

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

Volume 26: December 13, 1993 - February 15, 1994

Published by:

East Timor Action Network / U.S.

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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.

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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.

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**XANANA GUSMÃO
COMMUNICATES FROM
PRISON**

**XANANA: THE EAST
TIMORESE MYTH**

Publico, 10 December 1993. By Adelino Gomes. Translated from Portuguese

(LISBON) A year has now past since Xanana was captured. It was the Indonesian army's greatest victory in 18 years of operations in East Timor. But the way in which he defeated Jakarta's strategy, confronted the judges, and still holds out against his jailers, have led his followers to believe him to be "the perfect reflection of the Timorese people's soul." As is always the case, there are shaded areas in the hero's biography. The following letters show how the guerrillas were living, suffering and feeling just before the capture of their Commander in Chief.

One year after his arrest, in the house of a resistance leader's relatives, in one of the neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Dili, Xanana Gusmão is isolated in Jakarta's political prison, sentenced to 20 years imprisonment. However, contrary to what his jailers had intended, the guerrilla leader is still as much a nuisance to them in jail

(where the Suharto regime has thrown together both its Indonesian adversaries and some from the Timorese resistance) as he was while he was up in the mountains.

The latest reports received on his situation refer to the time when he went on hunger strike for three weeks, on account of his transfer from Semarang prison (for common criminals) to Cipinang (housing both Indonesian political prisoners and members of the Timorese resistance). An Indonesian source, that managed to speak briefly with Xanana, confirms that he remains firm in his convictions. Meanwhile, in the outside world, Xanana's name and the East Timor cause have become one and the same, and the tributes keep coming (Order of Liberty, Pen Club recommendation for the Sakharov prize).

Information supplied by the "Freedom for Xanana, Freedom for Timor" Commission, on which this background on the leader is based, paints a picture of moderation and coherence. However, it is difficult to fully guarantee the reliability of his "official" biography, given the clandestine circumstances. The shaded areas mainly occur during the period between the Indonesian invasion on 7 December 1975, and the end of the 1980s.

Some guerrillas who surrendered, in particular Paulino Gama, accuse Xanana of having taken part in executions and massacres perpetrated by Fretilin, while Abilio Araujo, leader of the external wing of the

Resistance, has accused him of intentionally damaging Fretilin's network in the interior. His supporters point to his progressively moderate line - the guerrilla forces becoming non-partisan, his stepping down from Fretilin, and the creation in 1988 of Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) - which made him become the charismatic leader of the entire Resistance movement, both armed and civilian.

From aspiring emigrant to Marxist leader

José Alexandre Gusmão was born on 20 June 1946 in Laleia, Manatuto. He studied at the Jesuit seminary in Dare, and later at the Dili high school. He became a civil servant, and studied in the evenings.

Shortly before 25 April 1974, he decided to emigrate to Australia with his family (Emilia and son Eugenio). He got as far as Darwin, but changed his mind when he returned to Timor, as the political parties were already organising. He did not join Fretilin straight-away, however, as he was not enthusiastic about politics. It was at that time that he won the Timorese Poetry Prize, with a poem entitled "Mauberiadas," inspired by Luis de Camões' epic poem.

As a photographer for Fretilin's Information Department, Xanana was at East Timor's border with Indonesian Timor at the time of the invasion, taking photos of Jakarta's military incursions, which had started in mid-October 1975. He began to

use the name Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, and “merely carried out” the orders from Fretilin’s leadership, which were “exclusively aimed to organise the people.”

The death in combat, on the last day of 1978, of Fretilin Chairman and leader of the armed resistance, Nicolau Lobato, took Xanana by surprise in Ponta Leste, where he was working as the political commissioner’s assistant. He then started on the long, nearly two-year, trek towards reestablishing and reorganising the resistance network, which had been practically destroyed.

At the 1st National Conference, held in the central area in March 1981, he became Chairman of the National Resistance Revolutionary Council (CRRN), and national political commissioner of the Fretilin Marxist-Leninist Party. Two years later, on 21 and 23 March, he steered the negotiations in Lari Gutu with the territory’s Indonesian Military Commander, Col. Purwanto. This resulted in a break with the most radical wing of the guerrilla command, which opposed the initiative.

A cease fire was agreed between the parties, and lasted until June, when General Murdani, Commander in Chief of the Indonesian Armed Forces, issued an ultimatum for the guerrillas to surrender. Mutual accusations of cease fire violations followed until, in August, Timorese in the Indonesian militia, based in Craras and commanded by Virgilio dos Anjos, attacked and killed an Indonesian Major and his entire Zipur B platoon (except for a Captain and one Soldier), and joined up with the guerrillas, taking with them the weapons they had captured from the Indonesian troops.

In 1984, at the 2nd Fretilin National Conference, Xanana advocated the opening up of Fretilin’s political base as the only way to achieve independence. The years that followed were to prove him right: the resistance’s support base widened, and gained the solidarity of the local church, and large sectors of the population, especially young people, as well as leaders of parties which had fought Fretilin.

In December 1988, the creation of the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) was formalised. The word “Revolutionary” was dropped from its name, showing adjustment to the new situation inside the territory as well as abroad, where Fretilin and UDT (the protagonists of the civil war, between August and December 1975) had been in alliance since 1986.

The CNRM, chaired by Xanana Gusmão, had always appeared as the cupola of an organisation, of which two inseparable structures were a part: the Falintil command, led by Xanana himself, and the leadership of the Resistance Delegation Abroad (DRSE), a “troika” consisting of Abilio

Araujo (Fretilin), Moises do Amaral (UDT), and Monsignor Martinho Lopes who, although he turned down this invitation from Xanana, agreed to work as an adviser.

The opening of the territory to the outside world in 1989, enable the resistance’s urban network to organise demonstrations which, given the violence of the military authorities’ reaction, gave the struggle an international dimension (the visits of Pope John Paul II, October 1989, the US Ambassador, January 1990, and the Apostolic Nuncio, September 1990).

The situation came to a head as the time approached for the Portuguese parliamentary delegation’s visit, in October 1991. The visit had been arduously negotiated at the UN between Portugal and Indonesia. When the visit was cancelled by Portugal on account of the restrictions imposed by the Indonesians, about two thousand Timorese, bearing flags and banners (prepared clandestinely to be displayed in front of the visiting MPs and media) demonstrated against the death, a few days previously, in the Motael church, of the anti-integrationist Sebastião Rangel.

“Soul of the people”

The demonstration coincided with visit to Dili of the UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, as well as foreign reporters, who filmed an Indonesian contingent of soldiers open fire on a crowd of civilians, killing and wounding hundreds of people. The video tape of the Santa Cruz massacre shook Portugal, embarrassing governments with close ties with Indonesia, and transformed the problem of East Timor into a cause, of which Xanana would become the banner.

The circumstances in which the guerrilla leader was captured, one year ago today, are still unclear. His imprisonment opened a new chapter in the painful history of Timorese resistance to Indonesian occupation. But in his final statement before the court in May 1993, Xanana Gusmão took his captors by surprise, and once again became Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, Commander of the “glorious Armed Forces of East Timor’s National Liberation.”

The Timorese Mandela had been found. It was impossible for the Indonesian repressive apparatus to tame the former guerrilla leader, and this is what finally turned him into the symbolic banner of his people’s fight for self-determination. Yesterday, the CNRM’s representative in Portugal, referred to Xanana as the “perfect reflection of the Timorese people’s soul.”

INDONESIA ALLOWS FAMILY VISIT TO TIMOR’S XANANA

JAKARTA, Dec. 14 (Reuter) - Indonesia has allowed members of Xanana Gusmão’s family to visit the imprisoned East Timor guerrilla leader for the first time since he was sentenced six months ago, refugee and exile sources said on Tuesday.

The fate of Xanana, serving a 20-year sentence for leading a separatist movement in the former Portuguese colony, has been the subject of concern by some Western nations and international human rights groups.

Xanana was originally sentenced to life imprisonment but this was reduced to 20 years by President Suharto in August.

The sources said Xanana, now at Cipinang prison in Jakarta after a brief spell in the central Javanese town of Semarang, was visited last week by family. International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) officials accompanied them.

A ICRC official said the visit was organised as part of a twice-yearly visit to prisoners across Indonesia.

It was not clear which members of Xanana’s family visited him. He has been allowed occasional family visits since he was captured in November 1992 but the London-based Amnesty International organisation said it had not been allowed to see him since he was sentenced on May 21.

Sources close to Xanana said he was on a brief hunger strike in late August but diplomats said he now appeared to be in good health.

Jakarta sent troops into East Timor in 1975 and annexed the tiny territory the following year in a move not recognised by the United Nations. Xanana, 47, led a dwindling band of guerrillas fighting Indonesian forces.

COMMENT FROM TAPOL:

This report gives the impression that AI was allowed to see Xanana prior to 21 May, when he was sentenced. This is not correct. To our knowledge, AI has never been allowed to see him, nor have other NGOs although the International Commission of Jurists and Asia Watch observers would have ‘seen’ him, i.e. not met him, when they attended some hearings of the trial. AI did not attend the trial at all, so would not even have ‘seen’ him in this sense.

“SEND A MESSAGE TO XANANA” CAMPAIGN

From ETRA, 19 December 1993

The East Timor Relief Association Inc. (Australia) supports the campaign “SEND

A MESSAGE TO XANANA" as it was initiated by "Freedom for Xanana, Freedom for East Timor" Commission representing all the groups campaigning to protect/liberate Xanana. This commission is based in Lisbon.

To give practical support to this campaign, ETRA has produced 5000 cards for this campaign. The front of the card reads: Xanana Gusmão - Symbol of the National Resistance (with Timorese motive on the background) and at the back is for each person to write their message of support to Xanana.

If you or your group are interested in obtaining some of these cards to mount the campaign, please contact the office of East Timor Relief Assn. Inc. in Sydney via the tel. 02 - 7287395 or 8915861

fax. 02 - 891 2876 or 7266319 You can also write to PO Box 23, FAIRFIELD, NSW - 2165.

WAITING FOR PEACE POSTCARD CAMPAIGN

East Timor Relief Association (ETRA) has produced postcards titled: East Timor - Waiting for Peace addressed to UN Secretary General Boutros-Boutros Ghali. The message is:

"I appeal to you to continue to use your good offices to find a peaceful, just and comprehensive solution for the people of East Timor through the implementation of all the relevant resolutions passed by the United Nations; this can only be achieved with the inclusion of the representatives of the Timorese National Resistance in any future negotiations."

(front cover of the postcard is a painting reflecting Timorese women waiting for peace by Timorese artist Sebastian Silva)

XANANA FOR TIME'S MAN OF THE YEAR

Letter to the Editor in TIME Australia, 27 December 1993

XANANA'S EXAMPLE

We WISH TO NOMINATE XANANA GUSMÃO to be TIME'S Man of the year. Xanana represents a tiny race of very proud and dignified people whose Christian faith sets an example to the rest of us. In their plight, it may help the East Timorese to know that all over the world there are people who care, not least here in Australia, when our Government has betrayed them.

The East Timorese lead by Xanana, regardless of the daily fear and atrocities meted out to them, have never taken reprisals on the Indonesians or Javanese now farming their land.

Irene Fisher and 45 other members of the congregation
Uniting Church, Rowllan Park, Kingston,
Tasmania

XANANA LEAK PROBED

UPI, 30 Dec. 1993

JAKARTA (UPI) – The Indonesian government authorities are investigating an appeal made by the jailed East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão in a letter to the International Commission of Jurists, armed forces commander Gen. Feisal Tanjung said Wednesday.

Tanjung told reporters that the government would first investigate how Gusmão's letter was leaked abroad from his prison in Jakarta.

