rebuke a Kalimantan chapter which photocopied the local telephone book.

Still, even a conservative count would represent far greater success than that achieved by the "Serikat Buruh Merdeka Setiakawan" (dubbed "Solidarity"), which was formed in 1990 and collapsed last year due to internal conflicts over money and power. While Solidarity support was basically limited to the greater Jakarta area, the geographical spread of SBSI would appear to be wide enough to secure government recognition.

As a concession to international criticism, the government earlier this year softened union eligibility requirements: under the current set-up, a minimum of 100 workplace-level units at least 25 districts in five provinces must be established.

"If we have fulfilled the requirements according to law, we don't care about the stance of the government," Pakpahan declares. "We are going on." So far, union activities include courses in leadership and collective bargaining.

For Indonesian labour leaders, however, merely approaching the negotiating table would seem to carry its own risks. On 24 May, a 25-year-old worker named Marsinah from Sidoarjo, East Java, joined 14 co-workers in a meeting with management to iron out a wage dispute at PT Catur Putra Surya, a watch factory.

Her co-workers were later called in by the local military, and reportedly pressured to sign resignation letters. After trying to find her friends at military headquarters, Marsinah disappeared! On 8 May, her battered corpse was discovered in a shack bordering a ricefield. The autopsy report showed her vagina was ravaged with a 15-centimeter blunt object.

In a rare open display of outrage, East Java newspapers and local non-government organisations galvanized public opinion. The issue of Marsinah's death landed on the agenda at the human-rights conference in Vienna, an International Labour Organisa-

tion conference in Geneva, and a women's rights conference in Paris.

In response, Jakarta pressed the Surabaya authorities to conduct a serious investigation. To date, no arrests have been announced and Marsinah's relatives said they had been pressured to withdraw a letter asking Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute to handle the case.

Payaman, the government's industrial relations chief, said that he did not agree that the Marsinah case should be brought up at an international human rights forum. "Whoever killed her, whether it was an individual in the police or the military, or whether he was bribed by the employer, for whatever reason - it is not the policy of the government," he said.

Whatever the circumstances, Marsinah's mysterious death has stirred fear among workers in East Java. "Some of the labour leaders don't go out by themselves anymore," said one source in the labour company. In a national level, however, the case appears to have inspired new levels of commitment among labour activists.

The government appears equally determined to defuse any growing restiveness, both for the sake of political stability and investor confidence. Asked to describe recent improvements, economist Simanjuntak pointed to regulations that make it easier to set up chapters of the government-dominated union, and which clarified the steps to be taken before a strike can be called. "Indonesia will be consistent in doing what we believe in," he said, "I don't think we have to change anything."

## LABOR UNREST GROWING IN INDONESIA

*By Reese Erlich, Chronicle Foreign Service  
THE SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, Sept. 16, 1993*

(Jakarta) The clandestine labor organizers had been planning the wildcat strike for weeks, and the time for action had come.

Each department had a strike coordinator, and they had selected a bargaining committee. Organizers knew they had support from almost all of the 2,000 factory workers. Their demand: that the company pay the legal minimum wage of \$1.40 a day.

"Those who present the demands to the bosses automatically get arrested by the military," said one of the organizers. "But we still had lots of volunteers."

Strikes are frequently attacked by the army, so workers at the floor tile factory in Jakarta occupied the company parking lot and prevented anyone from entering. After an eight-day strike, the company agreed to

provide health insurance, meal allowances and promised to increase wages next year.

The recent walkout was part of a wave of wildcat strikes to hit Indonesia in the past two years. Workers imperiled by increased inflation and falling real wages have organized grass-roots committees that also are participating in the growing movement for human rights in one of Asia's most repressive societies.

A bloody 1965 military coup brought General Suharto to power, and he has ruled with an iron fist ever since, union and human rights advocates say. Labor law makes the formation of independent unions virtually impossible and, until recently, strikes were banned.

The AFL-CIO has taken up the cause of the Indonesian workers by demanding that the United States cut off preferential trade benefits until basic labor rights are respected. Indonesia has attracted massive foreign investment by keeping wages low.

But even some wealthy business people have come to recognize that the wildcats reflect a growing social and political unrest among Indonesia's 180 million people.

Probosutedjo, owner of the huge Mercu Buana business group and half brother of Suharto, said in an interview that the estimated 27 million Indonesians falling below the poverty line are "the result of the government's negligence."

In 1985 Indonesia experienced 48 wildcat strikes; in 1992 the figure jumped to 200. So far this year, there has been another 40 percent increase.

The government's view is that such social unrest could prove highly disruptive to Indonesia's increasingly formidable economic machine, and its spokesmen are fond of criticizing Americans for their "idealistic" approach to labor relations in developing countries.

The official line - as outlined by Soedibyo, a top government policy adviser and retired brigadier general - is that while workers may have legitimate wage demands, "working conditions here must be judged in the Indonesian, not the U.S. context." He points out that under Suharto, the overall poverty rate has declined from 40 percent in 1976 to 17 percent today.

An underground labor organizer, who uses the name Minke, says... *[rest of article missing]*

## UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES

### AI TESTIFIES ON IMPUNITY

*Oral statement by Amnesty International to the U.N. Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities 45th session Agenda item 10, on the evening of 13 August.*

Mr. Chairperson, Amnesty International addressed the issue of impunity and its implications for the administration of justice before this Sub-Commission in August 1991. Yet, grave human rights violations, in particular widespread "disappearances" and political killings, have continued to occur all over the world. There is an obvious link between these violations and the phenomenon of impunity - in fact, impunity is the determining element which allows sporadic violations to develop into a systematic pattern of abuse. The fight against such grave human rights violations can only be won if this problem is tackled effectively.

In respect of governments whose actions are characterized by the blatant abuse of power, impunity usually results from the same disregard for the rule of law that allows human rights violations to be committed.

In Morocco, the government has used the practice of "disappearance" since the early 1960s to punish some suspected political opponents. The "disappeared" have spent years cut off from the outside world in secret detention centres. In 1991 more than 300 men and women who had "disappeared" for up to 19 years were released, but hundreds of others remain unaccounted for. The majority may still be alive in secret detention centres. No investigations have been carried out into their fate and the Moroccan Government denies knowledge of them just as, for years, it denied secretly detaining those released in 1991. As for those who were released, the government has never accounted for their illegal detention, no perpetrator has ever been brought to justice and no provision has been made for compensating or rehabilitating the victims. The international community, which remained silent for all those years, must now urge the Moroccan Government to reveal the whole truth about all these victims and provide justice for them.

In the province of Aceh in northern Sumatra, Indonesian security forces began counter-insurgency operations against an armed political opposition group in 1989, which resulted in the killing of an estimated 2,000 civilians and the "disappearance" of

scores in military or police custody. This pattern of grave human rights violations is strongly reminiscent of the situation in other parts of Indonesia and East Timor, particularly the government's use of summary executions by anonymous "death squads," a technique which was described by President Suharto as a kind of public "shock therapy" designed to restore public order. Serious human rights violations continue to be committed with impunity in Aceh, although on a reduced scale, while the government fails to carry out investigations, pay compensation to victims or their relatives and bring suspected perpetrators to justice.

### U.N. STUDYING REBEL PROPOSAL FOR A REFERENDUM

*By Juan Gasparini*

Geneva, Aug. 17 (IPS) - a United Nations sub-commission on human rights is studying a proposal to hold a referendum on self-determination for East Timor, José Ramos Horta, of the Maubere (Timorese) national resistance council, said in Geneva on Tuesday.

The Maubere national resistance council, which is made up of several pro-independence groups in East Timor, asked the sub-commission to demand that Indonesia respect the U.N. position on human rights issues and hold a referendum, Horta declared.

The sub-commission, which includes 26 independent experts who have been appointed by the U.N. member states, is also responsible for the protection and safeguarding of the rights of minorities.

Discussions within the sub-commission are open to public and government representatives, delegates from non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and experts of the U.N. human rights centre in Geneva.

The sub-commission meets every year in Geneva and its task is to ensure that U.N. resolutions on human rights are applied.

In this context Horta said that in 1992 and 1993 the U.N. called on Indonesia to clarify the massacre that took place in the Timorese capital Dili on Nov. 12, 1991, - in which 19 people were killed, although the Catholic church insists 60 people died.

"Not only did Indonesia refuse to investigate this incident, which produced over 100 casualties according to some, but it also prevented U.N. rapporteurs on torture, executions and disappearances from entering East Timor," Ramos Horta protested.

The opposition leader also showed a photocopied official U.N. document stating that on Mar. 11, 1993, the United Nations

demanding that Indonesia improve the human rights situation in Timor.

Horta has demanded autonomy for East Timor and some form of co-existence with Indonesia. As a result he has proposed a referendum on self-determination under U.N. supervision similar to the model applied by the United Nations recently in the eastern Sahara.

The representative of the Maubere resistance recalled that the U.N. security council passed resolutions in 1975 and 1976, granting East Timor, which had been a Portuguese colony for 500 years, the right to self-determination.

On the life imprisonment sentence passed against Xanana Gusmão, who led the East Timor pro-independence guerrillas for 16 years, by an Indonesian court in May, Horta said that the trial was an unfair one and that international observers were barred from the proceedings.

According to Horta Indonesia's offer to reduce the life sentence to a 20-year confinement is an insult and he demanded that the leader of the East Timor liberation front (Fretilin), who was arrested last Nov. 20, be set free.

The pro-independence leader declared that the resistance forces hoped that the United Nations will provide a solution to the annexation of East Timor by Indonesia.

They also expect that Alvaro de Soto, representative of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, will succeed in his task of resolving the conflict.

De Soto plans to meet with Indonesian and Portuguese representatives in New York on Sept. 17 in order to reach a negotiated solution to the conflict.

Unlike Indonesia, the most densely populated Muslim country in the world with 190 million inhabitants, East Timor is mainly Catholic as a result of the Portuguese colonial rule.

Indonesia occupied Timor in 1975, after Lisbon relinquished its colonial hold over the country as a result of the "carnation revolution," which put an end to the Portuguese authoritarian regime.

In 1986 Indonesia annexed East Timor but the United Nations refuses to acknowledge this fact and placed the administration of the island in Portuguese hands.

East Timor, whose capital is Dili, spans 18,889 square kilometres and has 700,000 inhabitants according to a 1974 census.

## INDONESIA REJECTS REPUBLIC'S INDEPENDENCE REFERENDUM

By Bob Mantiri

*Comment: This article has more than the usual IPS level of errors in the background, especially on the troop withdrawal, but I thought it was worth reading anyway.*

— Charlie

Brussels, Aug. 18 (IPS) - Indonesia rejects any idea of a referendum on self-determination in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, a spokesman of the Indonesian foreign ministry in Jakarta said Wednesday.

Talking to ips by telephone the ministry spokesman said that a referendum had already been carried out to Jakarta's satisfaction.

"After Portugal left East Timor, Indonesia held a referendum in 1976 on the request of the people's assembly and the provisional government of East Timor. the majority of the people spoke out for integration.

"The right to self-determination was exercised then, in a manner of the people's own choosing and in accordance with their traditional democratic system," he said.

Indonesia invaded East Timor shortly after its independence from Portugal in 1975. human rights group amnesty international estimates 210,000 out of an original population of 650,000 have died under brutal Indonesian rule since then.

Forced colonization of the territory and continued repression have kept East Timor in continued crisis and led to worldwide condemnation and aid boycotts.

The Indonesian spokesperson said that the Indonesian government had invited the UN secretary general and members of the security council to observe the 1976 referendum, but "there were no positive response." the U.N. still officially considers the Indonesian annexation of East Timor to be illegal.

According to East Timorese leader José Ramos Horta, who is the head of the Timorese Maubere national resistance council, the idea of referendum is being studied by the UN sub commission for human rights in Geneva.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and after the referendum, integrated East Timor as its 27th province.

The Indonesian army has since faced stiff resistance from liberation and nationalist guerrilla movements, of which the Fretilin, the East Timorese liberation front, has been the most powerful in its resistance.

"The Indonesian government has involved East Timor in its integrated development plans, it is part of the republic and it cannot be reversed now and in the future,"

he said, adding that people in "East Timor like others in the Indonesian provinces will be given more autonomy in the future."

Indonesia was strongly criticized after a protest in November 1991 ended with troops shooting down unarmed East Timorese students who were demonstrating for independence in the capital Dili. according to amnesty international more than one hundred people were killed.

President Suharto, under pressure of world opinion, set up a presidential commission of inquiry and a military council of honor to investigate the role of the military in the massacre. the investigation resulted in the sacking of the military commanders.

It is expected Portugal will criticize Indonesia's human rights record in its former colony during the UN general assembly scheduled for September in New York.

Belgium has frozen its development aid to Indonesia and Portugal is still boycotting a new trade and economic agreement between the EC and ASEAN on human rights grounds.

Recently, Suharto said that he was not opposed to talks between East Timorese in Indonesia and those outside the republic, on how to develop the former Portuguese colony. he did not specify whether the East Timorese living abroad referred to Ramos Horta or other East Timorese resistance leaders.

In the meantime the army headquarters in Jakarta announced that it would withdraw all combat forces from East Timor. according to the regional commander, brigadier general Theo Syafei, all combat forces will be pulled out by October. troops engaged in development projects in the villages will stay, he said.

Diplomats in Jakarta said that foreign minister Ali Alatas has urged the military leader to reduce army presence in East Timor.

Portugal still claims a U.N. mandated responsibility to guarantee East Timor's political future as an independent state. Alatas supports a dialogue with Portugal but only under the auspices of the UN secretary general.

Since 1983 Jakarta has been engaged in talks with Portugal and the UN secretary general to iron out what it calls "a peaceful, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution."

The diplomats quoted Alatas as saying that East Timor is "an obstacle in Indonesia's foreign policy."

## DOUBLE-TROUBLE FOR JAKARTA AT THE UN IN GENEVA

TAPOL Report, 21 August 1993

At this year's session of the UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, Indonesia has been forced to defend itself on two fronts. Attention was drawn not only to the situation in East Timor but also to Aceh. For the first time, an attempt is under way to press for the adoption of a resolution on Aceh.

On 20 August, the Sub-Commission adopted a resolution on the situation in East Timor by 13 votes to ten with two abstentions. The resolution signals a major political advance over previous resolutions in that it refers to the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949 which relates to the protection of civilians in time of war. Otherwise, the resolution calls for implementation of the resolution adopted last March by its parent body, the UN Commission on Human Rights.

### East Timor

The East Timor resolution which was sponsored by expert-members from Belgium, Ukraine, the US, the UK and Norway, reads as follows:

The Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities,

Guided by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the universally accepted rules of international humanitarian law,

Bearing in mind General Assembly resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982 and Security Council Resolutions 384 (1975) of 22 December 1975 and 389 (1976) on 22 April 1976,

Recalling the statement agreed by consensus by the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-eighth session (E/1992/22, para 457) and resolution 1993/97 of 11 March 1993 adopted at its forty-ninth session,

Recalling also its resolutions 1992/20 of 27 August 1992, 1990/15 of 24 August 1990, 1989/7 of 31 August 1989, 1987/13 of 2 September 1987, 1984/24 of 29 August 1984, 1983/26 of 6 September 1983, 1982/20 of 8 September 1982, as well as the statement made by the Chairman at its forty-third session on the question of the situation in East Timor,

Having examined the note by the Secretary-General (E/CN.4/Sub.2/1993/14),

Noting with satisfaction the recent lifting of restrictions that were imposed on the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross,

Disturbed by reports of continuing violations of human rights in East Timor, as well as by reports of forcible removal of prisoners from their original place of residence to serve jail sentences in parts of Indonesia in contravention of the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949,

1. Expresses its deep concern at reports of continuing violations of human rights in East Timor,

2. Notes with satisfaction the lifting of the restrictions that were imposed upon the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross and urges the Indonesian authorities to honour fully their commitments to facilitate the implementation of the mandate of the International Committee of the Red Cross,

3. Urges the Indonesian authorities to implement fully the decisions of the Commission on Human Rights as contained in the consensus statement agreed by the Commission at its forty-eighth session and in resolution 1993/97 of 11 March 1993, adopted at its forty-ninth session,

4. Also urges the Indonesian authorities to honour the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, regarding the prohibition on removing prisoners from their original place of residence,

5. Decides to consider at its forty-sixth session the situation pertaining to human rights and fundamental freedoms in East Timor, and to this purpose requests the secretariat to transmit to it all available information received.

The week before the Sub-Commission session began, the International Committee of the Red Cross was once again allowed to carry out prison visits in East Timor. This was announced by the Indonesian observer delegation at the session. In a statement to the session just before the vote was taken, the Indonesian delegation alleged that "there have been no restrictions (on ICRC visits) but only a short delay due to miscommunication and misunderstanding at the operational level."

Political manipulations by countries being targeted by the Sub-Commission was particularly intense this year, with observer delegations from Indonesia, China, India, Pakistan and Bangladesh having agreed privately to help each other avert condemnation. The scheme worked with devastating effect for China against a resolution tabled about the situation in Tibet. One expert tabled a no-action motion, taking precedence over the resolution that had been tabled; the

no-action resolution gained 17 votes out of a total of 25 expert members (the chair does not vote). This result caused consternation among NGOs which had lobbied so hard for the resolution; they were convinced that many experts had revealed their lack of independence by submitted to pressure from their governments in China's favour after having previously indicated that they would support the resolution.

Under the circumstances, it is a remarkable sign of the strength of feeling among Sub-Commission members about East Timor that Indonesia was unable to pull off a similar spoiling action. As compared with 1992, it only managed to win an additional two experts to its side. In 1992, the voting was 13 for, six against with four abstentions but on that occasion, two members were absent, the experts from Morocco and Mexico. These two can be expected to have voted against East Timor this time round, plus another two. (Voting under Item 6 of the Sub-Commission's agenda, under which this resolution was tabled, is by secret ballot, to allow experts to vote according to their consciences and not according to pressure from their governments.)

As in previous years, there were many NGO submissions about East Timor, including statements by two East Timorese refugees.

#### **Aceh**

At previous sessions of the Commission and Sub-Commission, Aceh has been raised only by the London-based NGO, Liberation. This meant that the impact was rather limited. This year however, Amnesty International published its powerful report on Aceh in July and also spoke about the situation there in one of its verbal submissions. Apart from Liberation, which again made a statement on Aceh, several other NGOs spoke out about it.

With intense lobbying by a number of people, several expert-members decided to table a resolution on Aceh. By tradition, the UN commission and sub-commission on human rights have hardly ever adopted two resolutions condemning a single country, so in the early stages it was considered unlikely that a second resolution against Indonesia would be tabled. However, there was enough evidence of widespread atrocities in the territory for several Sub-Commission members to decide to table a resolution.

The resolution expresses concern at reports of arbitrary and summary executions in Aceh since 1989, regrets the fact that the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture was not allowed to visit Aceh when he visited Indonesia and East Timor in 1991 and calls for UN special rapporteurs to conduct investigations there and in other parts of Indonesia.

The resolution is sponsored by the experts from Ukraine, the US, the UK and Norway.

Voting on the resolution (under Item 10) will take place on Wednesday 25 August. Its chances of getting through are not more than fifty-fifty. Indeed, any issue is unlikely to achieve resolution status at the first attempt. But Aceh has, for the first time, been taken seriously by Sub-Commission members and NGOs and is likely to get a much higher profile at subsequent meetings of these bodies.

Jakarta is clearly very concerned at the prospect of having to fight on another diplomatic front besides East Timor. As lobbying on Aceh intensified, the Director for Political Affairs of the Foreign Affairs Department, S. Wiryo, turned up in Geneva from Jakarta to reinforce the Indonesian team of diplomats.

---

## **HUMAN RIGHTS SUBCOMMISSION CONCLUDES 45TH SESSION AT GENEVA**

---

### **Adopts Over 40 Resolutions and Decisions**

#### **Round-up of Session (HR/CN/496) 31 August 1993 (Reproduced as received.)**

GENEVA, 27 August (UN Information Service) – The Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities concluded its forty-fifth session today, ending four weeks of debate and action on such matters as the elimination of racial discrimination, violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms anywhere in the world, the human rights of those infected with AIDS, the administration of justice, and methods of combating contemporary forms of slavery.

Twice during the session, sobering juxtapositions occurred between the panel's agenda and events in the world at large. During the first week, as the Subcommission discussed combating racism and the elimination of intolerance and discrimination based on religion or belief, its experts appealed to negotiators meeting elsewhere in the same building, the Palais des Nations, not to approve a settlement to the Bosnian civil war based on division of the country along ethnic lines, and especially not to sanction a settlement based on the results of what Subcommission members called the "abhorrent" practices of ethnic and religious "cleansing."

As the Subcommission began debate on protecting the human rights of indigenous peoples, news accounts appeared from a remote corner of Brazil of a massacre by gold prospectors of more than 70 Yanomami

Indians. Subcommission experts, observers from non-governmental organizations, and country delegations expressed horror and outrage over the killings and said they illustrated how much indigenous peoples – even during the United Nations International Year for the World's Indigenous Peoples – needed support and protection.

In other activities connected with the International Year, the Subcommission adopted resolutions requesting the Secretary-General to consider establishing a permanent forum for indigenous peoples within the United Nations system, aiming at greater protection of their intellectual and cultural heritage and recommending the convening of a seminar on indigenous land rights and claims in which representatives of indigenous peoples, governments, and experts would participate. The Subcommission also heard an address by 1992 Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Rigoberta Menchu of Guatemala, who has been spent during 1993 serving as a United Nations goodwill Ambassador during the International Year.

Issues drawing spirited debate during the session included human rights violations involving the “comfort women” from Korea and other nations who were used as sexual slaves by the Japanese military during World War II, and reported human rights abuses in Tibet. Both drew extensive commentary from non-governmental organizations. The Subcommission responded to the comfort women controversy by entrusting one of its experts, Linda Chavez, as Special Rapporteur with the task of undertaking an in-depth study on the situation of systematic rape, sexual slavery, and slavery-like practices during wartime, and to consider such matters as compensation and rehabilitation for victims.

On the issue of Tibet, the Subcommission, through adoption of a no-action motion on a secret ballot, decided not consider a proposed resolution that would have urged the Government of China to facilitate access to all parts of Tibet by the Special Rapporteurs of the Commission on Human Rights on the questions of torture, religious intolerance, and extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, and to the Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances. The draft measure also would have called upon China to permit representatives of non-governmental human rights organizations to visit and travel throughout Tibet.

Along with Ms. Chavez, other Subcommission experts were given new mandates. The panel requested that the Commission on Human Rights designate Claire Palley as Special Rapporteur on the question of the implications for human rights of United Nations actions, including humanitarian

assistance. The resolution followed the addition this session of a new item to the Subcommission's agenda, “the implication of humanitarian activities for the enjoyment of human rights.” The Subcommission appointed expert Halima Embarek Warzazi as Special Rapporteur to update the report on child labour and to extend the study to include the problem of debt bondage. It called on the Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur (as yet unnamed) to identify attacks against the judiciary and to take steps to remedy them; and requested Asbjorn Eide to develop a preparatory document on the relationship between the enjoyment of human rights – in particular economic, social, and cultural rights – and income distribution.

Other resolutions of note called for improvements in the human rights situations in Chad, Kosovo, the Palestinian and other Arab territories occupied by Israel, South Africa, Iraq, East Timor, Myanmar, Iran, and Bosnia-Herzegovina; and dealt with such topics as compensation for victims of gross human rights abuses, with human rights violations occurring through population transfers, with the relationship between extreme poverty and the loss of human rights, and with traditional practices affecting the health of women and children. In a resolution on the right to a fair trial, the Subcommission requested its two Special Rapporteurs on the topic to include in their final report next year a draft third optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

In other action, it endorsed a statement by the Chairman expressing “profound appreciation and satisfaction” at the end of the armed conflict and the successful conclusion of the peace process in El Salvador and a “message of solidarity” in support of Algerian intellectuals who recently had been the targets of various forms of intimidation and repression, including assassination.

The Subcommission also examined in closed meetings communications from individuals and other sources brought to its attention under Economic and Social Council resolution 1503 (XLVIII). These communications related to situations which appeared to reveal consistent patterns of gross and reliably attested violations of human rights. Earlier in the session, it decided to study the reform of the 1503 procedure at its 1994 gathering.

To facilitate its research and investigation mandate, the Subcommission has established working groups which meet regularly before each annual session. The Working Group on Communications examines communications received by the Subcommission and brings attention to those which appear to reveal consistent patterns of gross and reliably

attested violations of human rights. The Working Group on Slavery reviews developments in contemporary forms of slavery, which include such practices as child prostitution and pornography, and trafficking in persons and in human organs. The Working Group on Indigenous Populations reviews developments related to the protection of the rights of indigenous peoples and gives attention to the setting of standards on the subject.

The Subcommission also has set up a Working Group on the human rights of persons subjected to any form of detention or imprisonment. This group meets while the Subcommission's annual session is under way.

The Subcommission is composed of 26 human rights experts from the five geographical regions of the world. They are elected by the Commission on Human Rights and are to act independently of their countries of origin. The Subcommission was established to undertake studies and to make recommendations to the Commission on the topics of prevention of discrimination and the protection of racial, religious, ethnic and linguistic minorities.

...

On the situation in East Timor, the Subcommission noted with satisfaction the lifting of restrictions that were imposed upon the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC); urged the Indonesian authorities to honour the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Civilian Persons in Time of War regarding the prohibition on removing prisoners from their original place of residence; and decided to consider the situation in East Timor at its forty-sixth session.

---

## INDONESIA INTERFERED IN U.N. PROBE, U.S. SAYS

*Reuter, September 6, 1993 By Jim Wolf*

WASHINGTON (Reuter) – Indonesia interfered with a sensitive 1992 United Nations mission to East Timor by detaining more than 100 young people, a newly released internal State Department document showed Monday.

The Feb. 21, 1992 cable from the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, described a small part of what critics says is a pattern of repression by Indonesian authorities in East Timor.

Released under the Freedom of Information Act, the account was expected to be used by those in Congress mounting a renewed effort this week to force Indonesian compliance with U.N. resolutions calling for Timorese self-determination.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976. The United Nations continues to recognize Portugal, its former colonial ruler, as East Timor's administrative power.

At least 53 Timorese were arrested last week in advance of a visit to East Timor by a U.S. House Foreign Affairs Committee staff delegation, according to human rights groups monitoring the situation. Their families are reported to still not know their fate.

An army spokesman, Maj. Leiden Simbolon, acknowledged last week some Timorese had been sent on a "guidance course" that coincidentally, he said, started just before the U.S. delegation arrived in Dili, East Timor's capital.

In the newly declassified State Department cable, the embassy reported that Indonesia used similar tactics before the February 1992 arrival of Amos Wako, personal envoy of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

Security forces rounded up more than 100 youths for "training" outside Dili before returning them to their families the day after Wako left East Timor, the cable said.

Wako, the Kenyan attorney-general who was concurrently the U.N. Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions, went to Dili to investigate the massacre by Indonesia troops of at least 50 people taking part in a Nov. 12, 1991, funeral procession.

The embassy cited its source, whose name was deleted to protect his identity, as saying the military had used "similar measures to head off trouble before the 1989 arrival of Pope John Paul II."

The document cited second-hand information that the Indonesian military commander on East Timor, Maj. Gen. Theo Syafei, had visited a military hospital and had warned those wounded in the massacre "to tell Wako nothing when he visited the next day."

The cable was released under the Freedom of Information Act to Allan Nairn, a New York-based freelance reporter who witnessed the Dili massacre while on assignment for the New Yorker magazine.

The document appeared likely to be used by those seeking to tie U.S. arms sales to Indonesia to Jakarta's behavior on East Timor.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee is due to consider Wednesday a measure, introduced by Wisconsin Democrat Senator Russell Feingold, that would bar arms sale until Indonesia ends alleged human rights abuses in East Timor and complies with United Nations Resolutions calling for self-determination.

## U.S. ACCUSES INDONESIA OF INTERFERING WITH U.N. PROBE

*By Farhan Haq*

United Nations, Sept. 9 (IPS) - Indonesia interfered with at least one U.N. investigation into the Nov. 1991 massacre of some 100 people in the occupied nation of East Timor, U.S. state department documents reveal.

The documents, released under the freedom of information act, cite sources saying that Indonesian Maj. gen. Theo Syafei, the military commander of East Timor, had personally warned witnesses to the massacre not to talk with U.N. special envoy Amos Wako.

Wako first visited East Timor in Feb. 1992 to determine the facts behind the 1991 shooting of a Timorese funeral procession by Indonesian troops in the capital, Dili.

The documents claim that before Wako's arrival, Indonesian forces rounded up some 100 Timorese youths for "training" outside Dili.

The youths were returned to their families one day after Wako's departure, a declassified cable from the U.S. state department says.

Sources told the U.S. officials after the Wako visit that general Syafei had visited a military hospital during that time and instructed people wounded in the Dili massacre "to tell Wako nothing when he visited the next day."

U.N. spokesman Juan Carlos Brandt refused to confirm that Indonesia had conducted any such interference with a U.N. probe prior to any of Wako's visits, but other observers of Timorese affairs say Jakarta used similar means to quiet Timorese on subsequent Wako probes and other official visits.

Allan Nairn, a U.S. journalist who witnessed the Dili massacre, said that the military also used mass round-ups to silence Timorese protestors before pope John Paul II's 1989 visit there, as well as on Wako's subsequent visits to East Timor.

But Nairn contended that even without hearing the testimony of so many witnesses, Wako nevertheless harshly criticised the Indonesian government for its role in the massacre in a report he wrote that has yet to be officially released.

Wako's recommendations "apparently were quite critical of the Indonesian military, and even called for the self-determination of East Timor," Nairn said. he added that U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali never released the report, and argued that the Indonesians may have been influential in suppressing it.

The silencing of Timorese witnesses has reportedly continued. human rights moni-

tors claimed last week that 53 Timorese were arrested to prevent them from speaking to a delegation of the U.S. house of representatives foreign affairs committee.

The U.S. Senate foreign relations committee responded Wednesday to the repeated reports of violations in East Timor by voting unanimously to condition all future arms deals with Indonesia on improvements in the human rights climate.

The committee passed the Feingold amendment - named after Sen. Russell Feingold of Wisconsin - which sets six criteria for resuming arms deals to Indonesia.

Among them are efforts to determine culpability in the Dili massacre, to determine the fate of those still missing after the killings, and to judge the fairness of jail sentences given to the mourners.

Nairn hailed the measure, saying that it was the first time the united states had admitted that Indonesian officers had any culpability for the killings.

"It's a fairly direct challenge to the higher-ups in the Indonesian military," he said.

The amendment is expected to pass as part of the foreign aid bill to be voted on in Washington later this month.

East Timor has been under Indonesian occupation since 1975, when it declared independence from Portugal.

Indonesian diplomats have refused to comment on Wako's probes into the Dili massacre, contending that East Timor is part of Indonesia and that the United Nations is not entitled to interfere in their internal affairs.

*Allan Nairn says he was misquoted in this article. He says that he did not say that Wako's report called for East Timorese self-determination, but rather that Wako urged the Secretary-General to take up the issue of self-determination. - Charlie Scheiner*

## US EMBASSY MADE A REPORT THAT TRAPS INDONESIA

*Comment from TAPOL, Sept. 14.*

A three-column report of the document made available under the FOIA in Jawa Pos of 8 September has the headline: US EMBASSY MADE A REPORT THAT TRAPS INDONESIA. Besides more or less reproducing the Reuter report about the document it contains the follow remark:

"The report by the US embassy in Jakarta which traps Indonesia has shocked some circles here because up to the present, US ambassadors to Jakarta have all appeared to be very friendly - for instance Paul Wolfowitz, John Monjo and Robert L. Barry. John Monjo was ambassador to Indonesia at the time this report was written."



## GEOFFREY GUNN AND PEREZ DE CUELLAR

*From Peter Wesley-Smith, Sept. 22.*

*Below is the text of a press release sent to me by Geoffrey C Gunn, who teaches at the Universiti Brunei Darussalam, has written a book (yet to be published or indeed to find a publisher) on ET ("East Timor Calling: A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor Since 1975"), and has been to ET a couple of times within the last twelve months or so.*

*Geoffrey Gunn's address is Department of History, Universiti Brunei Darussalam, Bandar Seri Begawan, Brunei [fax/phone (home) 673 2 228705].*

In a public lecture on the theme of UN involvement in conflicts around the world, the former UN Secretary-General [Javier Perez de Cuellar] underscored the lofty UN principle that "all UN resolutions have to be implemented impartially." To this end the former Secretary General instanced the role of the UN body in solving such conflicts as the Namibian problem, the Iran-Iraq war, the Gulf War, the Afghanistan question and the Cambodia question. Noting the end of the Cold War had usefully facilitated the settlement of such conflicts, the destruction of the former Yugoslavia also revealed that old rivalries had been resurrected.

In responding to the former Secretary General's speech [on 9 September 1993] from the floor, I offered strong endorsement of his remarks on the UN body's key role in bringing to fruition an apparent resolution of the Cambodia problem. I also reminded the former Secretary General that his stated mistrust of the Khmer Rouge in the lead up to constitutional talks around the question of the future form of government in Cambodia and the constitutional role of Prince Sihanouk had to be seen alongside his own previous role in offering the UN seat to that party. While I concurred with the UN Secretary General as to his broad remarks on Cambodia (and the pivotal role of Prince Sihanouk), I pointed out that it was an oversight to neglect the case of East Timor, the "back door," so to speak, of the Southeast Asian country in which he was delivering his speech [Brunei].

I observed that Indonesia was bound by two Security Council resolutions (384 (22 Dec. 1975), 389 (1976)) and one General Assembly resolution (3485, 12 Dec. 1975) to facilitate East Timor's self-determination, to withdraw its occupation forces and to facilitate the role of the UN Secretary General to bring together all parties concerned to achieve the decolonisation of the territory. I noted that the Secretary General had pro-

tested the horrific massacre which occurred in Dili on 12 November 1991 and called for an impartial enquiry, but that the Secretary General's special emissary sent to East Timor, Amos Wako, had yet to table his report (at least not made public) and, in any case, as reported in the local (Brunei) press on 8 September ("Jakarta interfered in UN Probe: US," Borneo Bulletin (8 September 1993, p 7)), was subject to the manipulation of evidence. I further noted that it was the former Secretary General himself who, in 1982 (GA resolution 37/30), had initiated proceedings towards this dialogue - a process still in train and with a meeting between the Portuguese Foreign Minister and his Indonesian counterpart pending in New York (on 16 September). I further noted that provision was made in this resolution for the participation in this dialogue of representatives of the ET people.

However, I pointed out, the distinguished and acknowledged representative of the ET people, Xanana Gusmão, was at this moment incarcerated in an Indonesian prison, having been tried in an Indonesian court house in Dili and sentenced to life imprisonment (commuted to twenty years). Why, I asked, was this man not present at the UN initiated dialogue in New York in line with the principles established by the office of the UN Secretary General, namely dialogue "with all concerned parties"? More the irony, I said that this man was not permitted to deliver his defense plea in Portuguese. All the more appropriate, I added, that I read from a section of that defense plea, otherwise leaked to the international press:

"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. What value does Indonesia give to the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly?" (Xanana Gusmão, Dili, 27 March 1993)

I then asked the former Sec Gen. to reply.

The former Sec Gen. responded by acknowledging that he had failed to mention the ET case in his speech. He added that he felt that the respondent knew something that he didn't in respect to the Wako report. Acknowledging that he had been out of office for 18 months, he felt that in fact the report had been tabled.

The Sec Gen. indicated that he saw his past role on the ET question as that of a go-between.

He acknowledged that the Indonesian occupation of ET has not been recognised by the UN and that Portugal was considered by the UN as the administering power in that territory.

He also specified that he expects Indonesia to be especially careful on human right and not to indulge in "excesses of force."

The former Sec Gen. expressed the view that a solution to the ET problem could only be brought about through negotiation. Moreover, this solution had to be in line with pending UN Resolutions.

In defending his role in establishing the mechanism for achieving a comprehensive settlement, he reiterated that no solution could be achieved without "dialogue."

In concluding his remarks, the former Sec Gen. noted that the question of territorial waters and resource allocation (a reference to the Timor Gap accord signed between Indonesia and Australia and Portugal's challenge to that accord in the World Court) significantly clouded the ET question.

While the Sec Gen. held back from asserting the right of the ET people to self-determination, his scrupulous emphasis upon the "totally impartial implementation" of UN resolutions appeared not to rule this option out.

## EAST TIMOR AGAIN TO BE DEFERRED BY GENERAL ASSEMBLY

*Excerpt from UN Press Release: 22 Sept. 1993*

### GENERAL COMMITTEE RECOMMENDS INCLUSION OF 161 AGENDA ITEMS TO FORTY-EIGHTH GENERAL ASSEMBLY

Recommends Deferral of Items on Malagasy Islands and East Timor To Next Session; Proposed Item on Taiwan Not Recommended for Inclusion

... The General Committee of the General Assembly this morning decided to recommend that the Assembly include 161 of 165 items proposed by the Secretary-General for the agenda of its forty-eighth session, which began yesterday. Items included cover the entire spectrum of United Nations activities, including political, disarmament, decolonization, economic, social and humanitarian affairs, as well as legal, administrative and budgetary questions.

The Committee did not recommend for inclusion an item on "the exceptional situation of the Republic of China in Taiwan in the international context," which referred to the "established model of parallel representation of divided countries at the United Nations."

Proposed items on the question of the Malagasy Islands of Glorieuses, Juan de Nova, Europa and Bassas da India and on the question of East Timor were recom-

mended for deferral to the Assembly's forty-ninth session, in view of progress being made in ongoing negotiations. The proposal to defer the item on East Timor was made by the representative of Egypt, with the support of the United Kingdom....

An item on the effective realization of the right of self-determination through autonomy was recommended as a sub-item under the "Right of peoples to self-determination..."

#### **Proposed Item on Autonomy**

Much debate surrounded item 157, proposed by Liechtenstein, on "Effective realization of the right of self-determination through autonomy." Statements were made by the representatives of Pakistan, India, Sri Lanka, Liechtenstein, Russian Federation and Canada.

Pakistan proposed deleting the words "through autonomy" or adding the words "without prejudice to the exercise of this right by people under foreign and colonial occupation and alien domination." Liechtenstein said she could not accept the addition of the words "through autonomy." While the proposed addition presented no substantive difficulties, it would make the title too long. She proposed the inclusion of suitable words, which her delegation would present.

India said the suggestion that the United Nations should consider the extent of autonomy to be enjoyed by components of a Member State impinged upon the Charter. Sri Lanka also expressed serious reservations regarding the proposed item. He said that realization of the right to self-determination was being monitored in various United Nations forums. However, an open-ended interpretation of the concept of self determination could lead to unlimited fragmentation of sovereign countries.

The Russian Federation cited the Assembly's decision that, to the extent possible, it should cluster or merge interrelated agenda items. The proposed item should therefore be included as a sub-item under the "Right to Self-determination" (item 109) and that it should be allocated to the Third Committee. Canada and the United States supported that proposal. The Committee then recommended inclusion of the heading as a sub-item under item 109.

#### **MORE ON UN DEFERRAL OF EAST TIMOR VOTE**

*TAPOL Report, 28 September 1993*

The United Nations Steering Committee which determined the agenda for the UN General Assembly has recommended that the item on East Timor be deferred till next year's session, in view of continuing progress being made in continuing negotiations.

Deferral was proposed by Egypt with the support of the UK, according to a Reuter report.

Decisions of the 28-member Steering Committee of the UNGA have to be endorsed by the General Assembly but this is taken as being a formality.

Reports that Indonesia might be going for a showdown at this year's GA now seem to have been laid to rest. Also it is clear that Portugal does not yet feel that it is in a position to press for a vote this year.

East Timor has not been voted on by the UNGA since 1982 when it adopted Resolution 37/30, on the basis of which the current UN-sponsored negotiations are being held.

### **PORTUGUESE STATEMENT IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

#### **STATEMENT BY HIS EXCELLENCY DR. JOSE MANUEL DURÃO BARROSO MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF PORTUGAL TO FORTY EIGHTH SESSION OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY (EXCERPT)**

*September 30, 1993*

Mr. President,

Leaving the African Continent and due to its very important legal, moral and historic responsibilities in the case, Portugal continues to devote, as a matter of priority, a particular attention to the question of East Timor, a non-self-governing territory recognized by the United Nations as being under Portuguese administration, its decolonization process having not been completed.

I would like to reaffirm at this rostrum my Country's position of principle on this question: Portugal accepts in full the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council regarding East Timor. These resolutions reaffirm the need to apply, in the case of East Timor, the essential principles and rules adopted by this Organization on decolonization; not only those contained in the Charter but in the historical resolution 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) as well. The rejection of military conquest as a claim for territorial enlargement, the need to respect its territorial integrity and the right of its people to self-determination are clearly established in those resolutions.

We remain firmly committed to achieving, in a peaceful and negotiated manner a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement to this question. A settlement that cannot fail to meet standards of international law and to fully respect the legitimate rights of the East Timorese, those who are most directly concerned and who

have been the main victims of this painful and long protracted problem.

I would especially like to applaud the efforts of the Secretary-General, as well as those of his collaborators, under whose auspices talks have been held with Indonesia aimed at settling this issue. We do recognize how difficult this task is due to the wide gap existing between the positions of the parties on the substance of the question, that is, the conclusion of the decolonization process of the territory. Three rounds of discussions have already taken place at the Ministerial level and we are in the process of adopting confidence building measures in order to improve the atmosphere of dialogue and to foster the advancement of the process.

Allow me to quote, in this context, a passage of the progress report submitted, just a few days ago, by the Secretary-General to the General Assembly; "Equally important and intrinsically linked to the peace process is the human rights situation in East Timor. The improvement of the conditions in East Timor is "sine qua non" to progress in the talks."

I am sorry to say, Mr. President, that, unfortunately, the human rights situation prevailing in the territory continues to elicit condemnation on the part of the international community. The resolutions adopted this year by the UN Commission on Human Rights and by its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities are a clear demonstration of what I have just said. We sincerely hope that steps are taken that would bring about a concrete and genuine improvement of the situation in the territory and that this can be monitored without obstruction. I therefore call upon all Governments and human rights organizations to keep a close eye on the situation in East Timor.

### **ALATAS ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY**

*Excerpt from Statement by H.E. Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Indonesia at the 48th Session of the United Nations General Assembly, New York 1 October 1993 p. 17-18.*

A short time ago, the World Conference on Human Rights was convened in Vienna. Surpassing most expectations, the Conference adopted a Declaration and Programme of Action which affirmed among other things, the principles of universality, indivisibility and non-selectivity in the promotion and protection of human rights. We are heartened by the fact that the Vienna Conference recognized that in the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, the significance of national and regional peculi-

arities and the various historical, cultural and religious backgrounds of states must be taken into account. Approved by consensus, Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action represents a new paradigm from which to promote human rights in a non-selective, cooperative and balanced manner. That being the case, the use of human rights as political conditionalities for economic cooperation is entirely against the agreements reached in Vienna.

This session of the General Assembly has been requested to consider the establishment of a post of High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is Indonesia's view that such considerations should lay emphasis on the practical feasibility of establishing this post and on whether such action would in reality and practice enhance the promotion and protection of human rights as called for in the UN Charter. For it may be more beneficial to direct our attention to enhancing the authority and efficacy of the existing mechanisms and bodies, particularly the Centre for Human Rights

---

## **INDONESIA-PORTUGAL NEGOTIATIONS AT U.N.**

---

### **BOUTROS-GHALI PROPOSES POSTPONEMENT OF PORTUGAL/INDONESIA TALKS?**

*Semanario 14 August 1993. Unabridged*

Both Portugal and Indonesia say they are not aware of the existence of a proposal, signed by Boutros Ghali, to put off the next round of talks between diplomats from Jakarta and Lisbon. Mari Alkatiri, second-in command of the Fretilin External Delegation, claims that the UN is going to wait for the outcome of the reconciliation meeting between Timorese before proceeding to the third round of these talks which had been scheduled for 17 September.

## **NEGOTIATION MUST SAY TO JAKARTA: YOU LOST THE BATTLE IN THE POLITICAL FIELD**

*Matebian News bulletin. Aug. 21, 1993*

*Introduction: The following article was published in the Matebian News/East Timor Information & Documentation Centre. It is a monthly bulletin run by a group of Timorese activists living in Sydney. In this issue we have published the CNRM's structure according to a handwritten document by Nino Konis Santana; Agio Pereira's Canada/US trip and the upcoming exhibition of paintings titled: East Timor - cultural survival through the eyes of an artist. Interested readers who wish to subscribe to Matebian News they may write to P.O. Box 481, Fairfield NSW 2165 or email c/- of etra@peg.apc.org The annual subscription is AUS\$20.00. Thanks*

*Ines Almeida.*

Seventeen September the UN will host another round of negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary General of UN, Dr. Boutros-Ghali. This time, it will take place in New York.

Since the Rome talks, 20 April last, a range of significant events took place. From the Resistance point of view, the capture of Ma'Huno (Bukar), the interim leader since the capture of Xanana Gusmão was a major blow; the Resistance was further shaken with the loss of another historical and competent leader.

However, in the international arena, one must note the fact that Dr. Amos Wako, the Special Envoy of the Secretary General of UN Dr. Boutros-Ghali, who went to East Timor, managed to have confidential meetings with all the 3 jailed leaders of the Resistance, Xanana Gusmão, Ma'Huno and Mau Hodu. Having special envoy of the top authority of the UN meeting jailed leaders of a Liberation Movement is not a common event. The fact that it took place, mirrors the importance that UN gives to the representativity of the Timorese people in the negotiation process.

In another important front, we must register the decision of the US Government not to authorize the sale of F-5 fighters from Jordan to Indonesia. This is, if anything, a reflection of the growing awareness of the US Congress about the tragic situation of the Timorese people. The decision was made in spite of the fact that the service of these aircraft would be made in California and improve the conditions of the Californian investments.

The latest maneuver of the Indonesian government is the reduced sentence given to

Xanana Gusmão, from life to 20 years imprisonment. It is another insult to the international community. General Suharto not only has no right to jail Xanana Gusmão but also it is Suharto and his regime that should be held responsible for the massacres of Timorese.

This reduced sentence, however, shows that Indonesia is susceptible to international pressure. It coincided with the stop of F-5 sales from Jordan to Indonesia and the meeting of President Clinton with Suharto in Tokyo. It also shows the international community that the man they praise for his commitment to freedom and democracy - Xanana Gusmão - is still jailed by a regime that illegally and barbarically occupies Xanana's Homeland.

Suharto is, indeed, feeling the pressure of the international community. A clear example was his trip to Japan's G-7 meeting. He demanded to meet all G-7 group in the official G-7 meeting. Ali Alatas evens aid a month earlier that if Suharto can not meet G-7 in the formal meeting Suharto will not accept humiliation to meet the g-7 members separately. But, at the end, Suharto had to put up or shut up! He only could meet the G-7 members separately - in the corridors!

The struggle of the Timorese to liberate the Homeland has suffered some serious drawbacks in the military field; but, politically, the trend is reverse. Xanana Gusmão was quite right when he declared on the 27th of March last that it is time for Indonesia to recognise that they have lost the battle in the political field.

We hope this forthcoming negotiation will further help the dictators of Jakarta that they have, lost the battle in the political field.

---

## **CONTEXT OF COMING UN TALKS**

*Comment from SAMODOC, an anonymous participant in online discussion. Sept. 12.*

On September 17 1993, Mr. Alatas and his counterpart Mr. João Durão Bosco (sic) will carry on their so-called confidence-measure-building talk on their dispute territory, East Timor. As predictions have been advanced it is undoubtedly to argue that the talk will cover only a very surface level of the situation in the territory. Specific considerations and objections will still considerably dominate the talk as both parts will come up with different arguments maintaining their own-interest.

Portugal, is believed, to be more flexible raise the problem adherent to an acceptable international standards whilst Indonesia will undoubtedly remain conservative, selfishness and rigid.

The recent political move in the country which nationally echoed across the country cannot grant the country's further move on the matter. Alatas will not transform his country rigid-political-stance into a flexible political move as he himself is, rather Mr. Alatas will "generously" maintain the military-hard-line recommended soon before he took off from Jakarta.

One can easily note the currently shift of Indonesia's international political campaign in East Timor. Instead of forcing Alatas and the native Indonesians to work alone in confronting international pressure, the country adopted another new "framework."

It is engaging the pro-Integrationist in an unrealized battle against those anti-integrationist. Clearly, TIMORESE AGAINST TIMORESE. DIVIDE ET IMPERA. The minority of Indonesia- collaborators figures were intentionally or not are know being used to help the country healing its already international damage. Several phenomena within the last two months can be taken as evidence.

1. Lopes da Cruz-Indonesia roving ambassador succeeded in persuading three unknown Portuguese businessmen to Jakarta, promising a bulk of profits in the future. The three, then, arrogantly declared their joint statement to accept integration victimizing the freedom and struggle of 700,000 people for the sake of economic profit.

2. Several tribal leaders (most of them were believed to know nothing about politics and illiterate) were offered a free-tour to Jakarta hosted deliberately by president Suharto. They were allegedly offered Mr. Suharto a petition claiming their refusal of Portugal handing over East Timor. (The petition was artificially proposed by ABRI-unclear-. As several tribal chiefs expressed their disappointment after their arrival to Dili as they knew nothing about the substance of the petition).

3. Another free-tour to Rome and Lurdes(France) allegedly said as non political mission is on it way. In Rome apparently Abilio Osorio (puppet governor of ET) held up an Indonesian flag, unfortunately they were blessed by John Pope II in Portuguese.

4. Within this month Lopes da Cruz is said to be in a informal tour to Europe possibly Latin America and Australia aiming at embracing more ET-se exile as he failed to persuade Ramos Horta cs who expelled Abilio Araujo for his willingness to get involve in an "all Timorese reconciliation" known as an "unrealized battle" among Timorese waging by Jakarta.

As these slightly moves have become prevalent in every chance while Indonesia is about to confront a political situation -so as East Timor-, not surprisingly all expecta-

tions will turn into leisure and hopeless. These point again reiterate that there will be no an fruitful idea-solution emerged from Mr. Durão- Alatas talk.

### ALATAS HOPEFUL ABOUT UN TALKS

JAKARTA (UPI, 13 Sept.) – Foreign Minister Ali Alatas expressed hope Monday the third round of U.N.-brokered talks between Indonesia and Portugal could achieve progress in an attempt to solve the future of East Timor.

Alatas, who will depart for New York Wednesday, told reporters after meeting with President Suharto that the third round of talks under the auspices of the U.N. secretary general was scheduled for Friday.

Alatas declined to predict whether Indonesia and Portugal would produce any substantive agreement in this week's talks, but he said, "I hope this meeting would achieve a little progress" on the issue of confidence-building measures.

"We have no need for unrealistic hopes," he added.

Indonesia and Portugal have been trying to settle the future of East Timor through the United Nations. The two countries failed to achieve solid progress during their second talk held in Rome last April.

Alatas had blamed Portugal for its reluctance to receive Indonesian journalists who wanted to visit Lisbon. At least nine Portuguese newsmen have visited Indonesia in the past view months.

"According to our view that indicated a clear picture...we don't understand why such move could not be agreed upon," Alatas said, adding that "they (Portugal) are likely still very strict."

Alatas said he had not ruled out discussions about seven East Timorese students who recently sought political asylum from the Swedish and Finnish embassies.

"The issue is not in the agenda, although it might be raised by Portugal," Alatas said. "But," he added, "our position is clear enough and we will explain to them."

The seven students, meanwhile, were continuing with their demands and willing to leave Indonesia to go to Portugal through the International Committee of the Red Cross.

East Timor, which forms one-half of an island in the Indonesian archipelago just north of Australia, is a former Portuguese colony that was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, a year after its troops invaded the territory.

Portugal, backed by the United Nations, is demanding that East Timor be permitted self-determination, but Indonesia claims that Portugal abandoned East Timor in 1975 and

that Indonesian rule has been accepted by the region's inhabitants.

Indonesia is blamed for as many as 200,000 deaths in its bloody campaign to keep the territory, including dozens of people killed in November 1991 when government troops fired on unarmed demonstrators in Dili.

The U.S. Senate's foreign relations committee endorsed last week an amendment to a foreign aid bill linking future arms sales to Indonesia to the improvement of the human rights record in East Timor.

### INDONESIA ACCUSES PORTUGAL FOR ITS INFLEXIBLE STANCE

JAKARTA (UPI, Sept. 14) – Foreign Minister Ali Alatas accused Portugal on Tuesday of taking an inflexible stand that is hampering United Nations- brokered talks in a bid to resolve a dispute over Indonesia's annexation of East Timor 17 years ago.

"The main obstacle was that the very uncompromising stand from Portugal," Alatas said in a response to inquiries from Indonesian lawmakers.

Alatas said during a parliamentary hearing that Portugal has repeatedly rejected proposals from the U.N. secretary general on a confidence-building measures to resolve the dispute over the island.

"This is the big obstacle," Alatas said.

The Indonesian foreign minister was scheduled to leave for New York Wednesday to begin a third round of discussions with his Portuguese counterpart, Durão Barroso, on Friday.

Talks held in Rome last April produced little agreement.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor after the Portuguese left in 1975, annexing the territory with its 750,000 inhabitants in 1976.

Portugal is demanding that East Timor be permitted self- determination, but Indonesia claims that Portugal abandoned East Timor and that Indonesian rule has been accepted by the region's inhabitants.

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty over East Timor and considers the territory to remain under Portuguese control.

Indonesia is blamed for as many as 200,000 deaths and other human rights abuses in a bloody campaign to keep the territory, including dozens of people killed in November 1991 when government troops fired on unarmed demonstrators in Dili. Jakarta has denied accusations of human rights violations.

Last week, the U.S. Senate's foreign relations committee endorsed an amendment to

a foreign aid bill linking future arms sales to Indonesia to the improvement of the human rights record, including in East Timor.

## PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA - GET OUT FROM EAST TIMOR

*From Samodoc, Sept. 16*

Several days ago Israel poured a glass of green-ink in mankind history. Mr. Rabin kindly and gently assisted by most of world leaders offered his hand to Mr. Arafat ending the suffering of both Israel and Palestinian people. Both ceased their long rigid standing policy realizing that this so called "new world order" might does not suit the "gerotocratic" that their predecessors adopted for ages.

Greeting by Palestine - Israel yesterdays' achievement, today people expecting enthusiastically another event in a Confidence-Building Measure (CBM) between Portugal and Indonesia that will be held at the "Casa del Mundo" in New York.