"We will see whether the motive behind it was for money or another reason," Tanjung said.

Gusmão, 46, leader of the armed wing of the East Timor Liberation Front Fretilin, was convicted of plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms, and sentenced to life imprisonment last May by a court in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

Gusmão's sentence prompted strong international criticism.

President Suharto, in a bid to ease criticism over Jakarta's handling of East Timor, reduced Gusmão's sentence to a 20-year jail term last August.

Gusmão is being held in Jakarta's Cipinang prison.

It was widely reported this week that Gusmão has asked in a letter to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists for his trial to be annulled.

In his letter, Gusmão also asked to be represented by a Portuguese defense lawyer. He accused his Indonesian defense counsel Sudjono of being "dishonest" and having ties with the Indonesian authorities.

XANANA LETTER TO THOSE WHO SENT HIM POSTCARDS

Translated by Maubere People's Rights Commission (CDPM) from Portuguese, abridged, 4 January 1994

Cipinang, 27 November 1993

Dearest Friends,

The message from Paulo Jorge Ambrosio (Mem Martins) is "solidarity against repression"; the cry from the C&S School in Ourique "Free the innocent one! Here's to your total freedom! A long embrace - Good Luck Friend!," which also included Leonor. While the message from Jorge Falcao, Miranda do Corvo, is "Freedom for Timor!, and "Courage, Victory is Ours!" from Suz-

ana Falcao, someone from Costa de Caparica tells us "Don't give up, because as long as there are friends and people concerned about you, freedom will be achieved!"

The C&S School in Ourique reminds us that "Solidarity is the only source of life; suffering is part of life, but friendship is long-lasting!" And we believe it, because Ines Tomaz, Helena Neto, Luis Heleno, and Claudio Lima write to us from Lisbon saying "We are with you! Courage!," and João Miguel Ventura Santos Andrade from Coimbra wants us to know that he, and many others "are at your side and will never lose the strength to fight. Freedom for Timor!" And that very freedom is at the heart of our fight. Cristina Correia, from Lisbon, encourages us: "Don't ever stop fighting for what you believe to be right." The message from Natalino Cunha is "Fatherland or Death! The fight goes on!"

We fully support Palmira Lourenco, who asks for "Courage and Unity!," and (...) Reis and Fausto Reis reinforce that with "United until the final victory, until Timor is free!" As Victor Dias, from Ourique, says: "Life without freedom is like a garden without flowers."

Luis Miguel Cunha, from Linda-a-Velha, is confident that "soon I will embrace you in Timor," and explains: "Just as the Portuguese dictatorship fell, along with all the others, the Indonesian dictatorship will also fall!" Yes, Luis Miguel, East Timor will be open to welcome its friends. And then, my surviving warriors will show whoever wants to "get to know the lands of Timor" how we stood such a long guerrilla war, where we fought, where we lost our best men, where we suffered defeat, where we won battles, etc. I promise that to Luis Miguel, and to all of you! Meanwhile, Amelia from Oeiras reminds us that the struggle is still necessary: "I wish you the best of luck in your fight against Indonesia!" With luck and your constant support, "We will overcome" (Maria Alice Tavares).

And what support! What can we say about this long list of "friends and people" who speak aloud in unison: "We are with you"? Just that. We know that you are with us, and that gives us strength and courage!

And to give back some of that strength, I say to Ana Luisa Quiterio (Benedita ?), and Ana Paula Teixeira (Oporto) that I think it is not as difficult as you say, and you just need to be familiar with fear, and feel it a few times. That goes for Maria Alice Tavares too, and - you will not be so surprised!

Thank you Margarita Correia (Lisbon), but I don't think I deserve so much praise. Nevertheless, I treasure it as a present from you. Thank you also to Ana Tavares for your feelings.

"Christ is with me" (isn't that right Ana Pinto from Lisbon, and Father Mario de Oliveira?) Your postcard, along with another 399, reached me Teresa Eusebio from Lisbon.

Dear Friends,

I embrace you with deep gratitude, on behalf of all the Timorese who have been able to involve themselves in a dignified way of fighting for our people's freedom.

We were very moved to receive yesterday, 26 November, such a delivery of Portuguese solidarity, originating mainly, I believe, from young people.

As I'm unable to reply to each of you individually, by means of this letter I wish to publicly express our appreciation, and my own particular appreciation for your gesture of solidarity.

We are always counting on you, as we will always need your support! Thank you, Portuguese friends!

Here follow the hundreds of names of all those who sent greetings/postcards. They are listed mainly according to place of origin (from all over Portugal, and one from Brussels), trade union organisations and other groups, and under the headings "Unsigned," "Illegible Address," "Illegible Signature."

Xanana Gusmão ends the list with "Once again, thank you friends! Fatherland or Death! The Struggle Continues! Resist and overcome! Viva International Solidarity! Long Live the Heroic Maubere People!"

TWO LETTERS FROM XANANA GUSMÃO WRITTEN TO SUPPORTERS IN THE UK

Cipinang, 27 November 1993

My Greetings,

It is a pity that I have not mastered English, but I will make an effort to learn it during these years in prison, especially since it will enable me to receive your letters and make the most of your simple gesture to show that you remember - a gesture stemming from real commitment - that moved me deeply.

I am grateful that you are thinking of me but, before me, think too about my people who find themselves captive in a huge prison which was once their country of birth and the country they believed in.

It is a country which has lost the colour of its wild flowers. They have been replaced with plastic flowers which go under the name 'development' (the Indonesian word for development was used here). This has happened because the occupation forces came 18 years ago to burn our forests, our mountains and our plains in military operations designed to persecute those fighting for freedom.

Flowers are nature's way of celebrating and, there is a common saying that life without liberty is like a garden without flowers. If liberty is one of the main aspirations that people have during their lives, liberty must be inherited across generations.

It is my simple duty, along with my compatriots, to struggle for liberty throughout my life, to take on this essential role. I have to do this to rescue liberty for the generations to come and to pass on this precious heritage.

I send you my fondest thoughts in the name of all Timorese who are prisoners, those who are held without trial in Cipinang and in East Timor.

Yours sincerely,

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão.

My greetings,

I am immensely grateful to you for remembering me. I am profoundly moved by your solidarity because it makes it possible for me to believe that in this troubled and egotistical world there are still good people who are willing to concern themselves with the fate of others.

My country, my beloved East Timor, which is still locked in a struggle against continuing colonial repression inevitably belongs in this category. My people have been struggling and suffering for these 18 years of cruel and violent military Indonesian occupation and my people are struggling to be free and are suffering to achieve their right to self-determination and national independence.

We will win, with your support! And in a free and independent East Timor we Timorese will need help from CAFOD, Christian Aid, SCIAF and Traidcraft; our nation will have a strong desire for peace and harmony and will be preoccupied with its national reconstruction in every domain.

We are a peace loving and hard-working people. In the Portuguese colonial period we were portrayed as lazy, just because our ancestors ran away from the forced labour imposed upon them. Today, the Indonesian assassins, with their policy of transmigration, still say that we are lazy in order to justify their military occupation and they give all the facilities to the [non-Timorese] transmigrants.

The truth is that, by applying the tactics of burned earth [burning the grasses and the forests], the invaders have destroyed everything during the huge operations against the defenceless population who resisted 'en masse' during the first three years. When they had gained control by the end of 1978, the population of East Timor was herded into the areas surrounding the villages, and today they are living along the roads with

just the most restricted piece of land to cultivate.

But we, the Timorese, believe in our ability to develop our beloved country; we believe in our will-power, in the energy of our initiatives and in the creativity of our feelings. However, everything has its limits, because we are poor, and we will need an immense amount of support from you.

We need it now. I believe that you have heard that the grants of 175 Timorese University students, who signed a letter to protest about the Santa Cruz massacre, have been cut by the murderous colonial government. If I understand it correctly, "working together with the poor in developing countries," means thinking that, in the current situation of East Timor, the condition of these students could be included in your objective. Only with a sound education can young people provide for the needs of their country and we are struggling for the right to conduct our own destiny.

Please contact Ramos-Horta, my personal representative outside East Timor and the special representative for the CNRM (National Council for Maubere Resistance).

Help us to liberate ourselves now and help us to educate people for the future. Help us to build a new nation, which is peace-loving and happy! Until then the slogans in the mouth of every Timorese is continuing on every front! To resist is to win!

Long live international solidarity!

With compliments,

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão,

Member of CNRM and Commander of

FALINTIL

INDONESIA BARS RELATIVES AND RIGHTS GROUP FROM VISITING DISSIDENT LEADER

UPI, Jan. 9

JAKARTA (UPI) – The Indonesian government Sunday barred relatives and human rights representative from visiting an East Timorese independence leader, charging the jailed Xanana Gusmão tarnished the government's image overseas.

The ban came only one day after President Suharto told U.S. Rep. Richard Gephardt, D-Ga (actually, MO), that international organizations will be assured access to East Timor to investigate alleged human rights violations in the former Portuguese colony.

Baharuddin Lopa, director general of correctional institution, told the official news agency Antara that "the decision was taken because Gusmão has tarnished the good image of Indonesia abroad."

Lopa cited a letter of appeal to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists and the Portuguese government leaked by Gusmão, asking them to annul his trial by an Indonesian court.

Gusmão is now serving a 20-year jail term at Jakarta's Cipinang prison.

Lopa said the government had allowed the representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and relatives to visit Gusmão without being accompanied by Indonesian officers but it turned out that he "violated a gentlemen's agreement" by sending a letter overseas.

The East Timorese dissident leader was convicted of plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms, and sentenced to life in prison by East Timor's Dili district court in May.

Indonesia's President Suharto, in a bid to ease criticism over Gusmão's sentence and Jakarta's handling of East Timor in August reduced Gusmão's sentence to a 20-year jail term.

In response to a question whether the ban would violate Gusmão's rights, Lopa challenged said, "It was Gusmão who first violated human rights."

He said the government had actually considered giving a remission to Gusmão, "but with his latest behavior, he has lost his right to get such remission."

Suharto told a visiting U.S. congressional group led by Gephardt that there would be no problem with groups or organizations or individuals visiting East Timor to investigate whether or not human rights had been resolved.

During a talk with Suharto, Gephardt said a concern existed in the United States as well as other countries with regard to people that have been imprisoned and a concern with regard to the ability of human rights organizations to visit the area to see human rights conditions.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, a few months after the departure of Portugal's colonial administration, and Jakarta annexed the territory of 600,000 inhabitants a year later, a move never recognized by the United Nations.

LETTER FROM XANANA GUSMÃO TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMISSION OF JURISTS

*Translation by CDPM, Annotations by
TAPOL, Jan. 10, 1994.*

Cipinang, 1 December 1993

Mr. President of the International Commission of Jurists,

Greetings! I am outlining below areas in my case which I consider require clarification:

A. "CHOOSING" MY LAWYER

1. At the police headquarters in Jakarta, I received a letter from the LBH [Legal Aid Institute], offering its services at my "family's request" (quote from said letter).

I was already familiar with the LBH, even before the trial of our university student compatriots in Jakarta.

On 22 December 1992, if I am not mistaken, I replied accepting the offer just for the period of the trial, because I did not want to upset my own plans. Because of this, they [the Indonesian authorities] started telling me to be very careful about who I chose, giving other reasons. Suddenly, there was a shower of letters from lawyers and lawyers' associations. Surprisingly, some of these letters were dated earlier than the date on the LBH's letter. I stuck with offer from the LBH, explaining to them that, given that it was the first I had received, and given that it had been at my family's request, it was more ethical to accept the LBH's offer.

I believe it was on the 28th of that same month that I noticed a newspaper article (which they had probably not noticed) mentioning my name, the LBH, and Mabes Polri [Indonesian Police Headquarters]. I asked the team of enquiry to explain the content to me. They were saying that it was about the LBH protesting, when a colonel explained that he had rejected the LBH request to contact me, and his refusal had been based on the LBH not having produced any document showing that it was "at the family's request."

It was then that they asked me whether I knew the LBH. I said I did not. They talked about the trials resulting from the Jakarta demonstrations. They said that the LBH was not to be trusted, and even said that because the LBH had not been able to prove that their offer was "at the request of (my) family," my letter in reply to them had been retained. They handed it back to me so I could write another letter, refusing. I had no other alternative.

After that, more letters appeared - and even police lawyers came forward. I rejected all of them. Furthermore, I stated that I did not even need any lawyers.

2. Finally, Mr. Sudjono was introduced to me. I told him I would have to think about it. He came a second time, and assured me that he had some connection with General Hendro [Priyono] of the BAIS, today "panglima." [Major-General Hendro Priyono was in charge of Section A of BAIS, the army's strategic intelli-

gence agency; he is now commander of the Jakarta Military Command.] During the second half of January, while in detention at the attorney general's, General Hendro showed up with the lawyer. There, all I could do was just sign the statement "recognising" my lawyer.

B. Mr. Sudjono's conduct

1. At the outset of the trial I brought up the possibility of my speaking to journalists. He told me that this was not allowed, and that he would be the one to have all contact with the press.

Throughout the whole process, there was visibly close coordination between the lawyer and the BAIS, to whom (the lawyer himself admitted) he was obliged to report back to with all the details of each session. The BAIS was in charge of him, and together they acted so as to isolate me.

2. On the day I was stopped from reading my defence in Portuguese, and stated that I did not acknowledge him as my lawyer, we were given a recess to discuss the problem.

I told Mr. Sudjono that he could only continue acting as my lawyer if he accepted the following conditions:

- a) I would read out my defence statement, and he would have to support me in this.
- b) It would be his responsibility to defend my case, strictly in the matter of the Indonesian laws themselves, the interpretation of which I should be able to understand from his defence. The political side of the question would be left entirely up to me, without any interference from him.
- c) In accordance with the above point b), he would have to remove from his defence everything which, either explicitly or implicitly, conflicted with my political position. I had also understood a little of the concluding part of his defence, and expressly indicated that it should be removed.
- d) He would not read his defence on that day, and would only do so after I had read out mine.

3. The following day, with bags packed and ready to go back to Jakarta, he turned up at the prison. I put to him the question of the translation of my speech [into Indonesian]. He simply suggested that I try to do it myself - knowing all too well that I did not speak his language well. He promised to ask the police chief for paper and pencil.

One day before the next session, he came back. I then asked him to take the docu-

ment to Father José Antonio, as I believed he could translate it correctly. That afternoon, however, he returned to tell me that, after consulting the Judge, who would not give his authorisation, it had been agreed that the following day I should hand over the document to the Judge, and then he would have it sent for translation.

Before commencement of the session, he came to me asking that I read out his defence. I refused, as this could have encumbered the reading out of my own. At this, he stressed that everything had been agreed, and that I would inevitably get to read out mine.

4. When the Judge ordered me to stop reading, I was surprised to see Mr. Sudjono hurriedly collecting the document from my hands and handing it over to the Judge. From that day to this, no copy whatsoever of my own defence statement has been given back to me.

5. We had agreed that, in the final session, I would have the opportunity of expressing my opinion on the sentence which would be passed on me that day.

Since both the Procurator and the Judge had considered me an "Indonesian citizen," during the interval I pointed this out to him and said he ought to protest, and that I too, at the end, would clarify on that point.

I was just about to begin to speak, when the Judge ordered the trial over. There was not the slightest reaction from Mr. Sudjono.

6. Mr. Sudjono was always trying to convince me to remain totally passive and in silence.

The only time he was of any help was when (on my insistence) he convinced the judges to avoid confrontation with me during the session in which I was questioned. It was still not the right time and, at any price, I wanted to avoid confrontations, with questions and answers. I knew that if that were to happen there, they would start searching my cell, and I would lose what cost so much to write. And I did not have any more paper and pencils, which I had managed to hide and take with me from Jakarta.

C. "GRASI"

1. In early June, Mr. Sudjono came and spoke to me about asking for "grasi." I must confess that I really did not understand the meaning of the term. He explained that it was a reduction of sentence. I rejected this idea out of hand, telling him that I did not accept any sentence from any Indonesian court.

He went on to say that the sentence handed down was not final, and that he would be appealing to a higher court for the sentence to be reduced, and would not follow all the steps of the judicial machinery. Then he said he was just acting within the limits of his territory and that the conditions of our agreement still held. He asked me to draft a letter. Again I refused, because it would have gone against my principles to request a reduction of the sentence, given that I did not accept any sentence at all. Then he said it was simply a personal letter, just to comply with certain bureaucratic formalities, as the Judge would only accept his declaration if he presented a letter from me. I must again confess that it did not occur to me to discuss with him the credential problems of January, and again, after I had refused him as my lawyer. Without an interpreter, it is so hard for me to understand Indonesian!

The text he dictated to me surprised me, and I stopped writing, telling him that I could not write in this way. Again, he insisted that it would be of a personal nature and was only to be shown to the Judge.

I asked him for the declaration he had mentioned and, after telling me a long story involving travelling, etc., he said that he would only be finishing it that very night, and handing it over to the Judge the following day, when he would then travel back to Jakarta. He promised me a copy, but to this day I have not seen one!

The letter, addressed to him, went roughly as follows: "I request that you kindly ask for *grasi*." Before giving it to him, I asked him for a commitment to respect my political position, and, in accordance with our agreement, to limit his activities to the area we had agreed.

2. I raised this question of requesting "*grasi*" frequently with the police chief and police doctor in Dili. The night I arrived in Semarang, it was discussed with the Kanwil [meaning 'regional representative office' but not clear for which agency] and Procurator. In reply to their questions, I again clarified for them my political position, the agreement with the lawyer, and the letter.

In both the LP Semarang and Cipinang documents, I stated my Timorese citizenship. In Semarang, all those who went to my cell saw "I'm not Indonesian citizen."

3. On 12 August, the second day of my hunger strike, in the police prison, the doctor brought me in some magazines. Although my Indonesian is not good, I did understand some passages in which

Mr. Sudjono was stating that I acknowledged integration. I kept that magazine, but that same night the BAIS took everything away from me that was paper (written or blank). The letter which I had written to the LBH, while I was at the police headquarters in Jakarta, was also taken from me then.

At the end of August, or early in September, I cannot remember exactly, Mr. Sudjono came to see me in Semarang. I told him I had seen the police magazine article. After a few moments of embarrassment, he said it had restricted circulation. I said the article had surprised me, as it could have meant a change in his position. He replied that it did not. I did not wish to press the issue further, because what was of most importance for me then was to get transferred here.

4. While still in Dili, during the talks/arguments about the question of "*grasi*," I said to the Chief of Police and to other military, that I was prepared to appeal to President Suharto to release all Timorese political prisoners since I assumed full responsibility. The promise to give me paper and pencil was postponed until I came to Semarang.

In mid-October, now here in Cipinang, Mr. Sudjono reappeared, and I put the matter to him. Much to my surprise, he agreed immediately, and said he would get me a list of prisoners and detainees in East Timor. Once again, the agreement between us was recalled and clarified. Since he never again came back with the list, on 13 November I handed in a request to the prison chief to contact Mr. Sudjono, and let him know of my wish to speak with him.

As of yesterday, 30 November, there was no news from him.

Having decided to break with Mr. Sudjono, since I learned here of the disloyalty, I am sending today a request to the LBH to take up the show they set up around the "*grasi*," and knowing about his case.

I have also asked the LBH to appoint a lawyer for me.

Mr. Chairman of the International Commission of Jurists:

I appeal to the ICJ, and I appeal to all international organisations linked to International Law, to initiate actions of protest, and a campaign (using this document if necessary) for the annulment of the previous trial proceedings.

As a foreigner, a Timorese citizen in my own conscience, and Portuguese citizen in the eyes of international law, I request the intervention of a Portuguese lawyer, in order

to facilitate communication, to be assisted by lawyers from the LBH.

Thanking you in anticipation of your attention,

Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão
Member of the CNRM and Commander
of the Falintil
Cipinang, 1st December 1993

JAILED TIMORESE REBEL LEADER OFFERS TO SERVE LONGER SENTENCE

*Reuter, 9 January 1994 Dateline: Sydney.
Abridged*

A jailed Timorese rebel leader offered to serve a longer term if Indonesian President Suharto released fellow rebels, according to a copy of his letter obtained by Reuters.

There was no indication of the Indonesian government's response to the letter.

Gusmão was captured in November 1992 and sentenced to life by an Indonesian court six months later.

In the letter dated October 31 1993 and smuggled out of his cell in a Jakarta prison, Gusmão says that as he directed the rebels, he should serve the life meted out and fellow rebels released.

"I appeal to Your Excellency, Mr. President, for all of the prisoners of conscience mentioned above to be unconditionally released in return for an extension of my sentence," Gusmão said in a letter authenticated by Timorese sources.

[The remainder of the story relates to Xanana's letter to the International Commission of Jurists.]

LETTER FROM XANANA TO PRESIDENT SUHARTO

*Official translation by the Executive Office of
the CNRM Co-Chairman and Special Representative*

Cipinang, Jakarta, 31 October 1993

Mr. President Suharto
Your Excellency

Allow me, first of all, to address to you, Your Excellency, Mr. President, my best wishes.

I am Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, the Leader of the Resistance against the Indonesian presence in East Timor.

The Court in Dili imposed on me the life sentence. Your Excellency, Mr. President, offered me, in August, a reduction in the sentence to 20 years in prison. This is an act of generosity for which I am enormously grateful.

Allow me, Mr. President, to explain the reasons for this petition.

Considering that till the day of my capture on the 20th November 1992, I was the one directing the activities of the resistance in East Timor;

Considering that in the Court in Dili I claimed full responsibility for all the activities practiced till then;

Considering, on the other hand, what was stated to me by the competent authorities in Dili that no other trial would take place after mine which lasted from January till May this year;

Considering that such a decision relieves any individual of guilt;

Considering that there are individuals who are now in prison for having executed activities of the resistance under my command;

Considering also that there are others who were arrested in connection with my capture and that as a consequence of the lack of a trial they are in prolonged detention;

In view of all the above, it is completely logical and legally plausible that the said individuals, a list of whom I am enclosing, be the beneficiaries of yet another act of generosity by Your Excellency.

In what concerns me, Your Excellency, Mr. President, taking into account that I continue to claim for myself the right to be considered a Portuguese citizen in accordance with the United Nations' General Assembly resolutions which recognize Portugal as the Administering Power just as France, legally and politically exercises circumstantial physical power over New Caledonia.

Taking also into account that in the context of my own resistance, I consider myself in all liberty to be a citizen of East Timor;

Bearing in mind that for this reason and because I never accepted, I do not accept and will never accept any verdict imposed by Indonesian courts;

I appeal to Your Excellency, Mr. President, to release unconditionally all prisoners of conscience mentioned above in exchange for an even heavier sentence against myself.

Finally I wish to appeal once more to Your Excellency, Mr. President, for a greater willingness for dialogue regarding the case of East Timor. Only a frank and constructive dialogue can bring peace to East Timor and stability, harmony and understanding among all parties to this conflict. Only a just solution based on the UN resolutions may enable all interested parties in the problem a peace of the spirit and complete openness towards a true peace and lasting cooperation.

Finally, I wish Your Excellency, Mr. President, the best success in leading the Indonesian Nation and the supreme goals of the Non-Aligned Movement. I wish also all

prosperity for the brotherly Indonesian people. I hope that my appeal is only one among many cries for peace, harmony and understanding among nations and peoples.