Both events above have a mutual character, aiming at ending a war, a conflict to step up towards the so called "new world order." The difference lies on the interest of both parts. The former simultaneously ended their own problem, whilst the two later will shamefully decide the future of those who have nothing to do with them.

Hence if tomorrow's CBM will not hatch a likely and positive solution then the new world order that has paved Palestine -Israel has a moral obligation to take over the case kicking these who claiming themselves "peace maker" out from this scene.

Durão Barroso and Ali Alatas represent two different capitalism regimes form two different period of time stepping up with full of "pessimistic hope" towards the USA. There the stake of 700.00 people, seeking freedom, justice and peace, is at their beautiful words to come. Both representatives will set up the talk under the shadow of "PALESTINE-ISRAEL" achievement. They must seek to map a way to end the blood and tears of that disgrace people, East Timorese, and let them find their own way, to tell their own stories, to speak their own language and to enjoy their freedom.

It is the task of the people of these countries to ensure their governments that the ET-se people no longer need them to be their "patrons" as they can now find the most suitable way to govern themselves.

Independence, peace and freedom is what all mankind inspired. Hence, the freedom of one should not be deprived by the others due to their own interest and prestige. Portugal has its own prestige and Indonesia scared of losing a bulk of Timor's natural

resource including oil which shamefully turned it down into a "cruel" joint statement with the barbarian Australian government to exploit it.

What a pity? Wealth nations robbing defenceless people.

The sound echoed from the mountains and the streets of East Timor is the voice of that defenceless people who cried out to the world not to be helped or protected but to reclaim their own rights plundered and is still plundering by these two countries "Indonesia and Portugal."

Better get out from that island rather than your descendants will bear all your "sins." If Dom Nunu Alvarez Perreira is alive today I don't know what he is going to say and if Mahammad Hatta, Yamin, Sudirhusodo and the others are also alive I can't imagine what would have they done to these their predecessors who have ignored their first genuine ideas. Freedom Peace and Justice.

Alatas and Barroso will be the "heroes" of the talk. What they should bear in mind just before step up to the table is pouring all their interest and prestige to the hell. Remember that what you're going to talk has nothing to do with your self. The most precise word to say is : You both Portugal and Indonesia should be better get out from East Timor as you both have nothing to do with the future of that people.

## STATEMENT FROM SECRETARY-GENERAL'S REPRESENTATIVE

*UN Document SG/SM/5095, 17 Sept. 1993*

### SECRETARY-GENERAL REITERATES INTENTION TO ASSIST IN SOLUTION TO EAST TIMOR QUESTION AND TO MONITOR HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION THERE

*The following is the text of a statement issued today by the Secretary-General's Personal Envoy on East Timor, S. Amos Wako:*

The Secretary-General held meetings in New York today with the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal – as had been agreed at the last round of talks held on 21 April in Rome – in the context of the ongoing efforts, under his auspices, 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 Foreign Ministers and, subsequently, chaired a joint meeting.

As they had agreed in Rome, the Ministers considered possible confidence-building measures as a means of fostering an atmosphere propitious to addressing the sub-

stance of the question and reiterated their respective positions of principle. In this connection, the Secretary-General wishes to record the following points which emerged during their meeting:

1. The Ministers concurred on the importance of the promotion of respect for human rights, in all their indivisible aspects (civil, political, economic, social and cultural), and fundamental freedoms in East Timor;
2. They also concurred on the need to create a favourable and non-confrontational atmosphere in order to allow effective progress towards a comprehensive settlement of the question;
3. Both Ministers reaffirmed the importance of the implementation of the recommendations contained in the consensus statement of the Chairman of the Human Rights Commission of 4 March 1992, and the need for further facilitating access to East Timor inter alia by the United Nations and humanitarian and human rights organizations. In this context, they noted with appreciation the second visit to East Timor in April by the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General;
4. The Secretary-General reiterated his intention to continue to follow closely the human rights situation in East Timor in the spirit of the aforementioned consensus statement;
5. Both Ministers noted the Secretary-General's intention to carry out contacts, as he deems useful, in his efforts to assist in the solution of the question;
6. Both Ministers agreed to continue to promote a balanced exchange of visits by journalists and personalities from their respective countries; and
7. The Ministers identified a series of issues for discussion at the next round of talks.

Following today's discussions the parties agreed to continue their efforts, under the auspices of the Secretary-General, to find a solution to the question of East Timor. A further meeting between the two Foreign Ministers and the Secretary-General will be held in Geneva on 6 May 1994. Prior to that meeting, talks will be held at United Nations Headquarters in New York between the representatives of the two Governments.

## PORTUGAL AND INDONESIA MEET AT U.N.

*Sept. 17 Reuter story, abridged, by Wilson da Silva*

(United Nations, NY) Indonesia agreed on Friday to allow access by U.N. agencies

and rights groups after talks mediated by the U.N. Secretary-General.

After more than four hours of talks between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, Indonesia agreed to allow more access.

Indonesia's Ali Alatas told reporters after meeting Portugal's Jose Manuel Durão Barroso that access by U.N. and non-government aid and human rights groups would be facilitated, but that both sides remained at odds.

However, Alatas said Indonesia and Portugal would study proposals made by Boutros-Ghali ahead of a fourth round of talks on May 6 next year in Geneva.

"If we stick to our respective basic positions, we are diametrically opposed," Alatas said. "Clearly, the position is to find a way somewhere in the middle."

Indonesia is prepared to cooperate with the United Nations in finding a "just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution" to the problem, he said.

"We think that in itself this is positive," Durão Barroso said of Indonesia's pledge. "But we are still very far from a global solution. We will keep this matter open and we are not going to give up."

Timorese resistance leaders decried the negotiations for failing to tackle the central issues.

"Once again, Minister Alatas has come to these talks to negotiate in bad faith and with nothing to offer," said João Carrascalão of the Timorese Democratic Union.

"We have heard nothing about our right to self-determination and independence for East Timor," he said.

Alatas said recent U.S. moves against Indonesia over the issue, such as the Senate vote, were regrettable.

"We regret the fact that this question of human rights and East Timor was linked to arms sales. We don't think such a linkage was appropriate," he said.

Asked if Suharto might not accept Clinton's invitation to a summit of the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation group in Seattle, Washington in November if the Senate amendment became law, Alatas said his president had yet to decide if he would attend.

He said Indonesia had enacted confidence-building measures since the last round of U.N. talks in Rome in April – a point disputed by Portugal – such as reducing its troop presence in the territory and commuting the life sentence for captured guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão from life to 20 years.

### THIRD ROUND OF TALKS HELD ON EAST TIMOR

UNITED NATIONS (UPI, Sept. 17)

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met Friday with U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to discuss the future of East Timor.

The third round of U.N.-brokered talks concerned possible "confidence-building" steps that included an increased access for humanitarian groups and journalists to East Timor, a spokesman for the Secretary-General said.

Another round of discussions was scheduled for May 6 in Geneva.

Indonesia invaded East Timor shortly after the Portuguese colonial administration departed in 1975 and began a military campaign that reportedly claimed up to 200,000 lives.

The United Nations has refused to recognize Indonesia's annexation and still considers Portugal to be East Timor's administrator.

Boutros-Ghali met separately with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart Jose Durão Barroso and then chaired a joint meeting.

Boutros-Ghali's office said both sides agreed on the importance of promoting human rights and freedom in East Timor and on providing access to East Timor by U.N. and humanitarian organizations.

The Secretary-General said he planned to continue monitoring the situation in East Timor.

Both sides agreed to continue an exchange of journalists.

### INDONESIA, PORTUGAL REPORT PROGRESS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*By Farhan Haq*

United Nations, Sept. 17 (IPS) - the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal Friday reached what both sides deemed was fragile progress toward improving human-rights conditions in East Timor.

Miguel Durão Barroso of Portugal and Ali Alatas of Indonesia agreed at their third set of U.N.-brokered talks to "the need for further facilitating access to East Timor, inter alia, by United Nations and humanitarian and human rights organisations."

"That is not the case now," Durão Barroso noted. "for instance, amnesty international is not allowed to go to East Timor. I hope now they will have that possibility."

He pointed to that agreement as one of a few "signals aiming to create some confidence" that conditions in East Timor, where

almost a third of the population is estimated to have been killed since Indonesia's 1975 annexation of the country, may improve.

But the Portuguese foreign minister added, that "over larger problems of substance, there was no progress yet," he said that on most issues – including East Timor's status itself – the two nations remain diametrically opposed.

As a result, Durão Barroso said, "there was progress, but we should not overestimate it."

Alatas shared the view. "we have made a beginning to try to contribute to a more conducive climate, but we haven't started yet to solve the essence of the problem," he said.

But he said the three hours of talks did produce some results: "for the first time, both sides have agreed to an exchange of journalists," which can allow for information to be exchanged better on conditions in East Timor.

Exiled Timorese leaders themselves, however, doubted whether Indonesia could be trusted to open journalistic access to the island, where they claim the Indonesian army has repeatedly detained witnesses to the 1991 massacre of about 100 people in the capital, Dili.

José Ramos Horta, co-chairman of the national council of Maubere resistance, accused the Indonesian army authorities of detaining dozens of witnesses to the Dili massacre prior to two visits made to investigate the killings by U.N. special envoy Amos Wako.

"I believe the Indonesian foreign minister should have explained to the Secretary-General why the Indonesian army interfered with the normal work of the mission of the U.N. envoy," Horta said.

He said the detentions "show once more how Indonesia blatantly disregards U.N. procedures and involvement in this case."

"Nobody was detained," Alatas shot back. "there was a group of people who were following a guidance course (sponsored by Jakarta on civic rights) and they never left Timor, but they were not in the city of Dili proper."

Such denials have held little sway with Timorese leaders, who said in a release Friday that Jakarta "has done nothing to convince the international community of its genuine commitment to improving the human rights situation in East Timor."

But the tide of events may be changing, says Horta.

"The foreign minister came to this meeting rather weakened by a number of international relations decisions that are not favourable to Indonesia," he noted, particularly the passage of the Feingold amendment

by the U.S. Senate foreign relations committee.

The amendment, which the Senate is expected to vote on this month, would force president bill Clinton to consider a number of criteria, including a full accounting for the Dili massacre, before authorizing any military commerce with Jakarta.

Alatas dismissed the significance of the move, saying, "it simply means we have to buy whatever arms we need from other sources."

Indonesia and Portugal both hope to address more substantive issues – including whether East Timor will have the right to determine its sovereign status – at another meeting between the two foreign minister scheduled for may 1994 in Geneva.

## UN MOVES INTO TIMOR

*The Sydney Sunday Herald, 19 September 1993*

Indonesia, under pressure from the United States over its human rights record in East Timor, yesterday agreed to allow access by United Nations agencies and rights groups.

After more than four hours of talks between the foreign of Indonesia and Portugal-East Timor's former colonial ruler.- Which were chaired by UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Indonesia agreed to allow more access.

Indonesia's Ali Alatas told reporters that access by UN and non-government aid and human rights groups would be facilitated, but that both sides remained at odds.

## PROGRESS REPORT OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

*UN Document A/48/418. 20 September 1993, full text.*

*Forty-eighth session Item 121 of the provisional agenda, A/48/150 and Corr.1. 93-51127 (E) 210993/...*

1. In my progress report to the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly on the question of East Timor (A/47/435), I apprised the Assembly of the efforts in progress at the time to reactivate the dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices aimed at finding a comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, which had been interrupted since the autumn of 1991. In particular, I informed the Assembly of my decision to invite the Foreign Ministers of the two countries to hold informal consultations, without preconditions, with the object of arriving at a mutually acceptable

format for resuming substantive discussions on the matter.

2. The informal talks, held on 26 September 1992 in New York, resulted in an agreement to hold substantive discussions at the level of Foreign Ministers as well as preparatory meetings between the Permanent Representatives of the two sides in New York, to be led by the Secretary-General and his designated representative, respectively. It was also understood that the Secretary-General would consult anyone he deemed appropriate in the context of the dialogue.

3. Since then, I have held three rounds of substantive discussions with the two Foreign Ministers, in New York on 17 December 1992, in Rome on 21 April 1993 and in New York on 17 September 1993. My Senior Political Adviser, Mr. Alvaro de Soto, has convened a number of meetings of the Permanent Representatives of the two countries to the United Nations. He and other officials of the United Nations have also had contacts with representatives of various East Timorese groups and prominent individuals.

4. All sides concerned realize the need to make progress on confidence-building measures that could help pave the way for a discussion of the core issues. I have explored various ideas in this respect with the two Foreign Ministers. While it has proved difficult to make progress on the core question, owing to the wide difference in the positions of the two sides, I am moderately encouraged by the substance and tone of the discussions held on 17 September 1993, as reflected in the statement issued by my spokesman following the meetings (SG/SM/5095). I am hopeful that, with patience and the continued cooperation of the parties, we will be able to build on these initial steps and that the process will bear further results. Continued dialogue is the rational way towards the achievement of a lasting settlement of the question of East Timor. I must underline, however, the need to redouble our efforts in this direction and for the parties to show greater flexibility in the interest of making progress.

5. Equally important and intrinsically linked to the peace process is the human rights situation in East Timor. The improvement of the conditions in East Timor is sine qua non to progress in the talks. It is in that spirit and in view of the continued concern of the international community in that respect that I have been closely following developments affecting the enjoyment of the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the East Timorese people. In March 1993, the Commission on Human Rights adopted resolution 1993/97, in which it, inter alia, recalled that it had commended the

decision of the Government of Indonesia to set up an inquiry commission on the killings of 12 November 1991, but regretted that the investigation had failed to identify clearly those responsible; expressed its concern about the lack of information concerning the number of people killed in that incident and urged the Government to account fully for those still missing; regretted the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on civilians not indicted for violent activities and the military involved in the violent incident; called upon the Government to ensure that all East Timorese in custody, including main public figures, were treated humanely, with their rights fully respected, and that all trials be fair, just and public, and recognize the right to proper legal representation, and that those not involved in violent activities were released without delay; welcomed the greater access recently granted by the Indonesian authorities to human rights and humanitarian organizations, and called for the further expansion of that access; and urged Indonesia to invite the Special Rapporteurs on torture and on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, and the Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates.

6. In August 1993, in its resolution 1993/12, the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, inter alia, noted with satisfaction the lifting of the restrictions imposed upon the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) in East Timor, but expressed its deepest concern at reports of continuing violations of human rights there; and urged the Indonesian authorities to implement fully the decisions of the Commission on Human Rights, as well as to honour the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War regarding the prohibition on removing prisoners from their original place of residence.

7. Upon receiving the agreement of the Government of Indonesia to my earlier request, I dispatched Mr. Amos Wako, my Personal Envoy, on a visit to East Timor and Indonesia in April 1993, as a follow-up to his first visit of February 1992. Mr. Wako visited the area from 3 to 8 April 1993. In addition to the task of following up on the implementation of his recommendations arising from his first visit, I requested Mr. Wako to provide me with an assessment of the overall human rights situation in East Timor and, to that end, to meet with all persons he believed should be consulted, including persons in detention. Mr. Wako conducted his assignment to my full satisfaction and reported to me personally on his

findings and recommendations on how the human rights situation in the territory could be improved. During his visit, he held extensive discussions with the Indonesian authorities, both at Jakarta and in East Timor, as well as with the Bishop of East Timor, non-governmental organizations and human rights activists, and East Timorese in detention (and released from detention) for their alleged or suspected pro-independence activities. These included individuals who had been in positions of leadership, notably Mr. Jose "Xanana" Gusmão, leader of the Frente Revolucionaria de Timor Leste Independente (FRETILIN), who was captured by the Indonesian armed forces on 20 November 1992, as well as those convicted for organizing the demonstrations of November 1991. Mr. Wako was also received by President Suharto before ending his visit.

8. I have conveyed the conclusions and recommendations of my Personal Envoy to the Government of Indonesia, and the Government of Portugal has been apprised of the same. In a letter dated 7 August 1993, Mr. Ali Alatas, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Indonesia, transmitted to me the reaction of his Government to the substance of Mr. Wako's conclusions and recommendations.

9. Since his arrest by the Indonesian authorities near Dili on 20 November 1992, I have been following the situation of Mr. "Xanana" Gusmão. In addition to the confidential meeting that my Personal Envoy had with him in April 1993, I have on a number of occasions raised with the Indonesian authorities the question of immediate access by ICRC to Mr. Gusmão and other detainees in East Timor. I have also received reports from human rights organizations on his treatment and conditions of detention, as well as communications from Governments, parliamentarians and other prominent personalities and numerous concerned individuals from different parts of the world conveying their concern about Mr. Gusmão's detention and fate.

10. Mr. Gusmão's trial began at Dili in February 1993. In May 1993, following the 21 April round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal under my auspices, and with the agreement of the Government of Indonesia, I decided to dispatch a member of the United Nations Secretariat to observe the concluding stages of Mr. Gusmão's trial. Despite a number of problems encountered, the United Nations observer was able to attend three of the five trial sessions held in Dili between 5 and 21 May 1993. On 21 May, the court sentenced Mr. Gusmão to life imprisonment, a decision that has since been reduced to a 20-year prison term by President Suharto. I will continue to follow the situation of Mr. Gusmão closely and to

be in communication with the Government of Indonesia on the subject.

11. I will hold a new round of discussions with the two Foreign Ministers on 6 May 1994 at Geneva. Prior to that, preparatory meetings will be held by my designated representative with the two Permanent Representatives to the United Nations.

---

## ALATAS ON UN TIMOR TALKS

*From ANTARA, the Indonesian news agency, Sept. 24.*

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said the third tripartite talks among Indonesia, Portugal and UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali on the East Timor issue in New York on Friday (Sept. 17) had shown more progress than the previous two.

"It could be said that the statements agreed this time are more substantive. There has been progress from the second talks in Rome and the first one in New York," he told Indonesian journalists after meeting with Boutros Boutros Ghali and Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Manuel Durão Barroso.

Alatas noted that on Friday's talks seven points had been agreed. Among these points, Indonesia and Portugal agreed on the need to create a mutually beneficial and non-confrontative climate on the way to achieve a comprehensive solution.

The two ministers also agreed on the importance of enhancing respect for human rights in its wide aspect which covers civil, political, economic, socio-cultural dimensions as well as fundamental freedom in East Timor.

In addition, both sides agreed to step up exchange of visits by journalists and other individuals between Indonesia and Portugal.

According to Alatas, the talks covered the problem of enhancing confidence-building measures to pave the way for discussions and settlement of substantive aspects of the issue and at the same time create a climate conducive to the achievement of a solution.

Alatas said that a climate conducive to beneficial and non-confrontative talks as a way of creating mutual confidence had been stressed by Indonesia.

"This is important, because Portugal has always brought up the East Timor issue in any forum, including those that are irrelevant. Such an attitude only heightens confrontation between the two sides," he said.

On the other hand, Portugal underscored the accord on the need to respect human rights in its wide aspect covering civil, political, economic and socio-cultural rights.

On the reporters exchange program, Minister Alatas said that Indonesia had never banned Portuguese journalists to visit East Timor.

"The facts indicate that nine Portuguese journalists have visited the province recently, while we have only two journalists visiting Lisbon," he added.

Starting that many other Indonesian journalists have been waiting for a long time to get visa to enter Portugal, Alatas said that it was Portugal who made it difficult, not Indonesia.

Alatas said that Portugal was still demanding Indonesia to give access to human rights groups to enter the province based on the "Statement Consensus" issued by the Chairman of Human Rights Commission on March 4, 1992.

In response to the demand, the minister said that Indonesia has for years allowed the groups to visit East Timor.

UN Children Fund (UNICEF), UN Development Program (UNDP), or even Asia Watch, a non-governmental organization, had visited the province, he added.

"We have implemented the consensus. I do not promise but, we are considering to give similar facility to the Amnesty International," he said.

According to the minister, the UN Secretary General pledged to issue a proposal on effort to build trust for the two respective camps (RI-Portugal) at the next talks on East Timor.

The next tripartite meeting among Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali and Portuguese Foreign Minister Manuel Jose Durão Barroso is scheduled to be held on May 6 in Geneva. (Antara)

---

## EVENTS IN ASIA

---

### 'MACAO SUSPENDS ITS SUPPORT TO TIMORESE'

*Publico, 13 August 1993*

The Macao government has suspended its practice of accommodating Timorese refugees. The suspension will continue until the situation of some 50 people already in the territory awaiting entry visas from the Portuguese Foreign Office is resolved. Meanwhile in Timor and in Indonesia there are a further 70 people awaiting the go-ahead from the Macao government to begin the journey which would eventually take them to Portugal.

The Macao Social Services Institute (IASM) has guaranteed that the temporary suspension will not be applied to cases of



obvious urgency such as political persecution or where there is danger to life or risk of imprisonment.

Fatima Santos Ferreira, IASM chairperson, told PUBLICO that it would be impossible, in any case, to receive any more Timorese at the Disaster Centre, an institution set up to house catastrophe victims. 'We are in the middle of the typhoon season and it is probable that the centre will be required to house storm victims' said Ms Ferreira.

Last July, when Typhoon Kory passed over the area, more than 600 people were accommodated at the centre in installations which can barely house 190 families. Fatima Ferreira said that her institute also faces financial difficulties in paying fares to Portugal. 'Our budget will not permit us to pay any more fares to Portugal'

At present there are about 50 Timorese refugees living in the centre. On arrival in April, each received 1000 patacas (about \$140) for initial expenses and a further 600 patacas monthly since then. While this group remains, the Institute is unable to give the green light to the other 70 waiting in Bali, Jakarta and Dili, the majority of whom are of Chinese origin and are in the Timorese capital.

### JAPANESE SCHOOL SUPPORTER MEETS DARWIN TIMORESE COMMUNITY

*Report from CNRM/NT. Aug. 11, 1993*

On 10 August 93, Mr. Takahashi from the Japanese Supporting Committee for the Darwin East Timorese School presided a meeting with members of the Lafaek Timorese Association and other members of the Darwin East Timorese community. The meeting was convened to discuss the Timorese School project funded by his organisation.

Present at the meeting were members of the Timorese Community, CNRM and Freltilin. Jose Branco, president of the Timorese Association Inc. LAFAEK, told Mr. Takahashi that the Association had started a Tetun School with the cooperation of the members of the East Timorese community.

The school aims to :

- Teach the Tetun language to East Timorese children;
- Promote East Timorese culture;
- Enhance inter-generational communication between young and older East Timorese
- Help to unite the East Timorese refugee community in Darwin.

Jose Branco also appealed for financial and logistic support for the school, and presented the budget for the school to Mr. Takahashi.

Mr. Takahashi outlined the aims and objectives of the Japanese Supporting Committee for the Darwin East Timorese School which he represents. He said that the main goal of his organisation is to support a school that teaches Tetun, as it is the core of East Timorese cultural identity in need of preservation.

Mr. Takahashi added that the school fund provided by his organisation is aimed to benefit all Timorese refugees in Darwin, independently of any particular political party affiliations.

Mr. Takahashi and Mrs. Takahashi then presented the school a 'kokushi' traditional wooden doll, and a 'furi' Japanese traditional bell. Mrs. Takahashi also taught the students to make 'orizuru' peace symbols.

The meeting ended with Mr. Takahashi collecting a variety of opinions from participants in the project so as to convey them to the Japanese Supporting Committee. He also pledged continuing support for the Lafaek Tetun School and appealed to everyone, both in Japan as well as elsewhere, to provide their generous support for this valuable initiative.

Prospective supporters may contact Mr. Takahashi by fax on +81 22 223 1323.

### W.W.II ENEMIES UNITE IN SOLIDARITY WITH EAST TIMOR

*From Jean Inglis, Free East Timor Japan Coalition, Aug. 16, 1993*

A former member of the Japanese occupation forces in East Timor has traveled to Australia to meet with former Australian commandos in an act of solidarity with the East Timorese today struggling for independence.

IWAMURA, Chichi, 73, a platoon commander in East Timor during the war, was contacted last year by the 2/2nd Commando Association, which has attempted to assist the East Timorese since the Indonesian invasion of 1975. Learning that his former "enemies" shared similar feelings of responsibility for the sufferings of the East Timorese, and that they too had been thwarted in their efforts to assist the East Timorese by their country's powerful veterans' organization and their government's complicity in the invasion, Mr. Iwamura decided to go to Australia to meet them.

Mr. Iwamura's itinerary takes him to Perth (Aug. 10), Melbourne (Aug. 12), and Sydney (Aug. 16).

A resident of Osaka, Japan, Mr. Iwamura became active in the Japanese East Timor solidarity movement after learning of the present plight of the East Timorese from Darwin activist Mimi Ferreira and former East Timor bishop, Mons. Martinho Lopes, during a 1986 speaking tour of Japan. The following year he traveled to New York to petition the UN Decolonization Committee on behalf of the East Timorese. As a result, he received threatening phone calls from ultra rightists, angered by his impassioned apology for the crimes committed against the East Timorese by the Imperial Army.

Mr. Iwamura asked the Japanese organization of ex Timor based soldiers to send someone to Australia with him, but was turned down. Another ex soldier, however, who has also been active in solidarity work in Japan, sent a message with Mr. Iwamura. (The message, attached, is from KIJIMA, Masamichi of Tokyo who is the organizer of the suprapartisan Diet Members Forum on East Timor.)

Posted by Jean Inglis (jinglis). Sorry I don't have Mr. Iwamura's statement.

### Message to My Former Australian Soldier War Friends

I have the good fortune of sending this message to you with IWAMURA Chichi. My feelings toward all of you and toward the East Timorese are exactly the same as those of Mr. Iwamura. And like Mr. Iwamura, I am a member of the movement in Japan for the freedom and independence of East Timor.

I spent about two years and five months, from March 1943 until the end of the war, in East Timor as a paymaster officer. I was not directly involved in warfare, but this does not change the fact that I participated in state aggression and that as a result of that aggression considerable harm was inflicted on the East Timorese.

Freedom is the highest aspiration of human beings. But the present reality inflicted on the East Timorese is the very opposite of freedom, is in fact a reign of terror under the Indonesian army. And with the capture of Commander Xanana Gusmão, East Timor has now entered a very dark period of "winter." While I know that there is no winter that is not followed by spring, considering what I myself am able to do to hasten the coming of that spring, I cannot but feel very powerless. This is especially so because we in Japan, which is the biggest donor of economic aid to Indonesia, have not yet succeeded in changing our government's policy of siding with the aggressor.

In this day and age the concept of human rights is increasingly recognized as a self-evident truth throughout the world, and if

there ever was a just cause in this world, it is surely the cause of the independence of East Timor. I of course believe that one day the East Timorese will achieve their long-cherished desire. But I also believe that we have the obligation to work to hasten the dawning of that day. I am proud to walk together with the East Timorese toward that day and to dedicate myself to the extent that my life, time and energy allows to act to achieve that freedom and independence.

I am deeply happy to be able to share this solidarity with you, my Australian colleagues. Thank you.

KIJIMA Masamichi.  
August 7, 1993, Tokyo

---

## ET ISSUE IN JAPANESE POLITICAL SCENE

---

*From Jean Inglis, Sept. 3, 1993*

*(The following is an abridged translation of an article to appear in the Kure solidarity group's newsletter, Higashi Timor Tsushin. The author, KIJIMA Masamichi, is director of a think tank in Tokyo, organizer of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, and coordinator of the Tokyo East Timor Association. He addresses the question of what changes are possible with respect to the East Timor issue, given the recent change of government.)*

To start with the conclusion, the situation certainly won't get any worse, and the possibility exists that, given the right circumstances, we could see good results. However we must not delude ourselves. Whether the coalition government moves on the issue or not will depend on the strength that our movement musters and, to a very great extent, on the United Nations and the large sociopolitical cultural changes taking place in the world of which it is a part.

The Diet Forum was greatly effected by the recent political changes. In terms of numbers, the Forum lost 26 of its original 90 members due to the crushing defeat that the Socialist Party suffered. Also, it will now be necessary to reorganize the convenors' group, which is made up of Diet members from each of the parties. The numerical strength of the Forum can be restored, however, by actively recruiting members of the newly formed parties.

Another factor in our favor is the inclusion of 5 Diet Forum members in the Hosokawa cabinet. This includes KUBOTA Manae, Minister of the Economic Planning Agency, and EDA Satsuki, Minister of the Science and Technology Agency (both Diet Forum convenors). There are also several Forum members who are vice-ministers. Also, more than half of the present cabinet signed the Diet members' petition (calling

for a change in Japan's East Timor policy) at the time of the Santa Cruz massacre. Also hopeful is the fact that Foreign Minister Hata is said to be interested in human rights, and that both the Speaker and Vice-speaker of the House, DOI Takako and KUJIRAOKA Hyosuke, are Diet Forum convenors. There is every possibility these people will come through for East Timor when the time arises. We didn't have even a toe in the door of previous cabinets, so this is a great improvement.

It would be naive however to think that an increase in sympathizers in the cabinet is going to directly result in a change in the Japanese government's policy on East Timor. Although Hosokawa spoke out on Japanese historical aggression and talked in his policy address about "a world in which human rights are respected," he also stated that in principle his government would maintain the foreign policy, including security, defense, and ODA, of the previous government. And the government bureaucracy, who are united in their determination that nothing will change, are as entrenched as ever; there has been absolutely no change in their ranks. It remains to be seen whether or not the new government has the power to overcome the resistance of these bureaucrats. (People like former ambassador to the US Matsunaga, who made a wonderful statement on human rights at the Vienna World Conference, and former Vice-Minister Owada, who spoke out on East Timor in Jakarta, are the exception, not the rule, at the Foreign Ministry.)

The new government brings together elements eager for change and others bent on preserving the status quo. What we are most apprehensive about is that political considerations ("We can't let the government collapse because of the East Timor issue!") might come into play if it turns out that there are strong pro-Indonesian elements in the government ready to thwart any action on the pretext that it would be "a deviation from the framework of the ruling parties' agreement," or, if the power of the "invisible hand"\* goes into action.

However the situation would be different if the East Timor issue were to be taken up at the United Nations (a resolution on self-determination, for instance, or, better still, in relation to human rights and ODA). The Hosokawa Government places great importance on the UN and has its eye on a permanent seat for Japan on the Security Council. The US of course has tremendous power at the UN. Since Clinton came to office, human rights diplomacy has been emphasized and the administration has taken an interest in East Timor as well. If the U.S. makes a positive move on the issue at the UN, there is every possibility that

Japanese foreign policy, which has always felt its best interests were served by following the US lead, would act in step with the US, making it easy for East Timor sympathizers in the cabinet to do something.

Given the above, I don't think we can hope to see any big initiatives coming from Japan with respect to policy changes on a routine and sustained basis vis a vis Indonesia, including the issue of ODA, or East Timor. However if an issue arises that draws world attention, such as happened with the Santa Cruz massacre, we can expect a reaction, centering on the Diet Forum members in the cabinet, much bigger and stronger than anything in the past.

Our solidarity movement continues to be like the "runners in a race with no spectators." Of course the spectators are increasing, and sad as it is, it has been since the Santa Cruz massacre took so many lives that this interest has grown. However this growing interest is still far from amounting to "public opinion" and not strong enough to get the parliamentarians to take action to say nothing of moving the powers that be.

In the summer of '89 when the Socialist Party under then Chairperson Doi's leadership won overwhelmingly in the House of Councilors' election, I wrote an article titled, "Independence for East Timor in 23 Years?" Well, that ended up being a "Midsummer Night's Dream." But dreams can become reality. Look at Prime Minister Hosokawa: when he founded his new party a year ago he called it the "ant hole that would bring down the political system." And now the man is prime minister. The curtain has only just gone up on Act I of the coalition government and it will have to take a few more steps before we can tell where it is heading.

---

## EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

---

### FORUM ON EAST TIMOR IN CANBERRA

PLACE: House of Representatives Committee Room 101

TIME: 11.00am to 2.00pm, Wednesday 25 August 1993.

TOPIC: Forum focus is on Xanana Gusmão the leader of Fretilin recently gaoled for life by Indonesia.

This forum has been organised by the Canberra Branch of PEN International. PEN (Poets, Novelists, Essayists) began in England in the 1920's to defend and extend free expression of ideas within nations and beyond. It is now an international network of writers with centres in several cities of Australia. Canberra has been part of the network

through the efforts of Sara Dowse, Satendra Nandan and others. Since the early 90's PEN has organised public meetings at which dissident writers have spoken, and taken part in demonstrations of solidarity with people suffering censored and oppressed lives such as the East Timorese.

This meeting will inform the media, politicians and public about Timor and pressure various bodies to; intervene there, allow Gusmão Red Cross visitors, get him released and granted refuge in Australia and, stop Australian military aid to Indonesia.

(In the United States, US Senators Feingold, Sarbanes and Kassebaum and others are seeking to end arms sales to Indonesia until Jakarta complies with UN resolutions regarding East Timor. This will be pursued in the full Foreign Relations Committee after US Labour Day in September)

Speakers will include Shirley Shackleton, a recent visitor to Timor and at present writing a novel about the area and its liberation struggle; Humphrey McQueen, writer and critic; and an East Timorese representative.

For protocol and size reasons names and contact phone numbers, of those who wish to attend need to be advised as soon as possible to:

Bill Tully, PEN International - Canberra Branch  
PO Box 3514, MANUKA ACT 2603

---

## INDONESIA TO JOIN WAR GAMES

*The Daily Telegraph Mirror, 10th August 1993. unabridged*

About 2000 military personnel will participate this week in joint exercises between the Australian and Indonesian navies.

Exercise New Horizon, in Top End waters, will involve six Indonesian naval vessels and eight Australian vessels.

Indonesian vessels will arrive on Thursday to begin training involving joint operations with Australian vessels in Darwin Harbour.

Navy public relations director Commander Tim Bloomfield said the exercise was part of a move to form closer military links.

---

## PROTESTS AGAINST GARUDA AIRLINES

*Green Left #110, Aug. 11, 1993. By Chris Spindler*

ADELAIDE - On August 6 the Campaign for an Independent East Timor (CIET) held a protest vigil outside Garuda airlines highlighting the gross human rights violations of the Indonesian government.

The demands raised by the protest were to free East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão, end the Indonesian military's occupation of East Timor and West Papua, and "Ground Garuda."

Garuda was chosen as the focus for the protest as it is the national airline of the Indonesian government. The protest highlighted the killing of about one million Indonesians when President Suharto came to power in 1965 and the annihilation of 200,000 East Timorese since its invasion by Indonesia in 1975.

The role of Australian governments also came in for some close scrutiny. Since the invasion of East Timor Australian governments have been totally supportive of the Indonesian regime. Supplying military hardware, training for military personnel as well as diplomatic support. While essentially ignoring calls to support the independence of East Timor a move which would threaten Australian access to the oil in the Timor Sea.

Protest vigils will be held outside Guard's Adelaide office, Waymouth St, Adelaide, on the first Friday of every month, 12- 3pm, for the remainder of 1993.

---

## KEATING REBUKED FOR EAST TIMOR STANCE

*THE AGE, 14 August 1993. By Martin Daly*

Forty Australians prominent in the arts, law, politics, the church and academia want the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating to press Indonesia to get out of East Timor.

The signatories, in a letter to Mr. Keating, says his recent statements have been taken in Jakarta as supporting Indonesia's invasion and annexation of East Timor.

The signatories include the comedian Mr. Max Gillies, the Anglican Archbishop of Brisbane, Archbishop Peter Hollingworth, the poet Ms Judith Wright, the Melbourne theatre director Mr. James McCaughey, two former federal Labor ministers, Mr. Tom Uren and Mr. John Wheeldon, the Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop Hilton Deakin, the publishing director of Heinemann Press, Melbourne, Ms Louise Adler, and Sister Janet Mead, an Adelaide nun who works with the homeless.

They express their concern to Mr. Keating over his petition to the Clinton administration to adopt a softer approach to human-rights violations by Indonesia and China and to make trade a higher priority.

They say Mr. Keating has highlighted that Australia is out of step with world as the only large Western power that has formally recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor.

The signatories also call on Mr. Keating to propose that the people of East Timor, including the resistance and the Bishop of East Timor, be represented in UN-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal and that the jailed independence movement leader, Xanana Gusmão, and other East Timorese political prisoners be released.

*There are so many articles on the responses to Keatings trip the United States and Ireland that a whole separate section of these documents, below, includes them.*

---

## TIMOR GAP – SPRTLAYS MODEL?

*Thu Aug. 19 1993. Abridged story by Muklis Ali.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 19 (Reuter) - Indonesia's treaty with Australia on sharing oil resources in contested waters could provide the basis for a formula to dampen disputes over the Spratly island chain in the South China Sea, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said. In 1989, Indonesia and Australia solved a sea boundary dispute involving the Timor Gap by forming a jointly administered central zone where oil finds would be shared, as well as two separately-run lateral zones. A Jakarta-based foreign diplomat said: "There is some move for a formula like the Timor Gap treaty. If there is oil and gas, let people who are interested explore there jointly and worry about demarcations later." Diplomats said Jakarta also wanted the issue resolved because of fears of a spillover of Vietnamese frontier claims near Indonesia's Natuna islands, southwest of the Spratlys.

---

## PRESSURE APPLIED ON AUSTRALIAN POLITICIANS FOR GUSMÃO

*Report by Chris Warren, 26 August*

A group of Canberra writers organised a successful forum recently in Parliament House, Canberra to express concern at the fate of gaoled East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. The Forum was attended by interested members of parliament, representatives of community groups such as Amnesty International, peace and social justice activists and the Portuguese ambassador to Australia.

Speakers at the forum included; Humphrey McQueen (progressive historian), Agio Pereira (East Timor Relief Association), and Shirley Shackleton (East Timorese supporter who has recently visited Timor. Her journalist husband was amongst those murdered by Indonesian troops).

The forum, held on 25 August was organised by the Canberra Branch of PEN (Poets, Essayists, Novelists) International and was chaired by Satendra Nandan a former member of the Bavandara Government in Fiji. Nandan said;

"Xanana Gusmão has been a journalist as well as leader of the East Timorese resistance, and we feel there is much in common between the fight for freedom of expression by an individual and the fight for political freedom of a people.

"Australia should take Gusmão's case to international forums, including the United Nations, arguing for his immediate release. The verdict of the farcical trial in Jakarta should not be allowed to stand.

"The Australian Government should pressure Indonesia to allow Gusmão regular visits from the International Red Cross, and should stop Australian military aid and co-operation to Indonesia."

The forum unanimously called on the UN Secretary General to hold a democratically supervised plebiscite to allow East Timorese people to exercise their inalienable right to self determination. The forum also unanimously demanded that the Australian government support the direct involvement of the Timorese in the negotiation process between Indonesia and Portugal over the status of East Timor and cease all paramilitary and military co-operation with Indonesia.

Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor is likely to be a topic of much debate at the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) Congress being held in Sydney from 30 August, when links with Indonesian Government-controlled trade union, SPSI are discussed. ACTU President Martin Ferguson has come out in opposition to SPSI attempts to affiliate with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

## 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF FALINTIL

*Sept. 1, 1993 from ETRA*

More than 500 people have attended a function organized by FRETILIN Committee of NSW on 27 August, in Sydney, to mark the 18th anniversary of FALINTIL.

It was also attended, for the first time, by Mr. João Carrascalão, Vice-President of UDT.

Emilia Gusmão was especially invited as a guest speaker.

The play "Kakoak Uma Let la Fo'o Fatin," performed by the East Timor Cultural Centre Inc. produced a very strong emotional fillings in the audience.

*FRETILIN Committee of NSW P.O.Box 74, BONNYRIGG, NSW 2177, Australia*

## SUHARTO'S CANBERRA CRONIES INCREASE EAST TIMOR AGONY

*The Weekend Australian, 4-5 September 1993. By Humphrey McQueen*

Xanana Gusmão is alive. Yes, the leader of the East Timorese National Resistance is detained in an Indonesian prison. Yes, he has been tortured and drugged so the he might not always be in his right mind. But the Jakarta junta have not yet been game to murder him as they have tens of thousands of other East Timorese, and 1 million or more of their fellow Indonesians. Xanana survives because of pressures on the Suharto regime from almost every quarter, except Canberra.

To distract attention from the poverty of human rights in Indonesia, the Australian Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade is collaborating in a Jakarta propaganda campaign. Suharto, the story goes is moving towards political openness. Evidence for this change of heart is the release of four dissidents.

That gesture was more than outweighed in July by the Suharto-engineered disruption of Indonesia's only independent parliamentary grouping, the Indonesian Democratic Party. Under its new, bought-off leader, that alliance of Christians and nationalists is now on its way toward becoming another State-owned political company.

To be at all convincing, Suharto will have to do better than reduce Xanana's sentence from life to 20 years. For a start, the guilty man is Suharto, not Xanana. whose trial was a fraud in its procedures, just as the charges against him had no legal basis. East Timor has never been part of the Republic of Indonesia. In law, East Timor remains a Portuguese territory, recognised as such by the United Nations, despite our Canberra lick-spittles endorsement of Indonesian claims to sovereignty.

Moreover, the reduction of a life sentence to 20 years is still a death sentence for the 46-year-old Xanana Gusmão. He is unlikely to outlive his sentence even if he is not assassinated in prison.

A few days ago, I attended a forum calling for Xanana's release organised by the international writers group, PEN, at Parliament House, Canberra; Gusmão is a poet and journalist, as well as strategist in his people's struggle for self-determination. The most impressive part of that meeting was the grace of every East Timorese who spoke. Each had story of personal suffering, usually involving the death of a close relative at the hands of the occupying troops. But none expressed hatred or bitterness.

The circle of revenge that bedevils Balkan politics was absent.

Such generosity of spirit recalled an ABC radio interview with Emilia Gusmão, now living in Australia. She told how Indonesian officers had been billeted on her household after her husband joined the resistance. Over the years those officers had raped her, time and again. When they went back to their country they left her with their children. She spoke of her love for those children, who were now her own as much as those she had had with her husband.

The unquestioning love Emilia bears for all her children provides inspiration, but it cannot resolve the political problem of the children who have been born in East Timor of the Indonesians sent there since 1976. The resistance wants an internationally supervised referendum on self-determination. If Jakarta can ship sufficient migrants into East Timor, it could use them as a block to defeat any vote by the indigenous for independence, or even a degree of autonomy. The longer a referendum is delayed the stronger becomes Jakarta's position. Very soon, the first Indonesian children born in occupied East Timor will turn 18, and so have a greater claim to vote in the act of self-determination.

Politically motivated mass migration into East Timor raises doubts about much of the aid that Suharto's Canberra cronies are providing. One Australian-sponsored scheme is for a \$30 million water-treatment plant at Dili, the East Timorese capital. That gift is far from innocent or neutral. Immigrants already cluster around Dili and the provision of improved water will allow tens of thousands more Indonesians to be moved there.

The East Timorese National Resistance acknowledges that it has no change of defeating the Indonesians military on the battlefield. Henceforth armed struggle will be maintained only at the scale needed to keep the Indonesian leadership on the hop.

Instead the resistance in directing its activities more towards the political and diplomatic realms where the Jakarta crew faces further certain defeats. Already this year, the United States Government has blocked the resale of F-5 jets to Indonesia. In addition, Suharto was humiliated at the Group of Seven meeting in Tokyo. Beforehand, he had demanded to meet the leaders as a group but had to accept corridor chats with them individually.

Indonesia is continuing to lose out at the UN, where renewed negotiations over East Timor are due to begin in New York on September 17. Senator Evans should be demanding Xanana's release so that he can attend those meeting as the recognised leader of his people.

Now that the East Timorese resistance has shifted the centre of its struggle to international forums, Australians can play a more important role than ever in redressing the crimes endorsed by our successive governments starting from Whitlam's.

One practical form of aid would be to donate to the East Timor Relief Association through its Commonwealth Bank savings account, No 2006-138297. Your money will publicize the East Timorese cause and provide humanitarian aid to East Timorese suffering under foreign occupation.

A second way in which Australians can register our opposition to the State terrorism in East Timor is by refusing to take holidays in Indonesia. At least for as long as Xanana is held in a prison on Bali, living it up there should be as repugnant as was holidaying in fascist Spain, or playing sport against South Africa under apartheid.

Australia is introducing laws to catch its citizens who engage in sexual acts with children in Asian countries; organisers of child-sex tours will also be liable to prosecution. If that law can be made to stick, why should there not also be a law to punish the procession of Australian politicians, academics and bureaucrats who still visit Indonesia to collaborate in the sexual and physical abuse of East Timorese children?

## NEW HOPE FOR EAST TIMOR, BUT IT DOESN'T COME FROM AUSTRALIA

*The Canberra Times, Sunday 12 September 1993. By Richard Begbie*

A few weeks ago I paid my first, reluctant visit to the new Parliament House. Every prejudice was confirmed. Its form and scale bear depressingly apt testimony to the egos which inspired and inhabit it. But material evidence of power was soon happily displaced by a largeness of spirit, as we gathered in Committee Room R101 to talk about East Timor. I'll get back to R101 in a moment.

Next Friday another chapter in the story of bravery, hope and betrayal called East Timor will unfold, not in Dili, or even in R101. A further round of negotiations of the East Timor situation is to be held in New York under the auspices of the Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali. Portugal and Indonesia will take part, while the people whose fate has been entwined in such faraway talk for so long wait and hope.

That hope may have risen fractionally with last week's news from the US. The text of a cable from the American Embassy in Jakarta in February 1992, released under the Freedom of Information Act, underlines Indonesian sensitivity on the issue.

The cable tells of Indonesian forces rounding up more than 100 youths in Dili for "training" outside the capital. This curious muster was effected just before the visit of Amos Wako, Kenya's Attorney-General and Boutros-Ghali's personal envoy. His mission was to investigate the killing of more than 50 people by Indonesia troops during the now infamous Dili funeral procession of November 1991. The "trainees" were returned home the day after Wako's departure.

This was no isolated incident, according to the cable. Similar tactics had been used before to head off any possible unrest in East Timor during visits by foreign dignitaries. And since. Human-rights groups report that at least 53 East Timorese were arrested last week prior to a staff delegation visit from the US House of Representatives. An Indonesian army spokesman acknowledged that some Timorese had been sent off on a "guidance course"

These reports in turn seem to have catalyzed moves in the US Senate last week. Senator Russell Feingold wants an embargo on US arms sales to Indonesia until it ends alleged abuses and complies with the UN resolutions calling for East Timor's self-determination.

Whatever the upshot of his proposal, it reflects a new climate within the Clinton Administration, which has already blocked the sale of fighter aircraft to Indonesia. With backers like the outspoken Al Gore and Defence Secretary Les Aspin (who criticised military aid to Indonesia as long as 1975), Clinton is likely to focus more sharply on East Timor. Support is emerging from even less likely sources. Chichi Iwamura, an old Japanese soldier once wounded by Australians in Timor, visited Sydney last month on a mission. He welcomed the new official attitude reflected in Prime Minister Hosokawa's apology for aggression in World War II, and believes there is still time to make amends to the Timorese.

"Not only has Japan still not apologized or compensated the Timorese for our occupation," he is reported as saying. "Japan is now the largest donor of economic aid to Indonesia. By thus backing the slaughter of the East Timorese, it is I believe, committing a second crime."

Mr. Iwamura has put his money where his mouth is. He pleaded the cause before the UN Decolonisation Committee in 1987. The Sydney Morning Herald report says his Japanese support group has raised \$150,000 towards a school in Darwin for the East Timorese expatriates.

He has willing allies in his old enemies, the survivors of the 2/2nd Commando Squadron. These original guerrillas of East Timor retain a fierce love for the gentle peo-

ple without whom they could not have survived. Their commander, Bernard Callinan, paid moving tribute in his book *Independent Company*. "Money could not repay them," he wrote, "there is no coinage appropriate to such loyalty."

Which brings me back to Committee Room R101. There, in a meeting organised by the Canberra branch of PEN, the international writers' organisation, we listened again to the sad story of Australia's cop-out on East Timor. Shirley Shackleton spoke with passion, and Humphrey McQueen talked lucidly, with dry and sometimes despairing humor, of empty official rhetoric when the key questions are raised.

But it the third speaker who caught my attention. Agio Pereira manages through his quiet, measured delivery to suggest both clarity of thought and a deep passion. He painted a picture of the jailed Xanana Gusmão which conveyed his own love of country and culture as much as Gusmão's. The terrific courage, one suspects, shared by Pereira and his compatriots in R101.

Behind the speakers stretched a brave banner reading "Xanana Gusmão, Symbol of the National Resistance." Every little while the tape holding it up would give way, and slender Timorese girl stepped forward to repair their ringing declaration. It seemed a good omen for the future of this gentle people and their determined resistance. Afterwards I spoke with Pereira, who is confident that while the military operation appears lost, the political battle will be won. I wondered what official part Australia might play in the process, and he smiled, the weary smile of a much older man.

"I often think of what Bob Hawke said during the Gulf War," he mused. "Big countries cannot invade small countries and get away with it. Australia is the only significant democracy to fully recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor. Ever since the ALP conference in 1983 buried our right to self-determination, we've had to look past Australia. It's in the US, and Japan and even Jakarta itself, that we now find hope."

An alien, uncomfortable sensation overtook me as we spoke. I couldn't remember when I'd felt so ashamed to call myself Australian.

## MEET THE TIMORESE COMMUNITY IN NSW

*Matebian News, Sept. 14, 1993*

Last Saturday, 11 September 1993, Matebian News/East Timor Information & Documentation Centre team organised a social evening with the Timorese Community in NSW. The aim was to present to the

Community the work and projects that MN has conceived.

As expected, the evening was very much a social event. Those who attended the event had an unique opportunity to familiarize themselves with the range of materials, the Timorese spirit, food and music of Koremotan. The Co-ordinator of MN/ETI&DC, Ines Almeida, made a briefing of how this Centre operates and what to expect in the near future. She also appealed to the community to help with materials (e.g. newspapers, photos, slides, etc.) so that MN/ETI&DC can expand its work as much as possible.

This kind of social evening mirrors the openness and the availability that MN intends to pursue in order to benefit the general public with well organised, well prepared and preserved information and documentation so that the work towards a more aggressive and consistent promotion of the issue of East Timor can be pursued in every level of the Australian society.

The people who attended this social evening showed a genuine interest in the samples of materials made available to them in the information table. The moral support given by the community to this work was unequivocal.

Anyone who wants to contact Matebian News/ETI&DC, can do so through the following numbers:

Tel. 02 - 7287395 Fax: 726 6319

Tel. 02 - 8915861 Fax: 891 2876

Or, write to P.O.Box 481 - FAIRFIELD, NSW 2165

E-MAIL ADDRESS: peg:etra or etra@peg.apc.org

## BISHOP OF TONGA URGES AUSTRALIA TO RESOLVE REGIONAL CONFLICTS

SBS NEWS 630pm, 19 September 1993

The Catholic Bishop of Tonga has called on Australian to exert its influence in the Pacific to help resolve regional conflicts. The Bishop is using a pastoral visit to Australia to draw attention to human rights in the Pacific.

*REPORTER: An outspoken advocate of human rights, Bishop Patelisio Finau of Tonga is also the Chairman of the Pacific Conference of Churches.*

*The Bishops of Solomon Islands and Papua New Guinea recently offered to mediate between the PNG Govt. and the Bougainville Revolutionary Army for a Peaceful solution to the Bougainville conflict. The Tonga Bishop believes Australia could be instrumental in achieving that peace.*

BISHOP PATELISIO: Australia has tremendous power for political and moral part to urge PNG to take the offer by country Bishops of PNG and Solomon Islands.

*REPORTER: The Bishop is critical of Australia's recognition of Indonesian annexation of East Timor and our signing of Timor GAP Treaty.*

BISHOP PATELISIO: It is absolutely wrong and I believe so many others Governments and specially the people of East Timor (...) and so I believe it is wrong.

*REPORTER: he hope Australia will follow the example set by the United States.*

BISHOP PATELISIO: I really (...) the American recently announced will not sell arms to Indonesia because of human rights violations in East Timor - that's a good move.

*REPORTER: The Bishop of Tonga two-week visit to Australia will include talks with Aboriginal groups and an address to the National Press Club this week*

## ACFOA COUNCIL RESOLUTIONS

*The following resolutions were adopted at the annual council of the Australian Council for Overseas Aid held in Canberra, September 1993*

### IRIAN JAYA

In the International Year for Indigenous People, ACFOA expresses its concern at the situation of the West Papuan people of Irian Jaya.

The indigenous people of Irian Jaya, Australia's near neighbours, are now facing growing pressures on the environment and life-style in the context of Indonesia's 'Go East' policy which is aimed at the development of infrastructure to facilitate tourism, logging, mining, cash-cropping and other commercial enterprises. Already host to significant transmigration schemes and military activity, and inadequately protected in Indonesian law, the West Papuan people are facing increasing marginalization with the arrival of new settlers, increased Indonesian and foreign business activity and accelerated modernization.

ACFOA calls on its member agencies to make increased contact with local communities and NGOs in Irian Jaya and to consider increased support for training, human development and people to people programs, including West Papuan refugees in East Awin and Papua New Guinea generally.

### EAST TIMOR

Council

- notes high level expressions of concern about East Timor from, inter alia, the US

President and Congress, the Vatican, the UN Commission and Sub-Commission on Human Rights, the Portuguese President and international media;

- welcomes

(a) Australia's support for the call by the UN Commission on human Rights for a UN sponsored political settlement and increased access to East Timor by humanitarian and human rights organisations and experts;

(b) the Clinton administration's suspension of some military aid and sales to Indonesia and support for a negotiated settlement; and

(c) the resumption of UN sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia and the continuing readiness of the East Timorese resistance and church to participate in these talks;

- deplores the continuing abuses of human rights and repression in East Timor, the imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão, and the restrictions on human rights and an human rights organisations, particularly the International Red Cross

- Calls on the Australian government to work for a just and lasting peace in East Timor by urging Indonesia

(a) to cease blocking the participation of East Timorese resistance in UN sponsored talks

(b) to withdraw its troops from East timor

(c) to release Xanana Gusmão and other East timorese political prisoners; and

(d) to allow media and humanitarian and human rights organisations full and free access to East Timor

Commends

(a) the work of the East Timor Talks Campaign; and

(b) the establishment by a number of church agencies of the Christians in Solidarity with East Timor (CISSET) project based in Sydney; and

- Urges Australian NGOs to support the work of the East Timor Talks Campaign and give consideration to sending a fact-finding mission to East Timor during the next twelve months.

## EVENTS IN EUROPE

### INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST DENIED DUTCH VISA

*Abridged. By Guido de Bruin*

Amsterdam, Aug. 13 (IPS) - decades after he deserted the Dutch army to join the Indonesian forces in their war against Dutch colonialists, human rights activist Poncke

Princen remains an uncomfortable reminder of a bitter chapter in Netherlands history.

Princen – who was recently refused a visa by the Dutch foreign ministry – deserted the Dutch army in 1948. some Dutch still regard him as a traitor. the furor that followed has revived the debate about the way the Netherlands still treats those who refused military service at the time.

“It seems to me that the Dutch political parties who were responsible for sending troops to Indonesia at the time are still unwilling to admit they were wrong. I am still treated as a black sheep,” says Princen, 67, speaking from Geneva, where he was attending a United Nations human rights sub-commission meeting.

Princen briefly visited the Netherlands in 1978 to attend his mother’s funeral, but in 1980, he did not get a visa when he wanted to attend a meeting on development and human rights. the foreign ministry then quoted Princen’s personal security as the reason.

This week parliamentarians from the green left party, supported by labour (pvda) and liberals (d66) protested at the refusal. they will also officially raise the matter with foreign minister Pieter Kooijmans next week.

#### **HYPOCRITICAL DUTCH SPURN PRINCEN**

*Wed Aug. 18 1993. Abridged.*

THE HAGUE (AUG. 18) DPA - The Netherlands has refused entry to a human rights activist from Indonesia, Poncke Princen, Foreign Minister Pieter Kooijmans disclosed Wednesday. He said too many emotions might be triggered among veterans of the former Dutch East Indian colonial army if Poncke Princen was allowed to visit his native Holland. In 1948 Poncke Princen had deserted from the Dutch army during a punitive expedition in the former Netherlands East India colony and had joined the Indonesian nationalists. Poncke Princen, now 67 and seriously ill, attended a human rights conference in Geneva and wished to see his children and grandchildren in the Netherlands.

#### **INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST REFUSED ENTRY VISA**

*By Guido de Bruin*

Amsterdam, Aug. 19 (IPS) - parliamentarians and solidarity groups in the Netherlands have reacted angrily to foreign minister Pieter Kooijmans’ decision to refuse entry to Indonesian human rights activist Poncke Princen.

Foreign minister Pieter Kooijmans, who returned from vacation this week, confirmed his ministry’s recent decision to deny Prin-

cen a visa in his official reply to parliamentary questions.

Princen had recently submitted a second visa application for a family visit to his country of origin, the Netherlands. in 1948 Princen deserted the Dutch army and sided with Indonesian troops in 1948.

Princen, 67, is well remembered by former Dutch colonialists and by many Dutch army veterans of the Indonesian colonial war. most veterans who have never forgiven him.

According to parliamentarians of the green left party, Princen’s desertion offence has been nullified by the lapse of time. also, his activities in the field of human rights in Indonesia have in the opinion of many Dutch people merited a visit to the Netherlands.

But in reply to parliamentary questions posed by the green left party Kooijmans wrote that “Princen’s great merits in the field of human rights in Indonesia had to be balanced against the emotions that a possible visit to our country would still arouse.”

But according to green left spokesperson Kees diepeveen, “the minister places a one-sided emphasis on the emotions of those who resist Princen’s visit. there is absolutely no attention for the emotions of those who refused military service in the war against Indonesia.”

Kooijmans also noted that he was not sure Princen’s security could be guaranteed, considering that in the past, individual veterans threatened to attack or even kill Princen should he set foot on Dutch soil.

On the other hand, Kooijmans holds that official meetings with Princen on Indonesian human rights issues – like the one minister for development cooperation Jan Pronk had with him in 1991 – remain possible.

Also in 1991, Kooijmans himself, then special United Nations rapporteur on torture, consulted Princen on human rights violations committed by the Indonesian army in East Timor.

Last week saw increasing polarization between groups pleading – with equal fervor – for or against granting Princen a visa.

The Dutch ‘association of conscientious objectors’ on Monday presented a petition at the foreign ministry calling for Princen’s rehabilitation, which, it said, would also mean a recognition of the genuine motives that drove the 6,000 men to refuse military service in the same war.

“For the objectors the real fighters were the conscientious objectors themselves, the deserters and the 26 men who actively joined the Indonesian freedom fighters,” the association said, noting that Princen should be praised for deserting the Dutch army in a war “which now almost everyone deems an unjustified war.”

“His choices against German fascism, Dutch colonialism and human rights abuses in Indonesia testify to the fact that he is a man of exceptional integrity,” the association added.

According to the association the debate on Princen’s visa shows that the Dutch have still not come to grips with their colonial past in Indonesia. in reaction to the visa rejection, the association wants to set up a ‘committee for the rehabilitation of Poncke Princen.’

On the other hand, a group consisting of veterans and relatives of Dutch soldiers killed by Indonesian troops at the time mounted a strong campaign against a visit by Princen to his country of birth, charging him with responsibility for the deaths of Dutch soldiers during the war.

In the Dutch parliament, a majority of Christian-democrats (cda) and right-wing liberals (vvd) supports Kooijmans’ decision, whereas labour (pvda) and left-of-centre liberals (d66) support the green left party’s protest.

Diepeveen said that his party still studying further possibilities to put pressure on Kooijmans to revise his decision.

#### **TAPOL PROTESTS TO DUTCH GOVERNMENT**

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, 19 August 1993, sent the following protest letter to Mr. P. Kooijmans, Dutch Minister of Foreign Affairs,*

Dear Mr. Kooijmans,

TAPOL wishes to protest most vigorously against the decision of your government to deny a visa to one of Indonesia’s most outstanding human rights advocates, Haji Johannes Cornelius Princen.

It is our considered opinion that your government has allowed itself to be intimidated by a hard core of obdurate critics of Haji Princen for his wise decision to side with the Republican forces during the Dutch colonial war against the Indonesian people. In so doing it has violated the basic principles of freedom of movement and freedom of expression, and prevented Haji Princen from visiting the country of his birth. The trip would have allowed him to visit his children and grandchildren and renew acquaintances with many old friends. Haji Princen is a very sick man and, being black-listed by the Indonesian regime, he may not have another opportunity to leave Indonesia for a number of years, if he lives that long.

It is ironic that you yourself took advantage of Haji Princen’s wide experience and knowledge of human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor during your investigations as UN Special Rapporteur for Torture in November 1991.

We urge you to reconsider the decision to prevent Haji Princen from visiting The Netherlands. He will be in Europe for several weeks so there is still time for you to reverse a decision that is a serious blemish on your country's reputation in the field of human rights.

Yours sincerely,  
Carmel Budiardjo

## FRANCE ACCUSED OF DUPLICITY TOWARDS THIRD WORLD ON HUMAN RIGHTS

By Angeline Oyog

Paris, Aug. 25 (IPS) - France this week pledged to do more to promote respect for human rights and democratic pluralism in developing countries.

Deputy minister for humanitarian action and human rights Lucette Michaux-Chevry promised that France would release "more money" and make available "more experts" to the United Nations in Geneva.

While the ministry declined to give exact figures, a spokesman said France's action reflected the government's belief that human rights, democracy and development are linked.

Human rights activists, however, say there are discrepancies between what the French government says, and what it actually does.

"France defends certain principles, like respect for human rights, but it also has political and economic interests to defend," said Michel Robert, a professor at the Sorbonne university in Paris, who represented the French anti-racist organisation 'movement against racism' and for 'friendship among peoples' (mrp) at the Vienna conference.

Robert cites France's attitude toward Indonesia. President François Mitterrand had, on several occasions, warned the Indonesian government about repression on the island of East Timor, annexed by Jakarta in 1976, he said.

"But France cannot come down too hard, because the independence-seeking French territories of new Caledonia and Polynesia are on its back. France is obliged to nurse its economic relations, and Indonesia is a very important country."

According to Robert, French policy toward Jakarta reflects the recommendations made to Mitterrand by top French officials when Mitterrand came to power in 1981.

"On becoming president, Mitterrand ordered an assessment of the situation. that report reproached France for not cultivating relations with Indonesia which matched Jakarta's importance."

## INDONESIA LOBBY ENTICES EURO-MPS

*Diario de Noticias (DN), 17 September 1993. By Fernanda Gabriel. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged*

(Strasbourg) Portuguese Euro-MPs have turned down an invitation to visit Indonesia and Timor - they would prefer a working delegation to a tourist trip there.

Dutch Euro-MP Janssen Van Raay, head of the Indonesia lobby at the European Parliament, is organising a 10-day (4-14 November) visit to Indonesia, during which the Euro-MPs could, among other things, "compare Portuguese and Dutch colonial styles in Timor."

The tourist visit, whose main organiser is Euro-MP Van Raay (who was born in Indonesia), includes a pilgrimage to Mentok (where he is originally from), bathing in Singapore, and even a helicopter trip through the jungle.

As well as sending invitations to the EP-Indonesia Friendship Association, Van Raay has invited the Portuguese Euro-MPs, members of the parliamentary delegation which deals with South-East Asia relations.

The four Euro-MPs contacted - Rui Amaral, João Cravinho, Jose Apolinario and Sergio Ribeiro - told DN that they were turning down any invitation of this nature, especially since Indonesia never responded to the EP's request for a delegation to be sent to Timor.

### Seven MPs have already accepted

"Obviously, among the EP's 518 MPs, there may be some who are tempted by a visit proposed in such a way: helicopter trips, and all the butlers that will be made available to the MPs. It could possibly be hard to refuse, if one were not fully aware of what is behind all this," said Euro-MP Sergio Ribeiro to DN.

According to Sergio Ribeiro, this proposed visit is evidence of the enormous efforts in both lobbying and formal diplomacy which Indonesia making, in an attempt to achieve an different image to the one it deserves.

Seven MPs have already put their names down for the visit, according to Van Raay: three from the Dutch PPP group (Maxime Verhagen, Jean Penders and Janssen Van Raay), Italian Liberal Jas Gawronski, French Gaullist Guy Guermeur, Lothar Klein of the German PPE, and German Socialist Christa Plath. The inscription of the latter MP led the Portuguese Socialists to write a letter to the President of the Socialist Group, Jean Pierre Cot, asking for a definition of the Socialist Group's position on the visit organised by a ghost association, considering

that the European Parliament itself was unable to send a delegation.

At the moment, the EP-Indonesia Friendship Association has 45 members - mainly Dutch and Flemish from the PPE - of federalist tendency. Friend-of-Lisbon Peter Beazley (known for his report on the recovery of Lisbon's historical centre) is also on the list.

## EUROPEAN SOCIALIST MPS URGED NOT TO VISIT EAST TIMOR

By Bob Mantiri

Brussels, Sept. 30 (IPS) - the leader of the socialist group in the European parliament, Jean-Pierre clot, Thursday urged all members "not to accept any invitation from the Indonesian government to visit East Timor."

His request, in a note, was in response to a letter from Portuguese socialists stating that the president of the European parliament has formally requested the Indonesian government to allow an official delegation to the former Portuguese colony.

The letter said that this request had been rejected by Jakarta. the chairman of the Portuguese socialist delegation, Luis Marino, reminded clot in his letter, that the sub-commission on human rights on east-Timor had condemned, in various resolutions, the violations of human rights by the Indonesian army.

In one of the resolutions, the Indonesian government was requested to allow a delegation to visit East Timor - which was occupied by Indonesia in 1975 and integrated as its 27th province the following year.

"The requests have been turned down twice by the Indonesian embassy," Marino said in his letter.

Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, during a recent visit to Strasbourg, told egon Klepsch, the president of the European parliament, that he is "not opposed" to the visit of an official delegation to East Timor.

"It is just a matter of timing. the current polarization of the issue has to decrease first. after the dust has settled, the MEP's are most welcome," Alatas said.

Jessica Larive, a member of the liberal group in the European parliament, said the invitation was extended by Jakarta to members of the European parliament-Indonesia friendship association (epifa), which was set up two months ago.

According to Larive, who is one of the chairpersons of the association, her some 15 parliamentarians from 10 political parties, including socialists, have joined the epifa.

The visit is planned for November. she said that since epifa is an informal group, the members are free to accept the invitation.



Epifa has been set up with the purpose of breaking the deadlock in parliament on the renewal of the economic cooperation agreement between the E.C. and Indonesia – and its five other partners in the association of south east Asian nations (ASEAN).

The ASEAN members are Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines.

Portugal has blocked the signing of this agreement up to now. “what our association is trying to do, on the one side, is to try and persuade Portugal to lift its boycott. on the other hand, it has to make clear to the Indonesians that they have to stop the violation of human rights in East Timor,” Larive said.

Diplomatic sources here, said that the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal met during the U.N. general assembly in New York and had ‘fruitful discussions.’

Details of the meeting have not been published, but an Indonesian diplomat said that “something is in the air” he refused to elaborate.

Diplomatic circles are speculating that Jakarta might have promised step-by-step autonomy for the former Portuguese colony. they feel it may have guaranteed Portugal assurances that the Portuguese culture and language will be reinstated on the island.

Since the annexation, East Timor has undergone a process of Indonesiaization. people have been forced to accept the Javanese Muslim culture and religion and the Indonesian language.

Parallel to the bilateral talks in New York, informal reconciliation efforts have been made by East Timorese resistance leaders and prominent East Timorese Indonesians.

A planned meeting scheduled for earlier this month in Brussels between roving Indonesian ambassador Lopez da Cruz – a former deputy governor in East Timor – and ex-Fretilin leader, Abilio Araujo, has been postponed to later this month.

## EP QUESTION LINKED TO TIMOR

*Publico, 29 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the sale to Indonesia of four Rolls Royce bomber engines raised a question at the Council of Europe from Euro MP Sergio Ribeiro (Portuguese Communist Party). Ribeiro referred to the positions adopted by the UN, the limitation on arms sales passed by the US Senate’s Foreign Relations Commission, and the EP’s condemnation of Indonesia, asking whether the Council had any intention of “taking specific measures to embargo the supply of arms and ammunition to Indonesia.

## EVENTS IN BRITAIN

### LORD AVEBURY WRITES HURD ON ARMS SALES

*Full Text of a letter from Lord Avebury (Chairman, Parliamentary Human Rights Group) to Douglas Hurd (British Foreign Secretary)*

8 August 1993

Dear Douglas,

We have corresponded about the sales of defence equipment to Indonesia, and in my letter of June 25, 1992, about the Hawks, as well as my earlier letter about the Green Rover, I made it clear that my concern was not about the use to which any particular item could be put, but the ‘seal of approval’ we gave the Indonesian armed forces by agreeing to supply them with any military equipment at all. In effect, by authorizing these sales, the Government are saying that the Indonesian armed forces are responsible and trustworthy, even though we are well aware of their role in violating the United Nations Charter in East Timor. We know, too, that since their invasion of that territory in 1975, and their continued occupation of it in defiance of many resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and of the General Assembly, they have been guilty of war crimes on a huge scale, including the murder of tens of thousands of East Timorese (and two British citizens, Malcolm Rennie and Brian Peters, murdered on October 24, 1975 at Balibo by forces under the command of a Major Andreas).

You will no doubt have seen the Amnesty International report *Shock Therapy: Restoring Order in Aceh*, published on July 28, 1993. This indicates that ‘scores of people have been killed [by the military] in apparent extrajudicial executions within the past year and a half, and a similar number are thought to have disappeared.’ Amnesty International criticizes the international community which ‘has failed to respond firmly to reports of grave violations in Aceh for almost four years,’ and you will be aware of my own concern, from my letters of May 2, May 23 and September 18, 1992 and May 15, 1993. The reports I have sent you about Aceh gave a detailed picture of violations of human rights by the military, reinforcing the knowledge of their behaviour in East Timor.

We now learn that the US State Department has rejected a request by Jordan to be allowed to sell four American-made F-5E fighter jets to the Indonesian air forces, and a State Department official is quoted in The Asian Wall Street Journal of August 2, 1993

as saying that a ‘combination of sensitive issues, including human rights concerns, made it impossible to approve the transfer.’ Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, had written to Secretary of State Warren Christopher pointing out that if the transfer were allowed, it would ‘undermine not only the administration’s laudable commitment to human rights, but also its evolving policies on non-proliferation of conventional arms in the south Pacific region.’ I do hope you would agree that an essential element of a ‘new world order’ is the coordination and harmonization of the policies of states which supply defence equipment, with a view to ensuring that (1) the military capability of potential aggressors is not enhanced, and (2) the international community’s disapproval of persistent human rights violations is reinforced by restraint in sales of defence equipment, and in military cooperation.

If one state imposes more severe restrictions than another, it will incur economic disadvantages which may be reflected in losses of employment, and this will make it difficult to sustain those restrictions because of the resulting electoral penalties. If, on the other hand, supplier states agree in advance on the nature and extent of the restrictions they will apply to the larger buyers, the fear that one supplier may gain a competitive edge over another may be reduced or eliminated. Taking the present case, the Americans may legitimately fear that the UK will attempt to step in and sell British-made planes to satisfy the operational requirements that would have been filled by the F-5Es.

Senator Claiborne Pell’s other point, about conventional arms proliferation, should also be considered seriously. There is no conceivable threat to Indonesia from any of her neighbours, but on the contrary, the neighbours might have to increase their own military spending to insure against aggression by Indonesia. You will recall that in the early sixties the Indonesian policy of ‘konfrontasi’ posed a very serious threat to Malaysia’s sovereignty; that in 1963, Indonesia perpetrated an anschluss with West Papua, and of course in 1975 invaded and purported to annex East Timor. No other state in the region has had expansive designs, but common prudence might persuade them to spend more on arms themselves, to deter any further Indonesian aggression.

Will you suggest to our EC partners that we should discuss guide lines for arms sales, which could be agreed amongst ourselves and with others including the US? I am sending a copy of this letter to friends in the US Congress, in the hope that we might

initiate some discussions between our two legislatures.

## LONDON VIGIL TO OPPOSE HAWK SALE

### NO MORE GENOCIDE IN TIMOR

Aug. 11, 1993

A vigil to protest at the sale of 24 Hawk war planes to Indonesia for use in East Timor will be held on 17 August from 12 - 5 pm at British Aerospace, 1 Brewers Green, Buckingham Gate, London.

Since the Indonesian invasion in 1975 over 200,000 people have died Britain is now Indonesia's main military supplier.

For ore information contact; British Aerospace Ploughshares support group, c/o NVRN 162 Holloway Road, London, N7 8DQ Tel 081 347 9452

## UK 'LIED ABOUT TIMOR JAIL VISITS'

*Guardian, August 13. by Margaret Coles. Unabridged*

The British Government deliberately misled critics of human rights violations in East Timor into thinking it was pushing for International Red Cross access to political prisoners in the Indonesian-occupied territory earlier this summer.

The Government had already decided it could be counter-productive to put pressure on Indonesia then, but nevertheless used the false assurances for "stonewalling" purposes.

A restricted access telex from the British embassy in Jakarta, dated June 24 - a copy of which is now in possession of the Guardian - said "Pont [Pierre Pont, ICRC delegate to East Timor] judges and I agree, that for the moment the military and civilian authorities will be fighting this out behind the scenes and that pressure from outside would contribute little."

However, on June 30, Alastair Goodlad, Minister of State at the Foreign Office, wrote to the Labour MP Greg Pope saying that Britain was urging Indonesia to allow access to the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, and other political prisoners.

A later amended version of the same letter, signed by Richard Sands, head of the Foreign Office's Indonesia section, on behalf of Geoff Richards, of the South-East Asian department, was sent to Jonathan Humphreys, honorary secretary of the British Coalition for East Timor pressure group.

That also contained the key phrase: "We are currently pressing the Indonesians to allow resumed ICRC access to Xanana Gusmão and others."

An internal Foreign Office memo in the hands of the Guardian, which apparently accompanied the embassy telex and the second letter, reads: "Geoff. Tel[ex] attached for inf/edification. The letter is for stonewalling. R."

Mr. Pope said yesterday: "This is what we suspected all along. The Government says one thing in public and another thing in private. They are lying to conceal the truth. I am outraged at this evidence that the Government is now lying to MPs. I will be writing to the Foreign Secretary today to demand an explanation. "The Government's record on defending human rights in East Timor is shameful. The continuing atrocities in East Timor will not be hidden by this Government."

A Foreign Office spokesman said yesterday: "There was no intention to mislead. The ICRC's confidential advice was that further outside pressure at this stage would contribute little and that we should wait a while before taking any further action with the Indonesians." He declined to discuss the internal memo or any other matter.

The ICRC in June deplored Indonesia's blocking of access to prisoners, which forced it to abandon its programme of visits. It resumed them at the end of July. Human rights campaigners are worried about the condition of Xanana Gusmão, who underground sources say is on hunger-strike and is being force-fed.

Amnesty International said yesterday: "Xanana Gusmão's trial was a travesty of justice, and we are seriously concerned for his health and safety. We have received disturbing reports that he has been beaten in custody since his trial ended."

Diplomats in Jakarta have said he may be sent to a prison in Samarang, in Central Java. This would contravene the Fourth Geneva Convention, which prohibits the transfer of people by an occupying power from the territories it occupies.

Amnesty said it had learned of more than 400 people who have been detained in East Timor since July 1992: it believes the true figure is much higher. Most, it says, "are held in arbitrary, unacknowledged detention, often incommunicado, and subjected to physical and psychological abuse."

Indonesia has been in illegal occupation of East Timor since 1975, in defiance of 10 UN resolutions calling for its withdrawal. During that time at least 200,000 East Timorese have been killed - by bombing, starvation and massacre.

Last month Britain increased its aid to Indonesia nearly four-fold, with a 65 million pound soft loan, and the Government has helped push through a British Aerospace deal for the supply of 24 Hawk jets..

## LONDON TIMES EDITORIAL: "OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR"

*The Times of London published the following editorial today, 18 August 1993:*

### Indonesia must be made to rescind its illegal annexation

Indonesia marked 48 years of independence yesterday. For 18 of those it has robbed the people of East Timor of theirs. President Suharto, who has ruled, seldom gently, for over a quarter of a century, told a puppet parliament that he was "aware that frictions, conflicts or even controversies" existed, but that Indonesians "must develop the rules to solve these in a peaceful, ethical, fair and civilized manner." East Timor's reduction to a state of vassalage has been violent, unethical, unfair and uncivilized.

Indonesia is in illegal occupation of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony whose right to independence Portugal champions. Forcible annexation violates the UN Charter and customary international law. President Saddam Hussein was compelled to realise that, as was General Galtieri. But Jakarta has ignored, with complete impunity, several resolutions of the UN Security Council and General Assembly calling for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and upholding the Timorese right to self-determination.

Seeking to mollify critics of Indonesia's human rights record, President Suharto has pared the sentence of Xanana Gusmão, the jailed Timorese resistance leader from life to twenty years. This is an empty palliative. Mr. Gusmão's imprisonment in May for "rebellion" and "conspiracy to set up a separate state" was objectionable in substance and procedure. Indonesia has no right to try him because it has no right to be on the territory to which he belongs. The illegality is so fundamental that it vitiates the trial in toto. That said, it seems almost banal to note the following: he did not have counsel of his own choosing; no security was provided for defence witnesses; the governor of occupied East Timor banned officials from testifying and many of the prosecution witnesses were themselves in military custody. The trial was not open to the public; translation facilities were woeful; and, the crowning disgrace, Mr. Gusmão's statement was excluded by the court as "irrelevant."

Indonesia treats occupied East Timor as *lebensraum*. Only Bahasa Indonesia is taught in schools, not Portuguese or the indigenous Tetum. A third of the population is immigrant and the Timorese are facing death by demography. Since the UN does not recognise Indonesia's writ, all such immigration is illegal. There has, of course, been death of a more conventional cut: over

200,000 Timorese have died since Indonesia invaded in December 1975.

World reaction has been shamefully feeble. America has treated General Suharto with kid gloves. Indonesia, Britain's third largest arms customer, recently closed a deal worth 500 million for British Aerospace Hawks. Perhaps for these reasons, Douglas Hurd, when extending credit in April to Jakarta worth 65 million, said egregiously, that it would not be a "sensible and fruitful thing" to link aid to human rights.

Washington has now woken up. President has blocked the resale of F-5E jets by Jordan to Indonesia. But the EC has failed to swing its weight behind Portugal's diplomatic campaign. Britain should use its permanent seat on the UN Security Council to insist that Indonesia be subjected to sharp sanctions until it unconditionally vacates occupied East Timor. Port Stanley and Dili are on the same side of the coin.

### LONDON TIMES LETTERS

*The following letters were published in The Times of London on 21 August, in response to its editorial on 18 August:*

Sir,

Your leading article of August 18 is right to urge the British Government to use its permanent seat on the Security Council to call for sanctions against Indonesia. But considering the complexity and profitability of British economic ties with Indonesia, a great deal of pressure will be needed before Whitehall listens to such sound advice.

Western governments all too easily fall for any sign of a shift in Indonesian policy to find an excuse to commend the aggressors. This can be expected to happen following the announcement [report, August 18] that all combat troops will be withdrawn from East Timor, leaving ten battalions of "territorial troops" which, the military commander says, will "be engaged exclusively in development activities."

Let there be no mistake. Territorial troops are the means by which the Indonesian army exercises constant and heavy-handed control over the population. They are well armed and are present throughout the territory to prevent any manifestation of resistance, whether armed or peaceful, to Indonesian rule.

If indeed it is true that combat troops are being withdrawn, they are part of Indonesia's rapid deployment force and will be available for use in East Timor at a moment's notice. Only by the demilitarization of the territory will the 18-year long reign of terror end.

Yours faithfully,

Liem Soei Liong

Sir,

At the time of Indonesia's "annexation," East Timor was in a state of civil war. The Portuguese had thrown in the towel and sailed for home. Many thousands of refugees were fleeing to neighbouring West Timor (part of Indonesia) and frequent raids were being made across the border. Indonesia only stepped in when asked to do so by representatives of the overwhelming majority of the people of East Timor.

You suggest that Indonesian should now "unconditionally vacate" East Timor. What makes you think that anything but civil war would fill the vacuum and that within six months the 600 schools and eight hospitals that the Indonesians have built in East Timor would not lie in ruins?

Yours faithfully,

Michael Stewart

Sir,

Congratulations on pointing out the disgraceful way this country has been supporting the regime of General Suharto.

British Aerospace informed me in a letter last June that they considered the sale of Hawk aircraft to Indonesia to lie within British government guidelines. They quoted Mr. Archie Hamilton, minister of state for the armed forces, speaking in the House of Commons on January 12:

'There is no doubt in my mind that a Hawk aircraft can do nothing to suppress the people of East Timor. The aircraft is not suitable for that purpose and we have guarantees from the Indonesians that the aircraft would not be used for internal suppression.'

No doubt Saddam Hussein had given us similar guarantees about his intended use of the large metal cylinders that we were selling him for his "super-gun."

Yours faithfully,

Dr. I.M. Jessiman

### LETTER FROM INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR TO LONDON

*London Times, 2 September 1993*

Sir,

Your editorial, "Occupied East Timor" (August 18), distorts the Indonesian record on East Timor and deserves correction.

Our deep concern for the protection of human rights is reflected in our acceptance of East Timor as part of Indonesia. As President Suharto recently said to President Clinton:

"Having experienced 350 years of colonial subjugation, during which time our human rights were trampled upon by the colonial powers, has made us very sensitive toward the protection of human rights."

You refer to the trial of Mr. Xanana Gusmão, who was sentenced to life imprisonment

by the Dili district court, East Timor. This trial was fully within the jurisdiction of Indonesia. Mr. Gusmão was found guilty under the Indonesian criminal code. He had been charged, inter alia, with leading an armed rebellion against the Indonesian government, disrupting national stability and illegal possession of firearms. President Suharto has recently reduced the sentence, from life to 20 years, in response to Mr. Gusmão's request for clemency.

Mr. Gusmão was assisted by legal counsel and the services of sworn interpreters throughout his detention and the trial proceedings. He was also visited by Portuguese journalists, the International Commission for the Red Cross and Mr. Amos Wako, envoy of the UN secretary general. He had the right to appeal or to request clemency.

I have personally visited East Timor and have met Archbishop (sic) Belo, who has expressed his gratitude to the Indonesian government for the development and tolerance of the religious life in East Timor. To my great surprise I learned from him that before integration there were only 100,000 Roman Catholics, whereas there are now more than 600,000.

Yours faithfully,

J.M.Habibie

Indonesian Embassy, London

*Posted by Jonathan Humphreys - British Coalition for East Timor - who would not be at all surprised if the conference was blasted by divine intervention after having such untruths put into it!*

### LORD AVEBURY REPLIES

*Letter to the Times, London 7 September 1993. Written: September 2*

*This was one of many letters received by the Times in response to Habibie's letter.*

*Among other correspondents were Jose-Ramos Horta (CNRM), Peter Carey (Trinity College, Oxford), The British Coalition for East Timor and many individuals.*

### RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

*From Lord Avebury (Chairman, Parliamentary Human Rights Group)*

Sir,

Mr. JE Habibie, of the Indonesian embassy, is being economical with the truth when he refers (letter, September 2) to their "acceptance of East Timor as part of Indonesia." The Annexation of East Timor followed a bloody invasion in which 200,000 people died, including two British citizens, murdered by the Indonesian Kopassandha (special forces) at Balibo on October 16, 1975.

The Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor was condemned in two reso-

lutions of the UN Security Council and eight resolutions of the General Assembly. it was an act of aggression, contrary to the provisions of chapter IV of the UN Charter and legally indistinguishable from the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

The people of East Timor have the same right of self-determination as any other former dependency of a European power. This can be realised only by withdrawal; of Indonesia's military forces and the holding of a plebiscite under international supervision.

Yours faithfully

ERIC AVEBURY, House of Lords

---

## PRINCEN IN LONDON

*Appeared on GUARDIAN, London based newspaper, 30 August 1993:*

Haji J.C. Princen on a brief visit to London, spoke of the 'indescribably terrible' human rights violation committed by Indonesia.

Mr. Princen says the military are in control in Aceh and East Timor." In East Timor, 200,000 people have been killed since Indonesia's occupation in 1975. In Aceh, since the army intensified its campaign against the resistance movement in 1989, it has killed at 2,000, possibly 15,000 people."

Mr. Princen first went to Indonesia as a soldier in the Dutch army. He became convert to the Indonesian independence movement, defected, joined the resistance and took Indonesian citizenship. He was an MP in the 1950s but his criticism of human rights violations led to long prison sentences under both Sukarno and Suharto.

He said: "Most people live in fear - fear of losing their jobs, of being arrested. All our lives are under control. You're eternally surrounded by the intelligence. It's very like the Soviet Union."

---

## EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

---

### THE INDONESIAN PARTY IN FORCE IN PORTUGAL

*Diario de Noticias 13 and 14 August 1993*

*Opinion article in two parts (abridged) By Fernando Reino, Portuguese Ambassador and former representative of Portugal at the UN in Geneva and New York.*

I imagine the appearance of the Indonesian Party has taken the majority of the credulous people of Portugal by surprise seeing as the cause of Timor is a national one and indeed a national responsibility.

At the same time Timor is also a responsibility of the international community. The decolonization of Timor has now been awaited for almost 2 decades with nothing accomplished. One of the few success stories of the UN has been the realization of one of its principal objectives: namely decolonization. Of the countries on the UN list awaiting the exercise of the right of self-determination, East Timor has the largest population; it exceeds that of many countries with seats at the UN. It is the second largest on the list in terms of territorial area, behind Western Sahara. Thus an independent Timor would not be a microstate. It has sufficient human and natural resources to assure a certain prosperity. There has been, however, a 'colonial pillage' of its natural resources, carried out largely by the family of President Suharto himself.

Coming back now to the Indonesian Party in Portugal. The arm of the Indonesian secret service is a long one. It has been active here for some time now and with the unsuspected complicity of some Portuguese, thankfully, few in number. Indonesians with whom I came into contact in the course of my work made no bones about letting me know this. The Indonesian lobby is not, as an EXPRESSO journalist has put it, 'incipient'; this lobby is already here in force and is openly canvassing more allies, either motivated by self-interest or the merely ingenuous, as part of a clear strategy of dividing our internal front, along with a constant aim of dividing still further the Timorese, who now have the prospect of the national reconciliation meeting coming up shortly in Brussels but which was hoped to be held here in Portugal.

This strategy was certainly devised by the experienced diplomat Ali Alatas, currently facing a firm and dynamic diplomatic activity on Portugal's part.

Alatas, who lived in the US for more than 10 years, also knows perfectly well that if there is an alteration in the substance, by this I mean the position regarding self-determination for East Timor, on the part of the new north-American administration, and not just a pious vote on the grossest human rights violations, Indonesia's illegitimate cause is irrevocably lost.

I have always said that the key to the question is in Washington and now more than ever before this is true. A certain coldness on the part of the USA has already been causing great concern in Indonesian political/military circles.

For these reasons, arch-strategist Alatas decided, with the aid of the secret service, to attack within the enemy camp. It is up to all Portuguese to denounce these maneuvers in the name of the duty and morality which our history imposes upon us and in the

name of the rights of peoples enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations Charter.

---

## RESISTANCE AND RENOUNCEMENT

*Diario de Noticias, 13 August 1993. Editorial (in full, translated)*

Recent news regarding both the situation in which the Timorese resistance against the invader now finds itself and also that of its representation outside the territory, paint a picture which is worrying for all who identify with that struggle. If the common denominator for this were to be summed up in a word it would be renouncement. Thus we have commander Ma Huno - in an interview whose authenticity we may regard as extremely suspect - talking of renouncing the resistance; we have Abilio Araujo renouncing (in the name of reconciliation) the clear distinction between the resistance and integrationists; likewise Gareth Evans (also making considerable use of the word reconciliation) proposing that Jakarta should renounce its punishment of Xanana Gusmão and grant him a presidential pardon. However Indonesia does not renounce; as Abilio Araujo himself has revealed, President Suharto has readily accepted the announced meeting between the Timorese as long as it does not put in question Indonesia sovereignty over East Timor.

Surely this is the question from which all others arise. Xanana Gusmão, Ma Huno and a handful of brave fighters gave their all in a guerrilla struggle waged under the worst possible conditions; they did this because they had no honorable alternative. That which Indonesia and Gareth Evans call reconciliation is merely that which, in the language of the military empire, is called pacification; one implacable fist of steel bearing down on those who resist while the other hand reaches out in a public relations exercise; both in the service of the same unquestionable purpose - the annexation of the territory.

Solidarity has its duties and its limits; in this case there is also a bitterness. Obviously we Portuguese can never presume to give lessons to a people who have astonished us by their capacity for resistance which we did not take seriously when we should have. It is because of this respect that it pains us to see the division within Fretilin today and the ongoing quarrel about legitimacy, which can only be to the advantage of the invader. At a time when even in the US a public awareness campaign seems to be bearing fruit in highlighting the absurdity of its shameful involvement, these conflicts can defeat the external wing of the

resistance, so vital to the cause. And if a reconciliation can be said to be urgent, it is between those who resist this annexation, either by means of arms or of diplomacy. The others will need a reconciliation, first of all, with their own consciences.

---

## INDONESIAN LAWYER ARRIVES IN PORTUGAL

*Publico, 2 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Yesterday, Indonesian lawyer Haji Princen arrived in Lisbon, with the aim of finding a solution to the problem of the seven Timorese students, who had asked for political asylum at the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta last June. Three of these students, whose interests Princen has been defending, are currently staying at his house, while the others are under his protection.

Haji Princen is public figure well-known for his pro-human rights position. This has already led to him being arrested on various occasions. Born in The Hague, Princen was called up, following the Second World War, to fight in the Dutch army. After disembarking in Java, to took up the defence of Indonesian independence, and passed over to the other side, joining the liberation forces fighting against the Dutch colonial state.

After independence in 1949, and following his conversion to Islam, Princen acquired Indonesian nationality, and was given a job by the authorities in the Immigration Offices. But he was soon to join the opposition movements, and was elected to Parliament in 1956. He was very critical of Sukarno and, later, of the current Suharto regime, which led to him spending a total of eight years in Indonesian prisons.

His political battles have focused on the defence of trade union freedoms and workers' rights. Today, Haji Princen is in charge of the Institute for the Defence of Human Rights based in Jakarta. He came to Portugal following an invitation from the Maubere People's Rights Commission (CDPM).

---

## ALI ALATAS ABOUT PORTUGAL: ATTITUDE AND FACT IN CONFLICT

*JAKARTA, REPUBLIKA (SUNDAY, 5 September 1993) Translated from Indonesian. Very slightly abridged.*

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas reacted to President Mario Soares and Foreign Minister Barroso about Portugal's attitude not being hostile to Indonesia. He raised the question, since all statements coming from Portugal always disagreed with (our) atti-

tude. "Why at every moment do they humiliate Indonesia? They attack us as if Indonesia were hostile to Portugal," he said to *Republika*, on Saturday (4 Sept.) in Jakarta.

Up to now he had assumed that there was no reason for showing enmity between Indonesia and Portugal. "If it's true that Portugal doesn't regard Indonesia as its enemy, that's good," he said. However, he raised one more time the question of Portugal's statement for Mr. Princen.

"Everything they said drives us into a corner. As if we had done some wrong things. That is a hostile attitude."

He also disagreed with the Portuguese government's statement that East Timor issue is Portugal's moral responsibility. "The moral responsibility has been denied for 400 years of Portuguese colonization in East Timor. Where is the proof of its moral responsibility? Where is its moral responsibility according to the law, when Portugal left East Timor when decolonization was under way? Where is its responsibility in the midst of civil war created by Portugal in East Timor?," Alatas asked in a high voice.

Ali Alatas also denied the issue of a referendum said to be the main objective of Portugal towards East Timor. "The referendum is no longer a problem, because the majority of East Timorese people have freed themselves from, or decolonized themselves from Portugal after Portugal, their former ruler, left East Timor in August 1975," he explained.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is scheduled to meet the Portuguese Foreign Minister Durão Barroso in New York, on 17th September. The meeting that is mediated by the UN will be the third one.

A meeting between HJC Princen and the Portuguese President Mario Soares in Lisbon, on Friday (3 Sept.), was in fact without the consent of the Indonesian government. The Indonesian government doesn't know the object of the meeting. "Indonesia is not disturbed by the meeting," said the East Timorese roving ambassador Lopez da Cruz to *Republika*, on Saturday (4 Sept.).

Lopes doesn't like the initiative of Princen who disobeyed the rule of the game, character and ethics existing in Indonesia. As an Indonesian citizen,.....(one sentence unreadable from the original fax)..... "He is out of mind !," Lopez said.

Lopez isn't convinced of Princen's nationalism, because during the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva (this year), Princen was humiliating Indonesia. At that moment he was present on behalf of the organization "Liberation," an LSM with its office in London. According to Lopez, Ramos Horta and Carmel Budiardjo have used the LSM when making political statements with regards to Indonesia. Ramos is

one of the overseas FRETILIN leaders and Budiardjo is a PKI [the outlawed communist party of Indonesia - text added] member who fled abroad.

"The struggle of Princen is not pure anymore; he is no longer a human rights activist but a politician," said Lopez. Princen always says negative things about East Timor. The Indonesian government didn't have to be concerned with his meeting [with the Portuguese officials - text added], he said further.

Nowadays there is approach between Portugal and Indonesia. A while ago, three representatives of Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association ("Asosiasi Persahabatan Portugal Indonesia") visited Indonesia to attend the Independence Day celebration. According to Lopez, a similar association will be founded in Indonesia as its counterpart.

If Princen wants to talk about human rights, he doesn't need to go to Portugal. "Why did he go there? He shouldn't sell himself," he said blatantly.

If we saw what Princen has done so far, Lopez said, he mixed up the ongoing process. Princen doesn't agree with anybody else. He disagrees with both ORLA (the former Sukarno regime - text added) and ORBA (the current Suharto regime - text added). Princen was a KNIL (Royal Netherlands Indonesian Armies) member who defected to Indonesia.

Theo L. Sambuaga thought that, if Portugal admitted that there was no problem with Indonesia, "Well, accept integration of East Timor into Indonesia," said Vice-Chairman of Commission I from the ruling GOLKAR Party at the Indonesian Parliament (DPR). He recalled that so far Portugal had the problem, because Portugal urged the UN to conduct a referendum [in East Timor - text added].

He questioned Portugal's intention for good relation with Indonesia.

Portugal's willingness to support seven East Timorese youths that demanded political asylum a few months ago to come to Portugal can't be considered as an intention for good relation with Indonesia. "Very clearly Finland and Sweden rejected political asylum because the youths weren't eligible for it, so the Portuguese willingness is very questionable," he said when interviewed by *Republika* last night.

Bad relations between Indonesia and Portugal, according to Marbun, Vice-Chairman of Commission I from the Indonesian Democratic Party, is shown by many examples.

Among other things, in the Portuguese Constitution, East Timor is still part of Portugal. Of course, he said, it was difficult to change a constitution. "Although Portugal

doesn't want the colonial territory, it doesn't want to be humiliated," he added. Portuguese effort to maintain its prestige, according to him, is shown by demand of a referendum for the East Timorese people.

To face condition full of constraint, Marbun is pessimistic if the resumption of diplomatic ties between Indonesia-Portugal is pursued only through diplomatic means. For this reason, he thinks that an informal alternative needs to be considered. Such as, invitation to Indonesia for NGO activists, Portuguese parliament members and officials. "Invitation for church members to Indonesia will also be effective, because they are neutral," Marbun said.

Marbun thinks, Portuguese high ranking officials need to see the situation of East Timor directly. They also need opportunities to visit other Indonesian provinces as a comparison. "Let them know that many regions are envious of East Timor," he said enthusiastically.

Such visits are considered as "conditioning" for Portugal, without feeling shameful, to change its constitution," he further said.

Coming from Portugal always disagreed with its attitude. "Why in every moment do they humiliate Indonesia? They attack us as if Indonesia were hostile to Portugal," he said to Republika, on Saturday (4 Sept.) in Jakarta.

### SOARES: "ONE IS NOT BORN A DEMOCRAT"

*Publico, 16 September 1993. Abridged.  
Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) For the first time, Mario Soares has acknowledged that he devoted "very little or no" time to the problem of Timor, while he was Prime Minister (1976-78 and 1983-85), citing "immediate concerns of internal survival" to justify his attitude.

These statements were made during an interview given by the President of the Republic to *Publico*, on the subject of his experience as a persecuted political activist and Amnesty International "Prisoner of the Year" in 1968. He used the opportunity to talk about human rights violations, including in Portugal where, Soares believes, a "change in people's mentalities" is necessary, because "one is not born a democrat."

## PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMEN SEEK INDONESIAN TIES

### BUSINESSMEN ADVOCATE RI-PORTUGAL TIES

*The Jakarta Post, 13 August 1993*

JAKARTA (JP); Three Portuguese businessmen, including one descended from East Timor royalty, arrive last night on a mission to restore bilateral ties between Indonesia and Portugal.

The group, led by former East Timorese Jose Martin, are members of the recently founded Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association based in Lisbon which is trying to promote greater understanding between the two countries that severed diplomatic ties in 1976 in a dispute over East Timor.

The delegation, which also includes powerful businessman Manuel Macedo and Caspar Lopez Rosa Jose Martin, was welcomed by Lopez da Cruz, a senior East Timor politician, who is Indonesia's ambassador at large on East Timor issues.

The friendship association groups Portuguese, including those of East Timorese origin, who are sympathetic towards the integration of the former Portuguese colony with Indonesia in 1976. Led by Calvao Melo, a retired air force general, its members represent a minority group in Portugal, which has constantly attacked Indonesia on the East Timor question.

Martin, in his brief arrival statement at the Sukarno-Hatta airport, said the opening of business links could pave the way for an eventual normalization of ties between Indonesia and Portugal. Martin, the grandson of King Amera of East Timor, who was sent into exile in Portugal by the then Portuguese colonial administration, said as far as he is concerned, the East Timor dispute between Indonesia and Portugal was not relevant. "The state of East Timor 'consummatum est,'" he said in English, using the Latin term for 'consummated.' He said his visit here was motivated more by an emotional bond with his ancestors' homeland, rather than politics.

Macedo, a textile tycoon with an extensive network across Europe and in Brazil, said he wants to repeat the voyage of an ancestor who arrived in the archipelago four hundred years ago. He accused the Portuguese press of deceiving the public. "We are victims of the past and need not repeat to be the victim of flawed information," Macedo, one of the original founders of the association, said. He has been buying Indonesian cable and raw material through Switzerland,

paying three times the price he would otherwise pay if he could buy directly, he said.

He accused his government of being unrealistic in its dealing with Indonesia. "If we find it difficult to start with political issues, then why not start with cultural and economic approaches?"

Da Cruz likened the move with the way Indonesia normalized ties with China in 1990. The normalization of relations was preceded by three years of business contracts by their businessmen.(prs)

*JP on 14 August reported that the delegation had been invited to Jakarta to attend Independence Day ceremonies. This would include a ceremony at which President Suharto would hand over Indonesian flags to 30 or 35 Timorese tribal chieftains which would take place at the presidential palace on 17 August.*

## PORTUGAL MASS MEDIA INFLAMES SOCIETY

*Kompas, 13 August 1993.*

*By Jose Martins, Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association Member. Translated from Bahasa Indonesia.*

The majority of Portuguese and mass media still have a wrong perception of Indonesia, especially concerning the East Timor problem. In fact, as many as 60% of them have successfully inflamed Portuguese society to always criticize and oppose Indonesian people in relation to the East Timor problem. Indonesians are in turn considered to be criminals.

This viewpoint was expressed by Jose Martins, a member of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), to a journalist at the Sukarno-Hatta Airport in Jakarta on Thursday 12 August 1993. Martins and another PIFA member Gaspar Santa Rosa accompanied the PIFA chairperson who is also its founder, Manuel Macedo, on their return visit to Indonesia, which ends on 23 August 1993. They are in Indonesia at the invitation of the Ambassador-at-Large FX Lopes da Cruz.

While they are in Indonesia, they will be received by President Suharto, Trade Minister Satrio Budihardjo Joedono, State Minister for the Activation of the Investment Fund/Chairperson of BKPM Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo and Mr. Frans Seda. They will also visit the National Flying Institute (IPTN) in Bandung. After they have been received by President Suharto which is planned for Saturday 14 August 1993, on 17 August they will especially attend the ceremony commemorating the Independence of Indonesia in the State Palace.

According to Martins, the future of the Indonesia-Portugal relationship cannot be separated from the situation reported by the mass media in Portugal. According to him, the press situation and the mass media communication in Portugal is quite different from that in Indonesia. He thinks the main difference in the life of the press is that of the capacity and behaviour of the journalists.

"Here you all are - mass media journalists, but you are journalists of value. You know precisely how to ask good questions. In fact, you even come here to meet my friends to get the truth. But in Portugal, it is not like this. In Portugal the mass media are criminal. Well, not quite all of them. Perhaps I can give an approximation. Maybe 60% of the mass media in Portugal are criminal," he stated.

According to Martins, although only 60%, they are capable of creating and implanting a general understanding in the minds of Portuguese society that everything about Indonesia has to be criticised and opposed. "There is nothing good about Indonesia, either the name or the people," declared Martins. This happened because of the strong position of the Portuguese mass media that has already incited the Portuguese people to oppose Indonesia for the last 18 years.

Furthermore, there has already started to grow amongst the Portuguese youth an awareness about the real situation after many parties have started to understand the true history and have met up with various persons from the East Timor community.

#### **Awareness emerges**

He also reported that many parties are now aware of Portugal's action in leaving East Timor in a state of disarray. In fact a section of the media started to support Manuel Macedo's tactic by forming the PIFA. The referendum was the best step to take. The problem was solved after East Timor formally stated that they would integrate with Indonesia. "And now there is no need for a referendum," he explained.

When answering about the possibility of seeing East Timor, Martins replied, "After we met with the Ambassador-at-Large Lopes da Cruz, we all agreed with East Timor's integration into Indonesia. What I mean is that, seeing I am in Indonesia I will also visit Menado, Maumere, Ternate and perhaps also East Timor. I have no real desire to go to East Timor because it has become a province of Indonesia. I myself would rather go to Sumatra than to East Timor," retorted Martins who knew a little Indonesian.

Martins asserted that he did not experience any difficulty when he came to Jakarta.

"I easily fulfilled the necessary conditions for the Indonesian Government," he rejoined. On the other hand he claimed it was rather difficult to obtain a visa that was arranged in the Netherlands. "I had to wait my turn. Of course it could not be ready immediately," he rejoined.

#### **Good reception**

Ambassador-at-Large FX Lopes da Cruz stated that Indonesia gave a good reception to the concept of establishing the PIFA. However Indonesia cannot yet decide on the next step for that organization before receiving details of the proposal. "Yes, we accept it but we cannot decide anything yet," were the words of Lopes da Cruz.

Although that is so, he maintained Indonesia has shown its willingness to listen and discuss directly in an informal meeting. "Let us talk. Who knows - it may help both parties," he declared. He stated that the results of the discussion could be used as input for the ministers.

Lopes da Cruz, who is commonly known as Sico, then affirmed that the group had a good attitude. He is sure that till now PIFA has made every effort to correct the news in Portugal concerning Indonesia and especially relating to the East Timor problem. "They have already shown in debate in the newspaper and through other media, that they seriously wish to help both parties, especially Portugal so that they understand what has been done by Indonesia," he explained. This method is considered good by both parties, and it especially helps East Timor's prosperity.

#### **Discharged**

In answering a question concerning the certainty of having an honest and open dialogue between the people of East Timor who are for and against integration, Sico claimed that he could not give a definite answer. Especially after the recent development in which Dr. Abilio Araujo was discharged from his position as overseas leader of Fretilin. Besides, the suggestion of a dialogue arose from Dr. Abilio Araujo himself. "Since then I have not met him," he asserted.

This dialogue was first planned to be held in August or September, before the meeting of the Indonesian Minister of Foreign Affairs with the Portugal Minister of Foreign Affairs under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General on 17 September 1993 in New York. Although that was so, Sico has not yet stated that the dialogue will not be implemented. "I think it won't fail to be held," he explained. According to him, Araujo received much support from the youth who also wished to meet with East Timorese people in Indonesia. "Whether it is proceeded with or not, we will accept

what has arisen from their initiative," Sico declared.

Sico hopes that Indonesia will receive the goals of the PIFA society after the three delegates have visited Indonesia. In other words, it is not incompatible with the present principles and is beneficial to both parties. According to Sico, PIFA has a strong enough position, because there has already been a precedent in Portugal with the birth of a Portugal-Soviet Union Society.

"Indonesia is anti-communist, isn't it? If Portugal has given the opportunity to a communist country to develop a friendly relationship with them, why won't they now give the same opportunity to an anti-communist country?" he suggested.

---

## **PORTUGAL-INDONESIA ASSOCIATION**

---

*Expresso 14 August 1993*

A delegation from the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, led by northern industrialist Manuel Macedo, was received in Jakarta with diplomatic honours by representatives of the Indonesian government and by Lopes da Cruz, itinerant ambassador for Timorese affairs. On arrival, the delegation gave a press conference transmitted by four TV canals. Manuel Macedo said that the ten-day visit did not have a political character but was intended merely to reactivate economic and cultural relations with Indonesia. According to the business man, who is set to meet today with President Suharto, 'Portugal should not continue to be hostile towards Indonesia, because there is neither hunger nor war in East Timor.' Macedo went on to claim that 'integration with Indonesia is the best choice for East Timor.'

---

## **INDONESIA-PORTUGAL RELATIONS?**

---

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Aug. 19 (Reuter) - Indonesia said on Thursday it was ready to resume diplomatic ties with Portugal, broken by Lisbon after Jakarta invaded its former territory of East Timor in 1975, but would not make the first move. "It is up to Portugal, because they were the one to cut (relations), so they must reopen it. And up until now there is no indication towards that," Ali Alatas was quoted as saying.

Three businessmen from Portugal, one of them a member of a former Timorese royal family, are now in Jakarta ostensibly looking at business opportunities. Before they left Lisbon the three, members of a new Portuguese-Indonesian Friendship Association, promised to seek a solution to the deadlock between the two countries. Alatas

said economic relations between Indonesia and Portugal were possible but were difficult without diplomatic links. Some 83 Portuguese firms traded with Indonesia in 1992, making it the smallest trader with Jakarta in the European Community.

### **PORTUGUESE BUSINESSMAN PRAISES INDONESIA**

*Diario de Noticias, 28 August 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) At a press conference held yesterday in Lisbon, industrialist Manuel Macedo, founder of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, stated that the Suharto regime "is a democracy" and that the Santa Cruz massacre "was an accident which could have happened in any country."

Following a 15-day visit to Indonesia, Macedo decided to give his version of the "truth about Indonesia and about Timor." Macedo, who said he had been received by the Indonesian Vice-President and Foreign Minister, stated that "in Portugal the police would also open fire, if they were provoked."

He added that during the two days he spent in Timor, on the Indonesian authorities' invitation, he did not meet Bishop Ximenes Belo, as he considered "his positions are not clarifying." On the other hand, he praised "the political courage of the Apostolic Nuncio in Jakarta," who is said to have told Macedo that the Portuguese "are harming the Timorese by giving them false hopes."

Macedo went on to admit he has his sights set on the importation of textiles and raw materials from Indonesia, which he believes would be "a good business." Referring to his own case, he pointed out that it is more profitable to import ready-made shirts from Indonesia at a price of two dollars each, than make them in Portugal for five dollars each. When referred to the rising unemployment in the Portuguese textile industry, he said that this was inevitable, due to the laws of the market place.

"The time has come to face reality. Portugal is isolated in its economic boycott of Indonesia," he concluded.

### **INDONESIANS, PRESSURE & BUSINESS**

*Visão, 16 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) The Indonesian flag has been chosen as the symbol for Manuel Macedo's new joint venture.

While in the US, the Senate has made respect for human rights in East Timor a condition for the sale of arms to Indonesia, in Porto, General Galvao de Melo's return from Canada is awaited for the Portugal-Indonesia Commercial Association's public deed ceremony.

Fifteen Portuguese will be responsible for the business dealings with Jakarta and the movement's leader, Manuel Macedo, assured Visao that it had the "backing of MPs and Portuguese Ministers," whose names would be kept secret, until diplomatic negotiations on Timor were concluded. He says that they will not have long to wait, as he is convinced that "everything will be resolved by the end of this year or early next year by the latest." The ruling was passed in the US on the 8th. The Portuguese association's public deed ceremony, set for the 12th, was rescheduled for next week, when the General will be back from his holidays. So as to waste no time, Manuel Macedo has gone ahead with the constitution of the joint venture with Indonesian businessmen. The venture will be called Garuda, the name given to the Indonesian flag symbol.