With highest respects,

Signed. Xanana (signature)
Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão
Jakarta/Cipinang, 31 Oct. 1993.

INDONESIAN ACTIVIST HITS RESTRICTIONS ON JAILED REBEL

*UPI, Jan. 11. [Bracketed comments by
TAPOL]*

JAKARTA – A prominent human rights activist Tuesday warned that barring jailed East Timor independence leader Xanana Gusmão from receiving visitors would damage Indonesia's international reputation.

Human rights activist [and lawyer] Nursyahbani Katjasungkana [former chief of the Jakarta Legal Aid Institute] called on the government to review its decision, saying "such a ban will prompt a new problem for Indonesia internationally."

"Xanana has the right to be visited by his relatives and others," Katjasungkana said.

The government barred visits by relatives and human rights organisations after Gusmão sent an appeal for his release from prison [he did not appeal for his release but for the annulment of his trial] to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists

Director General of Correctional Institution Baharuddin Lopa said the "decision was taken because Gusmão has tarnished the good name of Indonesia abroad."

President Suharto on Saturday told visiting U.S. Representative Richard Gephardt, the majority leader in the House of Representatives, that international organizations would be assured access to East Timor to investigate alleged human rights violations in the former Portuguese colony.

Gusmão, 46, leader of the armed wing of the East Timor pro-independence movement, was sentenced to life in prison after his capture, but Suharto reduced the sentence to 20 years.

Indonesia annexed East Timor by force shortly after Portugal withdrew in 1975. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power of the territory.

TIMOR LEADER MAKES JAIL PLEA

The Guardian, 11 January 1994. By Margaret Coles

Xanana Gusmão, the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, has been prohibited visits

from relatives and the Red Cross after appealing for a campaign for the annulment of his trial and the appointment of a Portuguese lawyer to act on his behalf.

Amnesty International has condemned Indonesia's action, which breaches a United Nations covenant on the treatment of prisoners.

Mr. Gusmão made his appeal in a letter to the International Commission of Jurists smuggled from Jakarta's Cipinang prison, where he is serving a 20-year sentence for rebellion.

In it he repudiates Indonesia's claims that he has accepted East Timor's "integration" into Indonesia, and that he either sought or accepted "clemency" and the reduction of the life sentence passed on him last May after a trial which Amnesty called "a travesty of justice."

He says he was forced to refuse an offer of representation by lawyers from Jakarta's Legal Aid Institute and accept another lawyer. "During the whole process a close coordination was evident between the lawyer and the BAIS (military intelligence). He told me that he had a duty to report to the authorities the details of each session."

Mr. Gusmão was told that he must read his defence statement in Indonesian, of which he has little knowledge. He was also prevented from making a statement in response to the verdict, despite a prior agreement.

Indonesia's prisons director, Baharuddin Lopa, said on Sunday the government had been considering remitting more of Mr. Gusmão's sentence, but that he had now "lost his rights to such remission."

Last year Britain increased its aid four-fold and the Government helped secure a deal to sell 24 BAe Hawk jets.

EAST TIMOR REBEL SAYS MISTREATED IN INDONESIAN JAIL

Reuter, 12 January 1994. Abridged

(Lisbon) Jailed East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão has accused his Indonesian captors of deliberately depriving him of sleep, according to a letter published here on Wednesday.

Gusmão, 45, said in the message to sympathisers in Portugal, published in the Lisbon daily *Publico* that guards constantly made a noise outside his cell them mockingly asked if he had rested well. "They are under strict orders not to let me concentrate, not to let me think," he said in a message sent from Cipinang jail in November.

"I spent three consecutive nights and days, 24 hours per day, without sleep. Around midnight, they would call me, ask-

ing, 'have you rested?' I felt like spitting in their faces.

XANANA GUSMÃO SAYS HE WAS TORTURED; TIMORESE REFUGEE SEEKS SANCTUARY (RTP)

RDP Radio Lisbon in Portuguese 12 Jan 94. Editorial report

Xanana Gusmão has revealed "in a message to his supporters in Portugal," that he was "tortured in Bali," the radio reported.

"Xanana says he was prevented from sleeping at the time of his arrest," the radio added.

Another Timorese refugee, Vicente Ximenes, has arrived in Australia, according to the radio, which added that he "fled East Timor after being tortured" and "is now waiting for Canberra to grant him political asylum."

The radio added that the 38-year old "was jailed and tortured for months in Dili prison" before escaping.

Ximenes, the report continued, "said he is a businessmen with clandestine links but without much contact with the Timorese resistance network" and that "he suffered electric shocks and beatings for days, all because the Indonesians wanted material to enable them to accuse former governor [of Dili] Mario Carrascalão."

"Eventually he gave in - after losing 20 relatives in the Santa Cruz [cemetery] massacre and after months of maltreatment he was forced to sign a document accusing Carrascalão of collaborating with the resistance," the radio added.

For more on Vicente Ximenes, see the Australia section of this Documents compilation

XANANA: "I WAS TORTURED" (PUBLICO)

Message from the Timorese leader confirms Amnesty International's suspicions

Publico, 12 January 1994. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros. Translated from Portuguese. Abridged

(Publico has acknowledged that the headline "I was tortured" is not a quote taken from Xanana Gusmão's message below.)

It has been confirmed: Xanana Gusmão was subjected to sleep deprivation torture in Denpasar prison. The allegation was made by the Timorese leader himself in a message addressed to the "Portuguese solidarity" movement, dated November 1993 but which has only now become known, and which *Publico* reproduces below:

Xanana's message

"Today is Saturday. Just as on any other day since I arrived here, there are set times

to leave and enter my cell. My movements are restricted to this block. This is prison life. Only the body is imprisoned. The mind, the spirit are still free. Fortunately free, to be still able to fight, to fight with you for the liberation of a people which History has linked with you Portuguese. History to be found in the very language in which I address you, and in which you speak to me, in which we communicate, understand each other, embrace each other.

Before, I always used to think how difficult life in prison would be. Inside, naturally, we are prevented from going ahead, prevented from acting freely. But, above all, I think life in prison is yet another of life's lessons. For me, it is a lesson because I am learning to comprehend myself. I am learning to be, to understand, to study everything that it's possible to see around me, everything that emerges in day to day life.

Prisons - I have been in a few. Each one is different, in all kinds of conditions. I was in the military police prison in Denpasar, Bali. Four or five guards were posted in front of my cell there. They did not stop making noise. They did not stop looking at me, watching my every move. I was handcuffed. But they did not want me to be able to think. They made a lot of noise. I was unable to sleep for three consecutive nights and three days, twenty-four hours a day.

There were orders not to let me concentrate. There were orders not to let me think. And the orders were carried out to the very letter. I was exhausted, totally exhausted. Fatigue weighed me down. My whole body was .. I would pick at the food just to settle my stomach. I smoked. It was all planned. At around midnight they would start calling out, asking me "Have you rested?" I felt like spitting in their faces. Had I rested? "I've been three days and three nights without a wink of sleep." Exhausted.

I studied their questions, their aims. I studied what it was they wanted. I cried a lot. I cried in order to act. I knew that it was, temporarily, simply a way for me to be able to defeat the enemy later on, a way to unmask him at a later stage. But it was hard for me to do, extremely hard. I had learned something in the guerrilla, and I decided to go ahead. I decided not to row against the current. Not because I was afraid of being touched - I knew I would not be. I was too "important" for them. I was too valuable a piece for them. I had to be treated with kindness, as their compatriots are usually are. At night, whenever I was able to think for a few moments, and while they were laughing with satisfaction, believing they had achieved a great victory, I would recapitulate all the steps, summarising every point.

There are thirteen cells, each with space for two people. Two people, two prisoners. I am here, mixed in with murderers, thieves, and the insane. Timorese companions are in another cell, another block. Leaving this block is not allowed, and so we never meet."

Cipinang Prison, November 1993
Xanana Gusmão

EAST TIMOR LEADER PUNISHED

The Age, By Guardian. 12 January 1994

Xanana Gusmão, the jailed East Timorese resistance leader, has been prohibited visits from relatives and the Red Cross after appealing for a campaign for the annulment of his trial and the appointment of a Portuguese lawyer to act on his behalf. Amnesty International has condemned Indonesia's action, which breaches a United Nations covenant on the treatment of prisoners. Xanana made his appeal in a letter to the International Commission of Jurists smuggled from Jakarta's Cipinang prison, where he is serving a 20-year sentence for rebellion. In it he repudiates Indonesia's claims that he has accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia and that he either sought or accepted clemency and the reduction of the life sentence passed on him last May after a trial which Amnesty called "a travesty of justice."

XANANA'S LETTER IN THE MEDIA

TAPOL Report, 16 January 1994

A wad of clippings which reached TAPOL yesterday reveals that Xanana's ability to smuggle out letters has stunned the authorities. The story was widely reported by all the main papers under banner headlines across several columns on 30 December. Many parts of the reports are identical.

The story hit the press after Lisbon's 'Publico' published his letter to the Portuguese government (which we in London have not yet seen). The reports say that his letter to the government - in which, according to these reports, he asked the Portuguese government to take action to secure his release - is more or less the same as his letter to the International Commission of Jurists. (His letter to the ICJ asked them to seek the annulment of his trial and does not speak about pressing for his release.)

Clearly there is consternation at Xanana's ability to get letters out of Cipinang Prison.

Here is a summary of what professor of law Baharuudin Lopa, chief of the Prison Service at the Ministry of Justice and secre-

tary of the official National Commission for Human Rights, had to say. (The problem for him was that his service and his subordinates were under the spotlight for allowing such a breach to happen.)

According to Lopa in the 30 December reports, there is a sixty percent possibility that the letter was not written by Xanana at all but by 'anti-Indonesian elements abroad' who then sent it to Jakarta for dispatch abroad. (On the same day, armed forces commander-in-chief General Faisal Tanjung was quoted as saying he was almost certain that the letter was genuine.) Lopa went on to say that there was a thirty percent chance that the ICRC had taken the letter out (the ICRC has since denied this), and a ten percent chance that prison officers had been prevailed upon or bribed to pass the letter out.

Much of the reporting discusses the possibility that the documents were brought out by Xanana's mother who, with his sister, visited him on 10 December, escorted by an ICRC delegate. It is said that although visitors to the prison are carefully searched when they go in, it is easy for them to smuggle documents out because there is no body search on the way out. In any case, an ICRC visit would have taken place without the presence of any Indonesian officials.

Asked whether the authorities would question Xanana about the matter, Lopa said they probably would though it was difficult to believe anything he said.

However, on 31 December, Lopa is reported in Waspada as saying that Xanana was questioned and said he gave the letters to his mother on 10 December. Whether Lopa believed him or not is unclear.

Another idea, reported by *Republika* on 3 January, is that Xanana may have had the help of Dicky Iskandardinanta, an Indonesian banker who is serving a sentence for corruption, to pass his documents out. According to *Republika*, Xanana is learning to sculpt from Dicky and so meets him regularly in Cipinang.

One other comment comes from the East Timorese lawyer, Manuel Tilman, who now practices law in Macao, and who paid a visit to East Timor early this year. Tilman has been living in Portugal for many years. (He attended the London talks before Christmas as a member of Abilio Araujo's team.)

Surya (31 December 1993) quotes Tilman as saying the Portuguese Lawyers Association of which he is a member will not intervene in the judicial affairs of another country. "(The Xanana case) is a matter for the Indonesian judiciary and we will not interfere even if Xanana asks us to do so. Intervention can only take place at the request of Indonesia." According to Tilman,

the Association has received a copy of Xanana's letter but has not yet circulated it.