### **MACEDO SPURNED BY EAST TIMORESE IN PORTUGAL**

*Publico, 24 September 1993. Translated from Portuguese*

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, Manuel Macedo, was insulted and stopped from entering a building in Amadora, in which 16 Timorese families live. Macedo, who was recently in Jakarta, was trying to find out what "difficulties" the Timorese were facing, in order to help "resolve them as quickly as possible."

In spite of the apparent willingness of the textile businessman from Porto, the Timorese did not want his help and received him with insults and cries of "murderer" and "traitor." Speaking to the LUSA agency, one of the building's residents, Januario Ximenes, who spent eight years in Indonesian prisons, did not deny that these families had serious difficulties in coping, but justified their attitude: "We are poor, but we have our dignity. We only accept help from the Portuguese State and from friends of the Timorese cause." In addition to the residents, other Timorese were waiting for Macedo in the street. One of them, Gregorio Henriques, assured Macedo he would get the same reception if he dared to visit other needy Timorese. "His money is stained with blood and we do not want it." Gregorio Henriques insisted on telling Macedo that "We are very proud of being Portuguese, in spite of our poverty. We will not take any

help from traitors, who are putting Portugal's name to shame." Macedo, who described the reception he got as "provocation," concluded that "They're not going hungry after all."

### **EVENTS IN CANADA**

#### **EAST TIMOR UPDATE #25 FROM CANADA**

*From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada, Sept. 8*

#### **Pressure mounts over East Timor's Xanana**

Stung by an unprecedented level of international criticism, Indonesia's President Suharto marked his country's Independence Day in July by reducing the jail term of Xanana Gusmão, the leader East Timor's pro-independence movement CNRM.

Suharto "granted clemency" by reducing Xanana's jail term from life to 20 years, according to Indonesian government statements. However, the reduction was dismissed by East Timor supporters as an almost meaningless gesture. A 20-year sentence in Indonesia is the equivalent to a life sentence in the West because of differing parole rules.

"Xanana must be released immediately and unconditionally," said CNRM overseas representative Jose Ramos Horta. "We will step up our campaign for his release and for comprehensive sanctions against Indonesia." Supporters of East Timor's seventeen-year resistance to Indonesian military occupation pointed out that Xanana is unlikely to last 20 years in prison because of his poor health since he was captured by Indonesian soldiers last November.

On August 12, Xanana was moved out of East Timor to Kedungpane Prison in Mijen, Semarang, without his family being informed. The move means he is even further removed from outside scrutiny.

Meanwhile, Indonesian military authorities continue to hold Mau Huno, Xanana's replacement as CNRM commander who was arrested earlier this year. No charges have been laid against him.

#### **UN, US blast Indonesia**

International criticism of Indonesia's brutal regime in East Timor continued to grow in August with the passage of a strongly worded resolution by the United Nations Sub-commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities. The resolution comes just before UN secretary general Boutros Boutros Ghali is to mediate a third round of talks between the



foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal (the former colonial ruler of East Timor which the UN still recognizes as the administering power).

The sub-commission resolution, passed by 12 votes to 10, accuses Indonesia of violating the Geneva Convention on treatment of prisoners during wartime and urges implementation of past UN resolutions on human rights in East Timor.

The United States also continues to inch away from its formerly solid support for the Indonesian dictatorship. President Bill Clinton raised East Timor with President Suharto at a meeting in Tokyo in July, presenting a letter signed by 43 Senators that condemned "the tragic situation" in East Timor and supporting self-determination for the territory. Clinton told his Indonesian counterpart that he agreed with the Senate letter.

Finally, the U.S. Congress forced the cancellation of a sale of U.S.-built military jets from Jordan to Indonesia. The Indonesian armed forces are expected to seek replacement jets from Britain, since Congress may soon ban the sale of military equipment to Indonesia.

#### ... but cash keeps flowing

Despite strong words on human rights, Western governments continued their policy of giving massive financial support to the Indonesian regime at the annual donor consortium meeting in Paris in July. The Consultative Group on Indonesia authorized \$4.94 billion in aid for 1993-94. The major donors are Japan, the United States, France, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank. Indonesia refuses to accept aid from the Netherlands and Belgium, which have attempted to link aid to human rights.

Canada attended the CGI meeting as an observer, but accepted recommendations from the East Timor Alert Network and other groups that it not give any aid through the consortium. However, Indonesia remains number two among recipients of Canadian aid money, receiving more than \$40 million annually.

#### NDP MP speaks out for Timor

New Democrat MP Dan Heap was one of many deputants to the annual UN Decolonization hearings in New York in August. He spoke on behalf of the all-party group Canadians Parliamentarians for East Timor. PET has previously been represented by David Kilgour, Ray Funk, and Beryl Gaffney.

Heap, who this year tried to introduce a private member's bill that would have ended Canadian aid to Indonesia, blasted Indonesia's rule over East Timor, saying the solution could be implementing East Timor

Bishop Carlos Belo's call for a referendum on independence.

"East Timor is still a colony: all that has been changed is the name of the foreign ruler," Heap said. "The colonialism being practiced by Indonesia's military-dominated regime is even more brutal than the Portuguese colonial regime that ruled East Timor before 1975."

#### Folk singer makes splash

East Timorese folk singer Agio Pereira performed this summer at the Vancouver and Winnipeg Folk Festivals, with a side trip to Toronto. His tape "I'm still fighting" is available from ETAN/Toronto (PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto M5S 2T1) for \$12.

#### Act on East Timor in federal election!!

Prime Minister Kim Campbell is expected to call a national election for this October. The campaign provides an opportunity to help change Canadian policy on East Timor.

Canadian government policy has been to accept the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as a "fait accompli," not worth risking our economic links with Indonesia over. Canadian governments (both Liberal and Conservative) have even voted against UN resolutions calling for self-determination. Former External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Canada will continue to vote against "anti-Indonesian" resolutions because it provides the "best way" to "encourage" Indonesia to respect human rights.

No party has a policy on East Timor, although individual MPs from all parties are members of Parliamentarians for East Timor. The East Timor Alert Network will therefore be raising East Timor with local candidates.

ETAN/Vancouver has already begun an intensive campaign to pressure Prime Minister Campbell and other BC MPs. Other ETAN groups will also try to get pre-election commitments to support East Timor's struggle for self-determination.

Please ask candidates in your riding what they will do, in Parliament and within their own party, to help stop the bloodshed in East Timor. Some sample questions:

- 1) Do you support a United Nations-sponsored referendum on the question of independence for East Timor?
- 2) Would you as a member of parliament help impose an arms embargo on Indonesia?
- 3) Would you as a member of parliament call for a cutoff of bilateral aid to Indonesia and work for the cutoff of multilateral aid, as a way to force Indonesia to end its occupation of East Timor?
- 4) Would you support human rights and democratic development in East Timor by joining the all-party Parliamentarians for East Timor?

For more information and ideas, contact ETAN/Vancouver, 104-2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2, (604) 264-9973.

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, Canada, M5S 2T1 Phone/fax 1-416-531-5850, Email etan-tor@web.apc.org

---

## EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

---

### CALIFORNIA/NEVADA METHODISTS PASS RESOLUTION

*Adopted at the California/Nevada Annual Conference of the United Methodist Church, Sacramento, California June 1993. Full text.*

#### RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

*Submitted by the Administrative Council, First St. John's United Methodist Church, San Francisco, California.*

Whereas Indonesian armed forces invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor on December 7, 1975; and

Whereas this genocidal attack by the Indonesian government has resulted in the slaughter of more than one-third of the population (over 200,000 people), the worst massacre relative to population since the Holocaust; and

Whereas the terror continues to this day, as the United States government continues to supply the arms which make this frightening level of repression possible; and

Whereas thanks to public pressure, the United States Congress eliminated military training aid (IMET) to Indonesia in October, 1992, the first action Congress has taken on this issue in 17 years; and

Whereas in March 1993, the United States government reversed its position and supported a strong resolution passed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission critical of the Indonesian government's human rights violations; and

Whereas the United States government is not yet working to implement United Nations resolutions calling for the withdrawal of the Indonesian military and self-determination for the people of East Timor;

Therefore be it resolved that we, the members of the 1993 California-Nevada Annual Conference, hereby urge President Bill Clinton to take immediate administrative and legislative steps to halt all United States military aid, economic aid, and weapons sales to Indonesia until the Indonesian government complies with United Nations resolutions, and

1. Withdraws its military occupation forces from East Timor;
2. Allows a United Nations supervised plebiscite in the territory to facilitate a process of decolonization;
3. Ends all forms of inhuman treatment, including torture, extra-judicial executions, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;
4. Permits unrestricted access to East Timor by international human rights organizations.

Be it further resolved that the Conference Secretary be instructed to immediately send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, to our two California State Senators and our two Nevada State Senators, and to all Congressional Representatives within the bounds of the California-Nevada Annual Conference; and

Be it further resolved that the California-Nevada Annual Conference urge members of local churches to communicate the above concerns to the President and legislative representatives, and that the Board of Church and Society be asked to make information on the plight of the East Timorese people available to local churches.

## EAST TIMOR'S DAY IS COMING

*San Francisco Chronicle, Aug. 3,*

*World Insider by Edward Epstein*

President Clinton's recent bit of quiet diplomacy in which he urged Indonesian President Suharto to ease his country's grip on the former Portuguese colony of East Timor may be having an impact, longtime campaigners on the issue say. In 1975, Suharto's army invaded East Timor, half of an island in the vast Indonesian archipelago, after the collapse of Portugal's colonial empire. The forces met strong resistance, which continues to this day. For most of the past 18 years, the situation in East Timor has received little international attention. That's a shame because something nasty has been going on there. Amnesty International says it has "documented a pattern of gross and persistent human rights violations in East Timor, leading to the death of some 200,000 East Timorese and the disappearance of several hundred others." Since the original population was about 650,000, the fight has killed roughly one-third of the populace. - Leader's Jailing Provides Rallying Point - American administrators have been pretty quiet about the situation, in good part because they felt they needed Suharto's support during the Cold War. But now, Clinton has put the issue on his agenda, specifically because of the imprisonment of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Timorese resistance. He was given a life

sentence this spring and has become the subject of several international appeals for his release. "Indonesia is vulnerable to international pressure, especially since 1991," says Agio Pereira, a Timorese exile who is campaigning for Gusmão's release and for self-determination for his tiny homeland. Back in November 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on unarmed civilians in East Timor's capital. The army says the soldiers fired out of fear after hearing that one soldier had been stabbed by demonstrators. Others say there was no provocation. Estimates of the number killed vary from 50 to 100. In the wake of the incident, the United Nations reactivated talks between Indonesia and Portugal, which says it is still legally responsible for the territory and where East Timor is big news. Pereira would like to see Gusmão released to participate in the talks as the representative of the Timorese people. Pereira sees some reason for hope. "Suharto is showing flexibility. He never really wanted the invasion" but went along with his generals. It's possible that pressure from Clinton and others, coupled with a changed attitude in Jakarta's ruling circles, could change Indonesia's course.

## NEW INDONESIAN CIVILIAN AMBASSADOR TO US

*The U.S. acceptance of a civilian ambassador is almost as important as Indonesia's nomination of one. It signals the type of 'civilian-supreme' regime with which the US would prefer to deal in Indonesia. The full story of Benny's 'non-appointment' may not yet have come out. - John*

JAKARTA, Aug. 6 (Reuters) - Indonesia on Friday appointed former trade minister Arifin Siregar as its ambassador to the United States, the official Antara news agency said, the first non-military official to hold the post since President Suharto took power in the 1960s. Former army chief Benny Murdani, who was ousted as defence minister in March, said in May that he had turned down the post.

## DEMONSTRATION IN SAN FRANCISCO

*From Dale Lovett, ETAN/SF, August 6.*

Here is a report on the demonstration we held on July 30 at the SF Federal Building against US aid and arms sales to Indonesia. I coordinated the demo, which was attended by about 75 people. Agio Pereira was the featured speaker, and other speakers were Karen Talbot from Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, who has spoken on East Timor before the United Nations; Sunil Sharma from our ETAN

chapter; and Rev. John Chamberlin, who gave a report from the delegation we sent to the California Senators' offices earlier in the day. We were able to obtain some press coverage (for instance, in the San Francisco Chronicle), several people signed up to volunteer for ETAN, and we collected possibly fifty letters to Congress, besides selling off almost all of our T-shirts.

## BOEING ASSISTS AIR FORCE

*Aug. 13, 1993. Abridged.*

SEATTLE (AUG. 13) PR NEWSWIRE - Boeing Defense & Space Group is redelivering an upgraded 737-200 Surveiller aircraft to the Indonesian Air Force today after significantly enhancing its airborne maritime patrol avionics system. The Republic of Indonesia will use the surveillance system to monitor its exclusive economic zone, patrol its fisheries, and conduct search-and-rescue command and control operations.

This is the first of three Indonesian Surveiller aircraft that Defense & Space Group is upgrading under a four-year, \$117 million contract. Included in the improved mission avionics is a real-time display for the SLAMMR (Side-Looking Airborne Modular Multimission Radar) system; a nose-mounted search radar; an infrared detection system (IRDS); and an IFF (identification friend or foe) interrogator.

Boeing also is providing important ground facilities support - assisting the Indonesian Air Force in setting up a communications, computer and mission planning center - as well as logistics support (such as supplying spares parts), and air and maintenance crew training for the Surveiller fleet.

The 737 Surveiller program is a cooperative venture between Boeing, the Indonesian Air Force, and BPPT/IPTN, Indonesia's government-owned aircraft manufacturer. Two aircraft will be modified at BPPT/IPTN's facility in Bandung with a Boeing team on site to help with that effort.

## BOEING DELIVERS UPGRADED MARITIME PATROL AIRCRAFT TO INDONESIA

*DEFENSE DAILY, August 16, 1993*

US manufacturer Boeing delivered the first upgrade to an Indonesian maritime patrol 737-200 aircraft. The upgrade includes improvements to displays, data processing, and software-configurability of sensors. Three upgrades will be delivered to Indonesia by the end of 1994.

## EAST TIMOR AND THE CORPORATE MEDIA

By Matthew Jardine

Submitted to FAIR (Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting), which published it in September.

Imagine that a small country is invaded in 1975 by a powerful neighbor well over 100 times its size and a major recipient of U.S. military and economic assistance. About one-third of the population – over 200,000 people – die as a result of the invasion, politically-created starvation, and the ongoing occupation. Despite the atrocities and numerous U.N. resolutions condemning the invasion and occupation, the U.S. and the West continue to provide the invader with about \$5 billion in annual economic assistance.

We do not need to imagine such a situation. The aggressor is resource-rich Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country and a major center of multinational corporate activity. The victim is East Timor, a former Portuguese colony 400 miles north of Darwin, Australia.

Given the geopolitical and economic importance of Indonesia, characterized by Nixon as the "greatest prize in the Southeast Asian area," the U.S. has been more than willing not only to ignore but in fact to facilitate Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. Nevertheless, reporting by the corporate media has been paltry at best. As a result, most Americans have never even heard of East Timor.

In the months preceding the Indonesian invasion there was a substantial number of reports in the press on Portuguese Timor. At that time the territory was in the throes of decolonization and many Western elites feared the possibility of leftist domination of the independence movement. With the onslaught of Indonesian atrocities, however, reporting on East Timor by the corporate-owned media actually significantly decreased.

The *Los Angeles Times* is a case in point. From August 1975 until the December 7, 1975 invasion, the *Times* ran sixteen articles dealing with East Timor. Since that time, there have been a grand total of twenty articles on East Timor and 3 op-ed pieces. From March 1976 until November 1979, during which time the Australian Parliament Legislative Research Service described the situation in East Timor as "indiscriminate killing on a scale unprecedented in post-World War II history," there was not a single mention of East Timor in the *Times*.

Unlike the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the editorial response to the Indonesian annexation of East Timor was one of virtual si-

lence. In almost eighteen years of occupation, the *L.A. Times* has had only one editorial on East Timor (7/12/84). The brief editorial voiced support for George Schultz's expression of concern to Indonesian President Suharto about human rights violations in (but not the occupation of) East Timor. This was at a time when the Reagan Administration was supplying the Indonesian military with large amounts of military and economic assistance.

In the last couple of years, however, media coverage of East Timor has grown. This is due in no small part to the November 12, 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. In the presence of Western journalists, the Indonesian army fired upon a defenseless crowd gathered at a cemetery for the memorial service of a young pro-independence activist slain by the military two weeks earlier. Over 200 people were killed.

The video footage of the massacre, as well as eyewitness accounts and grassroots pressure, forced Western governments to pay attention. Although certainly comparable to Tiananmen Square in terms of brutality, the Santa Cruz Massacre was barely covered in the mass media. Of three major television networks, only CBS covered it – once (11/21/91). It was not until ten months later (9/21/92) that ABC News ran a story on East Timor (an excellent one by Charles Glass).

The increased reporting has largely appeared in major East Coast newspapers. Despite many positive aspects, the reporting often serves to perpetuate a number of misconceptions. These include the notion that East Timor is part of Indonesia and that the East Timorese resistance is a separatist movement rather than one trying to expel a foreign invader.

Three recent reports from East Timor (Philip Shenon, *NY Times* 4/21/93 and 4/24/93, and Colin Nickerson, *Boston Globe* 6/29/93) are indicative of this problem. In all three, the By is given as "Dili, Indonesia." Shenon even refers to Dili as the "provincial capital." (It is difficult to imagine either paper referring to "Kuwait City, Iraq" or to Kuwait as an Iraqi "province" during the Iraqi occupation). Both writers describe the war between Indonesia and the East Timorese as "civil" and the guerrillas as "separatist." They also wrongfully attribute the religious differences between Muslim-dominated Indonesia and Catholic East Timor as one source of the conflict. In this manner, the journalists unwittingly perpetuate the negative stereotypes of the Muslim world that are so prevalent in U.S. society.

There has also been an increase editorially – again, largely in the East. The *Boston Globe*, the *New York Times*, and the *Wash-*

*ington Post* have dedicated a number of strong editorials calling for Jakarta to withdraw from East Timor and allow for an internationally-supervised plebiscite. One *Post* editorial went so far as to refer to Indonesia as "a leading Asian colonialist" (12/5/92). However, the recent editorials on East Timor often share a fault of the three articles cited: the U.S. role in the Indonesian occupation of East Timor is invisible.

The day before the invasion, President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger were in Jakarta, the Indonesian capital, visiting President Suharto. There is little doubt that the U.S. gave Suharto the green light to invade, with Kissinger telling reporters in Jakarta that regarding East Timor, "the United States understands Indonesia's position on the question" (*L.A. Times*, December 7, 1975).

Since that time the U.S. has provided Indonesia with hundreds of millions of dollars in economic and military assistance and thus greatly facilitated Indonesia's colonialization of East Timor. On the diplomatic front, the U.S. has helped to block any effective action on the issue. Former U.N. Ambassador Daniel Patrick Moynihan openly bragged about how he carried out with "no inconsiderable success" U.S. policy to render the U.N. "utterly ineffective" in regard to East Timor. The *New York Times* and other major newspapers, however, often neglect or distort such an important aspect of the history.

During the Gulf crisis, the *NY Times'* diplomatic correspondent, Paul Lewis, was effusive in his praise for U.N. action against Iraq. Lewis explained that this was possible only because "the Soviet Union no longer [sides] with the enemies of the United States" (9/24/90).<sup>\*</sup> Continuing the role of revisionist historian, Lewis later stated that such effective action "was impossible in earlier cases like . . . Indonesia's annexation of East Timor" (4/16/92).

A recent *New York Times* editorial served to perpetuate the myth of Western impotence. In a strong editorial condemning the recent show trial and life sentence of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, the *Times* supported Gusmão's defense statement which "properly rebuked Western governments for condoning Indonesia's invasion." However, the *Times* felt that, "to be fair," Xanana "might have noted that third-world states have been even less outspoken" (5/29/93).

Although some "third-world" countries have been reticent on the issue, others, such as Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, and Vanuatu, have been among the biggest supporters of East Timorese self-determination and have worked to keep the issue alive in various international fora. In the first U.N. reso-

lution on East Timor, "backed by a coalition of Communist and black African nations" (A.P. Report, *L.A. Times*, 12/13/75), the U.S. and most Western countries abstained. On the seven subsequent General Assembly resolutions that condemned Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, most Western countries either abstained from the voting (France, Germany, Britain) or voted "no" (Japan, the United States, Australia).

Despite the US's ugly history in the East Timor tragedy, the prospects for a diplomatic solution to East Timor's plight are greater now than at any time in recent memory. International public opinion and many Western governments are increasingly taking a strong stance against Indonesia's occupation – this is no less true in the U.S. Apart from what happens within East Timor and Indonesia, developments within the United States will ultimately decide the fate of East Timor, given the US's dominant role within international affairs. The role of the media in exposing the public to developments in and around East Timor is of great importance.

The corporate media's general silence on East Timor has left the public in the dark. In this manner, the media has helped to facilitate one of the great genocides of the late twentieth century. Public pressure on the corporate media to expose not only the tragedy of East Timor but also the US's role will be key in deciding the fate of the East Timorese people.

*Table of numbers of articles in several U.S. papers on East Timor compared with coverage of the Gulf War omitted from this reprint.*

\* Noam Chomsky has pointed out, over the last twenty years, the U.S. is by far the leader in Security Council vetoes, followed by Britain, with France a distant third and the former Soviet Union in fourth.

## EAST TIMOR - STILL EXPLOITED, PERSECUTED

*Christian Science Monitor, August 12, 1993. Opinion/Essays. By Fatima Monteiro*

*Fatima Monteiro is a mid-career graduate student at Harvard University and a former diplomat from Cape Verde.*

The most powerful nations of the world pledged a commitment to human rights in Tokyo at the recent G-7 meeting. But not far away, in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony, one of this century's more serious cases of human rights abuse continue. For most of the 18 years of Indonesian occupation, world leaders have turned their backs on the East Timorese; if that

does not change, the world may soon witness the disappearance of these peoples.

The last Amnesty International report for East Timor released in February 1993, cites continued "political killings, disappearances, torture, arbitrary detention, political imprisonment and the use of death penalty" throughout the territory. Since Indonesia's occupation of East Timor in 1975, following the withdrawal of Portuguese colonial troops, more than 200,000 East Timorese – a third of the population – have been killed.

Encouraging steps, but hardly enough, have recently been taken by the United States government. Last November, despite objections by the Bush administration, Congress cut military education and training funds for Indonesia. Yet this action was taken only after Western journalists witnessed a massacre of 270 East Timorese at a cemetery in Dili in November 1991.

President Clinton's support of a UN resolution expressing concern for human rights abuses in East Timor is a welcome shift in American policy. But these steps can be undermined if the Pentagon is allowed to sell military assistance to Indonesia, which it is trying to do under the foreign military sales program for 1994.

On June 30, in a bipartisan effort, 43 US Senators sent a letter to Mr. Clinton urging him to keep "an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations at the United Nations that might alter the unacceptable status quo" in East Timor. The Senators reaffirm an earlier (November 1991) Senate resolution supporting "the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people." They also stated that any negotiations on East Timor's future should include East Timorese representatives.

These requests are important given recent events on the ground: The Indonesian government continues its policy of ethnically diluting East Timor through a campaign of resettlement.

Adding to this are more than 10 UN resolutions condemning Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and recognizing the country's right to self-determination.

In May, Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance who was thrown in jail last year, stated in a defense plea, "In my opinion, it [East Timor's invasion] 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."

Mr. Gusmão's trial, called by the government of Portugal "Farical and illegitimate," has come to symbolize Indonesia's disregard for human rights. Gusmão was sentenced to life in prison. He was not al-

lowed to read past the second page of his 28-page defense statement; no one was allowed into the court other than the Indonesian judges.

The UN conference on human rights this past June in Vienna, the first in 25 years, opened up another dimension of the problem faced by repressed peoples, and seems especially pertinent to the case of the East Timorese. The problem has become known as "the Asian view" on human rights. This view, strongly backed by Indonesia and China, argues that human rights are culturally relative and should be interpreted differently in non-Western societies. Such a view only gives dictators license to torture, imprison, and murder at will under the guise of cultural difference.

If cultural difference is being suppressed in the third world, it is not due to the universality of human rights. Rather, it is suppressed by men in uniform, like those of Indonesian President Suharto, who are able to push around vulnerable groups, like the East Timorese. Too often this has happened with either the compliance or indifference of the West.

Indonesia's attempts to justify its occupation on the grounds that East Timor is too small and too poor to exist as a sovereign nation is a cynical and self-serving argument. The truth is, Indonesia has strong economic interests at stake. In East Timor it stands to profit from potential resources that include natural gas, manganese, marble, and vast oil reserves. Both Indonesia and Australia have already profited from these resources. The Indonesian and Australian joint exploration of the Timor Gap since 1985 might be described as a simple theft of Timorese goods. Any fair solution for this case would have to involve economic compensation to the East Timorese for that which has been taken.

Indonesia and Portugal are expected to resume talks on East Timor in Sept. 17 in New York. High on the agenda should be respect for the "old" universal human rights of the East Timorese – including release of political prisoners and allowing humanitarian organizations into East Timor to conduct inspections. East Timorese representatives must also be allowed and invited to join in future negotiations concerning their own country.

During the talks in New York the UN should rise with Gen. (Ret.) Suharto his violations in East Timor.

Domination and exploitation of weak nations have been history's stock in trade. But such domination is self-defeating. Suharto's regime, like other repressive regimes, seems not interested in such history lessons. Firm outside pressure will be a reminder that

domination and exploitation cannot be tolerated.

## ON TIMOR, US RUSHES IN WHERE AUSTRALIA FEARS TO TREAD

*THE AGE, 26TH AUGUST 1993. By MARK BAKER*

In a move that challenges Australia's cautious response to continuing human rights violations in Indonesia, the United States is stepping up pressure on the Suharto government to end its repression in East Timor and seek a peaceful settlement of the 18 year conflict.

The US gave strong support late last week to resolution within The United Nations Human Rights Commission condemning the treatment of prisoners in East Timor. It was the latest on the series of mostly discreet but deliberate steps by the Clinton administration aimed at forcing a shift in Jakarta policies in the former Portuguese territory.

While a reversal of the tacit acceptance by successive US administrations of Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor is unlikely, a policy review being undertaken by the State Department is expected to reflect growing demands in the US congress and from the American public for the Timorese to be allowed at least greater autonomy after a genuine act of self-determination.

President Clinton, who has made the promotion of human rights and democratization a priority of his presidency, set the scene for a tougher US stance on East Timor during a meeting with President Suharto in Tokyo early last month.

Despite an agreement by both sides not to disclose details of the meeting, information now emerging indicates that Mr. Clinton made strong representations on the issue of human rights abuses in East Timor. He presented Mr. Suharto with a letter, signed by 43 US Senators, condemning "the tragic situation" in East Timor and calling for US measures to facilitate US-sponsored negotiation between Indonesia, Portugal and Timorese representatives" in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people." Mr. Clinton is believed to have emphasized that he shared the Senators' views.

The Clinton stance is reported to have angered the Indonesian leader. An editorial in the 'Jakarta Post' newspaper - formerly edited by the Indonesian Ambassador to Australia, Mr. Saban Siagian - said "the feeling of anger still lingered" when Mr. Suharto briefed journalists on the flight back to Jakarta.

Earlier this month the US secretary of State, Mr. Christopher, blocked a request by Jordan to resell to Indonesian up to seven US-built F-5E fighter aircraft. A State Department official told "The Age" that Indonesia's human rights record was one of the factors involved in the decision.

The US maintaining a freeze on aid to Indonesia for military education and training that was imposed in response to the 1991 Dili massacre.

But the vote in Geneva last week by the UN Human Rights Commission's sub-committee on the prevention of discrimination and the protection of minorities is the stronger signal yet of the US Government's growing impatience with Indonesia over East Timor.

In a resolution co-sponsored by the US representative, Ms Linda Chavez, the Committee said it was gravely concerned about continuing human rights violations in East Timor and restriction being imposed by Jakarta on the activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross.

Most significantly, the resolution accused Indonesia of forcibly removing prisoners of residence in contravention of the Geneva Convention relating to the treatment of civilian captives during time of war - in effect acknowledging that the East Timor conflict is an international issue rather than a domestic problem, as Jakarta claims.

US officials say there is little evidence of an improvement in human rights conditions in East Timor despite repeated promises by the Indonesian authorities. They say Jakarta has still not provided a proper account of the civilian casualties of the Dili massacre and, despite the announcement of a scaled-back military structure in the territory, there has still been no reduction in troop levels.

A US official said the extent to which the administration was prepared to press Indonesia on human rights was tempered by the continuing economic and tragic importance of Jakarta. Mr. Clinton certainly needs the goodwill of Mr. Suharto, as south-east Asia's most senior leader, in his plans to promote the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum.

The US regards the most promising mechanism for achieving progress on East Timor as the dialogue between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal, sponsored by UN Secretary General, Dr. Boutros-Ghali. But already there are signs that the talks, scheduled to resume in New York late next month, are heading into heavy weather.

If the UN process stalls, the question will be how much further President Clinton is prepared to go to pressure or persuade an already bruised and defensive President

Suharto to respond to his demands for change.

## EAST TIMOR FOR I WAS A STRANGER ...

*California-Nevada United Methodist Review, August 27, 1993*

*By Melvin G. Talbert, bishop of the San Francisco area*

Think about Bosnia.

Imagine that the brutality and death happening there now were to continue for 18 years.

Imagine that in all that time, this suffering and destruction went unnoticed by the outside world, unrecorded by television reporters and unlamented by commentators.

If you can imagine all of this, you can begin to grasp the tragedy of East Timor.

East Timor, a small half-island north of Australia, was a Portuguese colony for over 400 years. As a result, most Timorese are Christians. In 1974, after its revolution, Portugal began to dismantle its colonial empire. In November, 1975 East Timor declared its independence.

But that independence was short-lived. On Dec. 7, 1975, East Timor was invaded by its larger neighbor, Indonesia. East Timor was easy prey; there was no one there to defend her. Since that time, the Timorese have endured a campaign of terror, rape, mass execution, forced resettlement, and deliberate starvation at the hands of their Indonesian occupiers.

Amnesty International estimates that 200,000 Timorese - approximately one-third of the population - have died as a result.

No Timorese family is intact anymore. Timorese have been killed while resisting the Indonesian invaders; they have also been killed as they surrendered. It is said that East Timor today is one large prison.

Indonesia now claims East Timor as its 27th province. But the Indonesian incorporation of East Timor has never been recognized by the United Nations, which has repeatedly called for Indonesian withdrawal from that small country. Indonesia refuses to budge.

We in the United States have a special relationship to the suffering families of East Timor. Our government looked the other way when Indonesia invaded East Timor. In fact, it is said that Secretary of State Henry Kissinger gave the "green light." There was a Cold War going on then, and Indonesian President Suharto was a faithful U.S. ally. Our government has also continued to give aid and to sell arms to Indonesia despite the many reports of atrocities there.

There are, however, signs of hope. Last year, Congress cut off IMET (military training) funding to Indonesia in response to its human rights violations in East Timor. And President Clinton seems more sensitive to human rights concerns there than was his predecessor. But he has yet to condemn the illegal occupation of East Timor. And the flow of arms from the U.S. to Indonesia continues.

At the California-Nevada Annual Conference this June, members passed a strong resolution calling for a cut-off of U.S. aid and weapons sales to Indonesia until Indonesia withdraws its forces from East Timor and allows a UN-supervised referendum there. Members of local churches were urged to communicate these sentiments to President Clinton and to their U.S. Senators and Representatives as well.

We need to follow through on this resolution. It is my hope that the local churches can take up East Timor as a priority. Rarely have a people been so abused, so forgotten, and so in need of our help as the Timorese.

One thing that we must do right now is to lend our support to the Feingold Amendment. Sen. Russell Feingold (D-Wisc.) has introduced an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill that would cut off U.S. arms sales to Indonesia until human rights groups certify that human rights abuses have ended in East Timor and Indonesia complies with U.N. resolutions and withdraws from that country. This amendment will be considered by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee immediately after Labor Day.

Our U.S. Senators should be contacted immediately by letter, by phone, and in person, and urged to support this measure and to speak out on behalf of self-determination for East Timor.

Members of the House of Representatives should also be contacted and asked to support a cut-off of weapons sales to Indonesia. The relevant addresses and phone numbers in Washington are:

Sen. \_\_\_\_\_  
U.S. Senate  
Washington, DC 20510

Rep. \_\_\_\_\_  
U.S. House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515  
U S Capitol Switchboard: (202)224-3121

We should also plan educational programs on East Timor in our local churches. There are films, articles and other materials available. John Chamberlin, pastor of First St. John's UMC in San Francisco has already hosted several very successful programs on East Timor and can offer advice and assistance. The East Timor Action Network also has resources and information.

*"For I was hungry, and you gave me food; I was thirsty and you gave me drink; I was a stranger and you took me in ... I was in prison and you came to me." (Matthew 25:35-36)*

We must reach out and help the long-suffering people of East Timor.

For more information, call John Chamberlin at (415)474-6219, or the East Timor Action Network/US, (P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602) (914)428-7299, or the East Timor Action Network/SF, (415)387-2822.

## INDONESIA FAULTED ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*By Reese Erlich. St. Petersburg Times, Aug. 29, 1993*

(Jakarta) The United States has recently taken steps to rebuke Indonesia for human rights violations, but political activists here say Clinton administration policy is far too weak.

This month the United States, which controls the sale of U.S. weaponry to third countries, refused to allow Jordan to sell F-5 fighter jets to Indonesia.

In March, the United States for the first time supported a U.N. Human Rights Commission resolution condemning rights violations in East Timor. Indonesia has occupied East Timor since 1975 and carries out arbitrary arrests and torture, according to human rights groups such as Asia Watch and Amnesty International.

Last year Congress cut off military training assistance to the Indonesian military.

Indonesian ruler Gen. Suharto seized power in a bloody 1965 military coup and has ruled with an iron fist since, according to human rights activists. During the Cold War years, Suharto was a staunch U.S. ally against both the Soviet Union and China.

During that time, the United States encouraged repressive policies in an effort to maintain stability in Indonesia, said novelist and human rights activist Mochtar Lubis. But the end of the Cold War should have changed all that.

"Our political system is not a real democracy," said Lubis. "The political system is loaded so the ruling party and the army will always have the majority in the parliament and in the constituent assembly."

Given Clinton's campaign promises to uphold human rights worldwide, said Lubis, his stand in Indonesia is "too much talk and very little action."

David Brown, head of the State Department's Indonesia desk, defended the administration, saying the United States has been one of the strongest voices internationally in criticizing Jakarta.

"I can assure you that the U.S. has been quite active in bringing up its concerns for human rights," both directly with Indonesian officials and in international bodies, Brown said in a telephone interview from Washington. For its part, the Indonesian government doesn't concede any serious human rights violations and bristles at even mild criticism from the Clinton administration.

Indonesian "democracy is becoming more dynamic at the national or local levels," Suharto said in a recent nationally televised speech. Suharto, like many people from the island of Java, uses only one name.

Indonesian officials say measures such as cutting off U.S. military training assistance are counterproductive.

"The Indonesian government position is that we regret that is the reaction of Congress," said Soedibyo, a retired brigadier general and government policymaker. "By cutting it off, I think it creates more harm than understanding."

Soedibyo noted that U.S. sanctions so far have been rather mild. In June the Clinton administration allowed Indonesia to continue to be exempted from custom duties under the General System of Preferences. Indonesian human rights groups and the AFL-CIO had lobbied for canceling GSP rights because of repression against trade unions here.

"The United States applies a double standard when talking about human rights," said Abdul Hakim, chairman of the Legal Aid Foundation, a major Jakarta human rights group. "On the one hand, the U.S. tries to show itself as a champion for morality of human rights ... but at same time, U.S. multinationals enjoy the exploitation of rights."

## U.S. LIKELY TO REVIEW APPROACH AFTER ROWS

*Australian Financial Review, August 30, 1993. by Greg Earl*

The Clinton administration is likely to conduct a general review of its approach to Indonesia over the next few months after a series of bilateral rows, according to a prominent academic commentator on Indonesian affairs.

Professor Bill Liddle told a conference in Canberra on Friday that while there had been a clear hardening in US policy towards Indonesia, there had been no conscious decision to change what had been a close diplomatic relationship for two decades.

"There's been a series of ad hoc decisions as things come," Professor Liddle told the annual Indonesia Update Conference. "The

decisions have been made in particular ways without thinking of the implications.”

In the past few weeks the US has stopped the sale of F5 fighter planes by Jordan to Indonesia, suspended a military aid program and demanded an improvement in Indonesian labour practices in return for keeping trade concessions under the US General System of Preferences.

Professor Liddle said he had investigated the sudden deterioration in relations with Washington contacts and had found that there had been no conscious planning. He said he expected the Clinton administration would now have to conduct a general review of its approach to Indonesia to ensure that a serious deterioration in relations did not develop because of several unrelated decisions.

Indonesia's ambassador to Australia, Mr. Sabam Siagian, also said that the US could not afford to push Indonesia into a corner, and warned that a US decision to stop training Indonesian army officers was not a very effective sanction because the world military market was now quite diversified. He described the GSP dispute as “not that significant,” but warned that it would encourage Indonesia to look for new trading partners in countries such as China and India.

Another prominent Indonesian economist, Dr. Sjahrir, said he believed that Indonesia could not expect a friendly foreign policy approach from the Clinton administration but the country “could live with that.”

Professor Liddle said the changed US approach to Indonesia was driven by the war that the end of the cold war had allowed some US policy-makers and politicians to give a high priority to human rights issues, particularly with regard to Timor.

## ETAN/US NETWORK NEWS

*Issue No. 7, September 1993. This newsletter is also available on paper: 6 pages with photos. Call or write for a copy. Only articles which include information not in other Documents in this volume are included here.*

### INTRODUCTION

In December 1975, Indonesia invaded the tiny half-island of East Timor. Nearly one-third of the population has died as a direct result of the invasion. During 18 years of brutal military occupation, the East Timorese have never surrendered their wish to govern themselves. The United States government provided weapons and diplomatic support throughout the genocide, and approved the invasion in advance.

The East Timor Action Network/US was formed at the end of 1991, following a massacre in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Sev-

eral foreign journalists witnessed the murder by Indonesian troops of over 271 young Timorese participating in a peaceful memorial demonstration. These journalists told the world that Timorese resistance – and Indonesian murder – continue. Since then, popular support for East Timor has resurged and US policy on East Timor has begun to change.

The East Timor Action Network/US supports genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December, 1960 (on decolonization), and specific UN Security Council (384 and 389) and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor. ETAN's primary focuses are to change US policy and raise public awareness in support of self-determination for East Timor. Network News is published approximately every two months and sent to members and supporters of ETAN/US.

Your financial contribution is crucial to ETAN's effectiveness and success. Please make a contribution today. Contributions over \$50 for ETAN's educational work can be made payable to WESPAC Foundation/ETAN. Mail to ETAN, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

### AGIO PEREIRA: “I'M STILL FIGHTING,” SAYS ACTIVIST SINGER

*By Anne Treseder*

East Timorese activist and folk musician Agio Pereira toured the San Francisco Bay Area and the Pacific Northwest last July. The tour, sponsored by East Timor Action Network chapters in Seattle, Portland and the Bay Area, followed successful appearances in Canada.

A student in Lisbon when Indonesia invaded his homeland on December 7, 1975, Pereira has lived in exile ever since. Trained as an environmental biologist, he has spent much of the last 18 years traveling throughout the world championing Timorese self-determination. This was his first trip to the United States.

At each stop of his tour, Pereira gave interviews to mainstream and alternative media, met with local political figures and ETAN activists, and performed in a variety of venues. He spoke at a San Francisco rally against US arms sales to Indonesia, sang at a Mass for East Timor in Berkeley, and met with Indonesian and other students at the University of Washington.

At his concerts, Pereira used each song as an opportunity to explain something more about East Timor or the experience of exile. He also showed a short video on the life of Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão,

now imprisoned by the Indonesian government. Questions and discussion followed.

At his July 30 appearance in San Francisco, Pereira discussed what has kept him going after 18 years: “Timor is just a part of my self. Fighting for Timor keeps me alive. My generation has been sacrificed to stand up for our country...if we don't, no one else will on our behalf.”

Despite regular sad news from inside East Timor, Pereira, executive director of the East Timor Relief Association in Sydney, Australia, sees signs of hope on the international scene. And his optimism and energy are infectious. After interviewing Pereira, the foreign affairs editor of the San Francisco Chronicle headlined the resulting article: “East Timor's Day Is Coming.”

“We [the Timorese] have won,” Pereira said. “We are just waiting for the world to recognize it.”

Pereira, also toured Canada and performed at the Winnipeg and Vancouver Folk Festivals.

His latest cassette, titled *I'm Still Fighting*, will be available from ETAN/US for \$15 plus \$1 postage.

### ACTIVISTS, ACADEMICS MEET IN OPORTO

*By Matthew Jardine*

For the fifth consecutive year, the University of Oporto (Portugal) organized a symposium on East Timor. This year's conference was titled “East Timor and Indonesia, Roads for Liberty, Self-Determination and Democracy” represented a unique opportunity for valuable interaction between East Timorese in exile, academics, and activists who share the common vision of an independent East Timor in which democracy and human rights are supreme.

Several pro-democracy activists from Indonesia took great risks to participate in the July symposium, which had a special emphasis on Indonesia. Members of the East Timorese diaspora, some from as far away as Angola and Macao also came to Oporto, as did representative from East Timorese solidarity groups in Mozambique, the US (ETAN), the Philippines and elsewhere.

The diverse week-long gathering mixed the academic and political with the cultural. Most days featured “classes” in which prominent academics, researchers, and/or activists would speak on subjects pertinent to Indonesia and East Timor. Presenters included Benedict Anderson (Cornell University), Liem Soei Liong (Tapol), Ingrid Wessel (Humboldt - Berlin), Daniel Lev (University of Washington, Seattle), Akahisa Matsuno (University of Osaka - Japan) and Roger Clark of Rutgers Law School.

Featured prominently were top nationalist leaders Mari Alkatiri (FRETILIN), Zacarias da Costa (UDT), and National Council of Maubere Resistance head José Ramos-Horta. Formal and informal discussions between the East Timorese nationalist leaders and conference participants provided valuable insights into in formulating political strategies.

During the evenings, there were films and some very beautiful and heartwarming artistic presentations by individual East Timorese and Timorese dance troupes.

#### NEWS BRIEFS

President Clinton met with President Suharto in Tokyo before the G7 Summit in early July. A quarter of the meeting was reportedly taken up with a discussion of East Timor. Clinton was also said to have given Suharto a copy of the a letter signed by 43 Senators calling for a review of US policy on East Timor "with an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations ... in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people.... We believe that the United States should work ... to convince Indonesia by diplomatic means that it is not in Indonesia's long-term interest to pursue the policies it has followed in East Timor." After the meeting, Suharto said he had told Clinton "that we accepted the East Timor integration because we respect the human rights of the majority of East Timorese."

#### ACTION ALERT FOLLOW-UP: F-5 SALE STOPPED; TRADE SANCTIONS POSSIBLE

Recent victories provide hope that significant change in the long-standing US policy of assisting Jakarta's brutal occupation of East Timor is possible.

In late July, the State Department acknowledged that they denied the Jordanian government permission to sell four US-made F-5E fighter jets to the Indonesian military. Under the terms of the original sale to Jordan, the State Department had final say on the transfer.

Several US companies – including Eidetics Corporation of Torrance, CA, supported the sale. Eidetics claimed that other countries would simply sell aircraft to Indonesia if the sale was blocked. Congressional champions of the sale reportedly included Representative Jane Harman (D-CA) and Senator Diane Feinstein (D-CA).

However, the State Department felt compelled to block the sale due to strong congressional opposition and grassroots pressure. Four Senators – Claiborne Pell (D-RI), Russell D. Feingold (D-WI), Edward M. Kennedy (D-MA) and Tom Harkin (D-IA) – sent a letter in early June to Secretary of State Warren Christopher asking him reject the sale of the jets.

According to a State Department official, a "combination of sensitive issues, including human-rights concerns, made it impossible to approve the transfer."

#### Trade Sanctions

The rejection of the sale followed another recent defeat for Jakarta. In June, US Trade Representative Mickey Kantor announced that Indonesia risks suspension of tariff privileges it receives under the General System of Preferences (GSP). While the issues around the possible GSP suspension are larger than East Timor, Congressional anger over Timor reportedly played an important role in the Clinton administration's decision.

These defeats for Indonesia are the latest in a series of US rebukes of the Suharto regime's brutal occupation of East Timor. Given the rosy relations between Washington and Jakarta since Suharto came to power in 1965, these have proven to be quite embarrassing for the Indonesian government.

Since the December 1975 invasion of East Timor, the US has supported the Indonesian occupation through all administrations, whatever their political stripe. The US has provided Jakarta with hundreds of millions of dollars in economic and military assistance, along with diplomatic backing in the United Nations and other international fora.

While the recent setbacks for Indonesia serve as a sign that the Clinton Administration is different from its predecessors, it is not at all clear that Clinton and Co. are willing to take sufficient action to force Jakarta to actually pull out of East Timor. In fact, we are seeing some signs that suggest quite the opposite.

At its June meeting, the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) – a consortium of Western-donor countries and multilateral lending institutions that grant economic aid to Indonesia – the United States granted Jakarta \$90 million for Fiscal Year 1993-94, only \$3 million less than the previous year. In all, the CGI gave Indonesia over \$5 billion in loans and grants, mostly from Japan, the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank.

Clearly, the attractiveness of Indonesia to the Pentagon and multinational corporations has not diminished. Much work lies ahead for the East Timor Action Network and our allies. Our recent victories should serve as strong encouragement, but should not delude us into thinking that we have won the struggle to end the US government's cooperation with the genocide committed by Jakarta in East Timor.

#### BOOK REVIEW: *TELLING: PERSONAL TESTIMONIES 1942-1992*

By Matthew Jardine

Within the last few years, several outstanding books have been published on East Timor. One of the more interesting, and the most unique, is Michelle Turner's *Telling: East Timor: Personal Testimonies 1942-1992*, published last year by New South Wales University Press in Australia.

A 218-page collection of oral histories gathered in Australia over a ten year period, *Telling* consists of three sections. The first covers the period of the Second World War (1941-August 1945) when 20,000 Japanese troops occupied East Timor. Much of the Japanese troops' time was spent pursuing several hundred Australian commandos who inflicted high casualties on the Japanese. Although the majority of the Australians fled the island after one year, small intelligence groups, along with East Timorese trained in Australia, operated in the territory until the end of the war. Interviews with former Australian soldiers and East Timorese elites, many of whom worked with the Portuguese administration, dominate.

The second (and the briefest and weakest) section covers "Thirty Years of Peace, August 1945 to August 1975," from the return of the Portuguese administration to the beginning of the civil war between FRETILIN (the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) and the UDT (Timorese Democratic Union).

The final section, and by far the longest, deals with the horrific experiences of the East Timorese since the beginning of Indonesian aggression in East Timor (at the end of the civil war). While the vast majority of the interviews are with East Timorese in exile in Australia, there are a few with former Australian commandos from the World War II era as well as one with Robert Domm, the Australian lawyer who visited and interviewed Xanana Gusmão in his mountain hideout in January 1990.

*Telling* is a valuable contribution to understanding East Timor. While there have been a number of first hand accounts of life under the Indonesian occupation, never have they been put together in as systematic and comprehensive a fashion.

The fascinating section on East Timor during the Japanese occupation painfully reconstructs the brutal experiences of the East Timorese, when about 40,000 East Timorese lost their lives. While the North American reader might find the emphasis on Australia a bit excessive, the highly personal nature of the interviews I quite engrossing.

Here lies a major (perhaps unavoidable) flaw of the whole book. By relying on inter-



views with individuals in Australia, there is a built-in bias to the collection. A number of important voices are not heard. Many of the East Timorese interviewees, for example, seem to come from the more privileged sectors of the colonial society – either the indigenous East Timorese elite or “civilizados” who achieved relative status under the Portuguese system. Thus, Portugal – whose presence in East Timor was often quite brutal – gets off relatively light.

Given the difficulty of getting out of East Timor, either in the aftermath of the civil war or since the Indonesian invasion, clearly those with greater financial resources and higher social status were better able to negotiate the difficult exit. In this sense, Turner cannot be blamed for the lack of representativeness of the interviews.

Many of the interviews are quite moving and, given their often graphic nature, very painful. The reader learns a great deal not only about East Timor’s long and sorrowful history, but also about the personal struggles and triumphs experienced by courageous East Timorese individuals. I highly recommend Telling to well-studied observers of and newcomers to the issue of East Timor.

Copies of *Telling* are available from ETAN, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602. \$20 plus \$3 postage.

## ETAN CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE MEETS

*By John M. Miller*

Key activists from the East Timor Action Network/US and Canada’s ETAN – the East Timor Alert Network – met in Westchester, New York, in July. For many, it was the first opportunity to meet face-to-face after months of communicating by phone, fax and e-mail.

Almost two dozen ETAN/US members and four from ETAN Canada attended the conference. Also at the meeting were observers from England, Portugal, the Netherlands and the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) the umbrella organization of the East Timorese independence movement.

During the weekend we debated the implications of recent events and evaluated past projects, such as the New Generation of Resistance tour of young Timorese jointly undertaken by both ETANs. We also exchanged organizing tips and discussed possible projects and strategies. As the newer organization, ETAN/US worked on its structure and purpose. We agreed on a mission statement that affirms our commitment to self-determination and human rights for the East Timorese and our focus on changing US policy and educating the pub-

lic. Stopping US arms sales received a high priority.

Leading off the meeting were briefings from Carmel Budiardjo of Tapol in England, journalist Allan Nairn, and José Amorim Dias of the CNRM. Budiardjo, a former political prisoner in Indonesia and a long-time activist on East Timor, told the group that ETAN/US added a “refreshing new dimension to the struggle for East Timor [that] could make a qualitative difference to the work internationally.” East Timor is increasingly becoming an issue in Indonesian society and the US has a “key role in exerting pressure in making it as costly as possible for Indonesia to remain in East Timor.”

Nairn, a correspondent for the New Yorker magazine, was beaten by Indonesian troops during the Dili massacre in November 1991, which led to the founding of ETAN/US. Nairn observed that since the massacre US policy “has shifted from rigid support of Jakarta’s occupation of East Timor” because of grassroots pressure. He called current policy “somewhat incoherent and confused” as battle over its direction goes on in Congress and the Clinton administration. Mobilization at the grassroots, he said would decide the outcome.

Amorim described his own experiences growing up in East Timor and as a student in Jakarta. Once in the early 1980s, he watched as his father was tortured by Indonesian troops in front of his entire family. In Jakarta, Amorim worked to convince Indonesian student and pro-democracy activists of the parallels between Dutch colonization of Indonesia and its occupation of his homeland. Arrested at a protest by East Timorese in Jakarta after the Dili massacre, he later fled the country. He is now the CNRM’s representative to the European Community.

Beginning steps were taken to help ETAN/US’s structure catch up with the explosion of interest in East Timor. A steering committee was set up consisting of ETAN’s coordinator, Charles Scheiner and representatives of ETAN’s existing local groups in Boston; Ithaca, NY; Los Angeles; Madison; New Jersey; Metro New York City; Portland, Oregon; Providence, RI; San Francisco Bay Area; Seattle; and Washington, DC area. Several responsibilities were decentralized. Over the coming months, the Steering Committee will further refine ETAN’s decision-making and structure and work on such issues as the composition of an executive committee, what constitutes a chapter and guidelines for cosponsoring projects with other groups.

## ETAN SPEAKS AT UN DECOLONIZATION MEETING

Immediately following the ETAN meeting, Charles Scheiner – in a statement to the

UN special committee on decolonization on behalf of ETAN/US – described the “tremendous increase in awareness and energy among the American people” on East Timor since ETAN’s founding in 1991. “That energy has begun to change American policy,” he said.

“The East Timorese people have suffered, died, and struggled for 18 years against Indonesian repression and, for years before that, against Portuguese colonization,” Scheiner told the committee. “It is long past time for the international community to put action behind their paper principles and come to their support.”

The committee heard from 21 petitioners from organizations and parliaments in eight countries. The committee, following its recent pattern took no action on East Timor, one of the 17 non-self-governing territories recognized by the UN.

## A ROMANTIC LOBBYIST

*Publico, 30 September 1993. By Paulo Moura. Translated from Portuguese*

(Washington) The aim of the Timorese lobby in Washington is to influence the US so that pressure is put on Indonesia to demilitarize and to hold elections in East Timor. *Publico* spoke to the lobbyist, enlisted by the Timorese Resistance. He admitted to being the cheapest lobbyist in Washington.

“I was famous once, you know.” Professional lobbyist Bruce Cameron does not seem to feel very comfortable about the Timorese Resistance being his main client. “In this profession, it is easy to become famous overnight, and then later...”

56-year-old Cameron is one of those responsible for the introduction of the Timor issue on to the agenda of the US Congress. He contacts senators and representatives, and meets with members of the Foreign Relations and Fund Appropriations Commissions.

Up until this week, the aim had been to get the so-called Feingold Amendment (which restricts the sale of weapons to Indonesia) passed, first by the Senate and then by the joint session of the two Chambers of Congress. According to the Amendment, proposed by Democratic Senator Feingold and already passed at the Senate’s Foreign Relations Commission, the US President would have to consult Congress on the human rights situation in East Timor before approving any weapons sales to Indonesia.

The Amendment was passed by the Foreign Relations Commission and appended to the Foreign Aid Law, which now requires the House of Representatives’ approval. But because this law only has to be altered

every two years, it is not certain that it will be debated this year. For this reason, Feingold decided to propose his Amendment at the session discussing the Fund Appropriations Law last week.

All the lobbying work then focused on raising support for the Amendment at that session. When the time came, however, Feingold realised that there would not be consensus on the appropriateness of sanctions against Indonesia, and he decided to give up. He will now wait for the Foreign Aid Law to get to the Senate, which could happen any time from next October to the end of next year.

"That was the risk we decided to take," explained Cameron to Publico. He refused to admit that this represented a defeat for the Timorese cause, while at the same time agreeing that the approval of the Amendment would have meant a powerful means of putting pressure on Jakarta, forcing it to make concessions at the negotiating table with Portugal. If it had gone ahead now, however, all might have been lost.