LBH TO REPRESENT XANANA GUSMÃO

The following in the unabridged translation of a statement issued 17 January 1994, by

INDONESIAN LEGAL AID
FOUNDATION (YLBHI)

Jl. Diponegoro, 74, Jakarta 10320.

Tel: 3145518/3904226. Fax: 330140

The attitude and measures taken by the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) regarding Xanana Gusmão, Kay Rala

The need for an investigation and a public explanation

Xanana Gusmão who has been sentenced to twenty years is now serving that sentence in Cipinang Correctional Institution. He was initially sentenced to life imprisonment but in response to a clemency request submitted by his lawyer, the President commuted the sentence to twenty years. It was widely suspected that the clemency hearing and submission on Xanana's behalf was not in accord with the Criminal Procedural Code (KUHAP) and the Law on Clemency. To this is now added the question of treatment not in conformity with universally-accepted principles regarding imprisonment.

Recently to everyone's astonishment, Xanana sent out a letter from Cipinang Correctional Institution to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ). He complained about a number of things as reported in the mass media, including the matter of his communications with the outside. It is astonishing because:

(1) his letter infuriated the Indonesian government cq the Director-General of Correctional Institutions who announced the temporary suspension of visits to Xanana by the International Committee of the Red Cross. He had been obliged to take this measure because Xanana's letter was considered to have tarnished Indonesia's reputation on the international arena and moreover was not in accord with S.1917:708, articles 44, 48, 68 and 69.

(2) Xanana's letter asserted that his lawyer collaborated with the government to his personal disadvantage, thus challenging the trial proceedings which are now deemed by law to have been concluded.

In responding to these matters, we need to look back at the events which followed his arrest.

Before Xanana's trial began, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) received a request for legal aid and obtained

power of attorney from his parents and his wife. This was conveyed directly to the Police Headquarters (the official detaining authority investigating the case) via the intermediary of Colonel (Pol) Drs. Ahwil Luthan. Nevertheless, a request for a meeting was rejected for unacceptable reasons. The YLBHI then sent a letter to Xanana via the intermediary of the same official and received a reply from him via the Police; the letter was written in Portuguese with a translation into Indonesian. It said basically that he did not accept legal aid from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation. No further communication with Xanana was allowed.

It is now apparent that the contents of the letter sent via the Police Headquarters were not in conformity with the real situation. On 30 November 1993, Xanana wrote a letter to the YLBHI saying: "... I was prohibited from accepting your offer of assistance. I still had in my possession the letter which I had written to your organisation at Police Headquarters and I was intending to send it to you at the first opportunity but on the eve of my departure from Semarang [30 September 1993], BAIIS [the Strategic Intelligence Agency] agents confiscated every piece of paper from me."

The letter went on: "You will certainly know that I do not master the Indonesian language and I think you know that this is also the case with English. I was only able to understand in a very general sense the defence mounted by Mr. Sudjono."

Elsewhere in the letter, he said: "It was my resolve (let's say, a decision) on that day, to say good-bye to Mr. Sudjono."

With regard to Clemency, he wrote: "I reject that Clemency because it contradicts my principles since it implies/suggests that I accepted the punishment." He says further: "... I have found out about the manoeuvres/tricks surrounding this Clemency which resulted in an intensive, widespread propaganda campaign through the radio and the press. No wonder he said: Don't believe anyone! I am the only way with outside [Original, English]."

The quotes from Xanana's letters regarding legal aid, the trial proceedings and Clemency reflect his dissatisfaction that things proceeded in ways that did not conform with the laws. Hence, these letters from Xanana which have suddenly made many people very angry will not die down simply by taking repressive action. What really needs to be done is to check everything set forth in public by Xanana. This checking should of course be done openly, honestly and objectively so that the treatment (punishment) meted out to him is proper, correct and proportional.

In the concluding section of his letter, he said: "I would like to ask whether I can have the assistance of a lawyer from the LBH, in view of my status as a convicted person, as regards the Indonesian legal aspects, and whether the LBH can ensure that this lawyer will visit me periodically." This is a request for legal aid from the YLBHI and the YLBHI does not reject it. The YLBHI therefore wishes, together with others such as the National Commission for Human Rights, to carry out open and direct investigations of everything that has happened to Xanana. Whether or not others are aware of it, this has become a matter of public concern which needs to be resolved in a responsible fashion.

In consideration of all the above facts, the YLBHI will send a team consisting of the following persons:

1. Dr. Adnan Buyung Nasution
2. Frans H. Winarta SH
3. Luhut M.P. Pangaribuan SH, LL.M

to meet and hold face-to-face discussions with Xanana in order to find out what precisely happened to him and to hear from him what he now wants. For these purposes, the YLBHI demands that the government c/q the Director-General of Correctional Institutions (Prof. Dr. Baharuddin Lopa SH) who is also Secretary-General of the National Commission for Human Rights, respect the basic human rights of Xanana by giving the aforesaid YLBHI team the opportunity to meet Xanana as soon as possible, so as to be able to fulfill its function as the legal assistants of Xanana.

We also propose that the National Commission for Human Rights join the YLBHI team in order for it to investigate this matter thoroughly and adopt a position and take measures as befits its responsibilities, in accordance with the aims and purposes for which the National Commission for Human Rights was established.

In our opinion, any disciplinary punishment whatsoever cannot, under any circumstances, be legitimate because until now, there has been no clarity or openness.

17 January 1994, Jakarta

For the Executive Council of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation,
(signed)

Dr. Adnan Buyung Nasution, Chair
Frans H. Winarta, SH, Secretary

XANANA DENIES PRESIDENTIAL CLEMENCY REQUEST, REPORT SAYS

Kyodo News Service, Jan. 18. Slightly abridged

(Jakarta) A jailed East Timor independence fighter did not request presidential

clemency as the press has reported, the *Jakarta Post* said Tuesday.

The *Post* quoted Luhut Pangaribuan, top executive of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, as saying Monday that José Alexandre Xanana Gusmão did not request presidential clemency because it goes against his principles, adding that he has been a victim of manipulation.

Luhut cited Xanana's letters to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists and the Portuguese government when he and a delegation from the foundation met with Baharuddin Lopa, secretary general of the government-backed National Commission of Human Rights.

Luhut raised the issue of Xanana in the meeting, alleging that his trial was fraught with irregularities.

He said the foundation had discovered a number of irregularities during the trial and doubts the independence of Xanana's lawyer and translators, without disclosing any details.

UN OFFICIALS TO VISIT GUSMÃO IN JAKARTA PRISON

AFP, 17 January 1994. Abridged

Two senior UN officials will visit jailed East Timorese independence movement leader Xanana Gusmão in his Jakarta prison, sources close to the delegation said Monday.

Visits to Gusmão were suspended January 9 after a letter he wrote seeking a new trial was smuggled out from Jakarta's Cipinang Prison without the Indonesian government's knowledge. The letter was addressed to the International Commission of Jurists.

The envoys, Tamrat Samuel and Francesc Vendrell, arrived in Jakarta Sunday and had talks with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. Alatas would not confirm that the envoys would visit Gusmão, but told AFP there was a 'possibility' that they would do so.

He said his talks with the envoys centered on new discussions on East Timor he was scheduled to have with the Portuguese Foreign Minister on May 6, under the auspices of the US Secretary-General. He said the envoys would visit East Timor on January 19 to see developments there.

The two envoys who arrived here from Portugal where they spent one week were due to meet Indonesian State Secretary Murdiono later Monday. They will leave Indonesia on January 25.

More information on the visits of Samuel and Vendrell to Xanana Gusmão and others can be found in the "UN Mission's

Travels” section of this document compilation.

XANANA GUSMÃO SENDS TAPED MESSAGE TO EAST TIMORESE RESISTANCE

For release January 17, 1994

The following is an unofficial translation of an audiotape recorded by East Timorese Resistance Leader Xanana Gusmão on December 7, 1993, and smuggled out of Cipinang prison in Jakarta, where he is serving a 20-year sentence. It is being released by the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM).

For copies of the original audiotape (in Portuguese), please contact the East Timor Action Network/US.

MESSAGE

National Council of Maubere Resistance,
National Army for the Liberation of East
Timor - FALINTIL

Message of December 7, 1993.

Leaders and cadres of the Clandestine Front,
Brothers and colleagues in the struggle,

Today, December 7, 1993, we celebrate the 18th anniversary of the cowardly invasion of our beloved country, East Timor. We feel the weight of 18 years of the continued and brutal military occupation of our country, in the sweat of each day, in the blood of many compatriots which is being spilled as a consequence of the criminal repression of the Indonesian assassins. We feel the weight of eighteen years of our suffering which we endure in the face of the intelligence machinery. After eighteen years we feel the weight of conscience as the patriots we are and think how difficult it is to continue the struggle again and again. We feel the weight of 18 years on the Maubere soul under siege from uncertainty and with our most profound hopes always shaken, but we are always fed by the flame of liberty, the cry for peace, and the thirst for victory.

An especially difficult year, this last one. A year crowned once again by the unsustainable desire of the occupationists to make the Maubere Resistance be silent; A year of moral testing, a year of political hardship. Those who could not bear the violence of the storm, today they continue to have salt in their mouths; others who were shaken by the earthquake today continue to be disoriented; some gave up believing in themselves and perhaps are now ashamed of their smallness of spirit—the minority who prefer to choose the easy way, the life of capitulation.

Brothers and companheiros in the struggle, if we look into the past we see that in its history our resistance has endured many difficult phases and extremely delicate periods.

Since December 7, 1975, the first year of the war supplied the first images of the drama of our people. The population of the whole country was forced to abandon their houses, their work, their lands and endure the first epoch of famine.

From September 1977 to November 1978 was an extremely difficult period of survival in the mountain bases of support. Intense bombardments of a people fiercely encircled by dozens of battalions and forced to march in circuits of starvation, disease and death bearing witness to their own extermination.

1979 marked the year of strategic defeat. The Honored Nicolau Lobato was slain on the battlefield, dozens of the Fretilin Central Committee members were killed or assassinated, another large number of Fretilin Central Committee members surrendered, taking with them 90% of the guerrilla fighters and weapons.

1980, more than the first wave of massacre across the National territory ... 70% of the literate were practically exterminated while famine and disease reduced the population to skin and bones.

1981 was the second wave of massacre and the beginning of mass imprisonment on Atauro island. Also in 1981, months before the national reorganization, we lost 4 members of the Fretilin Central Committee, 3 companies of the Falintil Army, and many members and people as the result of Operation Once And For All, “Operasi Kikis,” where all of the male population was forcibly mobilized against the guerrilla Resistance in the mountains.

In 1983 and 1984, the third wave of massacres surged again in the National territory.

In 1985 to 1990, there was not a single year that did not register destruction here and there, imprisonments, tortures and disappearances.

In 1991, the 12th of November showed once again the high price of the dedication of the Young Timorese people. The 12th of November was the testimony in blood of the Timorese leaders in the capital. In spite of everything the struggle continued and that sea of blood served to reinforce the patriotic conscience of our people and served to reinforce the spirit of responsibility and the spirit of combat of the cadres of the Clandestine Organization. The struggle is extremely difficult in a truly prolonged resistance. A small defenseless people in a piece of country. It costs so much, it is costing so much and is going to cost still more, a resistance that is always sustained by its own energies, a resistance that renews itself from

its own ashes, a resistance that is always purified with its own blood, sweat and tears.