"I cannot tell you exactly what I do"

While Feingold plays his political game, Cameron (paid by the Timorese Resistance) gives backup on the issue by seeking support for his proposals. "Well, I cannot tell you exactly what I do," Cameron says. "I speak to people, I have a lot of contacts in Congress, where I have been a lobbyist for over 20 years. And, if you look at the reports written in the Commissions this year on Timor, you will see that there is a difference. They contain many of my proposals - not word for word, of course, but they are the result of my contacts with other parties." Among these, he says, is the Portuguese Government, which "he helps, through his representatives in the Administration, to keep the issue alive, ensuring that it is spoken about in the corridors of Capitol Hill."

Bruce Cameron refuses to reveal which Congressmen are his privileged targets, but explains: "The Democrats control all the commissions. I am a Democrat, and for the past 20 years I have been working on foreign policy issues in Congress."

The guiding principle behind Cameron's activities is to make the US Administration pressure Indonesia into making concessions in the negotiations with Portugal. "There are two basic ideas which we are trying to promote," he told us: "Instead of just working on the human rights issue, or the question of self-determination, there is something in the middle which can be done: promoting demilitarization of the island, and convincing the Indonesians to hold local elections. What was talked about in New York, (already an important step), was just human rights.

Now we have to work on these other two ideas."

#### **No lobby for Indonesia?**

It would be natural to expect that, over on the other side, using its influence in the opposite direction, and with much more powerful means at its disposal, there would be Indonesia. However, to Cameron's amazement, this is not the case. "I do not know why it is but, lately, the Indonesians have not been lobbying. They do have lobbyists registered, but I have never seen them at work, nor felt their presence," he told us. "I think that Indonesia had some of the big Washington firms working for it but, even though they were being paid fortunes, they were not doing anything, and were dismissed."

With regards the firms registered for the Indonesian client, Cameron consults the Justice Department's report. There are, indeed, large Washington firms but none of them is doing any political lobbying - only economical lobbying.

"It is the arms industry and related organisations which I feel are lobbying from the other side." Everything seems to indicate that the Indonesians, feeling increasingly unsure about the credibility of their political position, have decided to entrust the US arms manufacturers with their defence.

"The two Louisiana Senators, for example, are against the Feingold Amendment," explained Cameron. "This is because there is a big arms and mines manufacturer in that State, with hundreds of millions of dollars invested in Indonesia, which has the Senators up against the wall."

As well as the Timorese Resistance, the Mozambican and Nicaraguan Governments are among Bruce Cameron's clients. One cannot say they are clients of great importance.

It's obvious, although Cameron does not admit it, that he is not able to separate the job from idealism. "For years, I worked for the Timorese cause without expecting to earn a penny. From 1976 to 1983, in fact for most of my career, I made no money at all. I stopped working on Timor for seven years, but then two years ago, Jose (Ramos Horta) contacted me and I restarted work with him. But I can no longer work for nothing - I am 56 years old; I am a lobbyist, and I have to earn a living."

But Bruce still charges Ramos Horta a special price. "How could I ask for a lot of money from East Timor? Timor simply could not pay lobbyists who charge a million dollars a year. Nor could it pay nearly 3 million dollars, like Angola does. In fact, all my clients are very poor, and survive on donations. That is the main reason why my

work has to be done purely on the basis of personal relations."

In 1973, after working for three years as adviser to the now Senator Tom Harkin, Cameron started out as a lobbyist in Congress. Until last year, when he hired a secretary, he had always worked alone. "This is a very well paid activity," he recognises, "but I am probably the worst paid lobbyist in Washington."

---

## **PRIME MINISTER KEATING GOES TO WASHINGTON AND DUBLIN**

---

### **KEATING ADVICE MISGUIDED**

*Comment from James Dunn, Sept. 14.*

According to our local news services the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, who is currently in Washington, at a meeting with Congressmen urged them to ease human rights criticisms of China and Indonesia.

Based on this writer's past experience as an adviser on our relations with Indonesia this is spurious advice from a Prime Minister who is short on human rights sensitivity, and it should not be heeded. One only has to look at the track record of Australian policy in relation to East Timor to see how our policy of accommodation not only did nothing for the Timorese, but that it actually encouraged Indonesia to ride out international criticism of its annexation of the former Portuguese colony. Only two years after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor the Australian Government took the shameful step of according de facto recognition to the incorporation of the territory, and then proceeded to vote with Indonesia in the UN General Assembly, arguing that recognition would help the Timorese. In the following two years more than 50,000 Timorese perished, and oppression within the territory intensified. At the same time the Indonesian Government became increasingly defiant in its responses to external criticism.

Past Australian, and US, accommodation of human rights abuses has merely encouraged the consolidation of this act of aggression, boosting the confidence of the ABRI perpetrators. Arguably, it has also obstructed efforts within Indonesia to press for democratic change, and to persuade the military to get back into their barracks.

As John MacDougall has pointed out, the international community failed to respond adequately after the Santa Cruz mas-

sacre, when the Suharto regime was, for a brief time, caught off balance.

At this particular time East Timor's slender prospects for a more just settlement - whether it be ultimate independence or a form of autonomy - depend heavily on pressure being kept up by Indonesia's major trading partners and aid donors.

*On September 15, I faxed the following to Senator Claiborne Pell:*

I understand that the Australian Prime Minister, Paul Keating, who is currently on an official visit to Washington, has suggested to Congressmen that the US moderate its human rights criticisms of China and Indonesia.

Based on my past experience as an adviser and analyst this is not sound advice from our Prime Minister, whose commitment to human rights diplomacy is of some concern. One only has to look at the case of East Timor to see how dismally the policy Mr. Keating is advocating has failed. Indonesia's invasion of the former colony was virtually facilitated by the then Government's deliberate policy of accommodation. And this benign response did nothing to spare the Timorese, who were to experience a particularly brutal occupation, costing up to 200,000 lives. We have no way of knowing the real figure, but demographic facts are disturbing enough. According to the population growth rate prevailing in 1975 today there should be almost a million Timorese: according to Jakarta's latest census in 1993 there are less than 650,000. The Australian and US policies of keeping the lid on human rights violations by Jakarta's military virtually encouraged Indonesia to ignore international criticism of its subjugation of the Timorese people.

In 1978, a mere two years after the invasion the Australian Government took the shameful step of according de facto recognition to the incorporation of the territory, and then proceeded to vote with Indonesia in the UN General Assembly, arguing that recognition would help the Timorese. It has not helped at all. In the following two years more than 50,000 Timorese perished, and oppression within the territory intensified. At the same time the Indonesian Government became increasingly defiant in its responses to external criticism.

As our weak response to the Santa Cruz massacre demonstrated, past Australian, and US, reactions to human rights abuses have merely encouraged the consolidation of this act of aggression, boosting the confidence of its military perpetrators, and facilitating Jakarta's disinformation about the situation on the ground.

Arguably, it has also obstructed efforts within Indonesia to press for democratic change. It should never be forgotten that by shielding Indonesia from international criticism we are giving valuable support to the powerful military component of the government in Jakarta and discouraging a process of democratization which in the long run may well turn out to be the best hope of the Timorese in their desperate search for a more just solution to their fate.

In the circumstances I urge all congressmen to persist with their campaign to help right a terrible wrong that has been inflicted on the Timorese people. Indeed, if we are to take a wider view of the problem, the remedying of this gross violation of human rights is an important step towards the structuring of a safer and more stable regional environment. At this particular time East Timor's slender prospects for a more just settlement - whether it be ultimate independence or a form of autonomy - depend heavily on pressure being kept up by responsible members of the world community, especially Indonesia's major trading partners and aid donors.

James Dunn

*[The author testified on East Timor before a Congressional Sub-Committee (Donald Fraser) in 1977. A specialist on Indonesia and Eastern Europe he served as an Australian diplomat, in Eastern Europe and as Consul in East Timor in the sixties, and as a member of a two-man fact-finding mission sent to the territory by the Whitlam Government in 1974 to report on the future of the colony]*

#### Question from Greg Mayew

On September 15 a copy of a letter sent to Claiborne Pell by James Dunn was circulated on this network. In the letter Dunn mentioned that Indonesia's 1993 census revealed slightly under 650,000 Timorese in East Timor. Does anyone know if this figure is just for the Timorese or includes the 100,000 or so people shipped into the country from Indonesia?

#### Answer from James Dunn

I have just seen your query about the figure of 650,000 Timorese which I had included in my fax to Senator Pell. In fact, it is the Timorese component of the population. Today's population of the province is usually given as 750,000 of which at least 100,000 are from elsewhere in Indonesia.

### EAST TIMOR FOUNDATION REJECTS KEATING'S ADVICE

*Media Release, 14 September 1993*

The East Timor Foundation has strongly rejected Prime Minister Paul Keating's ad-

vice to the United States not to act as a policeman on human rights in Asia. The Foundation which had earlier written to US President Clinton supporting his arms embargo on Indonesia branded Mr. Keating's statement as hypocritical and out of step not only with United States policy but also with the majority of Australians.

The chairperson of the Foundation, Michael Wager, said today: "The Prime Minister seems to be highly selective in the way he applies international law and human rights considerations to some countries but not to others. He should listen carefully to President Clinton and take increasing US pressure on Indonesia as an example.

"Australia was one of the first countries to send forces to Kuwait, but when it comes to ending the brutal Indonesian occupation of East Timor with its horrendous death toll of one third of East Timor's population, the Prime Minister prefers to 'weigh human rights against economic interests.'"

Dr. Wager said that the barring of US arms sales to Indonesia had been an essential signal to the Indonesian generals to begin serious negotiations on a political solution of the East Timor conflict. In contrast, Australia's policy of expressing human rights concerns "in private" while officially expanding military cooperation with Indonesia amounted to thinly veiled collaboration in the genocide of East Timor.

"The only way to bring about the end of the horrendous human rights violations in East Timor is a political solution of the conflict under the auspices of the United Nations and the withdrawal of the Indonesian forces from East Timor as demanded by 10 resolutions of the United Nations," Dr. Wager said.

Dr. Wager quoted a survey by the Australian Defence Force Academy and said that a majority of Australians believed that Australian policy on East Timor should be guided by a human rights perspective rather than by narrow economic interests.

The East Timor Foundation is an incorporated non-profit human-rights organisation which is concerned with increasing public awareness of the situation in East Timor.

---

### WE'RE ALL DRESSED UP, PLEASE TELL US WHERE TO GO

*Age, Melbourne Australia, 16 Sept. 1993. By Kenneth Davidson, a weekly columnist for the Age.*

PRECISELY what Australian interests was the Prime Minister projecting when he took up three hours of President Clinton's time in Washington on Tuesday?

How, precisely, are Australia's interests advanced by telling the US to go soft on human rights issues in China and Indonesia?

In what amounted to a realpolitik dismissal of Mr. Clinton's (and America's) moral scruples on the issue of human rights in the region, Mr. Keating must have believed that proffering this advice would in some way build up Brownie points for Australia in Washington, Jakarta and Beijing.

Can the Brownie points be cashed in? For how much?

If there is no material pay-off to compensate for Australia's moral turpitude, then the discussion between Mr. Keating and Mr. Clinton on this issue can be written off as simply idle chatter from another junketeering Australian politician who does not have enough to say of relevance to the bilateral relationship to fill up the time allotted to him by the White House.

So far, Australia has played the role of the jackal in respect of East Timor for very little material gain – an illegal division of exploration rights to the Timor Sea with Indonesia – and at some strategic cost – the loss of a potential military springboard.

Mr. Keating parades himself internationally as the practical statesman whose support for a multilateral world free-trading environment is buttressed, logically and morally, by the unilateral removal of restrictions on trade and commerce at home.

Where is the payoff? It has now dawned on Australia's unilateral free traders that the Uruguay round of GATT, seven years in the making, had gone horribly wrong.

And in keeping with a long tradition, briefly punctuated by the Gorton and Whitlam governments, the Keating Government is frantically looking for somebody or something outside Australia to turn up and save us.

Uruguay is now being replaced by APEC (Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation Initiative). And in our struggle to get on to the new bandwagon, and assuage critics of Australia's Asian pretensions such as Malaysia, Mr. Keating is prepared to abandon dissident or nationalist groups in the region that are an embarrassment or worse to existing regimes.

Although it is at least arguable that the Chinese Government's reaction to domestic political dissent is an internal matter, realpolitik would suggest that while these people are on the outside today, they could very well be on the inside in positions of considerable power tomorrow.

That justification is not available in respect of East Timor. The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian sovereignty. Nor should we, especially since Australia owes the Timorese people a debt of gratitude for their sacrifice on behalf of Australia

lian soldiers during the Pacific War, when, by tying down a division of Japanese troops, the Timorese made a crucial contribution to the AIF's ability to stop the Japanese on the Kokoda trail.

The soil of Kokoda is sacred, according to Mr. Keating, and he kissed it in front of the TV cameras last year as proof of his sincerity and to underline his republican campaign.

Mr. Hawke cried copious tears in front of the TV cameras in Parliament House in 1989 over the Tiananmen Square massacre.

As Mr. Keating would say, the dogs bark but the caravan moves on. But to where?

Mr. Keating continues the long tradition of prime ministerial fatuity at the White House, albeit with a harder economic rationalist edge, because the country has not made up its mind where it wants to go and the means by which it is to get there.

Level playing fields, micro-economic reform and the market may be efficacious as to means, but they cannot substitute for political leadership in identifying the ends that society ought to pursue.

Neither the market, nor individual businessmen, no matter how rich and powerful, can fill this vacuum. What is needed is an overall vision, and some direction, from the centre to achieve agreed ends.

Until we have a political leadership that can fill this vacuum, it would be much more to the nation's advantage of its Prime Minister stayed at home and began the process of developing a political consensus about national directions and the means to achieve them.

Unfortunately, this requires a real mentality of independence that is not being displayed by the Keating Government.

Given the active involvement of the Hawke-Keating Government in the sale to foreigners of Australia's prime corporate assets (and, more recently, the trade sale of a controlling interest in Qantas to British Airways), I used to think the republican debate was simply part of a cynical exercise in political camouflage, or a mutation of the old sectarian debate between Irish Catholics and British Protestants.

I am no longer so certain. The republican debate may simply be the sincere expression of the cognitive dissidence of a politician (and a nation) becoming dimly aware that we are already very much on our own, but without the policies, the direction and the commitment that would make this state of independence exhilarating rather than frightening.

## THE WRONG SIGNAL

*Editorial, The Age. Melbourne, Australia, 16 September 1993. Full text.*

The Prime Minister, Mr. Keating may think he is winning friends in our region by asking the Americans to tread softly when pressing human rights concerns with China and Indonesia. But will China and Indonesia respect Australia more for Mr. Keating's gratuitous intervention or will they view it as merely a bit of rather pathetic toadying? Far from Australia giving the US advice about toning down its criticism, we should be much more ready to speak out ourselves about human rights abuses in our region.

There is no doubt that the unimpressive human rights records of some of our Asian neighbors does put Australia in a difficult position, given our need to become more involved in the region. But our anxiety not to offend the perpetrators of human rights violations on our doorstep surely did not require Mr. Keating's intervention. He could have simply remained silent and let the US do the chastising. Not that we believe that silence over human rights is necessary or desirable. Despite Mr. Keating's warning about there being "broader interests" at stake, the need for economic cooperation with the countries of our region does not mean we should hide our concerns for human rights violations wherever they occur.

President Clinton is right to insist that China's most favored nation trade status is conditional on it improving its human rights record. The US is also right to warn that American arms sales to Indonesia might be suspended because of Indonesia's actions in East Timor. If the world's most powerful country – indeed the only remaining superpower – does not speak up strongly about human rights issues, who will?

The best way to get better human rights for the citizens of countries like China is for the international community to make clear its outrage over human rights violations, and to back up its condemnation with aid and trade sanctions. China and Indonesia need the goodwill of the West as much as the West needs them. In case Mr. Keating needs reminding, the World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna in June agreed – despite the reluctance of a few, mainly Asian, countries – that human rights are the same the world over and human rights abuses in any country are the business of the whole world. The US should be supported in insisting on decent standards of human rights in the countries it deals with. Mr. Keating's public anxiety over the US position makes us seem weak and faintly ridiculous.

## CLINTON/KEATING PRESS CONFERENCE

*White House transcript, excerpts. Sept. 16*

### PRESS CONFERENCE BY THE PRESIDENT AND PRIME MINISTER KEATING OF AUSTRALIA

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. It's a great pleasure for me to welcome the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Keating, to Washington and to have this opportunity to make a couple of statements and then answer some of your questions.

... (much on other subjects deleted)

*Q Mr. Clinton, could you comment on Australian concerns that the U.S. push on human rights in countries such as China and Indonesia could threaten Asia-Pacific economic cooperation? Could Mr. Keating also comment on that? And, Mr. President, could you also flesh out exactly what you want to see coming out of the leaders summit in Seattle in November?*

THE PRESIDENT: Let me mention, first of all, the United States does have a very strong position on human rights, and I think we should. I also think your government has a good position on human rights, which it has not been reluctant to express in dealing with other nations. But that has not undermined our relationships, commercial relationships and political relationships with countries that we think are making an honest effort to shoot straight with us and to work with us.

You mentioned Indonesia. I went out of my way to ask President Suharto to come to Japan and meet with me when I was there, because he's the head of the nonaligned nations. Indonesia, I think, is one of the most underestimated countries in the world. Most people have no idea how big it is, that 180 million people live there, that it is a vast, enormous potential partner in a global economy.

We have questions about the issues of East Timor, as you know, and I think you do, too – your country does, too. But we have had good contact with Indonesia. With regard to China, the United States has, after all, an \$18-billion trade deficit with China. It would be hard to say that we are not doing our part to aid the Chinese economic revival. We have very strong commercial relationships with them.

But it is our responsibility in the world in which we live, I think, to try to restrain the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, to try to stand up for human rights, and to try to engage the Chinese across a whole broad range of issues, so that

we can't simply have a commerce-only relationship.

I am going to do what I can to build the Pacific Community and not to undermine it, and that's what your Prime Minister spoke so eloquently about today.

I think you wanted him to comment on this, too.

PRIME MINISTER KEATING: Neither the United States nor Australia will ever compromise its shared sense of democracy, its commitment to human rights and the respect of human values. And we put them forthrightly wherever we see those values under threat or seeking to be compromised. And this is true in Australia's case with Indonesia. It's been true in respect of China, as has been the case with the United States.

But I think it's true for me and I'm certain for the President that we see these issues as part of a total relationship where we seek to have an influence on these countries and where the influence may be diminished if the totality of the relationship only involves the human rights questions, and beyond that, that is on these other issues like proliferation and other issues and commercial questions, where the relationship must be seen in its totality.

*(more on other subjects deleted)*

## PM WASHES BLOOD FROM OTHER HANDS

*The Age, Melbourne, 18 September 1993*

The Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, has come under attack for his recent comments on human rights. Martin Daly reports.

SENATOR Bruce Childs, the convenor of the Labor Party's Left faction, reflected briefly yesterday on the trade union friends he knew in Indonesia 1964, before the Communist coup and the Suharto-inspired bloodbath that followed. "They were all killed ... so you don't have to tell me about Indonesia," he said.

He was sitting in a Parliament House annex with David Norris, an Irish senator and Trinity College lecturer, who wished Paul Keating well on his trip to Ireland, the home of his ancestors but then lamented that the Prime Minister had sacrificed Australia's human rights record on the altar of commercial self-interest.

The attack was one of a number inspired this week by what is seen in human rights circles as an apparent shift in Australian policy to rake more account of business opportunities in Asia, at the expense of protests about human rights violations.

Shortly before Mr. Keating urged the United States administration during his Washington trip to take a softer line on Indonesia and China for human rights

abuses, Argentinian Senator Solari Yrigoyen, received a disturbing letter from Indonesia's President Suharto. It said, in effect, that an imprisoned parliamentarian - one of more than 100 jailed around the world - could soon be executed.

Senator Yrigoyen is a survivor of Argentina's death squads. His only words on his time in a clandestine detention centre are that he "came back from hell." He was saved by the same group of International MPs that he now heads, which fights for the lives of parliamentarians condemned to death and for those unjustly held in detention.

Almost 1000 parliamentarians and delegates from around the world were in Canberra at the International Parliamentary Union's conference when the Keating statement was reported. The concern among some was almost palpable, particularly as the Suharto letter, received by the union on 10 September, was high on its agenda.

One of the first things they heard on arrival in the national capital was that Mr. Keating had sought a softer line from the US on violations by China and Indonesia. Amnesty International and others list those violations as mass murder, torture, rape, illegal imprisonment and the destruction of cultures and religions.

The Keating statement is seen by Dr. Michael Wager, the chairman of the East Timor Foundation, to have set back the cause of justice for those brutalized by military regimes. "He has basically told the Indonesian generals that they have the approval of the Australian Government. This will further delay a solution to the situation in East Timor," said Dr. Wager.

Senator Yrigoyen called a news conference in Parliament House to highlight the case of the Indonesian, Mr. Sukatno, who has been in jail since 1967 and is under a sentence of death for his alleged part in the 1965 coup and other alleged activities relating to insurrection.

Before him lay a pile of press clippings on Mr. Keating's plea to Washington but he discussed the issue only when pressed to do so, and then he stressed he was speaking personally and not on behalf of his organisation. If Paul Keating did not think human rights were a priority, then Senator Yrigoyen did not agree with him. The Keating move had become so sensitive that Senator Yrigoyen would go no further.

But the Keating statement - defended by the Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, and the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr. Howe, but criticised by the ALP President, Mr. Barry Jones, had already raised alarm bells throughout Australia's human rights network.

There was also concern in Labor party circles and a feeling that Mr. Keating's

Washington remarks will come back to haunt him. For some, the policy called into question the future of the nation's historical role as a vocal exponent of the international charters that outlaw violations of the kind committed almost on a daily basis by Indonesia and China.

Worst still, commercial gain for Australia was seen to be the motivating factor.

Amnesty International's campaign director, Mr. Andre Frankovits, disputes the extent of the business opportunities available for Australia in countries ruled by oppression and bloodshed and refers to the statement by the former executive of the Business Council of Australia, Mr. Peter McLaughlin, that "bad human rights are bad for business."

Amnesty considered the report from Washington to be, on the one hand, a worrying public shift in Australian policy but also a public admission of Canberra's real policy towards human rights violators it does not want to offend.

Amnesty and other human rights groups want Australia to adopt a "strategic and coordinated approach" to human rights, which would mean intradepartmental and intra-ministerial contact on the issue to ensure conflicting messages do not go out from the various arms of government.

The US, which invokes human rights violations as the reason for its arms and trade sanctions against China and Indonesia, receives regular protests from the Australian Government on its capital punishment policy. Since its reintroduction, more than 200 people, 14 in Texas this year, have been executed. There is difficulty in reconciling Australia's opposition to judicial killings in the US and the Keating position that the US administration go easy on China and Indonesia for their crimes against humanity.

Amnesty's Mr. Frankovits says an example of Australia's conflicting approach can be seen in the insistence by the Defence Minister, Senator Ray, that Australia's Special Air Services regiment will continue to train here and in Indonesia with the notorious Kopassus regiment. That regiment is alleged to be responsible for murder and torture in Dili and in Aceh, where 2000 people are believed to have been killed by Indonesian troops between 1989 and 1993 - more than 10 times the number gunned down by the same army in Dili in 1991.

"Kopassus camps became known in Aceh as torture centres ... after the deployment of Kopassus (in Aceh) ... bodies began to be found on roadsides, in bus shelters and beside streams," says Amnesty.

In the face of the Kopassus record, human rights activists do not appreciate the Australian Government's point that there is no connection between Australia's training

of the alleged killer regiment and the massacres its members commit.

The Chinese are believed by Amnesty to have one of the worst human rights records in the world. The virtual destruction of Tibetan society is an example.

Dr. Wager says that since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, about 200,000 people - one third of the population - have died, killed by the military or starved to death as a result of the bombing of food supplies in the mountains.

"Political imprisonment is continuing, torture is commonplace. People just disappear. The trial of Gusmão was a prime example of the total lack of justice of the judicial process.

"Whatever chance there was of Indonesia agreeing to a settlement of the issue has been set back by Paul Keating," said Dr. Wager.

Australia argues that its "quiet diplomacy on human rights abuse in Asia will be far more fruitful than protests that antagonize and isolate countries from one another.

That contention is strongly disputed by human rights groups such as Amnesty, who see public and other pressure as still the most potent weapon against the abusive regimes. "Inadequate and inefficient" says David Norris on the Australian policy. "Amnesty would not say that all approaches (to governments) should be open," says Mr. Frankovits, who believes the Keating Government's human rights policy is now effectively on trial after the Washington statement.

Indonesia is said to have carried out death sentences in response to world pressure for reprieves for those on death row because it considers such appeals to be an interference in its domestic affairs. Amnesty hopes the new "understanding" of its human rights abuses by Prime Minister Keating will save the life of Mr. Sukatno.

Apart from the support from his two cabinet colleagues, Mr. Keating's remarks were also well received in Jakarta. One Indonesian minister described the Keating appeal to the US as "music to my ears."

### INDONESIAN ACTIVIST CONDEMNS KEATING'S 'MUSIC'

*By L. Pramana, Green Left Weekly 21 Sept.*

Prime Minister Keating's suggestion for US President Bill Clinton to take a softer stance on human rights in the Asian region has been condemned by Indonesian labour activist Ahmad Ruslan, from the worker research organisation, Advance Together Foundation in Jakarta.

"Keating's comments have echoed the Indonesian government's position on the

issue of human rights: that it is a Western concept and is understood differently by developing countries, where development is first priority," Ahmad told Green Left Weekly.

"In the last two months, the issue of human rights has been widely discussed in Indonesia, sparked by the murder of a factory worker who negotiated with her employer on behalf of striking fellow workers, as well as by the conditions of workers generally. The banning of the congress of the non-government trade union SBSI recently also contributed to the debate."

This debate has prompted response by government officials, who begin to see that the issue of human rights could affect the perceptions of investors.

Ahmad points out that Australia's soft position on human rights in the region is influenced by the government's aspirations to advance the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) as a regional trading bloc. The inclusion of the US and Australia into a regional bloc is opposed by Malaysia, but supported by Indonesia, which wishes to encourage foreign investment in the Timor Gap and in the eastern regions of the country.

An interview with Habibie, Indonesian minister for research and technology, in the September 17 Australian Financial Review shows that the Indonesian government wants closer economic cooperation with Australia. Keating's comments were like "music in my ears," he said.

Days before Keating's comments were made in Washington, 10 students in Yogyakarta were arrested for participating in a demonstration against traffic laws that would impose hardship on low income earners (see page 18). "Keating's position on human rights is welcomed by the Indonesian government, despite the evidence that human rights abuses continue to occur every day in Indonesia," Ahmad concludes.

---

### THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ON THE WRONG TRACK

IN TRYING TO PERSUADE  
PRESIDENT CLINTON NOT TO PUSH  
SO HARD ON HUMAN RIGHTS IN  
ASIA

*THE AGE, Tuesday 21 September 1993. By Kevin Andrews*

(Melbourne) Australia's position in Asia is not advanced by weakness, be it that of a Foreign Minister kowtowing to Indonesia or a Prime Minister pandering to Japan. I noted that the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, visited Arlington National Cemetery, the final resting place of John F. Kennedy, be-

fore advising President Clinton to ease up on human rights in Asia. He would have been better advised to read the address JFK planned to deliver in Dallas that fateful November day in 1963, in which he had written:

"If we are strong, our character will speak for itself. If we are weak, words will not be of help."

Our Prime Minister's admonition on human rights undermines the legitimate quest for democracy of millions of suppressed people. Let us not kid ourselves that such "pragmatism" is anything but craven and self-serving.

But even the so-called pragmatism of the West's approach in seeking to appease aggressors is highly doubtful. It failed Chamberlain at Munich, signaling to Hitler that Britain was not a serious obstacle to his blueprint for a 1000-year Third Reich. It has failed in the former Yugoslavia, where Serbia has gorged on Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The notion that peace and justice will flow naturally from the internationalization of trade is as absurd as the notion that it will be catapulted from the barrel of a gun.

It is one thing for the Prime Minister to treat the democratic institutions of this nation with contempt; it is another to suppress the legitimate struggle of millions of people for whom nations like Australia have been a beacon of truth in the darkness of their persecution.

Indonesia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ali Alatas, recently told the Second World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna that the promotion of human rights "should be encouraged by cooperation and encouraged not through confrontation and the imposition of incompatible values." This is like saying that there will be concord in a marriage as long as your spouse always agrees with you.

Mr. Alatas was keen to refocus the debate away from a philosophical clash between East and West, arguing that the clash was between the Western principles of individual of liberty and a strong lawful authority.

At the same conference, the Foreign Minister of the Russian Federation, Andrei Kozyrev, warned against such a slick soft-pedaling of human rights. He told the conference that a state that violates the rights of its own citizens poses danger for the outside world.

He said that the Russian traditions or national identities of its peoples could not be preserved without a genuine democratic republic. He warned against the danger of creating "special" concepts of human rights for Asia of the "South" as well as against a selective approach to some categories of rights as compared to others.

He said: "Certainly genuine democracy can be more easily established in a rich rather than in a poor country. But our own experience proves that in countries where freedom is trade for bread, both are taken eventually."

Totalitarianism is now a dead letter. Now it is nationalism that we should beware of. This is the rampant nationalism that seeks to create a greater Serbia at the expense of all the Croat and Muslim innocents that come into its way. It is the nationalism that refuses to give self-determination to Timor or Tibet.

Craven self-interest, of course, parades under different banners. I feel immediately suspicious when I am told that something is inevitable. Senator Gareth Evans has told us that Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor is "irreversible." The things that were meant to be "inevitable" before they happen become "irreversible" after they happen.

The break-up of Yugoslavia was not inevitable. It became so because of Western failure to do anything about it. So too with Tibet, consumed by its greedy communist neighbor. So too with the republic proclaimed by Mr. Keating. If it is so inevitable, why do we need a campaign to convince us that it is inevitable?

Does Indonesia really think the better of us because we tug the forelock. I think not. Evans still gets snubbed whenever the Indonesian Government takes it upon itself to feel aggrieved at criticism, however wishy-washy.

We have become used to Mr. Keating masking his personal insecurity with intemperate outbursts in Parliament. We do not need this weakness projected as subservience into a region where strength is admired; weakness is despised and lack of principle is treated with contempt.

*This is an edited version of a speech given at the weekend to the East Timor Association by Kevin Andrews, federal Liberal MP for the Melbourne seat of Menzies.*

## US DIGS IN ON JAKARTA RIGHTS ABUSE

*The Age, 22 September 1993. by Mark Baker, foreign editor*

(Sydney) Despite a plea by the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, for a softer line on Human Rights abuses in Indonesia, the Clinton Administration appears determined to maintain its tough stance with the Suharto Government.

Since meeting Mr. Keating last week, President Clinton has reiterated his concern about human rights standards in East Timor and a US Government delegation has been

sent to Jakarta to investigate labor conditions.

Now a senior White House official is reported to have confirmed administration support for a US Senate amendment that would make future arms sales to Indonesia conditional on human rights improvements.

The amendments, adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee two weeks ago, has already raised tensions between Washington and Jakarta.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister has expressed "deep regret" and warned that if the amendment becomes law it "will certainly impact on the good relationship which has existed."

But the White House official said the Administration would accept the amendment - due to be debated by the full Senate later this year - because it was "consistent with the tenor of the dialogue we have been having with Indonesia on human rights."

He said the wording gave "the necessary flexibility" for the Administration to pursue human rights concerns, including East Timor, within the broader relationship with Indonesia.

"(It) allows us to continue the relationship and dialogue, but still makes clear the points that are felt strongly by many in Congress and the administration," he said.

The official was speaking in an interview with American journalist Allan Nairn, who witnessed the Dili massacre in November 1991 and was severely beaten by Indonesian troops.

The amendment, to be a foreign aid bill, says that before authorizing arms sales to Indonesia the President must consider if there has been improvement in human rights conditions in East Timor - including whether those who "ordered, authorised or initiated" the Dili massacre have been brought to justice.

White House, State Department and Pentagon officials were involved in modifying an earlier draft of the amendment which had demanded a moratorium on all arms sales to Indonesia.

The US suspended aid to Indonesia for military training after the Dili massacre and recently blocked a plan by Jordan to resell US-built F-5E fighter aircraft to Indonesia on human rights grounds.

During his visit to Washington, Mr. Keating urged US officials to take a softer, more balanced approach on human rights, particularly with Indonesia and China.

In response, President Clinton said: "The United States does have a very strong position on human rights and I think we should." He said the US, while it had "good contact" with Indonesia, remained concerned about East Timor.

Mr. Clinton appears determined to maintain pressure on Jakarta for reform despite advice from sections of the US bureaucracy, particularly the State Department, that it could damage the broader bilateral relationship.

A four-member delegation from the US Trade Representative's office arrived in Jakarta this week to investigate alleged labor abuses, including the government's refusal to allow the formation of independent trade unions.

The US has threatened to end tariff exemptions which affect about \$1 billion in Indonesian manufactured exports each year unless labor conditions are relaxed.

### KEATING TO FACE WIDESPREAD EAST TIMOR PROTESTS IN IRELAND

*The following Press Release has been issued by the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, September 12, 1993:*

On September 19 1993, Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating will make a nostalgic return to the land of his ancestors. It is believed that his forebears left the Co. Galway village of Tynagh around 1955, "probably as a result of evictions," according to local historians.

Parallels between his ancestors leaving Ireland and the situation in East Timor today will be raised by many human rights groups including the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign. The issue of extensive military and economic support for Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor will also be raised.

Leading the protests will be Australian journalist and expert on East Timor, Shirley Shackleton, whose husband Greg was one of six Australian journalists murdered by Indonesian forces in East Timor at the time of the invasion. Widespread unease continues within Australia that subsequent Australian governments including the one currently led by Paul Keating, have failed to investigate the circumstances surrounding the murders.

Undoubtedly the reason for this is Australia's close political and economic ties with the Indonesian dictatorship and their joint exploitation of what is legitimately the natural resources of the East Timorese people.

*[The Press Release is accompanied by a Press Pack illustrating the devastating consequences of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor and the degree to which Australia makes this occupation possible.]*

Contact: Tom Hyland, phone/fax: +353-1 6233-148, 24 hours.

*A candlelight vigil will be held outside Dublin Castle on Sunday 19 September at 7.30pm during the State Banquet for Mr. Keating.*

### AUSTRALIAN GOVERNMENT ACCUSED OF AGENT FOR JAKARTA

*ABC Radio National, Midday News. 17 September 1993.*

Canberra-based historian Humphrey McQueen says the Australian Government acts as a propaganda and appeasement agency for Indonesian regime. Mr. McQueen was commenting on Paul Keating's warning the United States earlier this week not to stridently push human rights in Asia. Mr. McQueen says Australian policy is dictated to the Prime Minister through advisers dominated by Canberra's Indonesian lobby.

McQueen: Keating, you know, wouldn't know where most of these places where on the map, let alone be able to have an idea about what the policy should be.

#### RADIO NATIONAL, 17 SEPT. 1993

An Irish Human Rights Group says Paul Keating will be surprised by the level of concern in Ireland for the plight of the East Timorese. The wife of an Australian journalist killed in East Timor during the Indonesian invasion, is in at the invitation of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity campaign. The group says Shirley Shackleton's presence will cast a shadow over Paul Keating visit to Ireland. Mrs. Shackleton says the Prime Minister will come to realise in Ireland that he has inherited responsibility to defend the rights of small nations.

And an Irish parliamentarian visiting Australia has also condemn Mr. Keating's approach on East Timor. Independent Irish Senator David Norris is in Canberra for an Inter-Parliamentary Union conference and has described Australia's policy of quite diplomacy as inaudible and ineffective. He says he was surprised by Mr. Keating's recent comments cautioning the United States to balance human rights concern in Indonesia with broader issues. Senator Norris has rejected Prime Minister's overnight statement that arguments against the 1975 invasion of East Timor are fruitless.

NORRIS: I don't know quite what Republican means in Australian context, what political messages that carries but in Ireland, Republicanism has an ancestry going back to the French revolution, which ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity, and to say that Indonesian has incorporated East Timor and one must accept that will be very much in conflict with

what Irish people would regard as the two spears of Republicanism.

**The following were headline stories in the ABC Radio National 3 pm news and 4 pm news.**

#### First part begins with Irish MP Senator David Norris

Federal Labor MP Senator Bruce Childs a member of the group Parliamentarians for East Timor says Australia must speak out against human rights abuses. He disagrees with the Prime Minister's assertion that the annexation of East Timor must be accepted.

BRUCE CHILDS: I don't agree that it's irreversible, I think there has to be finally something that allows East Timorese people the opportunity of declaring what they want to do and how we achieve that, is very important, it is not going to be easy but we won't resolution of that issue until the Indonesian Government, and be urged by the Australian Government finally comes to proper accommodation.

#### ABC Radio National 4pm news

Senator Norris has called on the Government to suspend the Timor GAP Treaty on oil exploration and says military co-operation between Australian and Indonesian is dangerous.

#### IRISH IPU DELEGATE CONDEMNS AUSTRALIA'S EAST TIMOR POLICY

*MEDIA RELEASE 17 September 1993*

Irish Senator David Norris who is in Canberra this week as a delegate to the Interparliamentary Union Conference has condemned Australia's East Timor policy as cynical and failing to address basic human rights.

Senator Norris said that the Australian Government must surely realise that its purported method of talking privately to Indonesia on human rights violations in East Timor had achieved nothing for the people of East Timor in 18 years.

Senator Norris said that the new US policy of barring arms sales to Indonesia while human rights violations in East Timor continued was to be applauded.

"This was sending a clear signal to the Indonesian generals that the international community is demanding a solution to the East Timor conflict that is in accordance with human rights and international law," Senator Norris said.

Senator Norris called on the Australian government to suspend the Timor Gap Treaty as well as military cooperation with Indonesia in order to persuade Indonesia to begin serious negotiations under UN auspices on the solution of the East Timor conflict.



"The Timor Gap Treaty seems to indicate that Australia has sold the basic human rights of the East Timorese people for oil profits and the extensive military cooperation between Australia and Indonesia gives the clear impression that Australia is officially ignoring in the genocide of the people of East Timor," Senator Norris said.

## RIGHTS BREACHES 'MUST NOT SOUR RELATIONS'

*The Australian, 17 September 1993. By LEONORE Taylor*

The Indonesian annexation of East Timor has to be accepted and criticism of Indonesia's human rights should not sour the bilateral relationship, the Prime Minister Mr. Keating, has told Irish television.

In the interview, parts of which were screened on SBS's Dateline last night, Mr. Keating rejected accusations Australia's condemnations of the Dili massacre had been "soft" but said "one can't hold a whole nation relationship to ransom in perpetuity over that."

Its like European saying we will not deal with Northern Ireland because of the way you conduct yourselves. You can't do that to States," Mr. Keating said.

The Prime Minister comments are likely to heighten tensions in Australia, where his comments in the United States that that country should moderate its human rights dealings with Asia have already caused concern.

They are also likely to anger human rights in Ireland, who are already planning protests against Australia's record on East Timor, including a candlelight vigil outside Dublin castle during Mr. Keating's state banquet.

A group of delegates to the International Parliamentary Union meeting in Canberra will today condemn Australia's "cynical" position on human rights in East Timor. The group is led by Irish Senator David Norris.

Mr. Keating said in the interview that the debate over the takeover of Timor was over.

"The time to have had that was in the middle 1970s. That opportunity has passed. I think to be arguing now against the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia would be absolutely fruitless," Mr. Keating said.

"But what one should argue is that those people be properly treated and that opportunities be made available to them and that the Indonesian authorities change their tune in relation to human rights."

Mr. Keating dismissed protests by Timor's former colonists, the Portuguese, saying: "The Portuguese were total hypocrites. They were the worst colonists in this

part of the world. They left no legacy behind."

In the wide-ranging interview, Mr. Keating explained his attitude in tackling "big-picture" issues such as Mabo and the republic saying: "I'm a punter... I tend to take political risks and I don't mind risking my own hide from time to time because, I've always said to my colleagues, the worst thing that can happen to you in this game is that you lose your job. So why be a mouse? Why hang back? Why not punt it up occasionally?"

Mr. Keating denied his Irish ancestry had contributed to his rejection of the monarchy, but said his Catholicism could have.

"It's probably, in some respects, the Catholic in me, that is, that we are all born equally and we die equally and we are children of Christ and, therefore, we possess each and innate human dignity.

When pressed about Mabo, Mr. Keating confirmed that he would be setting up a land fund to buy back land for aborigines who did not benefit from the high Court's decision.

He explained the resistance to the Federal Government's proposals by saying, "you always meet resistance from conservative elements that don't want to give land to black people. It is as simple as that."

And on another subject that has raised tempers in the United Kingdom, Mr. Keating stood by his criticism of the way England had abandoned Australia during World War II.

"In the eyes of British during the war. Australia was expendable.

## IRISH PROTEST OVER TIMOR

*The Sydney Morning Herald, 18 September 1993. By Amanda Meade*

Mr. Keating's visit tomorrow to his ancestral home, the Irish village of Tynagh in County Galway, will be marred by protest against Australian attitude to human rights in East Timor.

The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign and the Widow of the murdered Australian journalist Greg Shackleton, Mrs. Shirley Shackleton, will accuse the Prime Minister of putting economic considerations first.

Yesterday, a visiting member of the Irish Parliament, senator David Norris, said the Irish people were disappointed with Mr. Keating's failure to condemn Indonesian atrocities in East Timor.

## U.S. BLOCKS SALE OF F-5 JETS BY JORDAN TO INDONESIA

### CITING RIGHTS ISSUE, U.S. VETOES TRANSFER OF F-5 JETS TO INDONESIA

*The Asian Wall Street Journal Weekly, August 2, 1993*

*By Eduardo Lachica*

WASHINGTON - America's frayed relations with Indonesia took another hit when the State Department said it had turned down Jordan's request to transfer four of its U.S.-made F-5E fighter jets to the Indonesian air force.

A State Department official acknowledged that a "combination of sensitive issues, including human-rights concerns, made it impossible to approve the transfer." The official didn't elaborate, but defense contractors familiar with the proposed transaction said it was quashed mainly by congressional complaints about Indonesia's forceful suppression of a secessionist movement in East Timor.

Sen. Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, is among the strongest opponents in Congress to the intended Indonesian acquisition. In a letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, the Rhode Island Democrat claimed that allowing the transfer to go through would "undermine not only the administration's laudatory commitments to human rights, but also its evolving policies on nonproliferation of conventional arms in the South Pacific region."

The Indonesian Embassy declined to comment, saying it can't openly discuss "security issues." Indonesia has borne a number of recent slights from the U.S. in official silence, although last year's congressional action to strip the Indonesian army of \$2.3 million in military training funds drew pained reactions from U.S. businessmen with an economic stake in that country.

Indonesia could suffer a more serious loss if the U.S. Trade Representative's Office determines that the country doesn't sufficiently respect workers' rights. Trade Representative Mickey Kantor has placed Indonesia on notice that some of its shipments to the U.S. may be denied preferential duty-free treatment if certain labor conditions in that country don't improve.

Although Sen. Pell and other human-rights champions in the Senate appear to have prevailed, there were a few voices in the House that urged the State Department

to take a broader view of the issue. Rep. Jane Harman, a California Democrat, informed Mr. Christopher that although the Jordanian request involves only four F-5s, it has a bearing on the future of a program to upgrade more than 3,000 of this low-cost model that the U.S. has sold or given to many countries around the world. She said in a letter to the secretary that the world-wide upgrade program could create 1,200 jobs in southern California and earn as much as \$8 billion for the struggling U.S. defense industry.

Defense contractors estimate the transfer would have directly or indirectly earned the U.S. upgrade specialists \$36 million. Some \$28 million of that would have come from Jordan's payments for work on 23 other F-5s intended to keep in its inventory and for flight-simulation and other auxiliary equipment. Another \$8 million would have come from Indonesia to pay for U.S. support for the four jets it wanted to acquire from Jordan and for the other F-5s in its existing fleet.

The U.S. contractors now worry that the State Department's rejection of the transfer on human-rights grounds could force Jordan to abandon its upgrade program and to turn to European or Russian suppliers for newer fighter aircraft. If Jordan were to do so, other F-5 owners around the world could follow suit. The Philippines and Malaysia are among other Asian countries that carry F-5s, which also are called Freedom Fighters, in their arsenals.

Indonesia already is going outside its endangered defense relationship with the U.S. to find replacements for its aging aircraft. It has given British Aerospace PLC an order, estimated at more than \$600 million, for 24 Hawk jet trainers.

The State Department decision may be harder for Jakarta to swallow because it comes on the heels of President Bill Clinton's recent assurances to President Suharto and other Asian leaders that the U.S. will stay strongly committed to the security of the Asian-Pacific region.

---

### STATE DEPT.: F-5 RESALE BAN 'NOT PRECEDENT'

*Abridged versions of two Reuters stories, August 6, 1993*

WASHINGTON, Aug. 6 (Reuters) - "After careful consideration, including consultations with Congress, the Department of State decided it could not approve Jordan's request to sell F-5 aircraft to Indonesia," a State Department official told Reuters. The official, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said: "The combination of a number of sensitive issues in this case made approval

impossible, including human rights concerns in Indonesia."

—  
WASHINGTON (Reuters, Aug. 6) - Jordan needs American approval to sell its U.S.-built F-5 jets to a third party like Indonesia. A State Department official stressed that the department did not consider the decision precedent and said Jordan and Indonesia could be considered favorably for transfers of American-built arms at another time. The Clinton administration has pledged to make human rights a major focus of its foreign policy and officials are concerned about Indonesian security operations against separatist forces in East Timor. Another factor in the decision to block the plane sale was concerns that the sale would prevent Congress from lifting a hold on U.S. aid to Jordan. At the time the sale was under U.S. review, the administration was also trying to persuade Congress to allow U.S. aid to Jordan - held up because of concerns about Jordan's ties to Iraq and its President Saddam Hussein. The aid has now been approved and some \$50 million in 1993 assistance has been made available to Amman, the State Department official said.

### LAWRENCE KNUTSON AUG. 7 STORY, ABRIDGED.

*In the AP version, a State Department spokesperson is named for the first time. In addition, it becomes clearer the bar on the F-5s resale had more to do with Jordan than Indonesia. Elaborating a newer element, the spokesman also signals clearly State Department opposition to any across-the-board bar on arms sales to Indonesia.*

— John (apakabar@access.digex.net)

WASHINGTON (AP) - The State Department has rejected Jordan's request to sell used U.S. F-5 jet fighters to Indonesia because of Indonesia's human rights record and other "sensitive" issues, a spokeswoman said Saturday. But the department said the decision does not signal the beginning of an arms embargo against Indonesia. "This decision is not a precedent for other arms transfer decisions, which will continue to be made on a case-by-case basis," said State Department spokeswoman Sondra McCarty. "The combination of a number of sensitive issues in this case made approval impossible," she said. "These issues include human rights concerns in Indonesia and possible complications for other programs in Jordan which are under active review." In Amman, Jordanian officials declined to comment, saying any decision by Washington is an American-Indonesian affair. McCarty declined to say exactly what "other programs" in Jordan were at issue.

Jordan was accused of tilting toward Saddam Hussein's Iraq during the 1990 Persian Gulf War by failing to police its border to screen out goods banned under a U.N. economic blockade. There has been a move by some in Congress to provide further U.S. military aid to Jordan only on condition that it comply with continuing economic sanctions against Iraq.

---

### INDONESIA NOT TOLD F-5S DECISION

*Aug. 7 story by Simon Sinaga, abridged.*

JAKARTA, Indonesia (Reuters) - Indonesia has not received formal notification of a U.S. State Department decision to block the sale of American-built F-5 planes from Jordan, a defense ministry official said Saturday. "The Indonesian side has not received a formal statement. 'As in the past, we will try not to depend on one party only. If it (the sale block) happens we will make another effort,'" the official said. He did not elaborate. The U.S. Embassy in Jakarta confirmed Washington's decision but could not say whether Indonesia had been informed of it. A spokeswoman said it did not amount to an embargo. Jordan is modernizing its armed forces with advanced fighters and had wanted to sell Indonesia four of the less sophisticated F-5s acquired from the United States. It needed U.S. approval for the sale, believed worth up to \$25 million. The U.S. Congress has been considering whether to resume some military cooperation with Indonesia. The cooperation involves sales of military training equipment and servicing previously purchased aircraft.

---

### INDONESIA MIGHT SHOP FOR OTHER JET FIGHTERS

*UPI Tuesday August 10, 1993, Abridged*

JAKARTA - Armed forces commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung said Indonesia may switch its shopping for advanced jet fighters from the United States to Russia, Britain or France, *Kompas* reported Tuesday. Tanjung was reacting to the United States' recent refusal to allow Jordan's bid for selling four U.S.-built F-5 jet fighters to Indonesia. Under the terms of the original U.S. sale to Amman, the State Department must license any shifting of the aircraft to a new "end user." Tanjung stressed that the implementation of human rights in Indonesia was in line with the country's constitution. "In fact, there is no reason (for the United States) to reject (the re-sale). But, they (U.S.) have certain categories," Tanjung said. "Our standard is our constitution and culture, and we perform human rights in accordance with our constitution." The Indone-

sian air force currently operates modern jet fighters, including the U.S.-made F-16 Fighting Falcon.

## STICKING WITH WESTERN PLANES

*Aug. 13 Abridged.*

JAKARTA (UPI) – The government has ruled out the purchase of jet fighters from Russia despite low prices and will continue to use advanced warplanes from capitalist countries instead, Antara reported Friday. Rear Marshal F.X. Suwarno, a member of the Air Force's planning affairs commission, said available Russian jet fighters are indeed cheaper, but Indonesia was "not going to buy merely planes but also their systems." He said that the Indonesian air force is not using Russian systems. "If the U.S. government remains firm and does not allow Jordan to sell its warplanes to Indonesia, that will not influence the plan because Indonesia could buy the F-5s from other countries," Suwarno said. Asked about the country's intention to buy an Airborne Warning and System Control plane, Suwarno said the plan stands, and that Indonesia had received offers from some countries, but the price for such an aircraft was still very high. However, he said, the Air Force has not decided yet whether it would buy new planes, apart from the 24 Hawks from Britain, because of budgetary limitations.

## SELF DEFENSE AND REALITY

*Editorial, Jakarta Post, August 11, 1993.*

The United States' rejection of Jordan's request to sell used U.S.-made light tactical fighters to Indonesia on the basis of this nation's human rights record resounded like the sonic boom of a jet to the people of this archipelago. After all, the U.S. warning that Indonesia must improve its treatment of workers by February or lose trade privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) is still fresh in our minds. The U.S. embassy here also has voiced its disappointment over the government's refusal to let the Prosperous Labor Union of Indonesia (SBSI) hold its congress last month.

The government has always taken the first opportunity to reject any accusation that it has violated human rights – especially the workers' right to associate – by saying that the accusing countries either misunderstand or are not well informed about the situation here. It is also very quick to point out that this nation has its 1945 Constitution which specifically protects all basic human rights.

And yet, the accusations have continued to come our way.

If we, as a nation, truly feel there is nothing wrong with our performance, why are we always so embarrassed by the American policy and why can't we ever make the peace with alien attitudes?

If we opened our eyes to reality we might realize that in this age of a shrinking world, more and more countries are exhibiting a tendency to keep an eye on what is happenings in other states. This is particularly true of nations to whom they have provided aid or privileges. Thus, it is clear that unless we wake up to this fact, we will continue to be upset at the commentary and criticism that comes our way.

That the government is planning to approach the U.S. in an effort to see that the U.S. GSP privilege continues, shows that the facility is of importance to this country. The facility covers non-oil exports, which were valued at US\$624 million last year, and which are produced by small-scale industries that employ a great many workers.

Beyond the diplomatic steps to be taken, it would be a step in the right direction for the authorities to evaluate whether the nation's Constitution, which is often cited in our defenses against Western countries' accusations, has been implemented fully. For example, the question could be raised as to whether the government policy of recognizing only one organization in a given field, or the obligation to obtain police permits for any type of gathering whatsoever, are not, in fact antagonistic to our Constitution, which guarantees the right to associate and freedom of expression? Any law based on our Constitution must regulate the rights and freedoms it guarantees, not curtail them.

We were therefore, quite at a loss when we heard the authorities' reasons for denying the permit for the SBSI to hold a congress recently. We were even more concerned when the organization's leader flatly rejected the government's statements that the group could not call itself a union because it was not established by workers and that it had never listed itself as required. The group's leader maintains that SBSI was, indeed, set up by workers and that it had registered itself with the Ministry of Home Affairs. The authorities have yet to offer a clarification of either of these points.

What is clear is that it is time for us to reevaluate the single-organization policy to see if it can be maintained in the midst of internal calls for a more open society, whether or not other countries are accusing us of poor performance in human rights. Because this type of policy is the kind characteristic of nations in which the most basic freedoms have not been recognized as a citizen's rights from birth, it is, without a doubt, something we should think of ridding ourselves of once and for all.

We can speak incessantly about our constitution, but as long as these facts exist and these choices confront us, our position in the eyes of other democratic countries will remain shaky.

## JAKARTA TO BRIEF US ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*THE AUSTRALIAN, 12 August 1993. By Reuters*

JAKARTA: Indonesia said yesterday it would explain its position of human rights to the united States, which last week cited concern over the issue after blocking the planned sale of military jets to Jakarta. "We will explain Indonesia's position on human rights to the US government...I hope the problem can be solved," the State secretary, Major-General Murdiono, said. He did not refer directly to the US decision to block the sale by Jordan of four US-built F-5 fighter jets. A State Department official in Washington said on Friday: "The combination of a number of sensitive issues in this case made approval impossible... including human rights concerns." President Clinton, who pledged to make human rights a foreign policy cornerstone, raised concern in East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto in Tokyo last month. Indonesia has said it should not be judged on Western principals of human rights and that stability and prosperity of society are as important as the rights of individuals. "We have a concept about the implementation of human rights. As a general principle, all countries accept it," General Murdiono said. "But the implementation of human rights is different from one country to another." General Murdiono did not give details of how Indonesia would explain its position to Washington. Indonesia so far has made no direct official comment on the aborted F-5 sale, believed to have been worth up to \$US25 Million (\$36.80million). The Indonesian Armed forces commander, General Freisal Tanjung, was quoted by the Kompas daily as saying Jakarta could buy aircraft similar to F-5s from country such as France, Britain or Russia.

## AMMUNITION FOR JAKARTA'S CRITICS

*Sydney Morning Herald. 18 Aug. 1993. Unabridged*

DAVID JENKINS reports that Indonesia misuse of American military hardware against domestic critics has harmed its position in Washington.