Leaders and cadres of the clandestine front, last year was a difficult year, a year of emotions, a year of speculation, a year of real trauma, moral, psychic and political. But in spite of everything, the sacred flag of liberation continues to fly from the peak of Ramelau and Matebian, from the peak of Kablake and Tanamam mountains. Now, let us go brothers and companheiros of the struggle, let us proceed on our march to victory! victory! yes! companheiros! victory! I know that victory is too sweet a word, a word that costs so much to pronounce, a word that has become as old as the war itself after eighteen years of this difficult resistance, a word that has been painful so many times, a word that so many times has been so desperate and so many times so bitter.

Victory is not an empty word, it is not a word of consolation, and it is not the anesthetic of the struggle. Victory is a concept - victory means Homeland. All of our willing sacrifices to keep our country. For our people victory means restitution of peace in our country and the restitution of liberty for our people. We are fighting because of that.

We resist in order to win, and we have to win, and we will win with whatever difficulties and at whatever cost. We have to continue to be determined in this, to fight to win, and we have to stay engaged in the fight to win. We have the responsibility in this difficult struggle in which our people face the powerful and ever more “cambaliante” enemy. As the responsible ones let us continue to direct our efforts to orient the struggle of our people. Let us continue to direct our efforts to orient the participation of our people to support our heroes in the jungle.

The big propaganda of the enemy this year was that there is no one that is able to conduct the struggle. They said that in the jungle there are only illiterates. In Jakarta before my trial and even in Dili they told me that. ‘What a pity! What do they know about politics?’ ... I asked them if when Indonesia fought against the Dutch all Indonesian people knew politics, all people were masters. They were silent companheiros; they were silent and purely shameful. The colonialist has a paternalist’s conception of the colonized—a conception of the superiority of the colonizer. Whatever we do is wrong and they pretend for us do what we already know how to do and then tell us about what they want: “we are here to teach you what you do not know.”

It is not difficult to understand that all Indonesian politics is based upon the military, that they are considered the brains and

the intellectuals of Indonesia. Retired generals are placed in Golkar and in the government; active generals are given places in the provinces and as district officials, sergeants in the hamlets and soldiers in the neighborhoods. ... The true intellectuals of Indonesia, they do not know politics; according to the military, the Indonesian students are children. The military, yes, they have power over everything and maintain repression over everything. Their average people and functionaries will not suffer sanctions if they venerate the power of the military. And this is their own people. For the military those who are not in the army do not even know hunting, they do not have the capacity to think. And this is with their own people! So what do they think about us, the people who refuse, resist and fight against them.

I believe that brothers and *companheiros* still remember the story of a waiter who because he knew the residence of the administrator very well and because he is Apodeti, he became the administrator. Or other stories like "babinsas" who are supposedly more clever than the Timorese administrators of the Districts. This is the colonialist's obsession with superiority that makes the assassins and occupiers of our country minimize our people, minimize our capacity for thinking and reacting. It is the obsession that they are powerful, that they can say everything and can do everything, that permits the murderous occupiers of our Country to minimize the conscience of the Maubere people. Indonesia's Doctors and graduates in East Timor are no more than pumpkins in the garden, all of them are stupid and are liars. No, brothers and *companheiros* in the struggle, we cannot be frightened by the propaganda of our enemy and their lackeys. We have to put ourselves above all of this propaganda, whoever is frightened by it is being cowardly. We cannot be cowardly in our resistance, which has already persisted for 18 years. All of those who were born in 1975 are now 18 years old, and our children begin to fight in the womb of their mothers. When the diplomats visited our country there was a group of young people in the house of the Bishop. They were put out and the Nangala assassins began to look for their leaders. We can not understand what produces this valor in the children. No, *companheiros*, we must always believe in ourselves in our mental faculties, in our capacity to act politically. No one is irreplaceable. But, yes, it happens that in Indonesia the old dictator and assassin Suharto – no one can replace *him*.

During these 18 years of war there have been many devastations, many cadres have disappeared, but new leaders emerge and the struggle continues. In these 18 years, there

have been many battles and many valuable commanders have been killed. But new commanders emerge and the Armed Resistance continues. In March this year we captured six weapons from the enemy. Theo Syafei went to the place of combat to try to recapture the arms of his men. The fact that he went to the place of combat of the guerrilla fighters means that a sensation of powerlessness was felt by the generals and broken morale on the part of the soldiers... The generals who are in the districts and the commanders who control Dili, all of those who never went to the jungle, they only know how to arrest, to persecute and to torture the people. ...

From 1975 to 1993, there have been many defense ministers of Indonesia, many national commanders of ABRI, many army commanders in Dili, and hundreds of battalion and company commanders that have operated in the jungle. But from 1979 until this moment there have been only 50 guerrilla fighters, according to the propaganda of Benny Moerdani. Benny Moerdani wrote a book and confessed to being not guilty about what has happened in East Timor since the invasion. This gives off the sensation of defeat; it gives a clear sensation of the expression of shame. I declared that I recognize that the military is defeated on the ground, but I did not say that the Falintil is defeated. In other words, we recognize our incapacity to defeat the powerful TNI by military means; strategically we were and are a small and weak army and unable to alter the military situation. Yet, until today the barrels of our weapons continue to sing the song of the liberation of our country. While we recognize our military incapacity, Jakarta has to recognize its political incapacity on the ground; on the ground of complex political struggle, on the ground of political actions and relations that develop in our country. While the occupiers of our country do not recognize this, our guerrilla fighters will not vacillate and are always ready to give their lives for the nation and for the people. All of the clandestine leaders have to grasp the fact that as long as there is still a guerrilla fighter, the weapon of liberation will continue to spew forth the fire of Freedom. And if there are no guerrilla fighters, new leaders and new guerrilla fighters will emerge from the Clandestine Front movement, and they will be responsible for the struggle. The Maubere people grow many capable children; the Maubere people have educated many valuable patriots. When the Maubere people are exterminated, there, yes, the "putras" of Indonesia can satiate themselves on our bodies. In the guerrilla we do not form commanders but everyone has to be ready to command one day. In the Clandestine Front we do not form cadres,

but everyone has to be ready and capable to respond to the struggle when the time arrives. We combat in order to combat better, we fight to learn how to fight better and we resist to learn how to resist better, we organize to learn how to organize better. Our school is our own action, our actions come from our defeats, our capacity emerges from our difficulties.

So, dear brothers and *companheiros* of the struggle, let everyone throw off the nightmare of this year, let everyone bring new energy from within themselves, and let us clarify ourselves and prepare our bodies for another year of the Resistance. ...

Brothers and *companheiros* of the struggle, to end let me discuss an event of which I am aware. There is a lot of propaganda in our country, which the enemy pretends to call reconciliation—this secret meeting which will be held in the United Kingdom. It is a pity that some of the Timorese abroad are only able to play the games of the enemy. Everyone knows that nothing will result from this fakery. Those who are abroad do not know the character of the enemy, they do not know what we know about the enemy. Really we admire that Timorese who call themselves independentists held meetings out of the context of the United Nations and Portugal.

In 1990 I initiated a proposal with Portugal. I said that we, the Timorese could meet with Indonesia by ourselves without Portugal. Abilio Araujo opposed this. Today he is the head of those who are abroad and frustrated. We must not be afraid, dear brothers and *companheiros*. "While the dogs are barking the caravan is passing." Our people have the experience of 18 years of the heroic march. We will determine our victory. I wish appeal and urge that all the leaders of the clandestine front in 1994 enjoy many successes in the struggle of our people. *Patria ou morte!* (Homeland or death!)

A luta continua sem treguas em todas as frentes! (The struggle continues without quarter on all fronts!)

Viva o heroico povo de Timor Leste! (Long live the heroic people of East Timor!)

Viva as gloriosissimas FALINTIL! (Long live the glorious FALINTIL!)

Viva o CNRM! (Long live the CNRM!)

Resistir e Vencer! (To resist is to win!)

Com os Calorosos abraços de (With the warm embraces of)

Xanana Gusmão
Responsavel principal do CNRM e Comandante das Falintil
Principal leader of the CNRM and Commander of Falintil
Cipinang, December 7, 1993 in Jakarta.

XANANA GUSMÃO PRISON LETTER: COMPLAINS OF LIFE IN CAPTIVITY AND ABOUT HIS LAWYER

RTP Television International, Lisbon, in Portuguese, BBC world broadcast summary translation, Jan 19.

Excerpts from report (FE/1895 B/3 [8])

Xanana Gusmão [jailed Timorese resistance leader] has written a letter in which he states he expects the Indonesians to make his life even harder. RTP has had access to this personal letter, which was written to a friend. In the letter Xanana described everyday life in prison. Rui Araujo reports:

[Araujo over library pictures] ...Four pages long and in English, (?based on) Indonesian but above all in Portuguese, were sent illegally to a young American woman: Dear somebody [pictures show letter with name crossed out]: in the letter Xanana talks about everyday life, the surrender of some and the struggle of others, including himself, against Indonesia and against his lawyer.

The declarations of my lawyer Sudjono with regard to my being sorry and my request for clemency are the last act of the farce staged by the BAIS [Strategic Intelligence Agency] men around my case. Will there be an opportunity for me to expose this and rid myself of the man? Xanana also speaks of the everyday isolation, his and that of his men in the woods of Timor. The wonderful, but unfortunately brief, escapes which my mind was able to enjoy were the occasions when I was able to meet the International Red Cross and Mr. Amos Wako. They were moments when I was really able to leave myself and contact the world, contact life.

I leave my cell at determined times; I am not allowed to leave my block. Neither I nor the other five Timorese are allowed to contact each other. I am not allowed visitors. I don't know until when, but I expect things to get worse. But this is not a problem...
[Passage omitted: reporter's final comments]

XANANA LETTER STIRS CONTROVERSY IN JAKARTA

Green Left #129, Feb. 2. By Jana D.K.

JAKARTA - In late December, controversy erupted here after it was reported that the Portuguese newspaper *Publico* had printed a letter by jailed Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmão in which he requested that the Portuguese government help free him from prison. The letter also said that, since Portugal is still recognised as the administer-

ing body of East Timor by the United Nations, it should seek to repatriate him.

In a second letter to the International Court of Justice, Xanana requested that the court overturn his conviction and that he have the right to be represented by a Portuguese. He complained in the letter that his court-appointed lawyer, Sudjono, was dishonest and maintained ties with the Indonesian authorities.

Xanana asked that a new trial be held in front of an international court. Furthermore, the letter confirms suspicions that Xanana had never agreed to presidential clemency and that the whole process had been stage-managed by the regime.

Xanana was sentenced to life imprisonment by a Dili court on May 21. Delays and controversy had dogged the trial since May 5, when Xanana requested that he be allowed to read his defence speech in Portuguese. The court first rejected Xanana's request, then on the following day changed its decision, only then to stop Xanana's presentation to the court after he had read just three pages.

A report from the International Commission of Jurists concluded that Xanana's trial was unfair, even when judged by the standards of Indonesian law.

Throughout the trial, the authorities orchestrated a massive disinformation campaign, the dominant theme of which was that Xanana was sorry for his actions and now accepted East Timor's integration into Indonesia and considered himself an Indonesian citizen.

Only days after he was convicted, the campaign was intensified with a series of newspaper articles with titles such as "By pleading for clemency, Xanana confesses his guilt and begs forgiveness," which argued that the guilty verdict and sentence had been vindicated by Xanana's plea. Following the alleged request for clemency, President Suharto reduced Xanana's sentence to 20 years.

Although at the time there had been no reports of international criticism in the Indonesian media, comments by foreign minister Ali Alatas in May revealed that the regime was in fact coming under considerable international pressure. Then in June, the government suddenly announced that it had rejected Portuguese charges of irregularities during the trial, describing them as "replete with baseless accusation, malicious interpretations, distortions of facts and ever more strident innuendo."

In a classic example of being caught in its own web of lies, the regime is now endeavouring to explain Xanana's "sudden" change of attitude. On December 29, for example, the coordinating minister for politics and security, Soesilo Soedarman, described

Xanana as "unstable" and prone to change his mind. Soedarman also said that it was strange that Xanana referred to himself as a citizen of Portugal, because at the time he submitted his plea for clemency he admitted that he was an Indonesian citizen.

A "political expert," Professor Dr. Juwono Sudarsono, expressed the view that the letter was not consistent with Xanana's attitude (the regime's version), saying that they should check its validity in case Portugal was using it to resurrect the East Timor question.

Reflecting the regime's sensitivity over the issue, on December 30, the chief of the armed forces (ABRI), Feisal Tanjung, said that a joint investigation would be conducted by ABRI and the ministry of justice to establish how the letters were smuggled out of jail.

As usual, the authorities began trying to find a convenient scapegoat - first accusing the International Red Cross, which it said had "broken a gentleman's agreement," then suggesting that there had been collusion between Xanana and unnamed non-government organisations. Tanjung also attempted to question whether the letter was genuine. Finally it was admitted that prison guards had probably been bribed to get the letter out.

On January 13, Baharuddin Lopa, the secretary general of the government's new "independent" National Human Rights Commission formed in December, who is also the director general of correctional institutions, placed a ban on further visits to Xanana, including by the International Red Cross. This was justified by Lopa on the grounds that "Xanana had actively worked to tarnish Indonesia's image overseas" and that he had to be disciplined "for disgracing the people and the nation of Indonesia."

In response to criticism that the ban contravened international human rights conventions, Lopa responded by arguing that "the rights of the nation should also be respected" and defending the "dignity" of the nation is not a violation of human rights. He also noted that Xanana had lost any chance of a sentence remission, which is reviewed each year depending on the conduct of prisoners.

In a rather strange comment, Lopa added that the ban was partly intended to "protect" Xanana from assassination attempts; no explanation was given as to why such a risk existed or from whom.

Human rights activists reacted by reminding the regime that the 1955 convention of the UN, on standard minimum rules for the treatment of prisoners, states that a prisoner has the right to complain to international organisations or other recognised channels if mistreated. Although Indonesia

has failed to ratify the convention, as a member of the UN it has a moral obligation to respect and abide by the convention. Xanana is still the holder of a Portuguese passport.

In a rather sudden turnabout, on January 18, it was reported that Lopa had agreed to look into the case. In the first ever such meeting, Lopa met with executives from the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) to discuss the matter and announced that there was a possibility of a joint visit by the commission and YLBHI.

BAN ON VISITS TO XANANA TO BE LIFTED

The Age (Melbourne), 19 January 1994

(AP) The ban on visits to imprisoned East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmão will be lifted in February, Indonesia's director-general of correction institutions, Mr. Baharruddin Lopa, yesterday told 18 human rights advocates who came to protest the ban. Mr. Lopa imposed the ban on 8 January on the grounds that Xanana had violated prison regulations by smuggling a letter to the Portuguese Government and the International Commission of Jurists.

JAKARTA SUSPENDS VISITATION RIGHTS FOR REBEL LEADER

UPI, 20 Jan 94

JAKARTA – Jakarta has suspended visitation rights for the leader of an armed rebel group seeking to make East Timor independent of Indonesia, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said Thursday.

Alatas said visits to jailed East Timorese independence leader Xanana Gusmão, 46, were temporarily suspended because Gusmão allegedly misused his visitation rights to smuggle out of his prison a letter dealing with political issues.

"All actions provoke reaction," Alatas said.

Gusmão, who serving a 20-year jail terms in Jakarta's Cipinang prison, recently sent a letter to the International Commission of Jurists and asked the Geneva-based international rights group to annul his trial by an Indonesian court.

Gusmão, who heads the armed wing of the East Timorese Fretilin pro-independence movement, was jailed for plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms.

Alatas said he summoned representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and questioned them about why they accompanied Gusmão's relatives during a visit to the rebel leader.

Alatas said two high-ranking U.N. officials are currently in Indonesia to view developments in East Timor in a preparation for a fifth-round of tripartite U.N.-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, a few months after the departure of Portugal's colonial administration, and Jakarta annexed the territory a year later, a move never recognized by the United Nations.

The annexation was opposed by many residents and resulted in a bloody civil war that reportedly claimed the lives of as many as one-third of East Timorese population. Jakarta earned international condemnation when the military squashed a demonstration in Dili by firing into a crowd.

ATVI News (ABC - Australia), 21 Jan. 1994

Reader: Indonesia has defended its decision to suspend the visiting rights to jail East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmão. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas says Gusmão abused privileges extended to him by playing politics from his prison cell.

Xanana Gusmão rights was suspended after he successfully sent a letter to the International Committee of Jurists calling for an International Court to hear his case. Foreign Minister Alatas says no one should be surprised that prison authorities has now taken action. As well as writing a letter Xanana has also managed to have a tape recording smuggled out of his cell to BBC. On the tape Xanana Gusmão reaffirmed the determination of the East Timorese to continue its fight for independence.

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS SEEK VISIT WITH JAILED REBEL LEADER

UPI, Jan 21

JAKARTA – Indonesia's human rights activists are seeking Jakarta's permission to meet with jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, who early this month lost his visitation rights, and activist said Friday.

Luhut M. Pangaribuan, director of Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute Jakarta chapter, said a request for a visit was sent Thursday to prison authorities.

The government temporarily suspended visitation rights for Gusmão early this month in retaliation for the jailed dissident's smuggling of a letter from his prison to the International Commission of Jurists.

In the letter, Gusmão asked the Geneva-based human rights organization to annul his trial by an Indonesian court.

Indonesia's foreign minister Ali Alatas said Thursday Gusmão, 47, was to blame

"because he misused the privilege for political reasons."

Gusmão was sentenced last May to a life imprisonment by East Timor's Dili district court after he was convicted of plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms.

Pangaribuan said earlier that he found a number of irregularities during Gusmão's trial and that the group's lawyers were prevented from representing him.

Indonesian President Suharto, in a bid to ease international criticism over Gusmão's sentence and Jakarta's handling of East Timor, in August reduced Gusmão's sentence to 20 years.

Meanwhile, reports from Lisbon quoted a Portuguese-speaking man alleged to be Gusmão calling on remaining Fretilin rebels to continue a campaign for independence.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, a few months after the departure of Portugal's colonial administration. Jakarta annexed the territory a year later, a move never recognized by the United Nations.

The annexation was opposed by many residents and resulted in a bloody civil war that reportedly claimed the lives of as many as one-third of East Timorese population.

The United Nations is attempting to broker a fifth round of talks between Indonesia and Portugal, which U.N. officials still view as the administrative authority in East Timor.

JAKARTA WILL NOT FREE GUSMÃO

The Age (Melbourne), 21 January 1994

Jakarta, AFP: The Indonesian Government has no intention of releasing the jailed East Timorese rebel leader, Xanana Gusmão, and allowing him to go into exile, the Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, said today. Mr. Alatas said the Government was not contemplating freeing or exiling Gusmão, who is now serving a 20-year jail term at a Jakarta prison.

Meanwhile a leader of the 1974 Portuguese revolution said East Timor was too small and poor to be independent and that the former Portuguese colony was better off as part of Indonesia.

JAKARTA TO FREE REBEL FOR A PRICE

Observer, 30 January 1994. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy

TAPOL has no independent confirmation of this story. O'Shaughnessy is unlikely to put his name to a story unless he is sure of its accuracy. If it is true, it is more than likely that the deal is being negotiated not by the EU as a whole but by some of the Twelve. No prizes for guessing which.

Xanana Gusmão, the jailed leader of the resistance to the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, is to be freed from prison and sent to Guinea-Bissau under a deal being worked out with the European Union, according to diplomatic sources.

In return for Gusmão's release, the EU will moderate criticism of Indonesia at next month's meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva and continue to supply arms to General Suharto's Indonesia.

Indonesia is highly sensitive to the widespread international condemnation it received after its troops massacred several hundred demonstrators at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the Timorese capital, Dili, in 1991.

Powerful new evidence of further atrocities in East Timor is expected in a television documentary, *Death of a Nation*, presented by John Pilger next month. The British and Indonesia governments fear the programme will strengthen the lobby against the sale of Western arms to the Suharto regime.

Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment by a kangaroo court last year after occupying forces arrested him.

XANANA'S RELEASE SHOULD NOT LET INDONESIA OFF THE HOOK

Press release of the British Coalition for East Timor, 30 Jan. 1994

It is reported today by Hugh O'Shaughnessy in *The Observer*, that Xanana Gusmão, imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance to Indonesia's brutal and illegal occupation of the former Portuguese colony, is to be released under a deal which will involve the European Union softening its criticism of Indonesia's human rights record at next month's meeting of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva. Britain has a vested interest in the world remaining silent over East Timor as it sells vast amounts of weapons to the Jakarta regime, which have been used in the slaughter of the defenceless population of East Timor. One-third of the population have perished since the Indonesian invasion in 1975.

Jonathan Humphreys, of the Coalition for East Timor said today:

"Whilst we would welcome the release of Xanana and all Timorese political prisoners, there is no way that this should be linked to a lessening of international outrage over the occupation of East Timor and the genocide that is being perpetrated there by the Indonesian military."

Mr. Humphreys also said that the Indonesian authorities and the British Foreign Office are extremely nervous about the showing of John Pilger's film about East Timor, scheduled to be screened by Central TV on 22 February 1994.

"The Indonesians are inviting journalists to go to East Timor, prior to the film. They will get a guided tour that will yield them little information about the real situation in East Timor," Mr. Humphreys said today. He continued: "The British government will try to play down its role as a leading arms seller to the Suharto dictatorship, particularly in the light of revelations of the Scott Inquiry."

IPJET APPEALS FOR XANANA AND OTHER POLITICAL PRISONERS

From the International Jurists Platform for East Timor, Feb. 1, 1994

To all friends of East Timor:

It is rumoured about a imminent release of Xanana Gusmão, but at the cost of a smoother sale of Western arms to Suharto's criminal regime. Against such unacceptable arrangement, IPJET's International Council has initiated an appeal for the unconditional release of Xanana and all the other Timorese political prisoners, to be undersigned by jurists, statespersons and public figures. Please pass it to all persons you know who may fit in one of those categories. The undersigned text should be returned before 15 March to:

Secretariat IPJET, Gruttohoek 13, 2317 WK Leiden, Netherlands

Best regards,

Pedro Pinto Leite (Sec.gen. IPJET)

Appeal to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners

His Excellency Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General of the United Nations
Your Excellency,

One of the most worrying consequences of the invasion and illegal occupation of the territory of East Timor by the Indonesian armed forces, in addition to the massacres, extrajudicial executions, 'disappearances,'

torture and all kind of other human rights violations, has been the arrest, ill-treatment under detention, trial under Indonesian law and conviction to heavy sentences of East Timorese who have resisted the alien rule in their country. Among them is Xanana Gusmão, the leader of the East Timorese armed resistance. Ma'Huno, his successor, has been arrested but not put on trial. Others, like Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Francisco Miranda Branco, Jacinto Raimundo Alves, Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, Bonifácio Magno, Carlos de Santos Lemos, Juncio de Jesus Martins, Saturnino da Costa Belo, João Freitas da Camara, Fernando de Araujo, Virgilio Guterres da Silva and Agapito Cardoso have been arrested and convicted only for upholding the right to peaceful demonstration in support of the inalienable right to self-determination of peoples.