There's nothing worse than spending millions of dollars on foreign military equipment and then finding that the manufacturer

doesn't want you to use the stuff and won't sell you any more weapons or ammunition.

We discovered that in the 1960s when, following our commitment of troops to South Vietnam, we asked Sweden to sell us extra ammunition for the 84mm Carl Gustav assault weapon. Stockholm's sympathies lay with Hanoi. Sweden turned down our request, prompting some very angry cables from Canberra.

The Indonesians found themselves in much the same predicament in 1975. They had acquired a lot of American equipment under the US Foreign Military Sales program and they showed every sign during their planning for the East Timor invasion that they intended to use it.

David Newsom, the United States Ambassador in Jakarta, took the view that if the Indonesians were to intervene the US hoped they would do so "effectively, quickly and not use our equipment." As Dick Wolcott, then Australian Ambassador to Jakarta, has noted, Washington was to be disappointed on all three counts.

Having seen their military equipment put to disagreeable purposes the Americans tightened up their export procedures.

When, in 1976, Indonesia took delivery of the first of 16 US-made OV-10F Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft, Washington refused to supply the weapons designed for the aircraft because it knew they would be used in Timor, where Fretilin was holding out against some of Indonesia's best units.

In retaliation, Indonesia's military-backed Government turned for help to the Soviet Union. The OV-10s were duly modified to carry Soviet bombs and rockets for use against a left-wing independence movement. Moscow's desire to ingratiate itself with Jakarta outweighed any considerations of ideology, morality or international solidarity.

These problems notwithstanding, Washington maintained generally close relations with Jakarta, a large, pro-Western oil-exporting nation lying astride strategic international shipping lanes.

In 1979, Jakarta wanted to buy 16 surplus A4E Skyhawk ground-attack planes from Israel. The US not only gave its blessing but helped finesse a deal that had attacked the ire of Indonesian Muslim leaders (Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim nation), one of whom described the Israel warplanes as "unclean."

Indonesia now has 32 Skyhawks. They have been used, as the Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão noted during his recent trial, in "ceaseless attacks" against the Timorese resistance, as have the OV-10s, which are based in East Timor.

More recently, Washington approved the sale of 12 advanced F-16 fighters to Indone-

sia. Jakarta has said it would like to buy as many as 40 more F-16s.

Today, however, Washington and Jakarta are again at loggerheads over arms shipments.

The Indonesian Air Force, which has 15 US-made F-5E Tiger interceptors, wanted four more to make up for losses. Jordan, which is modernizing its armed forces with advanced fighter, was willing to sell Jakarta four F-5s but needed American approval to do so.

Early this month the Clinton Administration blocked the sale, citing "a number of sensitive issues...including human rights concerns in Indonesia."

A US official said at the time that the decision was not a precedent and indicated that Jordan and Indonesia may be considered favorably for transfers of American-built arms at another time. But the move suggests that Indonesia may face serious difficulties in its relations with Washington.

The Bush Administration was openly critical of the 1991 Dili massacre, in which Indonesian troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators, killing large numbers of them. The Clinton Administration has been no less critical and has pledged to make human rights a major focus of its foreign policy. As well as blocking the sale of the F-5s, it is threatening to revoke Indonesia's tariff-free access to the US market for some goods under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) because of concerns over labour conditions.

This is not just a matter of Bill Clinton going off on a foreign policy frolic of his own. Alongside him is Vice-President Al Gore, who has been a forthright critic of human rights abuses in East Timor. Clinton's Defence Secretary is Les Aspin, who, while serving as a Congressman in January 1975, was sharply critical of the provision of US military aid to Jakarta. "Why," he demanded, 10 months before Indonesia used US military equipment to invade Timor, "should we be helping them out with cut-rate military hardware?"

Then there's Congress: immediately after the Dili massacre, the Senate and the House of Representatives passed resolutions calling for "the right of self-determination by the East Timorese people." A year later, a meeting of senators and congressmen decided to terminate a \$US2.3 million (\$A3.2 million) military education program (IMET) under which Indonesian officers were sent to the military education and training facilities. That program had been running for 40 years.

Significantly, it took the efforts of only one junior member of the US House of Representatives to trigger the cut in the training program.

"Indonesia" notes a US analyst, "really had no firm supporters (in Congress) and a large number of residual critics from the annual (East Timor) letter signed by (Representative) Tony Hall and 230 others to each successive Secretary of State."

HOW SERIOUS is the threat of a wider US arms embargo against Indonesia? Is the next batch of frontline F-16 fighters in jeopardy?

It is still too early to say. The veto against the transfer of F-5s may be no more than a warning shot across Jakarta's bow. Washington has a broad range of interest in Indonesia and may be reluctant to put them in jeopardy. It also has an interest in having President Suharto turn up at the APEC summit in Seattle in November - as, indeed have we.

On the other hand, the US is in a position to exercise leverage if it chooses to.

"US influence in Indonesia undoubtedly is greater today than 10 years ago," writes Dr. Larry Nickschi in a study of the East Timor issue prepared for the Congressional Research Service. "This is due to factor like the importance of the US market to Indonesian exports and the Indonesian Government's desire for the United States to continue a security role in South-East Asia."

Many influential Americans are angered by the continuing repression in East Timor. "I would say the people in question (in Jakarta) have only themselves to blame (for the ban on the transfer of F-5s)," says a well placed source in Washington.

In the immediate aftermath of the Dili massacre, according to this source, Indonesia seemed to be moving to defuse outside concerns about Timor. But the hope that Jakarta would handle the problem with subtlety and skill prove illusory. The Indonesian Army has never accounted for the bodies of more than 100 East Timorese "missing" after the Dili massacre, even though the task was entrusted to the Armed Forces Commander-in-Chief of the day, General Try Sutrisno, who is now Vice-President. "And somebody," says this source, "knows where (the bodies) are."

Another US criticism was that Jakarta had decided "not to court-martial any army officers at all," only low-ranking soldiers. At the same time, it had decided to go ahead with the prosecution of Timorese demonstrators. Many Americans were shocked by what the Senate Appropriations Committee has called "the gross disparity" in sentencing. Sentences given to 13 civilians demonstrators ranged from six years to life imprisonment. Sentences for eight military personnel ranged from eight months to 18 months.

Finally, some US officials are dismayed by what they see as a hypocritical attitude

in Indonesia that the affair has been taken care of. That, they maintain, is simply not the case.

Senior Indonesian Army officers were stung by the cancellation of the IMET program but for the most part nursed their grievances in private. However, they have been more outspoken about the US ban on the transfer of Jordanian F-5s.

According to the Commander-in Chief of the Armed Forces, General Feisal Tanjung, Indonesia can buy aircraft similar to F-5s from countries such as France, Britain or Russia.

That is not such an attractive option. For one thing, it would mean yet another make of aircraft in an air force which already has too many types, adding to logistic and maintenance headaches. But countries like Britain do have their uses. British Aerospace sold Indonesia 20 of its highly successful Hawk MK53 aircraft and has agreed to sell 24 Hawk 100s and 200s for about \$500 million (\$A1.14billion). Indonesia has spoken of acquiring up to 96 Hawks.

The Hawk is usually described by vendor and purchaser alike as an "advanced jet trainer." That is accurate enough as far as it goes. But the Hawk is equally suited to ground attack, with each aircraft able to carry a 3,000kg, weapon load. It is just the sort of plane you might need in a place like Timor - alongside the American-made Skyhawks and OV-10s.

### **'SMALL' F-5 DEAL'S END WILL COST CALIFORNIA COMPANY DEARLY, CEO SAYS**

*Aerospace Daily, August 20, 1993*

The deal to upgrade Indonesia's F-5s-rejected last month by the State Department on human rights grounds and dismissed by several Administration officials as small potatoes-will wind up costing a small California company hundreds of jobs, more than \$1 million and entree to a lucrative new market.

In a letter obtained this week by The DAILY, Andrew Skow, president and chief executive of Torrance-based Eidetics, urged Secretary of State Warren Christopher to take a second look at the rejection, arguing it hurts the employees he will have to lay off, 1,200 other workers who won't be hired, and Eidetics and its partners, all of which stand to lose their investment and one of which is near bankruptcy.

"From the beginning, we coordinated every step of this project" with State, and "we were urged on throughout this process to assist both Jordan and Indonesia," Skow wrote. "It was only after we had invested

\$1 million from our limited capital base that we found that the State Department had arbitrarily changed its mind."

Skow warned the decision will hurt U.S. credibility in the export markets, and told Christopher that the Administration has lost credibility with him.

"How can I, in good faith, invest further in California's aerospace industry, when I now know that the U.S. government can arbitrarily choose to terminate my sales?" asked Skow. "How can I attract other investors? Is the U.S. government telling us to stop work in the aerospace industry?"

When it all started over a year ago, the project looked like a winner. Along with partners Martin Marietta, TRW, Litton, and others, Eidetics would upgrade and refurbish old Northrop F-5s for Indonesia and Jordan-a perfect entree to the worldwide F-5 upgrade market, worth as much as \$8 billion by some analysts' reckoning. Jordan had some F-5s originally given to it by the U.S. as grant aid worth about \$6 million. The plan was for Jordan to sell those planes to Indonesia for \$18 million, and then spend the proceeds upgrading its own aircraft. Indonesia would also upgrade its aircraft. Contracts signed

The contracts were already signed, and the U.S. embassy in Amman told Jordan that "in principle" it saw nothing wrong. All Skow needed was the State Department's stamp of approval, a foregone conclusion since the government had been urging Eidetics and its partners to "support" the sale.

But the winner turned into a loser on July 19, when State-uncomfortable with Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor-rejected the deal. Some U.S. officials felt that expending President Clinton's political capital just to push a relatively small sale to a controversial regime through the Congress was both foolish and futile (DAILY, Aug. 10).

"Maybe this is an insignificant transaction in the larger scheme of things, but to us, this is big stuff," said Bob Wachter, Eidetics' representative in Washington. Noting the Clinton team's promise to help California's battered aerospace sector, he pointed out that this "insignificant" deal not only would have created 1,200 jobs right away mostly in California without spending taxpayer dollars, but it would have positioned Eidetics to go after the worldwide F-5 upgrade market.

Moreover, if the program had proceeded, Eidetics-which now employs about 50 workers-would have added another 2,000 jobs, because the Royal Jordanian Air Force and the Indonesian Air Force had already programmed additional funds for further fleet upgrades into their long-range plans. In effect, the original \$6 million aid amount to

Jordan in the 1970s would have returned some \$40 million or more in business to the U.S., Wachter said.

Executives involved in the deal believe State changed its mind because of pressure brought to bear on Christopher by Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, who reportedly cited human rights abuses in a letter to Christopher effectively ordering him to reject the sale.

The American League for Exports and Security Assistance (ALESA), an umbrella group for U.S. defense exporters, recently weighed in on the case, telling Christopher in an Aug. 6 letter that the move amounts to "a resurrection through 'policy creep' of the practice of unilaterally conditioning even routine, low-technology defense transfers on human rights grounds."

ALESA contended that the only legitimate rationale for enacting a de facto unilateral ban on sales to Indonesia would be if the ban had a decent change of improving Jakarta's human rights record. "However, experience tells us that all too often, the only effect is to transfer the sale to another supplier and, in the process, transfer the crucial influence of a supplier relationship," ALESA said.

### **LORD: HUMAN RIGHTS STILL HINDER RI-US RELATIONS**

*Jakarta Post (Reuter), 20 August 1993.  
Abridged*

(Jakarta) The US said yesterday that human rights remained a barrier to improving ties with Indonesia but stressed it took its relationship with Jakarta seriously.

Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia and the Pacific Winston Lord said Washington's threats to suspend trade privileges and its block on military equipment sales to Jakarta arose from human rights concerns. "Human rights is a concern between us and we hope we can sort these out cooperatively," he said.

Lord said a recent ban on the country's largest independent trade union, the Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union or SBSI, from holding its first congress was a key obstacle to renewing GSP.

"We hope we can work out the specific workers' rights issue that is now in play and I will say that the recent inability of a trade union to have a congress was a setback."

Lord said the block on the F-5E sales did not amount to sanctions on Indonesia and that further sales, which under purchase agreements require Washington's approval, would be considered on a case by case basis.

Indonesia has warned that it will buy its military hardware elsewhere if the US does

not allow it to buy the second-hand fighters. But Lord sought to reassure Indonesia that Washington took the relationship seriously and hoped to iron out the problems.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Tuesday that Indonesia would never sacrifice its principles for economic aid.

"Indonesia will not sacrifice the basic principle of a sovereign nation, and Indonesia, like the majority of non-aligned nations, rejects economic aid or cooperation which comes with strings attached," Alatas said.

---

## INDONESIA: WEAPONS OF DISCORD

### US DISPLEASED WITH JAKARTA'S ARMS TRANSFERS

*Far Eastern Economic Review. 26 August 1993. By Susumu Awanohara*

(Washington) Like China, Indonesia's frictions with the US appear to be slowly spreading from human rights to arms proliferation issues. IF these differences are not resolved, "the primacy of Asia" in US foreign policy, trumpeted recently by US Secretary of State Warren Christopher, will be under threat, experts warn.

Differences over both human rights and arms have been gathering steam for several months. When US President Bill Clinton and Indonesian President Suharto met in Tokyo on 7 July, for example, Christopher raised concern about reports that Indonesia had agreed to sell arms to Iran, Asian diplomatic and US sources told the REVIEW, Clinton himself brought up the issue of human rights in East Timor/

Then, on 22 July, the US State Department prepared a press guidance on its refusal to allow Jordan to transfer several US-made Northrop F5 fighter aircraft to Indonesia. Jordan wants to phase out the F5s and upgrade its fighter force, while Indonesia would like to maintain its F5s and replace aircraft that have been lost in accidents.

The State Department guidance, which did not become public until a week later, said in part: "After careful consideration, including consultation with Congress, the State Department decided it could not approve Jordan's request. The combination of a number of sensitive issues in this case made approval impossible."

According to US officials, the "sensitive issues" included human rights in Indonesia, particularly in East Timor - a cause that has champions in Congress - as well as certain Jordanian practices which are under "active review." But the REVIEW understands that US worries about Indonesia's attempts to sell arms overseas were also among the concerns that led to the blocking of the sale.

Sources say another recent source of friction on the arms issue has been the conduct of Indonesian State Minister for Research and Technology, B.J. Habibie, who heads the aircraft manufacturer Industri Pesawat Terbang Nusantara (IPTN) and shipyard PT PAL. Habibie visited Iran after participating in this year's Paris air show, which ended on 20 June. In Teheran, Habibie is said to have demonstrated and offered for sale some of his wares. "Habibie was bound by an agreement not to show some of this equipment and got an American reprimand," a source says.

Throughout June, the aviation industry heard rumours that Indonesia was seeking to pay off its debt to Iran by selling seven of its Super Puma helicopters, worth US\$100 million, which are built by IPTN under licence from France and can be outfitted for military use.

Traditionally, Indonesia has sold much of its high-value oil output as crude to Japan and bought lower-value Middle Eastern oil for domestic refining and consumption. Jakarta has used barter-trade to pay for the imported, and Habibie has in the past offered transport aircraft, helicopters and ships for the Indonesian end of the deal. In the late 1980s, Iran wanted to buy warships from PT PAL, but this was blocked by the country which owned the rights to the weapons system that would have been fitted to the vessels, an Indonesian source says.

Some Capitol Hill staffers concerned with proliferation describe Habibie as "bad news," and track his deals closely. Suspicion of Habibie in Congress is amplified by the fact that the Indonesian hi-tech advocate has dealt with Iran, which is hostile to the US and is considered a centre of Islamic fundamentalism. Habibie is also believed to have done, or tried to do, business with Iraq.

Habibie also has powerful opponents at home, particularly in the defence establishment. The Indonesian military resents his intrusion into procurement decisions, which could increase the proportion of incompatible equipment in the armed forces' inventory and divert transaction commissions away from the military, US and Indonesian sources. They also note that the Indonesian military is wary of Iran's fundamentalist brand of Islam.

One US administration official feels that the State Department was too quick to block the F5 deal without taking into account the factors which constitute the overall, "largely positive" US-Indonesian relationship. Another official says: "The Indonesians made a lot of American friends with oil. The national security types also liked Indonesia. The trouble is these are no longer

games in town." The new games, he notes, are human rights and non-proliferation.

---

## TORRANCE FIRM A VICTIM AS U.S. BLOCKS JET DEAL

*By: James F. Peltz. Los Angeles Times, Sept. 13, 1993. Unabridged*

President Clinton was jawboning the Saudis recently into buying \$6 billion worth of passenger jets from Boeing and McDonnell Douglas, the State Department was making sure a little Torrance aerospace firm doesn't sell to Indonesia and Jordan.

The government dealt the blow to Eidetics Aircraft Inc. almost inadvertently, by barring Jordan's planned sale of some U.S.-made fighter planes to Indonesia because of the former's tilt toward Iraq in the Gulf War and the latter's record on human rights in East Timor.

Such actions by Washington aren't unusual; just last month the State Department applied sanctions against China that could disrupt Hughes Aircraft's satellite sales. And Eidetics knows that the leaders of Indonesia and Jordan aren't candidates for sainthood.

But Eidetics executives also know that blocking the deal won't keep either country from getting the military equipment it wants. Suppliers in other nations are only too happy to make the sale.

The result, Eidetics says, is 1,200 potential Southern California jobs down the drain, for no purpose at all. The firm's executives, led by founder and president Andrew Skow, are fuming.

Eidetics' story illustrates the hard choices facing the White House when foreign policy collides with the desire to create jobs at home, not to mention the difficulty of achieving foreign policy goals by curbing purchases from American companies.

The Eidetics case also shows how a small aerospace firm can easily get caught up in the ever-shifting tides of geopolitics. Companies all across the Southland have seen their fortunes rise and fall depending on the Cold War, the State Department's view of some far-off tyrant and the ebb and flow of power in Congress.

For Eidetics, it all started at the 1991 Paris Air Show, where four Eidetics executives decided that Jordan's plans for selling some F-5 fighter jets gave them an opening.

Skow and several other Eidetics employees are alumni of Northrop Corp., which built the F-5, and they used their Jordanian contacts to wrangle this deal: Once Jordan had sold four F-5s to Indonesia for about \$25 million, Eidetics would upgrade the planes-install new radios and the like-for the Indonesians.

The deal would have been worth \$7 million to Eidetics over six months-double what it normally grosses in a year.

Then, Jordan planned to take the \$25 million and hire Eidetics to upgrade Jordan's remaining fleet of F-5s. That contract, Skow maintains, would have created 1,200 jobs at Eidetics and its suppliers.

But one morning in mid-July, Skow was told the State Department had nixed the deal. "My heart dropped to my gut," he recalled.

The agency is unhappy about East Timor, an island where brutal civil war erupted after its annexation by Indonesia in 1976. U.N. resolutions have condemned the takeover, and Amnesty International asserted last year that East Timor was among the world's worst cases of human rights abuses.

Altogether, about 100,000 people are said to have died since the annexation.

East Timor is an issue with other U.S. officials as well. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week voted to tie all U.S. arms sales to Indonesia to an improvement in human rights in East Timor.

But in stopping the F-5 sale, the State Department also cited "other complications for other programs for Jordan which are under active review." The agency declined to elaborate, and had no further comment about Eidetics or the F-5 sale. A State Department official who asked not to be identified said the blocked sale also reflected the view that Jordan did not fully back U.S. actions in the Gulf War.

"There's still a lot of bad feelings" toward Jordan in Washington, the official said, adding that although Jordan's King Hussein met with Clinton in June "to repair some of the damage, it wasn't that successful."

So Eidetics' contract vanished, as did about \$1 million that Eidetics had invested in the project-a huge sum for the privately held firm.

Skow is especially livid because, he contends, the U.S. government earlier signaled that the deal would go through, then blocked it to make a political statement, allowing Eidetics to be a sacrificial lamb.

"We're not Indonesian human rights experts," Skow said. "It's a new Administration (in Washington), it has a whole new set of priorities, and that's fair. But I can't accept being singled out as this weak target that can't fight back."

He noted that Boeing recently delivered an upgraded 737 surveillance jet to the Indonesian Air Force, and U.S. firms are shipping spare parts for Lockheed F-16s-a far more sophisticated fighter than the F-5-that Indonesia already operates.

In a scathing letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Skow said the decision

"totally ignores the human rights of over 1,200 American workers who will not be hired."

"It is also a violation of the U.S. workers' right to expect that their job security be placed ahead of symbolic gestures of undefined benefit to the 'human rights' of citizens of another country," he wrote.

Eidetics' workers recently sent their own plea to Clinton. It was signed by about 30 employees, including one who added, "I am the single parent of three teenagers-I need this job." Skow also says Eidetics hasn't gotten enough help from California officials in trying to overturn the decision.

In fact, Sen. Barbara Boxer supports the State Department because she's long been concerned about abuses in Indonesia, said Boxer spokeswoman Linda Marson: "She doesn't compromise on certain human rights issues."

But Michael McGill, chief of staff for Sen. Dianne Feinstein, said the senator is "continuing to seek some appropriate means of making this deal possible" for Eidetics.

Can't Eidetics just wait for Jordan to sell its four jets elsewhere, then strike another deal for upgrade work? Skow said preparing for another sale would require another big investment by Eidetics-money the firm isn't sure it can afford without a guaranteed deal. But he's not giving up.

"We are threatened," he said. "But we will figure something out."

## NEW US-INDONESIA TENSION

*The Sydney Morning Herald, 18 Sept. 1993*

Jakarta, Friday, AFP: a new row is brewing between the United States and Indonesia over the sale to Iran of French helicopters assembled by Indonesian firm Nusantara, analysts here say.

Because of its new human rights policy in Asia, Washington has vetoed the resale to Indonesia by Jordan of four F-5 fighters.

This time the Americans are worried about the Indonesia's plans to deliver seven Super Pumas to Iran.

The helicopters are ostensibly for civilian use but Washington fears they may be used for military purposes.

The US secretary of State, Mr. Warren Christopher, reportedly raised the issue for the first time during a summit between President Clinton and Indonesia's President Suharto in July.

## INDONESIA CANCELS PURCHASE OF F-5E'S FROM JORDAN

*Radio Republik Indonesia, Sept. 21, 1993*

Indonesia's arranged purchase of 4 US-built [Northrop] F-5E fighter aircraft from Jordan has been cancelled. Indonesian military officials explained that Jordan had consulted the US on the sale, and US had not supported the sale, because of Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor.

## FEINGOLD AMENDMENT LINKS ARMS SALES AND HUMAN RIGHTS

### TEXT OF FEINGOLD ARMS SALES AMENDMENT

*The following is the full text of the Feingold amendment to condition U.S. arms sales to Indonesia on improvements in Indonesian policy toward East Timor. It was introduced in the Senate International Economic Policy Subcommittee on August 3, 1993. The Subcommittee decided not to act on it or any other country-specific or potentially controversial amendments. It will be taken up by the full Senate Foreign Relations Committee after the Senate returns from recess in early September.*

*The amendment text and the description which follows were provided by Senator Feingold's office.*

— Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US

### FEINGOLD AMENDMENT ON INDONESIA

*At the appropriate place in the bill insert the following:*

#### SEC \_\_. CONDITIONS ON ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

(a) IN GENERAL - Except as provided in subsection (b) the President may not —

(1) sell defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services, under the Arms Export Control Act to the Government of Indonesia; or

(2) issue licenses pursuant to section 38 of such Act with respect to a sale of defense articles and defense services to such Government.

(b) WAIVER — The President may waive the prohibition contained in paragraph (1) or (2) of subsection (a) for a fiscal year if the President determines and reports to the Congress for that fiscal year that —

(1) the Government of Indonesia is permitting immediate and unrestricted access in East Timor to international human rights and humanitarian organizations;

(2) the Government of Indonesia has ended all forms of inhumane treatment (including torture) in East Timor; and

(3) such Government is in compliance with United Nations Security Council resolutions 384 and 389 relating to –

(A) the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces from East Timor; and

(B) the respect by such Government to the right of self-determination for the population of East Timor.

#### SUMMARY OF AMENDMENT

This amendment conditions the sale of defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services, which are subjected to the Arms Export Control Act, to the Government of Indonesia on Presidential certification of improved human rights conditions in East Timor. Specifically, the amendment requires the President to determine that (1) the Government of Indonesia is permitting human rights and humanitarian organizations access to East Timor; (2) the Government of Indonesia has ended all forms of inhumane treatment, namely torture, in East Timor; and (3) the Government of Indonesia is in compliance with U.N. Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389 regarding self-determination in East Timor.

#### Existing Law

The U.S. sends no military aid to Indonesia, and terminated the International Military and Education Training (IMET) program in FY93 after the Dili massacre in East Timor in November 1991. Indonesia receives \$47.86 million in Development Assistance, and \$6.98 million in food aid under PL 480–Title II. Indonesia also receives trade benefits from the U.S., such as US General System of Preferences (GSP) and support from the international financial institutions (IFI's.)

#### Need for the Amendment (Talking Points)

- In response to the Dili massacre of 1991, the U.S. cut off military assistance (IMET) to Indonesia. However, Indonesia is still receiving weapons from U.S. companies under the Arms Export Control Act. It is inconsistent that the US has cut off military aid on the one hand, but approves arms sales and transfers on the other.
- The U.S. has taken a strong stance in protecting the residents of East Timor from further persecution and attack. Several of the items on the list of pending deals are used in East Timor by the thou-

sands of Indonesian occupying troops. Thus, with continued military sales, we are only abetting the military abuse in East Timor.

- Despite our cutoff of military assistance, the Indonesians have made few changes in their human rights policies, particularly toward East Timor. Thousands of Indonesian troops continue to occupy the island. 66 people are still missing after the Dili massacre. Flagrant human rights abuses by the Indonesian Government continue. Indonesia is holding hundreds of people for “anti-government” views. In addition, human rights groups are still barred access to East Timor. Senators Pell and Boren were refused access to East Timor last year.
- U.S. policy on arms sales should parallel U.S. stated goals on human rights and democratic reform.
- The conditions on arms sales to Indonesia set forth in this amendment are consistent with U.S. stated policy goals. This amendment puts them in statute.

### AMNESTY WRITES U.S. SENATE ON EAST TIMOR

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL USA  
304 Pennsylvania Ave SE  
Washington, DC 20003  
Phone 202-644-0200 / Fax 546-7142  
August 2 1993

Dear Senator:

Amnesty International has learned that an amendment to prohibit arms sales to Indonesia will be debated in the near future by members the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

As you may be aware, Amnesty International has been documenting gross and systematic human rights violations in Indonesia for a quarter of a century, and in East Timor since 1975. We believe that it is critically important for those who participate in the debate on the prohibition of arms sales is Indonesia to do so in full knowledge of the range, extent and gravity of the human rights violations which have been, and which continue to be, committed by Indonesian security forces throughout Indonesia and East Timor. The involvement of the Indonesian military in the suppression of political dissent, not only in East Timor but in Aceh and other regions of Indonesia, leads to serious concern that the sale of arms to Indonesia could facilitate further human rights violations.

The Indonesian Government has in recent months taken a number of initiatives aimed at promoting and protecting human rights,

most recently the establishment of a national human rights commission in June. While welcoming these initiatives, we remain concerned that the Indonesian Government's stated commitment to human rights has not been matched by concrete measures to remedy past abuse or to prevent future human rights violations from occurring. The Government of Indonesia has consistently failed to respond adequately to serious concerns about human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. Indeed the government, and particularly the military command, has made it clear that basic human rights can and will be set aside in the name of national security stability and order. Effectively unchallenged by the international community, and unchecked by domestic legal or political mechanisms, the security forces have continued to commit violations with impunity. As a result, human rights abuse has become institutionalized in Indonesia and East Timor.

In East Timor Amnesty International has evidence which confirms that human rights violations continue to be perpetuated in an institutionalized and systematic manner. Since July 1992 we have learned of the arrest of more than 400 people who have been detained in East Timor either because of their alleged links to pro-independence groups, or because they are relatives or friends of individuals suspected of having such links. The true figure is probably much higher. The vast majority of people arrested in East Timor are held in arbitrary, unacknowledged detention, frequently incommunicado. All those detained are at serious risk of torture and other ill-treatment. Torture of suspected political opponents has in some cases been so severe that it has resulted in death. The relatives of real or suspected political opponents - including young girls and elderly men and women - have also been subjected to torture and ill-treatment, including rape.

The identity of at least 100 civilians and possibly as many as 250, killed by government forces in the Santa Cruz massacre and its immediate aftermath remains unresolved. The Indonesian Government has also failed to resolve the fate of the more than 200 people who reportedly “disappeared” after the massacre. In the eighteen months since the massacre Amnesty International has received dozens of reports of new “disappearances” in East Timor, and at least 45 extrajudicial executions. The difficulties inherent in information gathering in East Timor - the control of access to the territory by the Indonesian authorities, monitoring of postal and telephone communications, and the close surveillance of those suspected of disseminating human rights information - mean that the scale of human rights abuse in



East Timor may in reality be much greater than our information indicates.

In Aceh extreme human rights abuse has occurred since 1989 in the context of security force counter-insurgency operations against Aceh Merdeka, an armed opposition group active in Aceh and other parts of northern Sumatra. The vast majority of the victims have been ordinary people with no involvement in the armed opposition. An estimated 2,000 civilians have been summarily killed by government troops, including children and the very elderly. Some of those killed were publicly executed, others were "mysteriously killed," the corpses left in public places - beside a main road, in fields and plantations - apparently as a warning to others not to join or support the rebels. In addition, more than 1,000 people have been arbitrarily arrested by Indonesian armed forces and scores, possibly hundreds, of detainees have "disappeared" while in military custody. At least 50 people, including prisoners of conscience, have been sentenced to long prison terms after unfair trials. Those in detention have routinely faced torture, which in some cases has resulted in death.

The incidence of politically-motivated killing and "disappearances" in Aceh peaked in late 1990 and early 1991, and has declined in the past 18 months. Nevertheless, the Indonesian Government has demonstrated no commitment to investigating the human rights violations that have occurred, nor allowing independent human rights monitors to do so. The fact that none of the suspected perpetrators has been brought to justice sends a clear message to the military that they can act with impunity, thereby creating a climate conducive to further violations. Furthermore, there is no indication of any significant change in military policy or practice in Aceh. In Amnesty International's view there is a serious risk of further human rights violations in the future for as long as the apparatus remains in place for the government to crack down again if there are signs of renewed opposition to Indonesian rule.

Human rights violations are not limited to Aceh and East Timor. Hundreds of government opponents are currently in detention, serving long sentences imposed after unfair trials. Among them are more than 100 political prisoners from Irian Jaya, jailed for advocating Irian Jaya's independence. At least 70 of them are prisoners of conscience, convicted of subversion and sentenced to lengthy prison terms for their involvement in peaceful flag-raising ceremonies in 1989 and 1990. Three hundred Islamic activities, of whom at least 50 are believed to be prisoners of conscience, are in prison having been convicted of subversion and sentenced

up to life imprisonment. At least 30 prisoners sentenced in the 1960s after unfair trials for alleged involvement in the 1965 coup attempt or for PKI membership remain in prison, seven of them on death row. Most of them are believed to be prisoners of conscience.

Striking workers, peaceful demonstrators and those advocating the rights of vulnerable communities have been subjected to arbitrary arrest by government forces, and some have also become victims of torture and ill-treatment which has in certain cases resulted in death. Criminal suspects, including juveniles are also reported to have been subjected to such treatment. Cases of torture have seldom been properly investigated and the prosecution of suspected perpetrators has been the exception rather than the rule.

Serious limitations remain on the monitoring of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. Amnesty international has repeatedly urged the Government of Indonesia to demonstrate its stated commitment to the promotion and protection of human rights by adopting the recommendations of the Commission of Human Rights and to invite the Special Rapporteur on Torture, the Special Rapporteur on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions, the Working Group on Arbitrary Detention and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor and to facilitate the discharge of their mandates. It has also regularly called for international human rights organizations, including Amnesty International, to be permitted to visit Indonesia and East Timor on a regular basis, in order to monitor human rights developments.

The repeated refusal of the Indonesian Government to permit such access appears to reflect a wish on the part of the authorities to conceal the full nature and extent of the violations being perpetuated by Indonesian Government forces in Indonesia and East Timor. Amnesty International therefore believes that the international community has a responsibility to take firm action to ensure that genuine human rights guarantees are implemented, and that effective mechanisms are implemented to monitor their implementation, both in Indonesia and East Timor. Unless this is achieved the people of Indonesia and East Timor will continue to face the daily threat and reality of serious human rights violations.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, we urge you to take full cognizance of these facts during the forthcoming debate.

Sincerely,

James O'Dea, Director,  
Washington Office  
Estrellita Jones, Coordinator Asian  
Affairs, Washington Office

## TWENTY GROUPS SUPPORT FEINGOLD AMENDMENT

*Letter sent to all members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee supporting the Feingold Amendment to cut off arms sales to Indonesia. Full text.*

Washington, DC  
August 2, 1993

Dear Member of the Foreign Relations Committee:

The undersigned 20 arms control, religious, human rights, veteran and development groups urge your support for Senator Feingold's efforts to bar arms sales to Indonesia.

Last year, Congress cut off military aid to Indonesia because of well-documented human rights abuses in East Timor, which Indonesia occupies illegally in defiance of the United Nations. According to the State Department's Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1992, Indonesia is an undemocratic country under "authoritarian rule" in which "President Suharto and the armed forces wield predominant political power."

Governments that Congress has barred from receiving military aid because they violate human rights or are not democratic should not be permitted to obtain the same equipment or training through sales.

Chairman Pell and Senator Feingold made this argument in a letter of June 2 in which they and other Senators asked Secretary Christopher to deny a request from Jordan to resell American fighter jets to Indonesia:

"(I)t would 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."

It appears that the State Department had adopted Chairman Pell's position for that particular proposed sale; we urge you to make it U.S. policy for all arms transfers to Indonesia.

Sen. Feingold's proposed ban would be lifted if Indonesia Permitted free access of human rights groups to East Timor, ended torture, and complied with U.N. Security Council resolutions relating to self-determination for the East Timorese. These are the stated goals of U.S. policy. The Feingold Proposal will give them teeth.

Sincerely,

Americans for Democratic Action  
Church Of the Brethren  
Connecticut Peace Action  
East Timor Action Network/US  
Foreign Bases Project  
Friends Committee on National Legislation  
Fund for New Priorities in America  
International Human Rights Law Group  
Mennonite Central Committee (Washington office)

Nat'l Comm. on Econ. Conversion and Disarmament  
 NETWORK: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby  
 Pacem in Terris (Wilmington, Delaware)  
 Peace Action  
 Presbyterian Church/USA (Washington Office)  
 Project on Demilitarization and Democracy  
 Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations  
 United Church of Christ, Office for Church in Society  
 War Resisters League  
 Westchester People's Action Coalition  
 Women's International League for Peace and Freedom  
 Women Strike for Peace

## U.S. MAY BLOCK ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

Washington, Aug. 3 (IPS) - the united states could ban arms sales and suspend military aid to Indonesia in response to human rights abuses in East Timor, if a Senate initiative presented Tuesday is passed.

Democratic Senator Russ Feingold presented an amendment to the draft 1994 foreign aid bill that would condition arms sales to Indonesia upon the respect for human rights in East Timor.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in dec. 1975, following the latter's hard fought independence from Portugal.

The united states has already restricted economic aid to Indonesia in protest over the repression of the East Timorese population.

"Indonesia commits serious human rights abuses in East Timor and we have already restricted aid. but, ironically, we allow them to purchase arms in the united states," Feingold told a meeting of the Senate subcommittee on foreign aid.

According to his proposal, Indonesia must accept the presence of human rights observers and insure against future abuses, before arms purchases from the united states are approved.

In addition to blocking arms sales, the amendment would also prevent any type of military collaboration between Washington and Jakarta.

Feingold had hoped to have his amendment approved by the subcommittee, in order to avoid debate in the full foreign relations committee, but republican Senator Nancy kassebaum prevented a vote.

Although she claims to share Feingold's concern for the Timorese people, kassebaum said she had doubts over the nature of the proposed measures, which she wanted discussed when the full committee meets, at a still undetermined date.

During the session, republican Senator hank brown presented another amendment, proposing the rechanneling of 10 percent of

Egypt's military aid for economic assistance.

Along with Israel, Egypt is the largest receptor of U.S. economic and military aid.

## TELL CONGRESS TO END U.S. ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

*Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network/US*

August 3, 1993

### Help Stop Killing and Repression in East Timor

In early September, Senator Russell Feingold (D-WI) will introduce an amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill to ban arms sales to Indonesia. He plans to do this in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which will decide on the bill soon after. If approved, the bill will go to the full Senate within weeks and then to the House. Please contact members of the Committee and your own Senators and Representative.

The amendment prohibits government and commercial arms sales until the President certifies that Indonesia has allowed international human rights groups unrestricted access to East Timor, that there are no forms of inhumane treatment (including torture), and that Indonesia has complied with Security Council resolutions 384 and 389 that call for withdrawal of its troops from the territory and self-determination by the East Timorese. It would prevent Indonesia from purchasing US military training to replace the IMET military training aid cut off by Congress last year.

Forty-three Senators, including all of the Democrats on the Committee, signed a June 30 letter to President Clinton calling for a review of US policy on East Timor "with an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations at the United Nations that might alter the unacceptable status quo. These negotiations would be in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people. ... We believe that the United States should work with its allies in Asia and elsewhere to convince Indonesia by diplomatic means that it is not in Indonesia's long-term interest to pursue the policies it has followed in East Timor since 1975."

US arms sales to Indonesia vary from year to year, and were over \$100 million in 1991. They include high- technology aircraft as well as the M-16 automatic weapons such as were used to massacre over 271 unarmed Timorese protesters at Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991. A cutoff would go a long way toward convincing Indonesia to alter its course in East Timor.

The Arms Export Control Act prohibits the US government from selling weapons or granting licenses for commercial arms sales to countries with a consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights. Many groups, including Amnesty International, have documented such a pattern in East Timor.

Foreign Relations Committee members and other Senators should be urged to support the Feingold amendment. All can be phoned at 224-3121. Letters are better, and can be written to any Senator at U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510. Also contact your Representative at the same number or House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. All numbers are area code 202.

Democrats: fax, phone

Claiborne Pell (RI), Chair 224-4680 224-4642  
 Joseph R. Biden Jr. (DE) 224-0139 224-5042  
 Paul S. Sarbanes (MD) 224-1651 224-4524  
 Christopher J. Dodd (CT) unlisted 224-2823  
 John Kerry (MA) 224-8525 224-2742  
 Paul Simon (IL) 224-0868 224-2152  
 Daniel Patrick Moynihan (NY) 224-9293 224-4451  
 Charles S. Robb (VA) 224-8689 224-4024  
 Harris Wofford (PA) 224-4161 224-6324  
 Russell D. Feingold (WI) 224-2725 224-5323  
 Harlan Mathews (TN) 224-3679 224-1036

Republicans: fax, phone

Jesse Helms (NC) 224-7588 224-6342  
 Richard G. Lugar (IN) unlisted 224-4814  
 Nancy Landon Kassebaum (KS) 224-3514 224-4774  
 Larry Pressler (SD) 224-1630 224-5842  
 Frank H. Murkowski (AK) 224-5301 224-6665  
 Hank Brown (CO) 224-6471 224-5941  
 James M. Jeffords (VT) 224-8330 224-5141  
 Paul Coverdell (GA) 224-8227 224-3643

## END U.S. ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

*Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network/US, August 20, 1993.*

Senate Committee debate scheduled for September 8. Call or write today!

As an American, you have an unprecedented opportunity to help end genocide in East Timor. Congress could soon ban U.S. arms sales to Indonesia until Jakarta allows East Timorese human rights and self-determination. If we get it passed, this law will send a strong moral, political and practical message to the Suharto regime.

Debate in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on Senator Russell Feingold's (D-WI) proposed amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill is scheduled for September 8. If approved, the bill could go quickly to the full Senate and then to the House-Senate conference committee.

There will be strong opposition, as this Feingold Amendment prevents arms-makers from selling hundreds of millions of dollars of killing tools. We must mount an unprecedented grassroots campaign, telling our Senators and Representatives that the U.S. must reverse its long history of complicity in the genocide in East Timor. Call or write them today.

*The rest of the alert is the same as the August 3 one reprinted above.*

*Feingold modified the Amendment slightly. Section (a)(2) now reads as follows. The rest of the amendment is unchanged.*

(a) (2) on or after October 1, 1994, issue licenses pursuant to section 38 of such Act (22 U.S.C. 2778) with respect to a sale of defense articles and defense services to such Government.

## **LIMIT THE ARMS TRADE**

*Editorial, Portland Oregonian, Sept. 2.*

With the end of the Cold War and concerns about recession and jobs spurring the process along, the United States easily wins the dubious title of world's largest supplier of conventional arms to Third World countries.

Last year the United States took orders for \$13.5 billion worth of weapons in the Third World – 59.9 percent of all sales.

Most of the U.S. hardware was promised to Taiwan, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. And the 150 advanced F-16 fighter planes that President Bush promised Taiwan in apparent violation of a U.S.-Chinese agreement looked suspiciously like a desperate campaign tactic aimed at saving U.S. jobs and getting Bush re-elected.

Such excesses shouldn't continue. Nor should the United States make any substantial weapons sales to developing countries without giving careful new thought to what drives the policy behind the sales.

U.S. national-security and foreign-policy interests – not economic motives – should be the key. But already there is reason to worry that Commerce Secretary Ron Brown is trying to open the floodgates. Brown has been pitching U.S. arms to foreign buyers himself, presumably with President Clinton's approval.

Bills coming up in Congress seek to expand or limit foreign arms sales. Sen. Mark O. Hatfield, R-Ore., is talking about introducing legislation either to express the will of Congress or to limit conventional arms exports unless client countries meet certain conditions.

Hatfield's bill and others should help encourage needed debate over U.S. arms-export policy.

Sen. Patrick J. Leahy, D-Vt., and Rep. Lane Evans, D-Ill., want to extend their existing one-year ban on U.S. sales of anti-personnel mines, 85 million of which are hidden in the soils of 62 countries around the globe.

Reps. Thomas H. Andrews, D-Maine, and John R. Kasich, R-Ohio, want to short-stop any attempts to use defense-industry conversion funds to finance further arms sales abroad. Sen. Russell D. Feingold, D-Wis., wants no arms sold to Indonesia as long as it occupies and commits human-rights abuses in East Timor. (The Clinton administration recently told Jordan it couldn't transfer four U.S.-made F-5E jet fighters to Indonesia because of East Timor).

But these are little pieces of a much larger policy issue the Clinton administration must decide quickly and unambiguously:

Should commercial factors have more than secondary bearing on decisions about weapons sales, and should arms exports be encouraged to take up the economic slack caused by lesser Pentagon procurement?

The answer to both questions is no. Unnecessarily fostering a robust arms-export market is morally wrong. It also foolishly delays the shift of some U.S. military manufacturing capacity to civilian purposes.

## **INDONESIA'S SUPPORTERS LOBBY AGAINST FEINGOLD**

*This was being circulated by Jakarta's lobbyists around the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in early September to try to defeat Feingold's efforts. It's full of distortions, errors and perhaps deliberate lies.*

*There's a lot more stuff like this, some of it state-specific.*

*– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US*

## **U.S. SECURITY AND COMPETITIVE INTERESTS JEOPARDIZED IN INDONESIA**

**Circulated by the U.S.-ASEAN Business Council.**

September 1993

### **POSITION PAPER:**

U.S. companies are seriously concerned by a recent Congressional proposal to "condition" U.S. exports of defense equipment to Indonesia on the basis of the situation in East Timor and alleged human rights abuses. U.S. actions to cut off aerospace and defense exports to Indonesia would seriously undermine existing bilateral and multilateral diplomatic efforts to encourage stronger protection of human rights in Indonesia. It would also negatively impact the competitive position of U.S. companies in Indonesia

and ASEAN and jeopardize U.S. workers' jobs. It would also directly undercut U.S. political and security strategy in Asia, particularly President Clinton's vision of a new Pacific Community.

## **Indonesia is an important friend of the U.S.**

Indonesia is the fourth largest country in the world with a population of over 184 million and the largest Muslim nation. Indonesia has served as a force for moderation in the Islamic world and was a staunch U.S. supporter during the Persian Gulf War.

President Suharto is the current chairman of the Non-aligned Movement (NAM). Under his leadership, Indonesia has consistently offered a reasoned voice in the North-South and South-South dialogue. However, the NAM's leaders have made it clear that they do not appreciate the West's interference in what they see as their internal affairs. The US's publicized use of economic leverage in an attempt to achieve workers rights/human rights goals will be counter-productive, forcing Indonesia away from its usual moderate position in order to show others in the NAM that it will not be dictated to by the West. If the US's relationship with Indonesia is compromised, a major voice for moderation will be lost.

Indonesia has taken the lead in trying to find a peaceful resolution to the Spratly Islands dispute. It has sent one of the largest contingents for the U.N. peace-keeping force in Cambodia, led efforts to improve regional security dialogues in Asia, supported U.S. efforts in Somalia, and provided access to U.S. military vessels for repair and maintenance.

Indonesia has been a staunch supporter of the United States in pushing for a positive conclusion to the Uruguay Round of GATT negotiations, and has been a leading proponent and supporter of APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation). APEC is a cornerstone of the new Pacific Community vision of President Clinton, and Indonesia's support, particularly since it will be chairman next year, is important as the U.S. seeks to strengthen this new regional economic group.

## **Indonesia is an important market to the U.S.**

Indonesia has a GDP of over \$125 billion growing at 6 percent per year. 1993 growth is projected at 7 percent. Indonesia's imports are projected to have exceeded \$26 billion for 1992. U.S. exports to Indonesia grew 79 percent from 1988 to 1991; 1992 exports rose 47 percent to \$2.8 billion and account for around 56,000 U.S. jobs (U.S. Department of Commerce estimates that each \$1 billion in exports results in 20,000 U.S. jobs).

### **Indonesia's purchasing power is increasing.**

Its infrastructure imports over the next decade will top \$64 billion in sectors such as aerospace, electric power, telecommunications, environmental improvements, transportation, construction and mining equipment, health and other essential services. With Indonesia's rapid development, aerospace, particularly commercial aircraft and satellite purchases have increased dramatically in the last few years.

### **American aerospace and defense firms are in a competitive position.**

Huge opportunities for American exports to Indonesia exist and are rapidly expanding. Indonesia and its ASEAN neighbors are investing billions of dollars in defense and aerospace equipment to support their growing fears that the U.S. will pull out of the region militarily and to counter-balance China's recent elevation of military purchases and offensive activity in the South China Sea. For example, Indonesia has recently concluded a satellite contract with Hughes Space and Communications Company for up to three third generation telecommunications satellites. The rocket launchers for this satellite have yet to be purchased, and U.S. firms are in stiff competition, particularly with French suppliers. The initial satellite contract alone was worth \$128 million and a further \$160 million will be spent by Indonesia to launch these satellites.

### **Human rights record is improving.**

Indonesia has recently taken significant steps to improve its human rights record. After the November 1991 incident in Dili, the government took the unprecedented step of prosecuting military officers, relieving several of command. President Suharto has also endorsed the establishment of an Indonesian Human Rights Commission, a decision announced at a recent U.N. sponsored conference on human rights.

Recent actions by the Indonesian government include presenting a list to Asia Watch with the names of the individuals who were presumed missing from the killings in November, 1991. Also, in an unprecedented compromise by the Indonesian government, Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão's sentence was reduced from life imprisonment to a 20 year sentence.

Under the auspices of the United Nations, Indonesia and Portugal have also been meeting on the question of East Timor. These meetings have been focused on confidence building measures, including an invitation to Portuguese journalists to visit East Timor. Additional meetings under the aegis of the U.N. Secretary General are planned.

### **International Efforts are Working.**

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights recently adopted a strong resolution on East Timor. That resolution was supported by many EC members and the United States. As a result of that resolution, increasing international pressure has been brought to bear on Indonesia.

Precipitous action at this time will undermine existing multilateral and bilateral diplomatic efforts to seek further improvements in Indonesia. Indonesia has a number of other suppliers (including the French and the British) who are pressing for improvement in Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor while still supplying Indonesia with military equipment. Further, the likely impact of this action will not be limited to the defense industry. Broad U.S. economic interests, and American workers, will be negatively affected by the proposed actions.

### **The U.S. faces stiff competition in Indonesia and ASEAN.**

Our competitors are in a strong position in terms of trade, aid, investment and technology. Japan supplies 24 percent of Indonesian imports followed by the EC with 18 percent and the U.S. with 13 percent. Japan takes 37 percent of Indonesia's exports followed by the EC with 13 percent and the U.S. with 12 percent. Yet, Japan and the EC consistently avoid the kind of conditionality on their exports and aid applied by the U.S.

When the U.S. recently disapproved the transfer of F-5 aircraft from Jordan to the U.S., the United Kingdom stepped in and sold Hawks to the Indonesians worth over \$600 million. The proposed amendment will not simply affect new sales. American companies will not be able to provide training, service and spare parts for existing equipment sold to the Indonesian military. Therefore, competitors can argue to the Indonesian government that the U.S. is an unreliable partner while they appreciate the efforts Indonesia is making to improve its citizens' welfare and rights. Further, there is evidence that competitors have argued (in Indonesia and elsewhere) that such actions by the United States Government jeopardize the reliability and credibility of American firms as suppliers of advanced technologies and equipment. Again, it is likely that this argument will extend to suppliers of civil aviation, telecommunications and other equipment as well.

### **U.S. Competitiveness weakened.**

U.S. business competitiveness is damaged when overall U.S. political and security influence in any market is reduced. Unilateral economic sanctions will reduce U.S. influence, leverage, and credibility in Indonesia. Such action will seem illogical to

Asians because it harms U.S. exports and jobs. For example, after the prevention of the F-5 transfer, over 1200 current and 2000 potential jobs in California were lost.

### **U.S. security interests are threatened.**

Political and security interests would also suffer as a result of the deterioration in U.S.-Indonesian and U.S.-ASEAN relations. Indonesia as the most geographically powerful member of ASEAN plays a large military role in ASEAN. ASEAN currently acts as a balance in Asia against the arms build-up of China. ASEAN has consistently asked the U.S. to remain committed to the region to off-set China's military power. U.S. economic sanctions against Indonesia, particularly on the sale of U.S. defense equipment, would make it appear as if the U.S. has decided to sacrifice the region and is prepared to disengage militarily, pushing ASIAN towards accommodation with China's growing military power.

Indonesia is important to the U.S. military posture in South East Asia especially in the post-Philippines bases era. The U.S. is pursuing a strategy of access and "places not bases," based largely on excellent relations with regional defense forces. These relations are crucial to the U.S. military for strategic reasons - visits, joint exercises, transits and repairs. The relationships are also the basis for inter-operability which the US relies on especially during emergencies, peace missions or humanitarian reasons which may arise in the region. While there is no current formal access agreement between the U.S. and Indonesia, Indonesia has agreed to allow the U.S. Navy ships access on a commercial basis, to facilities in Surabaya. The Pentagon hopes that this cooperation will form the basis for future written agreements.

### **U.S. jobs and political credibility will be lost.**

On August 13th, President Clinton spoke to a large crowd of Californian defense workers who he said were not forgotten. According to the "Washington Post," he stated that "if we succeed (in job transition), this military axis could be transformed into a thriving, high-tech gateway to Asia and beyond." Secretary Christopher during his recent trip to Asia also highlighted the new primacy for Asia in foreign policy, and the special relationship developing between the U.S. and ASEAN.

If the U.S. Congress eliminates defense equipment sales to Indonesia, the Congress will undermine the Clinton Administration's efforts to keep their promises to the people and sever the Administration's ability to help keep U.S. defense workers employed through exports by cutting off a vital market for their goods.

### Conclusion.

The U.S. government should not "condition arms sales" to Indonesia because of the human rights record in East Timor. The Indonesians are taking steps to resolve this situation and the international community, led by U.S. diplomatic efforts, is taking an active interest in Indonesia's progress in this area. Such a bilateral action will not effect the desired change in East Timor, will damage the U.S. Government's credibility both domestically and in Asia, will seriously undermine U.S. competitive interests in Indonesia, and will threaten vital security links and most importantly, will cause a further job loss in a sector already threatened by U.S. military down-sizing.

### INDONESIA

The Republic of Indonesia, the largest archipelago in the world, consists of 13,667 islands covering an area of over 741,101 square miles. The current population is estimated at over 188 million, making Indonesia the fourth largest nation in the world.

Indonesia has a very diversified natural resource base, with plentiful primary energy resources, significant mineral deposits, large timber potential, and a developed system of agricultural commodity production and export.

### Structure of the Economy

\* Oil and gas. Indonesia is the 14th largest oil producer in the world, with an average production of 1.3 million barrels per day. Proven oil reserves are estimated at 10 billion barrels, probable reserves at 10-40 billion barrels. It is a member of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). Indonesia is also the largest exporter of liquefied natural gas (LNG). Proven natural gas reserves are 74 trillion cubic feet (TCF), probable reserves are 97 TCF. The country also has significant mineral deposits, including gold, copper, tin and nickel.

\* Industry. In recent years, Indonesia's industrial sector has been growing rapidly, including the export-oriented manufacture of consumer products and light industrial goods, and increased value-added processing of Indonesia's raw materials. In 1992, the industrial sector accounted for 42.9 percent of GDP. Since 1987, non-oil exports have exceeded oil exports, and currently account for 60 percent of total export value.

\* Agriculture has traditionally served as the backbone of Indonesia's economy, employing half of the labor force, and contributing about 18 percent of GDP and 12.5 percent of exports. Indonesia's main agricultural products include hardwoods, rice, palm oil, sugar, rubber, tea, coffee, and spices. With the world's second-largest rainforest (after Brazil), Indonesia is the world's larg-

est exporter of tropical hardwood and tropical plywood.

### Growth Performance

\* Indonesia's GDP, estimated at US\$126 billion, grew at a rate of 5.9 percent in 1992. The country's current per capita income is about US\$610. The strong performance of its economy in recent years is attributed to the government's ongoing policy of economic deregulation.

\* Indonesia's GDP growth is expected to accelerate to about 6.3 percent in 1993, and 6.7 percent in 1994.

### Trade and Investment

\* Indonesia's principal trade partners are Japan, U.S., Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, Hong Kong, China and Australia. Japan remained the country's largest trading partner, absorbing 36.9 percent of Indonesia's exports. The U.S. ranked second with a 12 percent share. Two-way trade with Indonesia reached more than US\$7.3 billion last year.

\* U.S. exports to Indonesia amounted to US\$2.8 billion, up 47 percent from the 1991 figure of US\$1.9 billion. Between 1988 and 1992, U.S. exports to Indonesia grew 162 percent. Principal U.S. exports include cotton, petroleum products, transport vehicles, industrial chemicals, civil engineering and contractors plants and equipment.

\* U.S. imports from Indonesia totaled US\$4.5 billion in 1992, a 44 percent increase since 1988. Principal U.S. imports include crude oil and petroleum products, shrimp, natural rubber, plywood, garment and apparel, and footwear.

\* U.S. investment position in Indonesia in 1991 stood at US\$3.5 billion (US\$2.9 billion in the petroleum sector).

### Government Policies

\* Since 1983, the Government of Indonesia has implemented a series of economic reforms, collectively called "deregulation and debureaucratization measures," including the following: 1) maintenance of a competitive exchange rate that has provided strong incentives for non-oil export development; 2) strong fiscal and monetary measures designed to restrain expenditures, mobilize financial resources, and contain inflationary pressures; 3) and trade liberalization and promotion of foreign investment.

\* Oil and gas are major revenue generators for the government. As a result, Indonesian policies are aimed to reactivate oil exploration and development and diversify domestic energy consumption away from oil.

### Best Prospects for U.S. companies

- Industrial chemicals
- Aerospace and defense equipment

- Iron and steel
- Oil and gas field machinery and services
- Textile machinery and equipment
- Plastic materials and resins
- Paper and paperboard
- Consumer electronics
- Electric power systems
- Telecommunications equipment

## DOWN TO THE WIRE ON ARMS SALES CUTOFF

*Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network/US, September 4, 1993*

**The State Department and business interests are lobbying to keep weapons flowing to Indonesia.**

**The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will vote Wednesday, September 8.**

### Call or fax Tuesday!

Pressure is intensifying in the last days before the Senate decides on the Feingold Amendment to cut off arms sales to Indonesia until human rights and self-determination are respected in East Timor. The vote will be very close.

Business organizations, the State Department and corporations have mounted an intensive lobbying campaign and are urging Senator Feingold not to introduce his amendment. We need to counter this with as many calls to Senators on the committee as possible – so that Feingold can be sure he has the votes.

Earlier action alerts and other material from the East Timor Action Network contain more details about the amendment, which sends a strong moral, political and practical message to the Suharto regime. The amendment prohibits all government sales now and commercial arms sales starting next year. The ban will remain in effect until the U.S. President certifies that Indonesia has allowed human rights groups into East Timor, that there are no forms of inhumane treatment, and that Indonesia has complied with Security Council resolutions that call for withdrawal of its troops and self-determination. Hundreds of millions of dollars in weapons purchases are at stake.

Last week, a group of U.S. Congressional staffers visited East Timor for less than a day, under a restricted itinerary. Hundreds of young East Timorese were arrested in advance of their visit, and sent to a "guidance course" in a secret location. The Indonesian authorities are trying to hide the truth about East Timor from Congress. At the same time their supporters argue that earlier U.S. measures – cutting off military training aid, supporting U.N. human rights resolu-

tions, and blocking a sale of jet fighter planes – are enough. But Indonesia is not responding reasonably. We must show the seriousness of the American people and government by refusing to arm the repressive, 18-year- long occupation and genocide in East Timor.

Senators who had previously indicated they would support the Feingold amendment on Indonesia are being intensely lobbied. Please call every Senator on the Foreign Relations Committee on Tuesday (or Wednesday morning), even if you called them before. In this atmosphere, we can take nobody for granted.

## SENATE COMMITTEE LINKS ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA TO HUMAN RIGHTS

*News Release from U.S. Senator Russ Feingold, Wednesday, September 8, 1993*

Contact: Bob Decheine (202)224-5323

(Washington, D.C.) – The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously today to adopt a proposal by Sen. Russ Feingold, (D-WI) to link U.S. arms sales to Indonesia to improvements in the human rights situation in occupied East Timor.

“When this provision passes Congress and is signed into law by the President, it will mark a historic turning point in the conduct of United States foreign policy,” said Feingold. “We will be drawing a direct policy link between U.S. sanctioned arms sales and human rights violations.”

Feingold’s provision was supported by Republican and Democratic members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Wisconsin Democrat had earlier convinced the Administration to disapprove a proposed transfer of American built F-5E fighter bombers from Jordan to Indonesia.

“Indonesia has been engaged in a campaign of systematic oppression in the occupied island nation of East Timor since 1975. In November of 1991, Indonesian security forces conducted a massacre of civilian demonstrators that resulted in at least 100 deaths and hundreds of injuries. The full extent of this massacre and the ongoing Indonesian oppression of East Timor is not fully known because the Indonesian government has not properly investigated this incident. Furthermore, it has refused access to East Timor to international humanitarian organizations and human rights groups,” said Feingold.

“Hopefully this action will serve notice to the government of Indonesia that the United States will not tolerate and will not assist the kind of human rights violations

being perpetrated in East Timor,” said Feingold.

Feingold’s amendment lays out six specific criteria that must be considered by the President in consultation with the Congress prior to the approval of any arms sale or transfer. Those criteria are: (see text of the amendment)

### FEINGOLD AMENDMENT ON ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA (FULL TEXT, AS APPROVED BY COMMITTEE)

#### SECTION \_\_\_\_ . ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

(a) Prior to approval of the sale or transfer of defense articles, defense services, or design and construction services under the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2751 et seq) for which a numbered certification is required under Section 36(b) of that Act, to the Government of Indonesia or to issuance of licenses with respect to the commercial sale of major defense articles or defense services which fall within the scope of Section 36(c)(1) of the Act to such Government, the President shall consult with the Congress and make a determination as to whether there have been improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor.

(b) In making this determination, the President shall carefully consider

- whether the civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 East Timor incident have been treated in accordance with international standards of fairness, including whether the Indonesian Government has reviewed the sentences of these individuals for the purpose of their commutation, reduction or remission;

- whether the Indonesian Government is taking steps to curb human rights violations by its security forces, including that all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing or initiating the use of lethal force against demonstrators in East Timor in November 1991, are being brought to justice;

- whether there has been a full public accounting of the individuals missing after the November 1991 incident;

- whether international humanitarian organizations, human rights groups and others have been granted expanded access to East Timor;

- whether the Indonesian Government has implemented stated plans to decrease the military presence on East Timor;

- whether the Indonesian Government is cooperating constructively with the United Nations Secretary General’s efforts to promote dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal to resolve issues concerning East Timor.

## EAST TIMOR ISSUE SHOWS NO SIGN OF GOING AWAY

*The World at Noon (ABN 2 TV). 8 September 1993*

*The following is transcript of an interview between the ABC newsreader John Lombard and Jakarta correspondent, Michael Maher.*

### NEWSREADER:

Indonesia received a jolt from the United States over its human rights record in East Timor. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has voted to link American Arms sales to Jakarta’s improvement to the country’s human rights. The Committee wants to know what action Indonesia is taking to curb human rights violations by the armed forces; it wants increase access to East Timor for international human rights groups and a reduction of the Indonesian military presence there.

*John Lombard: Michael has it been any Indonesian response to this resolution?*

MICHAEL MAHER: Unfortunately John this line we’ve got is breaking up - But as I understand your question- has there been any official response from Indonesia. So far, there has been no official reaction to the Foreign Relations Committee decision, but I think it is safe to say that the Indonesian Government and the military here will be taking this move very seriously. Of course the Foreign Relations Committee recommendation on what would amount in arms embargo is yet to be passed by the Congress or for that matter by President Clinton. But it is significant, I think that the State Department has already giving its approval.

What we think at the moment is the United States taking a far more critical look at the human rights situation here in Indonesia, then it has in a very long time. Of course the Dili killings at the end of 1991, a largely responsible for this, but is not only the issue of East Timor which is attracting attention in Washington. The US Trade representative office have threaten to withdraw trade privileges by early next year if Jakarta doesn’t reform its fairly strict labour laws. At the moment Indonesian workers are only allowed to belong to State Sanctioned Union, just last month the United States vetoed the sale of 4 fighter aircraft to Indonesian, also on the grounds of human rights concern.

Now, while the Indonesian armed forces says it can buy it weapons elsewhere, and certainly there is no reason to doubt that, the symbolic importance of this US (unclear) shouldn’t be estimated. For many years during the Cold War Indonesia as a vehemently anti-communist nation was very much in Washington’s good books but, now that we’ve sailed into the World Order (un-

clear) of change especially it seems towards Indonesia's record on human rights.

*John Lombard: Michael, if you can hear me, have you got any indication of what the situation in East Timor at the moment is like?*

MICHAEL MAHER: it's very hard John, to get accurate information on conditions in East Timor. The military still very wary about journalists travelling there for instance, in fact the BBC had an application to visit the Portuguese colony knocked back just a short time ago. But I think it is safe to say, that the situation in East Timor is still tense, there is still a large military presence there and we do hear regular reports of harassment and detention of Timorese oppose to Indonesian rule. Although the armed forces deny this. So, despite the wishes of the Indonesian Government the East Timor issue shows no sign of going away.

## U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE APPROVES ARMS SALE CURB

*By Jim Lobe*

Washington, Sept. 8 (IPS) - a key committee of the U.S. Senate Wednesday unanimously approved an amendment to the 1994 foreign aid bill restricting future U.S. arms sales to Indonesia.

In passing the so-called 'Feingold amendment' - named after its author, Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold - the Senate Foreign Relations Committee said President Bill Clinton would have to consider six criteria before approving any arms sale to Jakarta.

"Hopefully this action will serve notice to the government of Indonesia that the united states will not tolerate and will not assist the kind of human rights violations being perpetrated in East Timor," Feingold said after the vote.

East Timor, a Portuguese colony, was invaded and later annexed by Indonesia in 1975. It was also the scene of a Nov. 1991 massacre of what witnesses say were more than 100 Timorese demonstrators by Indonesian troops.

The Senate action, which is expected to be upheld by the full congress, is the latest in a series of events which appear to be upsetting the normally excellent ties between Washington and Jakarta.

Congress last year voted for the first time to cut all military aid to Indonesia to protest the 1991 massacre in Dili, Timor's capital.

The Clinton administration surprised observers earlier this year by lobbying in favor of a European-sponsored resolution at the U.N. human rights commission, expressing

"deep concern" over Indonesian abuses in Timor and urging Jakarta to permit international rights observers to visit the island.

Washington had helped block similar resolutions under the republican administrations of former presidents Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

The Clinton administration informed Jakarta in June that it risked losing its preferential trade status under the generalized system of preferences unless it showed greater respect for labour union rights by next February.

U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, is expected to dispatch a special mission this month to investigate complaints that Jakarta unduly restricts union activity and permits child labour in violation of international standards.

Clinton reportedly raised U.S. Indonesian president Suharto himself in early July during a bilateral meeting in Tokyo.

Later that month, the state department, citing human rights and other "sensitive" issues, rejected Jordan's request to sell four U.S. fighter jets to Indonesia. Those other issues reportedly included Washington's unhappiness with Indonesia's efforts to sell its own arms and aircraft to Iraq and Iran.

Feingold reportedly played a key role in persuading the administration to ban the sale.

As approved Wednesday, his amendment requires Clinton to consider several factors related to the 1991 massacre before approving future arms sales to Indonesia. Washington has long served as Jakarta's most important arms supplier.

Clinton must determine whether the massacre's perpetrators have been adequately punished, whether those missing after the massacre have been the subject of a full public accounting, and whether civilians sentenced to jail terms for their part in the demonstration which preceded the massacre have been treated fairly.

Clinton must also assess whether international humanitarian and human rights bodies have gained greater access to East Timor, whether Jakarta has begun reducing its military presence in Timor, and whether it is cooperating fully with U.N. efforts to mediate disputes between Indonesia and Portugal over the former colony.

## JAKARTA REGRETS U.S. VOTE TO BAR ARMS SALES

*Reuters wire, full text*

JAKARTA, Sept. 9 (Reuters) - Indonesia on Thursday expressed deep regret over a U.S. Senate committee vote to tie arms sales to human rights in East Timor and warned

that if the bill became law it would hurt ties between the two countries.

The foreign ministry said Jakarta would be forced to look elsewhere for arms if the amendment, included in a foreign aid bill on Wednesday, were to be approved by the full Congress and President Bill Clinton.

"The department of foreign affairs has expressed its deep regret about the decision by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee," the Indonesian statement said.

"The impact of this new amendment, if it is accepted by Congress and the president, will certainly impact on the good relationship which has existed between the Republic of Indonesia and the United States," it added.

The amendment would require Clinton to consider human rights criteria in consultation with Congress before any arms sales or transfer can be approved.

Concerns focus on Indonesia's alleged excesses in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony which Jakarta has ruled with an iron grip since its 1975 invasion.

Senators want a full accounting for an incident in November 1991 when troops shot dead up to 180 people attending a funeral in the capital Dili. They want those guilty to be tried.

The vote coincides with a row over labor rights and follows last month's block by Washington of the sale of Jordanian F-5 jet fighters to Indonesia, in part because of human rights.

Indonesian officials, while noting that the adopted version was milder than previous ones, said it was still likely to ignite resentment in the powerful military.

"We are worried about this (amendment). We expected something to come out that was critical of Indonesia but did not expect a complete ban (on arms sales)," one official said.

U.S. trade officials will visit Indonesia later this month to investigate the labour issue. Washington, critical of Jakarta's treatment of its workers, has threatened to suspend trading privileges if Indonesia does not improve.

But diplomats said the vote was much more serious as it affected fragile army ties, weakened by the F-5 ban and the suspension of military aid after the 1991 Dili incident.

"If this draft resolution is agreed on by the Senate then it means Indonesia has to provide its (arms) requirement from other suppliers. Now it depends greatly on the government and Congress of the United States to review the effect of this amendment," the foreign ministry statement said.

No figures were available for U.S. military sales to Indonesia. Although the majority of Jakarta's armory comes from the

United States, in recent months it has bought Hawk fighters from Britain and former East German ships from Germany.

Indonesia has since the late 1960's been a close ally of the United States, but the end of the Cold War and Jakarta's hard line stance over East Timor has frayed ties.

## **TIMOR REBELS HAIL U.S. SENATE VOTE AGAINST INDONESIA**

*Reuters wire, full text.*

Sydney, Sept. 9 (Reuter) Timorese rebels on Thursday praised a U.S. Senate committee vote linking arms sales to Indonesia to an improvement in Jakarta's (unreadable) in East Timor.

Margherita Tracanelli of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the rebel umbrella group based in Australia, said the vote was a sign of firmer support in the U.S. government for a solution to the issue of East Timor.

"The international tide is turning against Indonesia on the issue of East Timor," Tracanelli said.

"The unprecedented support we have in the U.S. Congress reflects the fact that, at the end of the Cold War, Indonesia cannot hide behind an anti-communist stance while it continues to perpetrate human rights abuses," Tracanelli said.

The amendment to a foreign aid bill, adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, requires the U.S. president to consider human rights criteria alongside Congress before any arms sale or transfer to Indonesia can be approved.

These include considering whether the Indonesian government is curbing abuses by security forces and bringing to justice "all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing or initiating use of force against demonstrators in East Timor."

It rejects Indonesian claims that only low level forces were responsible for a massacre of civilians in East Timor's capital of Dili in November 1991, when up to 180 Timorese were killed.

The legislation also ties approval of any military sales to a full public accounting of people missing after the incident and to a review of the sentences meted out to the Timorese for taking part in the march which triggered the shootings.

Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year, a move not recognised by the United Nations.

## **PORTUGUESE FOREIGN MINISTRY APPLAUDS TIMOR AMENDMENT**

*Diario de Noticias, 9 September 1993  
Translated from Portuguese.*

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the Foreign Ministry was very pleased with the passing, by the US Senate's Foreign Relations Committee, of an amendment conditioning weapons sales to Indonesia. A Foreign Ministry spokesperson said that the decision was proof of "the growing interest in international public opinion, namely in the US, about the Timorese issue."

## **CLINTON TIES ARMS SALES TO RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR**

*The Australian, 10 Sept. 1993. AFP, Reuter, AAP. By correspondents in Washington, Jakarta and Darwin.*

*The headline is misleading: Clinton had nothing to do with it!*

A UNITED STATES Senate committee voted yesterday to tie US arms sales to Indonesia to improvement of that country's human rights performance in East Timor, in what was hailed as a turning point in Washington's relations with Jakarta.

The move came amid mounting US pressure on Indonesia, including a ban on sales of US fighter jets in July and a threat to withdraw privileged trading arrangements if Jakarta does not improve its labour protection by February.

It is also expected to increase pressure on Canberra over its stance towards Jakarta, with a Darwin-based pro-East Timorese independence group yesterday saying the Federal Government would be foolish to ignore the changing mood in Washington.

The foreign aid Bill will need to be approved by Congress and signed by Mr. Clinton before becoming law.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said yesterday that Jakarta opposed the move.

"I have repeatedly said that the basic principle for Indonesia and most countries of the Non-Aligned is that setting any political condition in any economic and finance co-operation cannot be accepted," Mr. Alatas said.

President Clinton signalled a hardening of Washington's policy towards Jakarta in July when he raised human rights violation in East Timor with Indonesia's President Suharto at the summit of the world's seven leading industrial nation in Tokyo.

Pressure was increased earlier this week with the release of a secret State Department cable from the US embassy in Jakarta,

which alleged that Indonesian authorities had interfered in a sensitive United Nations investigation of the 1991 Dili massacre, in which up to 100 civilians were killed by government troops.

The amendment attached to a foreign aid Bill by Democrat Senator Russell Feingold was passed unanimously by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

It requires the President to consider human rights criteria in consultation with Congress before any arms sale or transfer to Indonesia can be approved.

They include whether Indonesia is acting to curb human rights violations by its armed forces, increased access to East Timor for international human rights groups and reduction of the Indonesian military presence.

The amendment also ties approval of any military sales to a full public accounting of people missing after the incident and review of the sentences of civilians convicted in connection with the incident. An Indonesian inquiry into the massacre had found that 49 people were killed and listed another 50 as missing.

In Darwin yesterday, Timor Democratic Union spokesman Mr. Goncalo Pinto said the amendment was a "clear indication" of Washington's changing stance.

"This is a very polite way of telling Indonesia that the US is changing and will no longer support Indonesia on the question of East Timor," Mr. Pinto said.

## **US SENATE MOVE TO BAN JAKARTA ARMS**

*THE AGE, 10 September 1993. By Pilita Clark. Similar article in Sydney Morning Herald.*

(Washington) Relations between Jakarta and Washington soured further yesterday when the Senate foreign relations committee voted to ban United States arms sales to Indonesia until it improved its human rights record in East Timor.

The committee voted unanimously for a proposal by a Democrat newcomer, Wisconsin Senator Russ Feingold, to ban future arms sales unless Indonesia meets six specific human rights conditions in relations to East Timor.

Senator Feingold was part of the congressional push that led to July's US ban on Jordan selling American-made F-5 fighter aircraft to Indonesia.

Friction between the US and Indonesia has been steadily growing this year. When President Clinton met Indonesia's President, Mr. Suharto, in Tokyo on July, Mr. Clinton reportedly raised concerns about Indonesian arms sales to Iran.



Indonesia today defended its human rights record.

"By our standards we have implemented human rights maximally," said an armed forces spokesman, Brigadier General Syarwan Hamid.

He said it was up to Washington to decide whether to link arms sales with human rights records. He said the Government would discuss the issue.

Timorese rebels praised the Senate committee vote. Ms Margharita Tracanelli, of The National Council of Maubere Resistance, the rebel umbrella group based in Australia, said in Sydney that the vote was a sign of firmer support in the US Government for a solution to the issue of East Timor.

"The international tide is turning against Indonesia on the issue of East Timor," Ms Tracanelli said.

Earlier this week, the State Department issued an internal report under Freedom of Information laws showing that Indonesian security forces interfered with a sensitive 1992 United Nations mission to East Timor by rounding up more than 100 young people.

Last week, human rights groups reported that at least 53 Timorese were arrested in similar circumstances just before a visit from a US House foreign affairs committee staff delegation.

Speaking after yesterday's vote, Senator Feingold said he hoped the arms ban would be clear to Indonesia that the US would not tolerate continued human rights violations in East Timor.

He said his proposal, which must now be approved by the full Senate and the House of Representatives, would forge an important link between arms sales and human rights violations.

Under Senator Feingold's amendment, future arms sales to Indonesia will depend on these six criteria:

- \* Whether the civilians convicted in connection with the November 1991 East Timor incident have been treated in accordance with "international standards of fairness."

- \* Whether the Indonesia Government is taking steps to curb human rights violations by security forces, including bringing those responsible for the 1991 massacre to book

- \* Whether there has been a full public accounting of all the individuals declared missing after the massacre.

- \* Whether international humanitarian and human rights organisations have been granted expanded access to East Timor.

- \* Whether the Indonesian Government has started decreasing its military presence in East Timor.

\* Whether Indonesia is cooperating with UN efforts to resolve disputes.

#### **ADDITIONAL TEXT IN SYDNEY MORNING HERALD:**

In Jakarta, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said Indonesia opposed the US Senate move.

"I have repeatedly said that the basic principle for Indonesia and most countries of the Non-Aligned Movement is that setting any political condition in any economic and finance co-operation cannot be accepted," Mr. Alatas said.

"Our reaction is not because of fear. We see that because that is wrong."

The defence Minister, Mr Edi Sudrajat, told a parliamentary hearing that the problem was a result of misleading information on human rights.

---

### **INDONESIA DEFENDS TIMOR ROLE**

---

*The Canberra Times, 10 September 1993.*

Jakarta, AFP: Indonesia defended its human rights record yesterday in the face of US Senate move to link US arms sales to Jakarta to an improvement in its record in East Timor.

"By our standards we have implemented human rights maximally," said armed forces spokesman Brigadier General Syarwan Hamid.

He said it was up to Washington to decide whether to link arms sales with human rights records. He refused further comment but said the government would discuss the issue.

The US Senate foreign relations committee approved on Tuesday an amendment to the foreign aid Bill linking US arms sales to Indonesia to an improvement in its human rights record in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

The amendment was put forward by Senator Russell Feingold who accused Indonesia of waging "a campaign of systematic oppression in the occupied island nation of East Timor since 1975"

Feingold said inclusion of the clause marked an historic turning point in the conduct of US foreign policy.

---

### **ALATAS: US WILL ALSO LOSE OUT**

---

*Republika 10 September 1993. Slightly abridged*

(Jakarta) If the amendment banning military sales to Indonesia is endorsed by the US Senate and is not vetoed by the President, the super-power itself will be the one to lose out because other countries will have

the opportunity to enter the market lost to the US, said Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

"In today's world, it's easy to get any weapons we need to buy. As we know there is stiff competition between the US and Britain and France, which means that the amendment is not in line with America's own interests," he said.

"It's necessary for us to make it quite clear that Indonesia's basic position is unchanged. We have said repeatedly that it is a basic principle for Indonesia and for most non-aligned countries that attaching political conditions to any form of economic cooperation is not acceptable."

But he said we should await further developments because not all members of the Senate are in favour. The reason why some oppose the amendment is that if Indonesia doesn't buy the weapons from the US it can get the weapons it wants from other countries.

He said that the Indonesian armed forces do not only buy military equipment from the US. "We have got Hawks from Britain and other equipment from Switzerland, Sweden and Germany, and we can even manufacture some of the equipment ourselves."

Asked whether he was afraid of the amendment being implemented, Alatas said: "Fear is not the right word to use. The question is whether the US Congress is right to do this, especially as the linkage - with East Timor - is very wrong." Indonesia's reaction has nothing to do with fear but the Indonesian government feels that the US administration is doing something wrong. "We cannot accept the linkage. And we can buy equipment from anywhere, in conformity with our national interests."

John Monjo, when he was US ambassador in Jakarta sent home reports that were harmful to Indonesia on the question of East Timor. This diplomat from the Democratic Party [*sic - is this true? He was a Bush appointee.*] reported that Indonesia interfered with a UN mission to Indonesia in 1992 by arresting a number of young East Timorese before a visit to East Timor by Amos Wako, the special envoy of the UN Secretary-General.

It is thought that on the basis of the Monjo reports, the US Senate was pressed not to endorse a recommendation to sell weapons to Indonesia. [*More reported here about the amendment.*]

#### **Untrue**

Defence Minister Edi Sudrajat said that the Senators who raised the issue of human rights in East Timor and linked these with arms sales were, in all likelihood, basing their assessment on incorrect information they had received. "This can happen in the

US. It may be a Senator who is bent on making trouble for us," the defence minister said. "Assessments by foreigners about Indonesia are frequently wrong," he said, referring specifically to his own experience when escorting a foreigner who was amazed to see the situation as it really was.

"Often what foreigners hear about the situation in East Timor is highly exaggerated but after going and seeing for themselves, they change their minds. This person said: 'It's really strange. Before I went to Dili, I thought that Dili was full of bayonets and barbed wire but it turns out that I was quite wrong.'"

The defence minister said that the role of information is all important. Foreigners often hear things about East Timor that are not true. If this happens, who's to blame? We can't say good things about what we have done in East Timor.

The defence minister also said that the end of the Cold War had created a new momentum throughout the world which had led to all kinds of demands, among others for openness, democracy and human rights.

Yet at the same time, security safeguards are a legitimate concern for every citizen and every act or decision involves a certain amount of risk. In his own view, the economic difficulties which have dragged on in the industrialised countries are accompanied by unemployment. "There will always be hidden political pressure which will become far prominent in the industrialised countries. One form of pressure centres around human rights and this has spread to labour questions, arms sales and so on."

## INDONESIA THREATENS TO BUY ARMS ELSEWHERE

ATVI (Australian Television international)  
12am news 10 September 1993

READER: With South Africa regaining favour, Indonesia is coming under the spotlight over East Timor. A Senate Committee in the United States has moved to link arms sales to Indonesia with Jakarta's human rights record. The move has still to win congressional approval but mounting US pressure has already led to a ban on sales of fighter jets, and a warning to Indonesia to improve its labour laws.

A short time ago I spoke to Australia TV Jakarta correspondent Michael Maher and asked what has been the official Indonesia Government response to the move.

Michael Maher: Rosemarie, I spoke to the Indonesian Foreign Minister Mr. Ali Alatas earlier this evening and he said that the Indonesian Government regrets the decision by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee to link arms sale to human rights

improvement in East Timor. Mr. Alatas noted that the recommendations to place these conditions on arm sales had yet to be passed by the Congress or receive backing of President Clinton. The Indonesian Foreign Minister made it plain that this country wouldn't buy arms from US if conditions were attached and that Indonesia would purchase weapons elsewhere. He went to say the American Congress and Government had to determine for themselves what kind of impact possible arms restrictions might have on what he described as "the good relations that have developed between the two countries over the years."

*Rosemarie: Has this been a surprise move from the United States? Is it taking the Indonesian Government surprise at all?*

Michael Maher: I don't think it has taken them by surprise, the so called Feingold amendment which was by the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee has been around for some time, so, it wouldn't be a surprise to the Indonesian Government. However, I dare say it's a disappointment to them.

*Rosemarie: Now, has the Indonesian Government been seen to be curbing violations against human rights at this stage?*

Michael Maher: Obviously in the United States, that is not the case, but the Indonesian Government itself claims that it has been implementing human rights policy here in Indonesia and in fact it says that the information these US politicians were using to make their judgment was misleading information.

*Rosemarie: So, what's the next stage now, presumably the Government would just sit and wait to see what happens in Congress?*

Michael Maher: Yes, I think they will be playing it fairly low key here in Jakarta until a final decision is made by the US Congress and President Clinton. Obviously if the decision is made to implement this link between arms sales and human rights, Indonesia will stronger action, it has already make it plain, as I've said before, that if this goes ahead they would buy their arms from elsewhere.

## TOWARDS THE US, WE SHOULD BE MORE SAVAGE (GALAK)

*Jawa Pos, 10 September 1993 Article by Prof. Yuwono Sudarsono*

*Sudden, surprising and even confusing comments rose from various and different sources in Indonesia following the US Senate "cut off" arms sale to the country. The following is from one leading Indonesia intellectual Yuwono Sudarsono, Dean of the Faculty of International relations at the University of Indonesia and a frequent commentator in the Indonesian press on international affairs. Unfortunately this emotional comment does not reflect his intellectual 'sense' as a political observer rather biased to his personal view.*

— Carmel

The provocative steps being taken by the US towards a number of countries including Indonesia on the pretext of defending human rights, democracy and the environment are in fact nothing but a US tactic to protect its economy. This is why the US attitude towards some countries is often two-faced.

Before it started exerting pressure on Indonesia, the US also took a number of hostile actions against China and even against a very poor country like Bangladesh. The hostility towards China is explained by the fact that China enjoys a number of advantages which means that it can compete for markets with US goods. Even Bangladesh has not escaped the trickery of the US on the pretext that it employs under-age children. All this is clearly happening because the US needs to compensate for the weakness of its economy. Indonesia had now begun to emerge with an industrial section capable of damaging the markets for US goods.

The US has recently been playing a number of tricks against Indonesia. First it was East Timor, human rights, the environment and labour which was linked with a threat to withdraw GSP. Now to cap it all, Senator Russell Feingold of the Democratic Party wants to halt all sales of US-made arms to Indonesia, including spare-parts for the F-16 aircraft which Indonesia purchased a short while ago.

In view of such US arrogance, it is high time for a number of countries to adopt a much more savage ('galak') stand. For its part, Indonesia which up to the present has taken a lenient attitude, always seeking to conform with US wishes, should now go on the offensive. The time has come for us to be absolutely frank and have the courage to tell the US to engage in some introspection. There are many things that we could use

against the US if all this pressure on us continues.

Numerous mistakes have been made without the US comprehending [these mistakes] or expressing any regrets. This is true especially of a number of senators who often prattle away [cuap-cuap]; their real intentions need to be investigated as they go on issuing statements that are bent on embarrassing Indonesia.

In my assessment, many senators who are out to embarrass Indonesia and other newly-industrialised countries do so not because of any genuine interest in human rights or democracy but simply because they are under pressure from industrial interests which they represent.

In other words, US senators are behaving like merchants; if they fail to voice the concerns of the industrial interests which they represent, they are in danger of losing their seats. Indonesia should not therefore feel dispirited in face of all the pressures from the US since Bill Clinton became president.

In fact, in my opinion, not only should we speak frankly and go on the diplomatic offensive against the US. The time has now come for us to be more savage so as to preserve our dignity as a nation. In such a situation, Bung Karno's [the late President Sukarno] statement, 'go to hell with your aid' has again become appropriate.

To this end, our diplomatic style towards the US, whether at the level of foreign ministers, directors-general or among our diplomats, needs to change. Although it is not necessary for us to start flinging counter-charges at the US, we need to speak absolutely candidly in our diplomacy.

There is no need for Indonesia to get too upset and fall in line with everything the US wants in order to preserve our markets in the US. If the US is indeed about to carry out its threat in the world of trade, then Indonesia should start turning to markets in Asia and the Pacific.

---

### FEINGOLD PROPOSAL ADOPTED BY ACCLAMATION

*Jawa Pos, 10 September 1993*

*By Heri Akhmadi, Slightly abridged*

#### US cannot sell weapons to Indonesia

#### US embassy in Jakarta keeps its mouth shut

(Washington) The Foreign Affairs Committee of the US Senate yesterday adopted by acclamation an amendment to the draft Foreign Appropriations Bill prohibiting the sale of US-made weapons to Indonesia. The US will only permit the sale of weapons to Indonesia if Jakarta improves basic human rights in East Timor.

It is virtually certain that the draft law will be approved by the Senate because both the Democrats and Republicans supported the proposed amendment tabled by Senator Russell Feingold which was supported by senior Senators like Sen. Claiborne Pell and Edward Kennedy, meaning that it could win the support of other Senators. Besides, the Democrats control 56 seats of the 100 seats in the Senate.

A draft bill approved by the Senate could conceivably be vetoed by President Clinton but this is very unlikely to happen because the amendment is part of an aid packet for many countries including Israel and Egypt whose influence in the US is very considerable. Besides, a bill or amendment tabled by the same party as the President has never been vetoed by the President. It is therefore extremely unlikely that President Clinton will veto this bill, especially since it has the absolute support of both parties which are normally in conflict with each other.

If it is not vetoed by President Clinton, the impact on Indonesia will be considerable because, within a short time, Indonesia will not only not be able to purchase new military equipment, it will also not be able to purchase spare-parts for military equipment bought from the US in the past, including F-5 and F-16 fighters. These advanced technology aircraft could, as a result, be grounded because of lack of spare-parts.

Unfortunately, the crucial debate on this amendment was not followed closely by Indonesian diplomats in Washington. The new Indonesian ambassador to Washington, Arifin Siregar, has not yet arrived in Washington to take up his post, and his deputy, Drs. Tjahjono was busy up to yesterday escorting the Food Supplies Minister Ibrahim Hassan who is on a visit to the US, while the Head of the Political Department, Dra Titiek Rustaman, is in Indonesia escorting a US congressional staff mission.

Another senior diplomat, Drs Hanief Johan, head of information, said when contacted by Jawa Pos that he had just found out about the matter and was unable to comment. It is evident that the Indonesian embassy has not formulated a coherent strategy to deal with the adoption of the Feingold amendment.

One source said that it is quite frustrating to try to make contact with the Indonesian embassy because they are more preoccupied looking after guests that coping with such a serious matter as the prohibition of arms sales or the threat to cut off GSP.

Two US journalists, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, are the source of the pressure on the US. They were both witnesses to the Dili incident on 12 November 1991 and became actively involved with ETAN-US [East Timor Action Network - US]

which is pro-Fretilin/GPK. They are the ones who succeeded in lobbying and pressuring a number of US members of Congress to "punish" Indonesia.

Senator Russell Feingold who sponsored the amendment is an ambitious freshman Senator who wants to "make a name for himself." This is why he was only too willing to receive the Nairn and Goodman group. The Feingold amendment mentions six criteria which will be applied in assessing steps taken by the Indonesian government. [See Feingold amendment for these criteria which are quoted in full in this Jawa Pos report.]

#### US embassy says nothing

Although the news of this pressure from Congress is being widely reported, the US embassy in Jakarta has opted to keep its mouth shut, saying it had no comment to make. US ambassador Robert L. Barry refused to receive a Jawa Pos reporter yesterday. A member of staff at the embassy told Jawa Pos to contact the head of information at the embassy tomorrow.

Gary L. Bricker, head of the Programme and Project Support Office at the embassy said the ambassador was busy with other appointments but it is not clear whether he was lying [ia berbohong] or telling the truth. When asked to comment on the matter, he said he could not make any comment. Asked whether [publication of] a report made previously by the embassy had caused difficulties for Ambassador Barry, he said he did not know.

*The report concludes with a quotation from the statement made in Sydney by CNRM Media Director, Margherita Tracaneli.*

---

### COMMITTEE ACCEPTS FEINGOLD AMENDMENT; FLOOR VOTE IN SEPTEMBER

*Action Alert from the East Timor Action Network/US*

September 12, 1993

#### Tell Senators to Support East Timor by Limiting Arms Sales to Indonesia

On September 8, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously approved an amendment by Senator Russ Feingold (D-Wisconsin) which links US arms sales to Indonesia and human rights in the Indonesian-occupied territory of East Timor. The amendment to the Foreign Aid Authorization bill requires the President to consult with Congress before approving major weapons deals. It is believed to be the first time arms sales to a US ally have been tied to human rights concerns.

Although the original wording would have barred all US arms sales until self-determination was achieved, it was modified after intense negotiations. In the end, the State Department promised not to oppose the bill, and Kansas Republican Nancy Kassebaum praised it, saying it was likely to pass. Virginia Democrat Charles Robb, Chairman of the Asia-Pacific Subcommittee, also gave his assent. This unity will be hard to reproduce on the Senate floor in the face of increasing opposition.

The amendment covers government-to-government sales and licenses for commercial sales over \$14 million, which occur a few times each year. Although it does not establish a legal requirement before sales are approved, there is clear Congressional intent and a politically binding connection between human rights and arms sales. The Indonesian and Australian press have reported it as a "ban."

Especially significant is the bill's requirement for the President to consider whether Indonesia is bringing to justice "all military personnel who were responsible for ordering, authorizing, or initiating" the November 1991 massacre of over 271 unarmed Timorese protesters, which rejects Jakarta's contention that the "incident" was an over-reaction by low-level soldiers.

Opposition is mounting, and there may be a Senate floor fight the week of September 20. A Jakarta supporter may move to strike the Feingold wording from the Foreign Aid Authorization bill or, if that bill is shelved, Feingold could offer an amendment to Foreign Operations Appropriations or other legislation.

Weapons contractors and corporate interests lobbied heavily against Feingold, and will continue the fight on the floor. Business associations claimed that all US trade with Indonesia would be jeopardized if the amendment was approved. They warned of the loss of credibility of US weapons suppliers, and raised the "Chinese threat" as the rationale for keeping the right-wing Indonesian military regime as a loyal US ally. Puff pieces in The New York Times and Fortune magazine touted Indonesia as a good investment with its cheap labor and abundant resources, and bolstered the view that human rights and self-determination should never interfere with the quest for commerce.

The Clinton Administration has threatened to revoke Indonesia's GSP trade preferences next February if repressive labor practices do not improve. Jakarta's strong propaganda response to these warnings shows how much they value their largest export market for manufactured goods. They are unlikely to discard it over East Timor, which is peripheral to Indonesia's economy and security.

Jakarta and the arms industry reacted strongly to the Feingold amendment, with Indonesian armed forces spokesman Brig. Gen. Syarwan Hamid saying "By our standards we have implemented human rights maximally." Foreign Minister Ali Alatas reiterated that "setting any political condition in any economic and finance cooperation cannot be accepted."

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, and the war and continuing military occupation have killed 200,000 East Timorese, about one-third of the population. The US supported Indonesia for the first 17 years of that occupation, as Jakarta's main weapons supplier and a major diplomatic backer. US arms sales to Indonesia vary from year to year, and were over \$100 million in 1991. They include high-technology aircraft and replacement parts, as well as the M-16 automatic weapons used in the 1991 massacre.

After that, the tide began to change, although weapons sales continue. Congress terminated military training aid to Indonesia last October. The Clinton administration supported strong UN resolutions on East Timor, and the State Department recently blocked the sale of four F-5E jet fighters from Jordan to Indonesia. In June, 43 Senators wrote President Clinton calling for a review of U.S. policy on East Timor "with an eye toward facilitating serious negotiations ... in pursuit of the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people. ... We believe that the United States should work ... to convince Indonesia by diplomatic means that it is not in Indonesia's long-term interest to pursue the policies it has followed in East Timor since 1975." When Clinton met the Indonesian President in early July, he became the first US President to raise East Timor and human rights concerns with Suharto, who was gravely insulted.

Indonesia has been defiant. Many Timorese continue to serve long prison sentences for peaceful political activities. In early September, hundreds of young East Timorese were arrested prior to the visit of Congressional staffers and sent to a "guidance course," as is usual on the infrequent occasions that foreign or UN visitors are admitted. Arrests, torture and military occupation continue regardless of international awareness, but Indonesia is increasingly sensitive to that pressure.

Senator Feingold: "Indonesia has been engaged in a campaign of systematic oppression in the occupied island nation of East Timor since 1975. The full extent of the 1991 massacre and the ongoing Indonesian oppression of East Timor is not fully known because the Indonesian government has not properly investigated this incident.

Furthermore, it has refused access to East Timor to international humanitarian organizations and human rights groups. Hopefully this action will serve notice to the government of Indonesia that the United States will not tolerate and will not assist the kind of human rights violations being perpetrated in East Timor."

All Senators can be phoned at 202-224-3121 or written at US Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

---

## JAKARTA MAY BUY EUROPEAN ARMS OVER HUMAN RIGHTS

---

*Reuters, Sept. 12. Full text.*

JAKARTA – Indonesia will buy defense equipment from Europe if the United States links its sales with human rights, particularly in East Timor, Jakarta's defense minister was quoted Sunday as saying.

"If the American government is unwilling to sell weapons to Indonesia, we will buy defense equipment from Britain, Germany, France, and Russia," the official Antara news agency quoted Defense Minister Edi Sudradjat as saying.

He was reacting to a vote by the U.S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee Wednesday proposing to tie arms sales to human rights in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 after invading it the previous year following the withdrawal of the Portuguese. Its rule over the territory has not been recognized by the United Nations.

Indonesia's foreign ministry said Thursday that bilateral relations would be hurt if the proposed amendment to the foreign assistance authorization bill became law.

Indonesia has been a close ally since the last 1960s of the United States, which supplies much of its arms needs including fighter jets.

But ties have become frayed since the end of the Cold War and because of Jakarta's hardline stance on East Timor, especially after Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners at a funeral in the capital Dili in 1991, killing at least 50.

No figures were available for sales of U.S. defense equipment and services to Indonesia, which is buying Hawk fighter-trainers from Britain and former East German warships.

The Senate committee vote follows a decision by Washington in July to block the sale of four U.S.-built F-5E jets from Jordan to Indonesia, mainly because of human rights concerns.

It also comes ahead of a planned visit to Jakarta by a U.S. delegation next week to

view labor practices, which Washington says must be improved if a trade privilege is to be maintained.

The arms sales proposal still has to go to the full Senate and be reconciled with any House of Representatives' measures.

If passed, it would require President Clinton to consult Congress to determine "whether there have been improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor" before any certified sales under the Arms Export Control Act.

*I hope East Timor's supporters in Britain, Germany and France take this as a challenge. We'll race you to see who can be the first to stop a sale!*

— Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

---

## SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE REPORT

*Unabridged excerpt on Indonesia and East Timor from SENATE Report 103-42, 103d Congress 1st Session pp. 30-31. A committee report provides non-legally binding opinion from a committee; in this case, the U.S. Senate Committee on Appropriations.*

### FOREIGN OPERATIONS, EXPORT FINANCING, AND RELATED PROGRAMS APPROPRIATION BILL, 1994

September 14

Mr. Leahy, from the submitted the following REPORT to accompany H.R. 2295

#### INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR

Last year, in response to the Indonesian Government's failure to take decisive action to punish those responsible for ordering and authorizing the November 1991 massacre in Dili, the Congress prohibited international military education and training [IMET] funds for Indonesia.

Earlier this year, Secretary of State Christopher indicated that the administration would take a fresh look at the situation in East Timor, and the administration supported a resolution in the U.N. Human Rights Commission which strongly criticized the Indonesian Government for human rights abuses. The Committee also notes that the administration has not requested any IMET fund for Indonesia for fiscal 1994.

The Committee welcomes these steps, but is concerned that the administration expects to license millions of dollars in commercial and foreign military sales of military equipment to Indonesia in fiscal 1994. The Committee urges the administration to pursue a policy toward the Indonesian Armed Forces that sends a consistent message of support for human rights. Simi-

larly, the Committee has learned that, despite Congress' decision last year to terminate IMET for Indonesia to protest the Dili massacre, the administration apparently intends to allow Indonesia to purchase professional military education courses through the FMS Program. The Committee would regard a decision by the administration to sell military training to Indonesia to be inconsistent with its action not to request IMET for Indonesia in fiscal 1994 and with the intent of Congress in terminating such assistance in fiscal 1993.

The Committee urges the administration to support negotiations under U.N. auspices between Indonesia and Portugal to resolve the political status of East Timor. The Committee shares the view of the House Committee that the international community should use that forum to promote the demilitarization of East Timor, as well as a formula to enable the Timorese to participate in government through local elections in which all parties could take part.

The Committee recognizes that the Indonesian Government has taken some positive steps on human rights, including giving limited access to International Committee of the Red Cross, establishing a human rights committee in the Parliament, and tolerating increased public discussion of human rights. However, repression in East Timor by thousands of Indonesian troops reportedly continues unabated. According to human rights organizations, torture in detention remains common, and the human rights committee has yet to demonstrate any power. Freedom of speech and association are restricted. Prosecution for human rights abuses is rare. Reports of extrajudicial killings and arbitrary arrests continue, especially in Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor.

In addition to the steps enunciated in the Committee's report last year concerning the November 1991 massacre, the Committee urges the Government of Indonesia to establish centralized public registers of detainees and ensure that detainees receive prompt access to lawyers and family members.

While the Committee supports the goals of AID's development assistance program in Indonesia, it is concerned about reports that Indonesia plans to spend three-quarters of a billion dollars for military aircraft from a British manufacturer at the same time it seeks United States assistance for economic and social development. The Committee requests the administration to carefully consider Indonesia's military expenditures in making decisions about allocating bilateral economic assistance to that country. With such funds significantly reduced because of budgetary constraints, the administration should not provide economic and development assistance to nations which waste their

own national funds on unnecessary military expenditures.

**Polytechnical school.** — The Committee is concerned that too little of our assistance to Indonesia is aimed at improving the lives of the people of East Timor, where in 1990 only 13 percent completed primary school. The Committee is particularly concerned about the lack of economic activities East Timorese youth, and believes that he polytechnical school in Dili can play an important role in addressing this problem. The Committee urges AID to provide assistance to the polytechnical school to promote educational opportunities and job training. In implementing this program, AID is encouraged to consult with the Catholic Church in East Timor, which has worked extensively with the polytechnical school in the past.

**Support for independent union activity.** — As stated elsewhere in this report, the Committee believes that independent trade unions can play an important role in promoting democracy, and is concerned that the Indonesian Government has only allowed an organization which it controls, the All Indonesian Workers Union [SPSI] and its subsidiary bodies, to legally represent workers there. The Committee encourages AID to provide assistance for technical support to organizations that are seeking to function as independent trade unions as an alternative to SPSI. AID is encouraged to work with U.S. independent trade union organizations in implementing this program.

---

## PAPER URGES INDONESIA TO ADMIT ERRORS

*The Australian September 14, 1993. Slightly abridged*

Jakarta, AAP: A leading Indonesian newspaper yesterday urged the Government to reassess its stand on human rights and to admit past mistakes in the face of growing criticism from the US.

The *Jakarta Post* said the Government ought "to rethink thoroughly the way it treats basic human rights, not only in East Timor but also in the rest of the country."

"The Government should also magnanimously admit that it has not always been adequately transparent on the reasons and the ways it does things and that this unnecessary shroud of secrecy smacks of the evasion of accountability and makes meaningful dialogues with foreign countries unnecessarily difficult," the Post said.

*[background paragraph on F-5 sales ban & Feingold amendment]*

The Post said "Whether we like it or not ... respect of human rights and democratization have now been recognized as essential elements in international relations."

But it praised Indonesia's measured response to the US threats and said Washington's approach was not the best way to seek an improvement in human rights.

Indonesia has rejected the US criticisms and warned that it will turn to other suppliers if the US sets conditions for arms sales.

The Indonesian State Secretary, Major General Mardiono said at the weekend: "As President Suharto has repeatedly said, we respect human rights - we uphold highly the values of human rights."

## INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP ON FEINGOLD AMENDMENT

*[Letter distributed to Senate. Unabridged]*

International Human Rights Law Group  
1601 Connecticut Ave. NW Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20009  
Tel. (202)232-8500 Fax (202)232 6731  
September 21, 1993

The U.S. Senate

Re: The Feingold Amendment on Human Rights in East Timor

Dear Senator

Tomorrow, Senator Feingold may offer an amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill which would condition significant U.S. arms sales to Indonesia on Presidential findings with respect to human rights in East Timor. This amendment should pass.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, and its occupation forces have been responsible for the deaths of 200,000 East Timorese since then - one third of the population. Daily military repression is so pervasive that East Timor's Catholic bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, says that political prisoners are tortured "just like two plus two is four." (See attached article.)

The attached chronology "East Timor: Indonesian Action - U.S. and World Reaction" shows that Indonesia has chosen to defy the world with respect to its occupation of East Timor - including 10 separate resolutions of the U.N. Security Council and General Assembly. The world was outraged when Indonesian soldiers massacred more than 150 unarmed East Timorese demonstrators in 1991, but Indonesia punished the demonstration's organizers 10 times more severely than the soldiers who fired on the crowd. When the U.S. Congress then terminated International Military Education and Training (IMET) aid to Indonesia last year, Indonesia proceeded to make a mockery of the trial of East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmão. Most recently, Indonesia's reaction to the visit of a U.S. House

and Senate staff delegation was to round up more than 50 East Timorese activists the day before the delegation's arrival. They are still in custody.

Senator Feingold's amendment is narrowly targeted at the Indonesian military and would condition arms sales on Presidential findings with respect to human rights progress in East Timor. Sales would not be barred. But if Indonesia continues to oppress, torture, and kill the East Timorese, that would be considered in deciding if a sale should be approved.

The Feingold amendment represents a compromise that passed the Foreign Relations Committee unanimously. Senator Kassebaum praised it as sending the appropriate message. White House officials have indicated that they support the Feingold amendment as allowing flexibility in dealing with Indonesia while setting the right tone on human rights matters.

Some U.S. business interests are campaigning against the Feingold amendment, claiming the possibility that commercial relations with Indonesia might be affected. Business interests made the same claim when the termination of IMET aid was proposed last year. Congress was right to terminate such aid, and commercial relations were not disturbed.

Since the 1975 invasion, the U.S. Congress has been a bipartisan leader in seeking human rights relief for the East Timorese. The Feingold amendment is the right amendment at the right time. The International Human Rights Law Group asks that you support it.

Very truly yours,

Christopher T. Corson  
East Timor Project

Attachments: Chronology; NY Times article of April 24, 1993; London Times article of August 18, 1993; Washington Post article of July 9, 1993; Reuters article of September 6, 1993; (*Media articles not reprinted here, as they are elsewhere in ET Documents.*)

## CHRONOLOGY: EAST TIMOR. INDONESIAN ACTION - U.S. AND WORLD REACTION

*Prepared by the International Human Rights Law Group: East Timor Project August 1993*

**East Timor.** In 1975, Portugal begins to disengage from East Timor and promotes the start of political self-determination among the 600,000 predominately Catholic East Timorese. Rival FRETILIN and UDT parties differ on how independence should be achieved and fight a brief civil war in the summer of 1975. FRETILIN establishes a de facto government, which issues a procla-

mation of independence on November 28, 1975.

**Indonesia.** Indonesia was formed in 1949 from the numerous ethnic groups encompassed by the former Dutch East Indies. On June 14, 1974, the Indonesian Foreign Minister writes to FRETILIN to confirm that "[t]he independence of every country is the right of every nation with no exception for the people in Timor . . ." and that "[f]or this reason whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence, can be assured that the Government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries . . ." However, Indonesia does not honor the Foreign Minister's pledge and begins covert action against self-determination in East Timor. Indonesian covert operations foster the outbreak of fighting in the summer of 1975.

### Dec. 7, 1975

Indonesia invades East Timor, nine days after East Timor's proclamation of independence. A large number of Indonesian troops lands at Dili harbor from 20 naval vessels. There is widespread killing of civilians during the initial invasion.

### Dec. 12, 1975 reaction

The U.N. General Assembly, in Resolution 3485, calls for Indonesia to withdraw armed forces from East Timor immediately and to recognize East Timorese self-determination. In the interim, Portugal is recognized as East Timor's administering power.

### Dec. 22, 1975 reaction

The U.N. Security Council, in Resolution 384, calls for immediate withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces and for East Timorese self-determination, and it also calls upon U.N. members and other parties to cooperate in achieving a peaceful resolution and decolonization.

### Apr. 22, 1976 reaction

The U.N. Security Council adopts Resolution 389, reaffirming Resolution 384.

### July 17, 1976

The Indonesia Parliament passes legislation annexing the territory of East Timor as Indonesia's 27th province. Annexation is not recognized by the U.N. or the United States.

### Dec. 1, 1976 to Nov. 23, 1982 reaction

The U.N. General Assembly adopts eight resolutions in the years 1976 through 1982, reaffirming General Assembly Resolution 3485 and Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389.

**1975 to 1977**

East Timorese resistance to Indonesian occupation is carried out from mountainous areas inland from the coast. The main roads and villages are controlled by the Indonesian military. Up to 80% of East Timorese abandon or are forced from their homes and move to the mountains.

**1978 to 1979**

Indonesia conducts intense search and destroy operations in the mountains. Many East Timorese civilians are killed, and many others are forced to move back to coastal regions as the Indonesian military destroys villages and crops. By 1979, 250,000 East Timorese are in resettlement camps, many in advanced stages of malnutrition, disease, or starvation. The International Red Cross and Catholic Relief Services compare the famine in East Timor to the deliberate starvation of Biafrans ten years earlier. More than 100,000 East Timorese die from Indonesian aggression and occupation from 1975 through 1979.

**1979 to 1990**

The Indonesian army establishes tight control over East Timorese villages and the movements of East Timorese. From 1979 through 1984, there are several waves of imprisonments, killings, and disappearances. Atauro Island is used as a detention center for East Timorese political detainees, housing 4,000 at its peak in 1982. In this period, another 100,000 East Timorese are killed. (see note at end)

Nov. 19, 1990 reaction

Two hundred twenty-three members of the U.S. House of Representatives send letter to the Secretary of State, calling attention to arrests, detention, torture, and other human rights abuses in East Timor, and for the U.S. to use its influence to reduce the "atmosphere of fear."

**Nov. 12, 1991**

Indonesian occupation troops massacre more than 150 unarmed, peaceful demonstrators in a roadway between two high cemetery walls in the East Timor capital of Dili. The demonstrators were marching to the grave of a Timorese activist killed several weeks earlier in an Indonesian raid on a church. Just outside of the cemetery, two Western journalists witness soldiers advance in formation on the demonstrators and fire in unison into the crowd, without warning. Troops pursue fleeing demonstrators and fire continuously for 5 to 10 minutes. Sporadic firing lasts for hours. Victims include many women, children, and elderly. Soldiers seal off the cemetery area and prevent medical help from reaching wounded. Other witnesses report that in the ensuing sweep of

the cemetery, troops kill many wounded with bayonets and knives and beat many others.

No witness reports any provocation from the demonstrators at the cemetery. Several witnesses report a short scuffle, lasting less than a minute, that took place 30 to 45 minutes earlier at a location some distance away, when an Indonesian officer uses a baton on demonstrators carrying a flag. Some reports are that the officer suffered a stab wound. No other event is reported until Indonesian troops begin firing at the cemetery.

Scores of detentions and "disappearances" follow the massacre. Officially, Indonesia arrests 32 persons, eight of whom are put on trial for organizing and participating in the demonstration (see below). The remaining 24 are held indefinitely by the military, and subjected to reeducation through forced labor.

**Nov. 13, 1991**

Indonesia offers a succession of explanations of the Dili massacre in the succeeding weeks, which conflict with eyewitness reports.

Indonesian Commander in Chief Try Sutrisno states in a speech that demonstrators in Dili had "spread chaos" by displaying posters with anti-government slogans and by shouting "many unacceptable things." He stated that soldiers had fired warning shots "but they persisted with their misdeeds ... In the end, they had to be shot. These ill-bred people have to be shot ... and we will shoot them." Sutrisno is now Vice-President of Indonesia.

An army spokesman in Bali states that soldiers were ordered to shoot in Dili, because 100 armed resistance members were present, including resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, and soldiers had been wounded and their commander killed.

**Nov. 18, 1991**

Responding to pressure from the United States and other countries, Indonesia forms a National Commission of Inquiry to investigate the Dili massacre, which issues a report on December 26.

**Nov. 19, 1991**

About 70 East Timorese students in Jakarta hold a peaceful demonstration to protest the Dili massacre. Police arrest nearly all of them. Twenty-one are in detention more than a week later. Five are put to trial for organizing and participating in the demonstration (see below).

Nov. 21, 1991 reaction

In reaction to the Dili massacre, the European Parliament passes a non-binding resolution for EC and U.N. members to impose an arms embargo on Indonesia.

Nov. 25, 1991 reaction

Fifty-two U.S. Senators send letter to the President expressing strong concern over the Dili massacre and over other incidents of torture, beatings, and human rights abuses in East Timor. The Senators call for a greater U.S. role "with an eye toward a political solution that might end the needless suffering in East Timor and bring about true self-determination for the territory."

Nov. 26, 1991

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas states that the demonstrators in Dili provoked the massacre and that they ignored warning shots, and threw a hand grenade before troops opened fire.

**Dec. 26, 1991**

The Indonesian National Commission of Inquiry into the Dili massacre issues its advance report. The Commission revises the official death count from 19 to "about 50" but does not identify the dead, and the Commission did not investigate burial sites to verify the number.

The report states that demonstrators acted belligerently and "consciously exhibited" East Timorese liberation banners. It states that the stabbing of an Indonesian officer and the wounding of a private had caused "a spontaneous reaction . . . among the security personnel to defend themselves, without command, resulting in the excessive shooting at the demonstrators, causing deaths and wounded." The report admits "careless handling of those who died."

Reaction:

The evaluation of the report by Amnesty International concludes that "the mandate and methods of work of the government-appointed National Commission of Inquiry were fatally flawed and that its findings are unacceptable," that "other aspects of the government and military response to the massacre . . . have been inadequate and inappropriate," and that "[r]ather than preventing future human rights violations and ensuring that those responsible are brought to justice, the response has contributed to further violations." Asia Watch also condemns the report.

**March 12, 1992**

Indonesia begins trying eight demonstrators detained after the Dili demonstration, on criminal charges of subversion and/or spreading enmity towards the Indonesian government. The trials take place in Dili. They receive prison sentences that range from more than 5 years to life.

**March 14, 1992**

Indonesian General Theo Syafei, the current military commander of East Timor, states that "If something similar to the 12

November event [the Dili demonstration] were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher."

### March 16, 1992

Indonesia begins trying the five East Timorese students detained after the sympathy march in Jakarta on November 19, 1991. They are also charged with crimes of subversion and/or spreading enmity towards the Indonesian government. The trials take place in Jakarta. They receive prison sentences that range from 6 months to 10 years.

### May 29, 1992

Indonesia begins trying ten soldiers who participated in the Dili massacre. They are charged in military court with disobeying orders or acting without orders. The trials take place in Denpasar, Bali. They receive prison sentences that range from 8 months to 18 months.

### June 25, 1992 reaction

The U.S. House of Representatives cuts \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) aid to Indonesia from 1993 Foreign Operations Appropriations. The U.S. Senate takes similar action, and U.S. IMET aid to Indonesia is terminated.

### July 4, 1992

Indonesian General Mantiri, the regional commander in charge of East Timor, states that "we don't regret anything. What happened [in Dili] was quite proper. As military, this is so. They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government. To me that is identical with rebellion, so that is why we took firm action. . . . If people demonstrate around the idea of opposing the government, we take action."

### Sept. 23, 1992 reaction

One hundred fifty members of the U.S. House of Representatives send letter to the U.N. Secretary General, on the occasion of an address to the U.N. by Indonesian President Suharto the next day. The letter calls for a U.N. presence in East Timor to monitor human rights abuses and begin negotiations for East Timorese self-determination. It is co-signed by 142 Japanese legislators.

### Sept. 24, 1992

President Suharto addresses the U.N., during which he stresses the "inalienable right to self-determination, independence, and sovereign statehood" of Palestine, and does not mention East Timor.

### Oct.-Nov., 1992

Prior to the first anniversary of the Dili massacre, Indonesia arrests and detains several hundred East Timorese.

### Oct. 29, 1992

The Indonesian magazine Forum Keadilan (Law Forum) quotes the new governor of East Timor, Abilio Jose Osorio Soares, as stating "In my opinion there should have been more people killed [in Dili]. Why did only that number die? Why not all one thousand?"

### Nov. 20, 1992

Indonesia captures Xanana Gusmão, leader of East Timorese liberation forces. He is held for 17 days before the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) is allowed to see him.

The Indonesian military officially reports that more than 20 people were arrested immediately before and after Xanana's arrest, including nine members of his family.

### Reaction:

A U.N. report on East Timor (dated July 8, 1993) states that a "wave of arrests and torture" following the arrest of Xanana was reported by Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo of Dili. The U.N. report quotes Bishop Belo as saying, "I have received letters from prisoners and ex-prisoners telling me about all types of torture, electric shocks, burning of genitals with cigarettes, placing people in barrels of cold water, and whipping until they say they are FRETILIN collaborators."

Feb. 1, 1993

**Indonesia begins trying Xanana Gusmão, on charges of rebellion and secession and the possession of firearms. The trial is open to certain foreign observers but not the general public.**

Xanana is represented by counsel appointed for him, a Jakarta lawyer with close ties to the police and the government. Observers note that the lawyer's opening statement, replying to the indictment, is short and appears perfunctory.

Observers also note several irregularities with respect to prosecution witnesses. One shouts "Viva Timor Leste [East Timor]" upon entering the courtroom and is quickly removed. At the next session, a police doctor states that the witness is unfit to testify due to "mental instability," and his out-of-court deposition is read into the record instead. The testimony of other prosecution witnesses is postponed or cancelled, even though the witnesses are in military custody.

Xanana's lawyer publicly complains of the difficulty of finding defense witnesses willing to testify. The Governor of East Timor announces that he will not serve as a defense witness and that he is prohibiting other provincial government witnesses from doing so.

Feb. 1993 reaction

The U.S. State Department "Country Reports on Human Rights Practice for 1992" states that in Indonesia "torture and mistreatment of criminal suspects, detainees and prisoners are common, and the legal protections are violated by the Government."

### March 10, 1993 reaction

The U.N. Commission of Human Rights adopts resolution strongly criticizing Indonesia for ongoing human rights abuses in East Timor, for failing to identify all those responsible for the Dili massacre, for the lack of information on the numbers of people killed in Dili or still missing, and for "the disparity in the severity of sentences imposed on those civilians not indicted for violent activities - who should have been released without delay - on the one hand, and to the military involved in the violent incident, on the other. . . ." The United States supports the resolution.

### Late-April, 1993

Indonesian General Syafei states that it is no longer necessary for the ICRC to maintain an office in East Timor.

### May 3, 1993 reaction

ICRC President Cornelio Sommaruga states that the ICRC will not close its East Timor office.

### May 7, 1993 reaction

The Vice President of the U.S. comments at a journalism awards presentation on "the outrage that has been committed against the people of East Timor by the Government of Indonesia." He states that "[t]he 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."

### May 17, 1993

Xanana Gusmão begins to read his defense plea, which is handwritten. After a few pages, the judge orders Xanana to stop, calls the statement irrelevant, and ends the session. Excerpts from the statement show that Xanana was objecting to circumstances of his detention, to the original invasion and continuing occupation of East Timor by Indonesia, and to continuing oppression in the aftermath of the Dili massacre. The statement also indicates that Indonesian officials prevented Xanana from selecting counsel of his choice in violation of Indonesian law.

### May 21, 1993

Indonesia sentences Xanana Gusmão to life imprisonment.

### June 22, 1993 reaction



The ICRC resumes and then quickly suspends visits to prisoners in East Timor, because Indonesia will not permit access to all prisoners. The ICRC had suspended earlier attempts to visit prisoners in January and May.

July 4, 1993 reaction

Forty-three U.S. Senators send letter to the President urging him to raise the issue of human rights in East Timor with Indonesian President Suharto when the two meet later in the week in Tokyo at the G-7 economic summit. The President does discuss the matter with Suharto.

**July 21, 1993**

The Indonesian commander of East Timor, General Syafei, states that those who oppose Indonesia's state ideology "do not need to be tolerated and we should not hesitate to put them into order."

July 23, 1993 reaction

The U.S. State Department denies permission for Jordan to sell four U.S.-made F5-E jet fighters to Indonesia. A State Department official states: "The combination of a number of sensitive issues in this case made approval impossible, including human rights concerns in Indonesia."

**Aug. 13, 1993**

Responding to international pressure, Indonesian President Suharto reduces the prison sentence of Xanana Gusmão from life to 20 years. Suharto also reduces the sentences of two of the organizers of the Dili demonstration, but not the sentence of the organizer/demonstrator who received life.

#### **NOTE:**

200,000 East Timorese deaths between 1975 and 1990 is the common estimate. A lower estimate is given in the 1993 "Information Please" Almanac entry on Indonesia:

"Indonesia invaded the former Portuguese half of the island of Timor in 1975, and annexed the territory in 1976. More than 100,000 Timorese, a sixth of the mostly Catholic population, were reported to have died from famine, disease, and fighting since the annexation."

The proportion of East Timorese deaths is genocidal, whether the fraction of the population killed is one sixth (100,000) or one third (200,000).

## **US DIGS IN ON JAKARTA RIGHTS ABUSE**

*From The Age, 22 September 1993; excerpts. by Mark Baker, foreign editor*

Despite a pleas by the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, for a softer line on human rights abuses in Indonesia, the Clinton ad-

ministration appears determined to maintain its tough stance with the Suharto Government....

Now a senior White House official is reported to have confirmed administration support for a US Senate amendment that would make future arms sales conditional on human rights improvements....

But the White House official said the administration would accept the amendment – due to be debated by the full Senate later this year – because it was "consistent with the tenor of the dialogue we have been having with Indonesia on human rights."

He said the wording gave "the necessary flexibility" for the Administration to pursue human rights concerns, including East Timor, within the broader relationship with Indonesia.

"(It) allows us to continue the relationship and dialogue, but still makes clear the points that are felt strongly by many in Congress and the administration," he said.

The official was speaking in an interview with American journalist Allan Nairn, who witnessed the Dili massacre in November 1991 and was severely beaten by Indonesian troops....

## **REMARKS BY SENATORS FEINGOLD, LEAHY, PELL**

*Congressional Record, September 23, 1993*

Russell Feingold, D-WI, is the chief sponsor of the amendment to limit arms sales to Indonesia. Patrick Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, is Chairman of the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations. Claiborne Pell, Democrat of Rhode Island, is Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. David Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, has long been outspoken on East Timor.

### **INDONESIA AND EAST TIMOR**

Mr. Feingold. Mr. President, I want to commend the chairman of the Foreign Operations Appropriations Subcommittee, the Senator from Vermont [Mr. Leahy], for his leadership in addressing the grave human rights issues arising from the treatment of the people of East Timor by Indonesia.

Last year, the House and Senate Appropriations Committees prohibited further funding for the International Military Education and Training [IMET] program for Indonesia because of the Indonesian Government's failure to take decisive action to punish those responsible for the November 1991 massacre in Dili.

This year's Foreign Operations appropriations bill continues that policy. The Committee's report also contains very strong language which I strongly endorse, expressing the continuing concern of the

Committee about the human rights abuses of the Indonesian government.

The Indonesian occupation of East Timor has been a longstanding issue of international concern. Five days after the brutal Indonesian invasion of East Timor in December 1975, the United Nations General Assembly called immediately for Indonesia to withdraw its armed forces and recognize the right of self-determination for East Timor. Since then the United Nations has adopted eight resolutions reaffirming human rights in East Timor and the United States Congress has passed five resolutions condemning Indonesian actions in East Timor.

Moreover, Indonesian military officials responsible for East Timor have made outrageous statements. Indonesian General Theo Syafei, military commander of East Timor said, "If something similar to the November 12 event were to happen under my leadership the number of victims would probably be higher." General Mantiri, regional commander, announced, "We don't regret anything. What happened was quite proper...They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government...so that is why we took firm action."

Most seriously, the identities of 66 civilians who were killed by government forces are still unaccounted for. The task of identifying these people was assigned to the Armed Forces Commander in Chief, General Try Sutrisno, who has since become Vice President.

In the past two years, human rights groups have reported that the repression of East Timor residents by the Indonesian military troops has continued unabated, and that torture of detainees remains a common practice. Human rights and humanitarian groups, including the International Committee on the Red Cross, have been barred from doing their work in East Timor. Even Senators Pell and Boren were refused visas to East Timor last summer. Three weeks ago, when the first Congressional staff delegation in a few years went to Dili, at least 53 students were rounded up and sent to "guidance courses." Their precise whereabouts are still unknown, even after a Swedish Parliamentary delegation inquired about them last week.

The list of grave human rights violations in East Timor goes on and on. The main perpetrator of these abuses is the Indonesian military. With 13 battalions of 1,000 soldiers each currently deployed in East Timor, Indonesia's occupation is growing more and more repressive.

For these reasons I strongly concur with the statement contained in the Appropriation's Committee report expressing the concern that the United States send a con-

sistent message of support for human rights to the Indonesian Armed Forces, particularly with regard to the issuing of licenses for commercial and foreign military sales of military equipment to Indonesia by the Administration.

As a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, I authored an amendment, section 514 of S. 1467, which was unanimously adopted by the full Committee on September 8, which requires the Administration to consult with Congress and make a determination as to whether there have been improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor before approving the sale or transfer of defense articles or services or the issuance of licenses for commercial sales of defense equipment subject to the notification provisions of the Arms Export Control Act.

I am very pleased that the Clinton Administration supported this amendment when it was adopted by the Foreign Relations Committee and I worked closely with the Administration in drafting that amendment which expressed both the views of the Committee and the Administration regarding the linkage between human rights concerns and foreign military arms sales.

President Clinton has made it clear that the human rights concerns over East Timor will continue to play an integral role in policy making in this area. I have also strongly applauded the action of the Clinton Administration earlier this year in disapproving a proposed transfer of aircraft from Jordan to Indonesia in light of these human rights concerns. The Administration consulted with members of Congress prior to making this decision and received strong support for its action on this specific sale. Additionally, in July at the urging of 43 Senators, President Clinton raised the issue of human rights abuses in East Timor with President Suharto at the G-7 meeting in Tokyo.

The Clinton Administration also supported a resolution in the U.N. Human Rights Commission which strongly criticized the Indonesian Government for human rights abuses. These actions were totally consistent with the Congressional intent expresses both in the unanimous approval of my amendment by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the views expressed by the Senate Appropriations Committee in the report accompanying this measure.

I have been very pleased with the Administration's approach to this issue, to its firm commitment to consult with Congress before any actions are taken with regarding to the sale or transfer of arms to Indonesia, and its view that these sales or transfers should be linked to substantial improvements in the human rights situation in East

Timor. I have been assured that such considerations will be part of future Administration decisions on arms sales to Indonesian and I expect that such consultations will continue as part of Administration policy. It would be unconscionable if lethal U.S. weapons were sold to the Indonesians and then used against the people of East Timor. I know that the Clinton Administration and members of Congress share that view.

Again, I want to commend the distinguished Senator from Vermont for his leadership on this issue and to say that it is a great privilege for me to be working with him on this important human rights issue. The work that has been done by both the Foreign Relations Committee regarding the criteria for consideration of arms sales to Indonesian under the Arms Export Control Act and by the Senate Appropriations Committee in prohibiting funding for Indonesia under the IMET program should send a very clear signal that bold Congress and the Administration are united in their disapproval of the continuing human rights abuses in East Timor.

#### **MR. LEAHY.**

Mr. President, I commend Senator FEINGOLD for his statement. He makes several excellent points and I want to associate myself with what he has said.

Last year, I sponsored an amendment on the foreign operations bill to condition military training aid to Indonesia on human rights. In the end, the Congress cut off the aid completely, because of our sense of outrage about the massacre in November 1991 of as many as 100, and perhaps more, defenseless civilians who were peacefully demonstrating in East Timor.

That cutoff of aid sent an unambiguous message to the Indonesian military that we will not stand by silently and continue to send aid if they commit these kinds of abuses.

The human rights problems in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia are a matter of record. The State Department and the international human rights organizations have documented them for years.

Since the 1991 massacre, the Indonesian Government has sentenced the demonstrators to long prison terms, and given the soldiers who fired the shots a slap on the wrist.

They have yet to come clean about what happened to the bodies of scores of demonstrators who are still missing and presumed dead.

They have never taken any punitive action against those who ordered and authorized the shootings. Instead, they blame the demonstrators for their own deaths.

Earlier this year, the Indonesian Government joined China in opposing the United States position at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, that fundamental human rights are universal.

The universality of basic human rights is something the United States, and indeed all countries, should support unequivocally.

I do not question Indonesia's economic and strategic importance to the United States. Indonesia is a huge country, with immense resources. It a beautiful country with a rich and diverse culture.

The United States and Indonesia have had a close relationship in the past, and I fully expect that to continue.

But we must also be true to our own ideals.

Several weeks ago the Foreign Relations Committee unanimously reported Senator FEINGOLD'S amendment to put conditions on the sale of military equipment to Indonesia. That was a strong statement by the committee, and it is consistent with the Congress' action last year cutting off military aid.

I am pleased that Senator FEINGOLD decided not to offer his amendment to this bill, because we are under great time pressure to get it passed and onto the President's desk. We do not have time to debate this amendment today.

But I do want to say that I believe the Feingold amendment that was adopted by the Foreign Relations Committee after negotiations with the administration is sound policy. The State Department was involved in drafting the final text, and I am confident that the Clinton administration will use its influence to achieve the amendment's goals.

President Clinton and Secretary of State Christopher have said that promoting democracy and human rights are central goals of our foreign policy. I know that they are aware of the longstanding interest in the Congress in East Timor.

Sales of military equipment, particularly lethal and other equipment that could be used to commit human rights abuses, should not be approved unless the Indonesian Government is dealing with these human rights problems.

To those who say this is the wrong approach, that the Indonesian Government will only buy its weapons elsewhere. I say who else will set an example if not the United States?

Today, the United States is by far the largest arms supplier in the world. The developing countries, many of which are undemocratic and cannot even feed their own people, spend over \$200 billion every year on their armed forces. It is up to us to set the standard, to stop the proliferation of

weapons that are used to suppress democracy, and to deny human rights.

I commend Senator Feingold, and the Foreign Relations Committee for taking a stand on this issue.

**MR. FEINGOLD.**

I appreciate those remarks by the Senator from Vermont. I know that the distinguished chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, the Senator from Rhode Island Senator Pell, has also been deeply involved in raising the issue of human rights abuses in East Timor and has been a consistent leader in the efforts to raise these concerns. I have appreciated his leadership and support on this issue in the Foreign Relations Committee deliberations.

**MR. PELL.**

Mr. President, I welcome and concur with the remarks of Senator FEINGOLD concerning the situation in East Timor. He is to be commended for the strong position he has taken on this issue.

Earlier this month the Foreign Relations Committee unanimously adopted an amendment offered by Senator FEINGOLD that called on the President to consult with the Congress and make a determination as to whether there have been improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor prior to approval of military equipment sales to Indonesia.

Many of my colleagues may be unfamiliar with the situation in East Timor which sparks our concern.

East Timor is part of a small island, formerly a Portuguese colony, which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 after Portugal's precipitous withdrawal. Indonesia, whose Foreign Minister Adam Malik had previously assured East Timorese leaders that Indonesia would support the principle of self-determination, allegedly feared that the small island, over a thousand miles from the Indonesian capital of Jakarta, would become a Marxist hot-bed, threatening Indonesia's stability. However, a Catholic people, the East Timorese have few historical, cultural, or ethnic ties to the rest of Indonesia.

Following Indonesia's invasion, East Timor was closed to outside observers for 13 years while the military attempted to assert control. Estimates by international human rights groups of the number of deaths from war or mistreatment range from 100,000 to 300,000 out of a total population of 750,000. The Indonesian military continues to maintain a force of over 10,000 although the Indonesian military says there are less than 150 armed rebels remaining. Clearly, East Timor never did, nor does it today, pose a threat to Indonesia.

But the large security presence is testimony to the continued passive resistance by

East Timorese to their Indonesian overlords. On November 12, 1991, Indonesian security forces fired upon a procession of East Timorese who had participated in a memorial mass in honor of a Timorese youth killed by internal security forces in late October. Over 100 people were killed. Many remain unaccounted for despite promises by the Indonesian Government to do so.

The Indonesian authorities then arrested several demonstrators charging them with subversion. After show trials, these East Timorese received prison sentences ranging from 5 years to life. Ten Indonesian soldiers also tried for participating in the massacre were sentenced to prison for terms ranging from 8 months to 18 months. The gross disparity in treatment is obvious.

Since then, Indonesia has continued to subject the East Timorese to arbitrary arrest or interrogation. The International Red Cross that conducts prison visits has withdrawn twice from East Timor because of implements placed in their way by the Indonesian authorities.

The State Department's 1992 human rights report observes that in Indonesia:

"In addition, to extrajudicial killings and unfair trials, other serious human rights problems continued. They include torture and other mistreatment of prisoners and detainees, arbitrary arrest and detention, arbitrary interference with privacy, significant restrictions on freedom of speech and press, assembly and association, and on freedom of movement, and the inability of citizens to change their government. Other problem areas include harassment of human rights monitors, discrimination and violence against women, and restrictions on worker rights."

It is this egregious situation that continues to provoke concern in the Congress – to which Senator Feingold gave voice in his amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act of 1993.

Senator LEAHY and the Committee on Appropriations are also to be commended for the forceful statement they made in foreign aid legislation last year when the United States military training program to Indonesia was eliminated and this year in the very strong language contained in this appropriations bill concerning Indonesia. They urge in their report that the administration pursue a policy toward the Indonesian Armed Forces that sends a consistent message of support for human rights. I agree. I would also agree that licensing of commercial and foreign military sales of military equipment to Indonesia should only occur if significant progress is made by Indonesia in improving the human rights situation in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia.

I believe that both the Appropriations and Foreign Relations Committee have sent a very clear signal to Indonesia that much more needs to be accomplished to resolve the East Timor crisis.

I know the administration understands and shares our concern, as Senator FEINGOLD has observed. It has long been my view that a satisfactory solution to this issue can only occur if the Indonesian Government – perhaps under United Nations auspices – negotiates directly with the East Timorese.

The United States was the first country to recognize Indonesia's independence. We have strong ties to Indonesia. However, Indonesia should recognize that the principle that led us to recognize Indonesia's independence is the same principle that leads us to criticize Indonesia when it denies independence to others.

**Mr. DURENBERGER. (Added later to Congressional Record)**

Madam President, I rise to add my voice to those of my colleagues with regard to the situation in East Timor.

My colleagues are well aware of my interest and activity in regard to Indonesia's persistent abuse of human rights in East Timor. The State Department's "Country Reports on Human Rights for 1992," as well as "Amnesty International's Report 1993" detail reports of torture, arbitrary arrests, unfair trials, and many other abuses, including harassment of human rights monitors. I believe that the language in the committee's report on this bill sends a strong message to the Indonesian Government that their record of human rights in East Timor will not be tolerated.

I was pleased earlier this year when the Clinton administration reversed previous United States policy and joined the U.N. Human Rights Commission in rebuking Indonesia for its continued repression of the East Timorese. I was also among those who urged the President to raise this issue with President Suharto of Indonesia during the G-7 summit, which I am pleased he did.

Madam President, this legislation, combined with other recent actions by the United States, sends a strong message to the Indonesian Government that the United States will no longer turn a blind eye to its repression of the East Timorese. And we will continue to press ahead and consistently urge the Indonesian Government to accept internationally accepted standards of human rights.

Thank you, Madam President, I yield the floor.

## UPDATE ON FEINGOLD AMENDMENT ON EAST TIMOR

*From ETAN/US, Sept. 25.*

Senator Feingold's amendment will not come up during this week's debate on the foreign aid appropriations bill, because of parliamentary obstacles to attaching it to this particular bill. Feingold has decided to leave it as part of the Foreign Aid Authorization Bill which is currently scheduled for Senate action on October 18.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee agreed to the amendment, unanimously on September 8. It would link arms sales to Indonesia to its human rights behavior in East Timor.

Unlike in some recent years when one or the other house of Congress did not act on the authorization bill, passage of the bill is more likely this year. (The House of Representatives has already passed its own version of the bill.)

Calls and letters to the Senate are still needed. Supporters of the arms industry and multinational corporation who do business with Indonesia are expected to move to strike the Feingold amendment when it reaches the Senate floor.

## FEINGOLD AMENDMENT REPORTED ABANDONED

*Abridged.*

JAKARTA, Sept. 27 (Reuters) - Indonesia expressed relief on Monday at a reported decision by the U.S. Senate to drop an amendment to its foreign aid bill barring some arms sales to Jakarta.

"The Indonesian Foreign Ministry feels relieved following the receipt of information from its embassy in Washington that the Feingold Amendment ... was no longer attached to the proposed law on foreign aid," it said in a statement.

The amendment, proposed by Senator Russell Feingold and included this month in the Senate's Foreign Aid Bill, tied arms sales to improvement of human rights in East Timor.

Debate over the amendment aggravated recent strains in ties between Jakarta and Washington.

The foreign ministry said although the Feingold amendment had been dropped for the coming financial year, it was still possible for the Senate to revive the bill in the next session.

## FEINGOLD RESPONDS TO INACCURATE PRESS REPORTS

*Press Release from U.S. Senator Russ Feingold. Contact: Bob Dechaine, (202)224-5323. September 28, 1993*

(Washington, D.C.) - "Last week the Indonesian government and several news agencies inaccurately reported that an amendment restricting arms sales to Indonesia had been dropped from the Senate Foreign Aid Appropriations bill. These reports are not true. Last week, the U.S. Senate did act on the Foreign Aid Appropriations bill, but that was not the measure that contained the so-called Feingold amendment on arms sales to Indonesia.

That amendment was contained in an entirely different piece of legislation, the Fiscal Year 1994 Foreign Assistance Act. That bill was unanimously adopted by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and is awaiting action by the full Senate. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee does not even have jurisdiction over the appropriations bill passed last week.

The United States position on arms sales to Indonesia has become increasingly clear over the past several months. The cancellation of the F-5E sale from Jordan to Indonesia and the action earlier this month by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has sent a signal to Jakarta that we are concerned about the continuing human rights violations taking place in East Timor. Those violations are an impediment to the strengthening of cultural, economic and military ties between our countries.

During floor consideration of the appropriations bill, statements were made by Sen. Pell, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; Sen. Leahy, the Chairman of the Senate Foreign Operations Committee and myself, indicating that the actions taken by the Senate Appropriations Committee in cutting off funding for Indonesian participation in the International Military Education Training (IMET) program and by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee relating to arms sales to Indonesia were totally consistent and appropriate reactions to the human rights situation in East Timor.

In the weeks and months ahead there will be ample opportunities to send additional signals to Jakarta and to advance legislation conditioning future arms sales on human rights improvements. This is a critical time for the Indonesian government to demonstrate that they have heard the signals we have been sending and to implement on their own, the measures we have suggested. Specifically, they should take seriously the United Nations peace talks taking place in New York and join Portugal in a bi-lateral

diplomatic effort to resolve the situation in East Timor."

## US AID BILL BARS MILITARY TRAINING FOR INDONESIA

*Reuter, 30 September 1993.*

*Comment: With the several aid bills under consideration in the US, those of us not familiar with US congressional procedures can be forgiven for getting confused. But perhaps this small item can help clarify things for all concerned, including Jakarta. It does clarify that the IMET ban is now an established part of US aid policy. But does this mean that Indonesia is also banned from purchasing US military training if it pays for this itself?*

*Carmel*

(Washington) The Senate on Thursday passed a foreign aid funding bill barring use of the US military training funds in Indonesia. The bill was sent to President Bill Clinton following committee approval earlier this month of a separate foreign aid authorization bill that tied US arms sales to Indonesia to improvement of that country's human rights record.

The authorization bill has been approved by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee but it is far from certain that the Senate will act on it.

The author of the authorization bill's provision on Indonesia, Senator Feingold, a Wisconsin Democrat, said the military training ban in the bill passed on Thursday was an appropriate reaction to the human rights situation in East Timor.

Reacting to an Indonesian embassy report that apparently confused the two bills, the Jakarta government on Wednesday said it was relieved that the Feingold amendment had been dropped.

## CULTURAL EVENTS AND RESOURCES

### "TIMOR ET TREMOR" CONCERT IN SYDNEY

*From: Martin Wesley Smith  
<mwsmith@ucc.su.oz.au>*

Aug. 13 1993

On Saturday November 27 1993, Sydney new music group Australysis will premiere a song cycle about an East Timorese schizophrenic in Darwin who committed suicide in 1990. Called "Timor et Tremor" the piece was written by Peter Wesley-Smith (lyrics) and myself, Martin Wesley-Smith (music). It is scored for tenor, flute,

clarinet, piano/organ, violin & double bass, and uses tape and transparencies.

The title comes from a motet by Orlando Lassus. It means "fear and trembling," which sums up the state of many people in East Timor today.

We are currently writing a music theatre piece, called "Quito," based on the same subject. This is scheduled for performance next year by the Sydney Metropolitan Opera Company and vocal sextet The Song Company. It is not overtly a political piece (it is primarily about schizophrenia and Quito's death), but it leaves little doubt as to where its political sympathies lie. While Quito was at school in Darwin, his sister Fatima Gusmão was on the run from Indonesian troops in East Timor, losing two babies from starvation. A third baby was murdered by Indonesian troops. Quito's aunt, her husband, and her five children were invited to dinner by a collaborator. When they got there, they were taken out the back of the house, where their graves had already been dug ... Such traumatic events do not, according to medical opinion, trigger the onset of schizophrenia, but they do not help the state of mind of a sensitive adolescent struggling to grow up in a culture completely different from the one he had spent his first eleven years. See Michele Turner's book "Telling" (University of New South Wales Press), which contains gripping accounts by East Timorese people (including Fatima Gusmão) of their experiences in post-1975 East Timor.

Other Timor pieces I've done include "Balibo," for flute & tape, which is about Greg Shackleton's last television report - from Balibo, East Timor, in 1975 - not long before he was murdered; "Kdadalak (For the Children of Timor)," an audio-visual piece composed in 1977 (performed at the World Music Days of the International Society for Contemporary Music in Brussels in 1983); "VENCEREMOS!," another audio-visual piece; and "Silencio," composed for the percussion group Synergy with film, video, tape, live computer graphics etc.

Melbourne composer David Hirst recently composed a computer piece called "Colonies," which is about East Timor.

The Australian rock band "Midnight Oil" recently released a CD single (also available as a cassingle) called "My Country" on the Columbia label. This contains a traditional song from East Timor called "Kolele Mai." Midnight Oil is joined in the recording by the "Xanana Choir."

## JOURNAL REVIEW - INSIDE INDONESIA

*Bulletin of the Indonesia Resources and Information Program*

*Inside Indonesia* is a quarterly journal about Indonesia. It contains extended articles on a whole range of subjects, with a style similar to that of a quality newspaper. The topics span the whole range from politics and business to human rights and literature. Environmental issues are given more stress than is usual. In general *Inside Indonesia* is "pro-Indonesia," but at the same time critical of the Indonesian government over issues such as East Timor and logging. This probably reflects the background of its publishers (Australian academics).

The March 1993 issue was 36 pages long, and included:

- A color photo of the new vice-president on the cover.
- Five pages describing the new cabinet, and discussing the conflict between Suharto and top ABRI leadership over the election of vice-president.
- A six page report on a Monash conference on Democracy in Indonesia.
- Two pages about the replacement of Xanana as Fretilin leader in East Timor.
- Five pages on the collapse of Bank Summa and the conspiracy to overthrow Astra.
- A two page interview with a member of the Aust embassy in Jakarta about Indonesia-Australia relations.
- A page on the Indonesian view of the Australian character.
- A two page story about a controversial tourist development in Gili Trawangan (an island off Lombok).
- Three pages on logging in Kalimantan.
- An appeal by Pramoedya Ananta Toer calling on the Indonesian government to respect human rights.
- The story of two farmers in West Java beaten up by company security after refusing to accept compensation for their land.
- A selection of brief news items.
- Two pages of letters to the editor
- A page of book reviews.

Definitely worth subscribing to if you are interested in news about Indonesia and can't get enough information from your local/national papers.

Subscription Information: (AUD\$) send to PO Box 190, Northcote 3070, Australia  
Airmail Individual

Australia \$15  
PNG, NZ, Oceania \$23

ASEAN \$24  
Japan, Hong Kong, India \$25  
USA, Canada \$26  
UK, Europe, Africa \$28

Seamail

All Countries \$24

USA individual subscribers only send US\$25 to: Indonesia Publications, 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, MD 20706, USA

Posted by Danny Yee  
(danny@cs.us.oz.au) 16/8/93

## TATA MAI LAU NEWSLETTER

Aug. 24 1993

Tata-mai-lau is an organization established in Macao. It proclaims that it has a cultural, social, welfare and educational interest in regard to East Timor, and it organizes social evenings, press conferences, seminars, etc. and produces a newsletter. Issue No 6 of the English/ Portuguese newsletter (July 1993) has just been issued. I imagine Tata-mai-lau would welcome subscribers. Contact 13 Floor Apartment B Lote 38B, Edif Lei Man, Est Alm Marques Esparteiro, Taipa, Macao (tel and fax: (853) 830 414).

Peter Wesley-Smith,  
PETERWS@hkucc.hku.hk

## LEARN ABOUT EAST TIMOR ON U.S. PUBLIC RADIO

Radio documentaries on East Timor will be aired on a number of U.S. noncommercial stations on Tuesday, September 7. Public radio listeners in Virginia, Kansas, Connecticut, Tennessee, and North Carolina should stay tuned.

In addition, the national news program Monitor Radio will have pieces on both the Tuesday morning and afternoon programs, and Pacific National news will have one on their evening news.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee will vote Wednesday, September 8, on an amendment by Senator Russell Feingold to bar US arms sales to Indonesia until Jakarta respects human rights and self-determination in East Timor.

The programs are produced by Amy Goodman, who survived the 1991 Dili massacre and has won awards for her coverage of East Timor.

## NEW VIDEO ON EAST TIMOR

Announcing the broadcast of *East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye*, Produced by Paper Tiger Television with Abé Barreto Soares, Elizabeth Exposto, Amy Goodman, Danilo

Henriques, Tom Hyland, Allan Nairn, Constanancio Pinto, Charles Scheiner

The 30 minute video focuses on the impact of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, U.S. policy, and the role of the media. It was filmed during the Spring 1993 New Generations of Resistance Tour sponsored by the East Timor Action Network/U.S.

In New York City, *East Timor: Turning a Blind Eye* will be broadcast: Monday, September 6 at 7:30 pm on Manhattan Cable Channel 16, and Thursday, September 9 at 4:30 pm on Manhattan Paragon Channel 17.

Contact: Paper Tiger Television, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012; (212)420-9045 for Loaner 3/4 inch tapes for Public Access Cable broadcast.

Contact: ETAN/US, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602; (914)428-7299; e-mail: cscheiner@igc.apc.org for 1/2" VHS tapes. \$20 each plus \$3 postage and handling.

---

## MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

---

### WHAT CLIMATE IS NECESSARY TO CREATE THE INDONESIAN DREAMS?

*Open letter from Paul Salim, Indonesian student in Calgary, to computer networkers in soc.culture.indonesia, 2 Aug. 1993*

My dear fellow Indonesians:

What are the Indonesian dreams? One of them is having an advanced technology discussed by Mr. D. Prabowo in his recent article "Teknologi yang diperlukan Indonesia" dated 30th July 1993. He thankfully sets criteria of how to select policies at the best interest of Indonesia. However, criteria (as we know) are not sufficient to achieve what we think of.

To achieve our dreams, we also have to question ourselves whether our resources have been used EFFICIENTLY. It is the purpose of this article to discuss how to turn our country around by making more efficient use of our resources.

In my opinion, there are THREE STEPS to make more efficient use of our resources:

#### 1. CUT OUR ROUTINE EXPENDITURE, SUCH AS:

##### 1.1 GIVE UP East Timor

Since December 1975, Indonesia has illegally annexed East Timor. A full account of this affair can be found in my upcoming article. However, a brief explanation will be

given here. The Indonesian Government always argues that East Timor has been an integral part of Indonesia since 17 July 1976, on which Bill of Integration was approved by President Suharto. The making process of this Bill of Integration (NOT the Bill itself) is NOT valid according to International Laws on integration, especially Resolution 1541(XV) of the General Assembly. The resolution sets the condition of a valid act of integration that "integration should be the result of the freely expressed wishes of the Territory's peoples ... through informed and democratic processes impartially conducted and based on universal adult suffrage." The facts are that neither the UDT-APODETI coalition making declaration on November 29, 1975, that East Timor be part of Indonesia, nor the People's Assembly approving the petition.

In May 1976 were chosen by any such democratic processes. Also 200,000 East Timorese (with the latest 180 mourners at Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili) have lost their lives since Dec. 1975, in the hands of the Indonesian Army/Armed Forces. These killings are contrary to the second principle of the Indonesian State Ideology (Pancasila) which states that Indonesia is based on "Just and Civilized

Humanity." In addition, Indonesian presence in East Timor is an act of colonization which violates the first paragraph of the preamble of the Indonesian Constitution (UUD 45) saying that "since independence is the right of every nation, ANY SUBJUGATION in this world is contrary to humanity and justice, and must therefore be ABOLISHED." Since Indonesia has no legal basis for its presence in East Timor, I suggest the Indonesian Government "Get out of East Timor!"

##### 1.2 CUT spending on Military/Defence

Indonesia still operates several oppressive institutions such as BAKORSTANAS (formerly KOPKAMTIB), KOREM, KODIM, KORAMIL, etc. We all know that KOPKAMTIB was set up after G30S / 1965 to restore Security and Order. Only at that moment was KOPKAMTIB necessary. But what are those institutions for, these days? I recommend in democratic and free society such as Indonesia that those institutions be CLOSED DOWN. It is first of all because they are not described in our constitution UUD 45, and are therefore unconstitutional.

##### 1.3 MAKE a more efficient government / state-owned institutions

We seem to have philosophy of maximizing our human resources ("padat karya"). If we look at how Pertamina and PT Pupuk Sriwijaya operate, we realize that our philosophy "padat karya" has been misinter-

preted. Do you agree with me that, if one secretary can do her job, hiring three secretaries will not only become waste, but also hinder the most productive secretaries to earn better standard of living?

#### 2. STIMULATE INVESTMENT:

My grandfather opened a barber shop in Malang (East Java) and was himself a barber during Dutch occupation in Indonesia. Surprisingly, being a barber was not a terrible job at that moment. He was able to survive his family as well as to support my father to study Civil Engineering at ITB in Bandung (West Java). We realize that situation has changed so far; but we ought not to abandon small businesses which have been our backbone for number of years. In order to create small businesses, we have to stimulate investment by, for example, REDUCING taxes for people that are willing to create jobs in Indonesia. And, at the same time, we ought to keep our big businesses in Indonesia by, for example, INCREASING taxes for Indonesian Citizens that make investment overseas (i.e. NON-RESIDENT TAXES). What do you think??

#### 3. RESUME AN ANTI-CORRUPTION DRIVE.

Very soon I'll write an article about this; so at this time I'll only give you a brief account.

When I worked at PT Spektra Matrika Indah - Jl. Haji Nur 5, Pasar Minggu, South Jakarta in 1985, I knew very well how the Department of Industry worked.

My company was a firm of consultants that depended on projects from the Department of Industry on Jl. Gatot Subroto, Jakarta. One time, we got a project entitled "Feasibility Study of a Fatty Acid Plant" and worth ca. Rp. 3,000,000. As a common practice, my company did NOT get the total money, but GOT to leave 10% of it to the people (s) at the Department of Industry from whom the project came. It is CORRUPTION !!

How to battle corruption? First of all, bring the culprits to justice, regardless of who they are !! (including the family of President Suharto that have amassed billions of US dollars)

Second of all, corruption is an economic matter. In point (1.3) I talked about making our government more efficient; as a consequence, we also have to reward our productive civil servants by INCREASING their salaries.

The change I proposed is not just for the sake of change. I welcome any criticism for this article from anybody including economists, lawyers, and political analysts. It is why I put the article in s.c.i. !

Salam

## BACKGROUND ON EAST TIMOR

*From Paul Salim, to soc.culture.indonesia*

Aug. 14, 1993

This piece of writing (part 0) is the beginning of a series of articles about the Indonesian occupation in East Timor and is designed for readers that know nothing or little about history of East Timor around the Indonesian invasion on 7th December 1975. The other readers could just skip this article and go to the next article (part I)

The purpose of the entire articles is to give thorough discussions about WHY INDONESIA MUST GET OUT OF EAST TIMOR. I would like to dedicate my writings to 200,000 East Timorese and 20,000 Indonesian soldiers that have perished in the Killing Field of East Timor.

### East Timor 1974/75

From 1566 to 1975, East Timor (formerly called Portuguese Timor) was administered by Portugal. A survey in 1974 showed that the population of East Timor was 650,000, literacy rate only 10% and annual GNP per capita only US\$ 40 (showing its backwardness in education and economy). Given the opportunity of self-determination by the Portuguese Government after the 25th April 1974 coup d'etat in Portugal, the East Timorese formed three main political parties: FRETILIN (pro-independence for East Timor), APODETI (pro-integration into Indonesia) and UDT (pro-gradual independence with an extended association with Portugal). In February 1975, it was estimated that 5% of East Timor's population in favour of APODETI, 10% UDT and 60% FRETILIN (source [1]); and it is shown clearly that almost NOBODY in East Timor favoured integration into Indonesia ! How can East Timor now become part of Indonesia ? Please proceed.

During the mid-April 1975 visit by UDT leaders to Jakarta, the Indonesian Government made clear the unacceptability of an independent East Timor under FRETILIN control. On August 11, 1975, UDT launched a coup against the Portuguese administration in Dili, the capital of East Timor, apparently with intention to eradicate FRETILIN. In the following months, a civil war broke out between FRETILIN and UDT. Apparently UDT was overpowered by FRETILIN and was very often driven over the border into the West Timor (part of Indonesia). Due to the circumstances, UDT changed its tactics and, along with two other parties KOTA and TRABALHISTA, joined APODETI on September 7, 1975, in declaring themselves in favour of integration into

Indonesia (let's call it NEW UDT !). The NEW UDT - APODETI coalition has since been supported by the Indonesian Army to penetrate into East Timor and to battle against FRETILIN. Under heavy fighting, on November 28, 1975, FRETILIN proclaimed the Democratic Republic of East Timor; and the next day the NEW UDT - APODETI coalition declared East Timor a part of Indonesia. On November 30, 1975, the Portuguese government rejected all declarations and claimed its sovereignty in East Timor. Indonesian troops invaded East Timor a week later (December 7, 1975). The UN Security Council on December 22, 1975 (with Resolution 384) and on April 22, 1976 (with Resolution 389) deplored the Indonesian invasion and called on Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from East Timor without delay. Indonesia did not listen ! On December 17, 1975, the National Front (composed of NEW UDT, APODETI, KOTA and TRABALHISTA) formed the Provisional Government of East Timor and appointed 37 members of People's Assembly, while FRETILIN (supported by approximately 60% of East Timor's population) battled against the Indonesian Army throughout East Timor. On May 31, 1976, the 37-member People's Assembly approved a petition to integrate East Timor into Indonesia and, then, on July 17, 1976, Indonesian President Suharto signed Bill of Integration into law after being passed by the Indonesian Parliament two days before.

### Reference:

1. Jolliffe, J., 1978, "East Timor: Nationalism and Colonialism," University of Queensland Press

### PART I:

*Dedicated to 200,000 East Timorese and 20,000 Indonesian soldiers that have perished in the Killing Field of East Timor*

The first question is what the meaning of invasion or aggression is. According to Article 1 of UN General Assembly Resolution 3314 (XXIX) (source [1]):

"Aggression is the use of armed force by a State against the sovereignty, territorial integrity or political independence of another state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Charter of the United Nations, ....."

The term "State" in the definition: a. is used without prejudice to questions of recognition or to whether a State is a Member of the United Nations; b. includes the concept of a "group of States" where appropriate. As East Timor comes under the definition of "State" and the Indonesian act of 7th December 1975 in East Timor fits the definition of aggression, Indonesia committed

aggression or invasion in East Timor on 7th December 1975.

The second question to be asked is whether the Indonesian invasion in East Timor is legal (especially if compared to, for instance, the US invasion in Grenada in 1983). It is well-known that experts in International Laws of invasion are split in two groups (see source [2]):

1. "anti-invasion" that bases their argument on Article 5(1) of UN General Assembly Resolution 3314(XXIX) saying that "no consideration of whatever nature, whether political, economic, military or otherwise, may serve as a justification for aggression" ; therefore, all invasions are considered illegitimate,

2. "pro-invasion" that uses Article 2(4) of the United Nations Charter:

"All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territory integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner INCONSISTENT WITH THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS."

This group further states that the use of force against the territory integrity and political independence of other states is ILLEGAL and must be BANNED, UNLESS its purposes are consistent with those of the United Nations, that is, the promotion of HUMAN RIGHTS as stipulated under Article 1(3) of the UN Charter:

"To achieve international cooperation ..... in promoting and encouraging respect for HUMAN RIGHTS and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Such use of force is defined as HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION which is LEGITIMATE because it is the ONLY exception of Article 2(4) of the UN Charter.

I think in this article I do not plan to discuss which group is right or wrong because this just makes our heads bald ("botak"). But it is essential to analyze whether the Indonesian invasion in East Timor can be regarded as Humanitarian Intervention.

Hon. Chaidir Anwar Sani (Indonesian Ambassador to the UN) said in front of the Security Council between 15th and 22nd December 1975 that one reason of the Indonesian invasion was (as quoted from [3]):

"The practice of FRETILIN terrorizing the people, brutalizing and even murdering them because they opted for integration with Indonesia created a strong reaction within Indonesia. The Government was under increasing pressure to take action to protect those people. What is more those

people themselves, after having made their choice, considered themselves to be Indonesian nationals and therefore ENTITLED TO INDONESIA'S PROTECTION."

Granting people automatic, ipso facto nationality is not uncommon. For instance, thousands of Vietnamese boat people were rescued and granted asylum by the West in the late 1970s. The more important issue of the above statement is that the Indonesian invasion was imperative to promote Human Rights in East Timor, viz., Humanitarian Intervention. But, was the Indonesian invasion really Humanitarian Intervention ??

On 22nd December 1975, the UN Secretary-General appointed Mr. Vittorio Winspeare Guicciardi as his Special Representative in terms of paragraph 5 of Security Council resolution 384 (1975) for the purpose of making an on-the-spot assessment of the situation and of establishing contact with all parties in East Timor and all States concerned in order to ensure the implementation of that resolution, i.e. immediate withdrawal of all Indonesian forces from East Timor [3]. On 29th February 1976, after finishing his responsibilities, the Special Representative in his report submitted to the UN Secretary-General said [4]: "he had not been able to visit some parts of the Territory because of communication difficulties or because the security of his mission could not be assured."

It is indicated that a big war was taking place in East Timor! On one occasion, Jose Ramos Horta on behalf of the Democratic Republic of East Timor said in front of the Security Council that 60,000 East Timorese civilians have been slaughtered by the Indonesian Army in 6 months after the invasion.

The brutality of the Indonesian Army is also revealed as follows [5]:

1977 : the Indonesian Foreign Minister, the late Adam Malik, said between 50,000 and 80,000 people had died in East Timor - this was before massive aerial bombardment and famine created by the Indonesian Army in areas thought to be under Fretilin control,

1978 : a delegation of diplomats and journalists which visited East Timor in the month of September at the invitation of the Indonesian Government reported that captured and surrendered East Timorese whom they had seen in "resettlement camps" were evidently suffering from serious malnutrition,

1979 : the Indonesian Foreign Minister acknowledged that the food situation in East Timor might be worse than that in "Biafra or Cambodia"

1980 : an Indonesian census registered the population of East Timor as 550,000 (while the last Portuguese census in 1970 had recorded a population of 610,000 which

was estimated to have risen to over 650,000 by mid-1974); it indicates a sharp decline from 1974 to 1980 particularly after the 1975 Indonesian invasion,

1991 : 271 mourners (the most recent figure) at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, were massacred by the Indonesian Army.

To complete my article, I want to quote a compelling story [5] that, days following the Indonesian invasion, large numbers of people were executed in the suburb of Vila Verde and in particular around the former Portuguese military police barracks. The population of Vila Verde was rounded up by troops in green berets (KOPASSANDHA, the Indonesian elite paratroopers - text added) and taken to a football field opposite the barracks. What was going on there is told by Carlos Afonso, an East Timorese student then living in Dili and interviewed by Amnesty International in 1984, as follows:

"The green berets had found a dead Indonesian by the military police barracks. They thought that he must have been killed by civilians because he had been killed with a sword and not by a bullet.

"The Indonesians brought all of the people across to the military police barracks. They selected about 50 strongly-built men who were ordered to enter the barracks. I was one of them. There was nothing in the barracks. When we came out, we were ordered to the north side of the barracks. We were told we were to wait for a helicopter which would come to take the body away. The helicopter didn't come.

"We were all told to stand, then to sit. The Indonesians prepared guns as if to fire. Everyone cried out, some tried to kiss the feet of the Indonesians. Some were carrying Indonesian flags; some were APODETI.

"A sergeant said 'Kill them.' Another sergeant asked who was APODETI. Everybody stood.

"When he saw everybody stand, the sergeant shouted 'Fire.' I fell and some others fell on me. I had been shot in my right hand. I put my bleeding hand to my face and pretended to be dead.

"A car came. I thought that they had come to collect the bodies but they left the bodies and took the Indonesian soldiers.

"After they had gone, a few people stood up. Some just ran a few steps and then collapsed.

"Four people survived."

The behaviour of the Indonesian Army in East Timor violates, for instance, Article 3 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights: "everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person." and can NOT be classified as promotion of Human Rights.

Having examined the above reasoning, I conclude that:

1. the **INDONESIAN INVASION** in East Timor on 7th December 1975 is NOT Humanitarian Intervention and is therefore **ILLEGITIMATE**,

2. all Indonesian forces must be withdrawn without delay from East Timor because Indonesia has failed to promote Human Rights in East Timor for the past 17 (!) years.

References:

1. Ferencz, B.B., 1975, "Defining International Aggression: The Search for World Peace," vol.2, Oceana Publications, Inc., New York

2. Teson, F.R., 1988, "Humanitarian Intervention: an Inquiry into Law and Morality, Transnational Publishers, Inc., New York

3. UN Chronicle, Dec. 1975, pp.6 - 14

4. UN Chronicle, May 1976, pp.8 - 13

5. Amnesty International, 1985, "East Timor: Violations of Human Rights"

*To be continued in part II*

---

## PUPPETEERS FOR EAST TIMOR

*Editorial from the March, 1993 issue of APropos, a magazine of international puppetry produced for the U.S. chapter of UNIMA, the international union of puppeteers. Full text.*

### AVANT-PROPOS

In the fall of 1992, in East Timor, American journalists Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn were severely beaten by Indonesian troops during a calculated massacre which killed some 140 Timorese and wounded many others. This attack on unarmed civilians by an army using American M-16 automatic weapons and trained by the United States was merely the latest incident in the 17- year illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia which, through a policy of repression, torture, execution and enforced starvation, is effecting the deliberate genocide of the East Timorese (it is estimated that 1/3 of the population has already been killed).

Certainly there are many other places in the world where human rights abuses are commonplace, but we are using East Timor as an example because of its particular relevance to you - our readers. We feel very strongly that all of us, as puppeteers active in an international community, need to look at other cultures not merely in terms of our own specific interests (international touring, festivals, cultural exchange, etc.) but with the larger social and political contexts within which (in this case) all those wonderful



Indonesian dalangs and gamelans and wayang figures exist. We can help things change for the better, but to do this we must become activists. For Indonesian artists who dare question government policy, there are dire consequences. Help is needed. For the East Timorese there is now a window of opportunity – President Clinton is ready to reexamine U.S. policy toward Indonesia with regard to East Timor; we can write him and our congresspeople and urge an end to military aid to the Indonesian Dictatorship. Many of us are already activists in our own lives. Collectively, though, we can have so much strength. Perhaps it is time for UNIMA, with all its commissions, to have a commission devoted to political activity on behalf of human rights. Perhaps UNIMA-USA could even take an active role in making this happen; it seems only right, as our government has contributed materially to so much human suffering.

This issue is filled with news of international collaborations and festivals. It is full of hope and so are we. We hope you enjoy it.

–Editor

---

### **BRAZIL INITIATIVE ON EAST TIMOR**

*The following letter was sent to the UN Secretary-General, Boutros-Boutros-Ghali on 28 September 1993:*

Dear Sir,

Since December 1975, Indonesia has occupied East Timor militarily, having caused 210,000 deaths in the last 15 years.

We ask you to strive for a just solution for this outrageous situation. And, as a first step, the United Nations should guarantee that a representative of the Maubere people take part in the process of negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia.

Yours sincerely,

Lilia do Amaral Azevedo  
Coordinator, Grupo Solidario Sao Domingos, Rua Haddock Lobo 1310, apto 42, 01414-002 Sao Paulo SP BRASIL Fax: 11-853.6830

Frei João Xerri, O.P.  
Justice and Peace promotor for the Dominican Order in the South Cone. Rua Atibaia 420 - Perdizes, 01235-010 Sao Paulo SP BRASIL Fax 11-656941

Marta Maria Soares de Camargo  
Coordinator, Renovacao Crista do Brasil, Regional Sudeste Rua Apiacas 950, casa 4, 05017-020 Sao Paulo SP BRASIL