The International Platform of Jurists for East Timor has written several letters to you on this subject: on 18 May 1992, referring to the imprisonment of thirteen East Timorese in Dili and Jakarta in the aftermath of the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991 and requesting the exercise of your good offices for their protection; on 20 November 1992, the day Xanana Gusmão was arrested, conveying its deep concern regarding his safety and urging you to intervene in order to obtain his release; on 5 December 1992, together with the London-based Catholic Institute for International Relations, reiterating that appeal; on 18 May 1993, denouncing the illegality of Xanana's trial; on 24 May 1993, protesting against the life sentence imposed to him and informing you about the arrest and torture of another East Timorese, Rui Antonio da Cruz.

Amnesty International has issued many documents which totally or partly refer to the arrest, ill-treatment and unfair trial of these East Timorese and has protested strongly against the violation of their internationally protected rights by the Indonesian authorities. Since 1991 alone, one can mention three Statements to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization and fourteen press statements and human rights reports. Concerned with the fate of the detainees, Amnesty has initiated several urgent actions.

The International Committee of the Red Cross was obliged in May 1993 to suspend once again the prisons visit programme in East Timor, because all the conditions of the ICRC had not been met. In September 1993 ICRC officials announced that the process of visiting detainees had been resumed, but that they had not been able to do it as regularly and as completely as they wanted. We remind you that the ICRC was prevented by the Indonesian authorities from entering

the territory from 1975 to 1979; in that period, some 200,000 people, one third of the original population, were killed by the Indonesian army, through weapons or by the starvation which accompanied the illegal use of force.

Other NGOs, like Asia Watch, have published reports denouncing the arrest, ill-treatment and trials of East Timorese. The International Commission of Jurists succeeded in sending an observer to one of the sessions of Xanana's trial. Last November, in Geneva, the ICJ issued a report which con substantiates the observer's findings: that in several respects the trial process had violated the rights of the accused, that it had not been in conformity with international standards of fair trial procedure and that it had even breached the provisions of the Indonesian Code of Criminal Procedure.

The European Parliament has also expressed several times its concern about human rights violations in East Timor. The same concern has been frequently expressed in the United States Senate and in the United States House of Representatives. And the United Nations too, through the Commission on Human Rights and the Sub-commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, has strongly criticized the Government of Indonesia in March and August 1993.

We are of course sure that you have been following the situation of Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners closely and that you are doing everything possible to ensure their safety and physical well-being, as well their treatment in accordance with internationally acceptable legal standards and procedures.

But meanwhile new facts have come to light. The International Commission of Jurists received at the end of December two letters smuggled out from the prison from East Timorese. One was from Xanana Gusmão, at the Cipinang prison in Jakarta; the other from Francisco Miranda Branco, Jacinto Raimundo Alves, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, Juncio de Jesus Martins and Saturnino da Costa Belo, at the Central Prison in Dili. In his letter, Xanana Gusmão explains how the Indonesian military have rejected his choice for a legal counsel from the YLBHI (Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation) and how they have forced him to accept a lawyer who is under their control, and whose deceitful performance he further describes in detail. He then reaffirms his East Timorese and Portuguese citizenship, asks for his trial to be annulled and demands the intervention of a Portuguese counsel, assisted by lawyers of the YLBHI. In their letter, the other six East Timorese prisoners denounce the conditions of the questioning which led to their trials

which was under physical and psychological duress and without the assistance of a counsel. They further denounce the irregularities of their trials: they also were not allowed to chose their own counsels, but were imposed lawyers upon them by the military; they were put under strong pressure to renounce the opportunity to elaborate their defense and to confess their guilt; independent observers were in most cases prevented from entering the courtroom; the detainees were used routinely as prosecution witnesses and threatened before giving their testimony. They also ask for their trials to be annulled and demand the International Commission of Jurists and IPJET's intervention.

We know from reliable sources that the situation concerning the prisoners has deteriorated after these letters were made public. In response, and under the ludicrous justification that Xanana Gusmão had "tarnished the good image of Indonesia abroad" the Indonesian authorities have immediately barred relatives and human rights representatives from visiting him. In Dili, the other East Timorese prisoners have also been put under strong pressure.

With all these facts in mind, the undersigned, jurists, statespersons and public figures from many countries from all continents, join with the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor in making the following appeal:

Considering that the Indonesian invasion and continuing occupation of East Timor constitute an illegitimate use of force and a breach of territorial integrity contrary to the principles of the UN Charter, acts of aggression and crimes against international peace according to the General Assembly Definition of Aggression, a denial of the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and a clear violation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples;

Considering that International customary law, reiterated in one of the principles of the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation Among States, determines that no territorial acquisition resulting from the use of force shall be recognised as legal;

Considering that General Assembly Resolution 31/53, of 1 December 1976, reaffirmed in its paragraph 1 "the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence and the legitimacy of their struggle to achieve that right" and that Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners were engaged in that legitimate struggle at the time of their capture;

Considering that in any case the IVth Geneva Convention of 1949 applies to In-

donesia's occupation of East Timor, since Indonesia is a Party to the Convention;

Considering that the trials of Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners, flowing from the annexation of East Timor and the imposition of Indonesian criminal laws upon the territory, were thus illegal acts of the occupying power;

Considering that Xanana Gusmão, after his arrest, was held incommunicado, was removed from the territory of East Timor and was subjected to physical and psychological torture, and that the same happened to many of the other Timorese political prisoners, contrary to the international prohibition against torture;

Considering that Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners were not allowed to freely choose their legal counsel, that access to their trial was often, and particularly at important moments, denied to international observers, that prosecution witnesses were intimidated and that those who did not act according to the wishes of the prosecutor were removed from the courtroom;

Considering that Xanana Gusmão was not allowed to read his defense statement on the ground that it was "irrelevant to the case";

Considering that the treatment of Xanana Gusmão and the other Timorese political prisoners and the way their trials have been conducted constitute violations of international legal standards and even of the Indonesian Criminal Procedures Code itself;

Deeply concerned regarding the safety of Xanana Gusmão and the other East Timorese detainees,

We ask you to use your good offices to emphasize to the Indonesian Government that these matters constitute grave breaches of Indonesia's international obligations, and that the individuals responsible for them are liable under International Law;

We urge you to intervene and exercise your influence in order to obtain the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão and of all other detained East Timorese.

Yours sincerely,

EAST TIMOR LEADER XANANA NOT TO BE MOVED TO ISLAND JAIL

Kyodo, Feb. 2, 1994

(Jakarta) Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) chief Gen. Feisal Tanjung on Wednesday denied news reports that the jailed East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão will be moved to an island prison following the smuggling of letters and tapes abroad after a recent family visit.

"It's not true that we will move him out," he said.

The state-run news agency Antara on Tuesday quoted Sukarno, deputy to the Indonesian attorney general for intelligence affairs, as saying Xanana might be moved to Nusakambangan island following the smuggling of letters, tapes and statements from Cipinang jail to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) and Portuguese government in December.

Nusakambangan island is a maximum security prison for long-term inmates near the town of Cilacap in Central Java, 428 kilometers southeast of Jakarta. Xanana is serving a 20 year sentence for separatist activities.

"If all conditions for such a transfer are met, we will move Xanana to Nusakambangan island," Sukarno said, but did not clarify what the conditions are.

Sukarno also reiterated denials that the government plans to free Xanana as part of a deal with the West African state of Guinea Bissau.

"Don't believe in this hearsay," he said. "We have no plan at all to set him free."

Britain's Observer newspaper reported Sunday that the European Union had reached agreement with Indonesia to have Xanana released and sent to Guinea Bissau.

UPI, 2 Feb. 94

JAKARTA – The Indonesian government has denied a report that it plans to release jailed East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmão from prison and allow him to spend his life overseas, news reports said Thursday.

Baharuddin Lopa, director general for correctional institutions, told local media that Gusmão's trial had finished and "the case is no longer in question."

"As far as the government regulation, there is no indication to release Gusmão from his prison," Lopa said.

Gusmão was sentenced last May to a life imprisonment by East Timor's Dili court after he was convicted of plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms.

Indonesian President Suharto, in a bid to ease international criticism over Gusmão's sentence and Jakarta's handling of East Timor, in August reduced the sentence to 20 years.

Lopa made a statement to response a report broadcast by an international radio saying that the Indonesian government planned to release Gusmão from prison and spend his life overseas.

In response to a question on whether Gusmão would be moved from his current cell at the Jakarta's Cipinang prison to the high-security Nusakambangan island prison

in central Java, Lopa said: "There is no such plan."

Deputy Attorney General for Intelligence Affairs Sukarno told the official news agency Antara Tuesday that Gusmão could be moved to Nusakambangan "as long as all requirements of the moving procedure are met."

Lopa also said Gusmão may get his visitation rights next week after a month of suspension.

The government suspended visitation rights for Gusmão Jan. 9, after the jailed dissident smuggled a letter from his prison to the International Commission of Jurists. In the letter, Gusmão asked the Geneva-based human rights organization to annul his trial by an Indonesian court.

REBEL LEADER FACES EXILE

The Daily Telegraph Mirror, Feb. 3, 1994. Similar article in the Melbourne Age.

Reuter, Jakarta: Jailed East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão may be moved to an island prison because he smuggled out letters and tapes during a recent family visit.

The official Antara news agency yesterday quoted the attorney-general's intelligence deputy, Soekarno, as saying the rebel leader may be moved to a prison off central Java.

Gusmão is serving a 20-year term for separatism.

"If all conditions for such a transfer are met we can move Xanana to Nusakambangan island," Soekarno said. He did not say what the conditions were.

Xanana who has led East Timorese resistance to Jakarta rule since Indonesia's invasion in 1975, has been a focus of western concern after his capture in late 1992.

Indonesia suspended visiting rights after he smuggled out letters, tapes and statements from Jakarta's Cipinang jail during family visits in December.

Nusakambangan is a maximum security prison for long-term inmate near the town of Cilacap in central Java.

Soekarno reiterated denials the government planned to free Xanana as part of a deal with the west African state Guinea Bissau.

The London Observer on Sunday said the European Union had reached agreement with Indonesia to release Xanana and send him to Guinea Bissau.

EUROPEAN UNION SHOULD DEMAND XANANA GUSMÃO'S UNCONDITIONAL RELEASE

TAPOL issued the following Press Release 3 February 1994

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, has today called on the European Union and the British government to press for the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmão, leader of the East Timorese resistance presently in Cipinang prison in Jakarta. We utterly reject the proposal, reported in the Observer on Sunday, to release Xanana into exile in Guinea-Bissau, a conditional release which would be traded off for the European Union's continued silence on the issue of East Timor.

There have been a variety of reports and rumours as to the Indonesian government's plans for Xanana. It has been reported on Indonesia's official ANTARA news agency that he could be transferred to an isolated maximum security prison on Nusakambangan island. It has been said that his rights to receive visitors, suspended last month, may be restored, probably in a controlled and selective way, or that they will not be restored.

These conflicting reports only indicate that Xanana has become an enormous political embarrassment to the Indonesian regime, which has consistently striven to treat him as a common criminal rather than a political prisoner and to limit his contacts with the outside world. Now that Xanana is making his voice heard from Cipinang, in letters to supporters, international human rights organisations, and heads of state, smuggled from his prison cell, the Indonesian officials are seeking some means to silence him if possible, or at the very least to reduce the degree to which he can publicly embarrass them.

TAPOL insists that the only acceptable solution is Xanana's unconditional release. We call not only for his release, without conditions, but also for the release of the young Timorese jailed in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre of November 1991, and for the release of all Timorese political prisoners, held either in East Timor itself or in Indonesia.

Xanana himself has asked the International Commission of Jurists to recognize his trial as invalid and to have it annulled.

Xanana is anything but a 'common criminal.' His transfer from Cipinang, where political prisoners are held, to the high security jail in Nusakambangan, would be completely intolerable. As long as he is held in prison at all, he should be able to receive visitors freely, and should be treated in accordance with all UN principles on the

treatment of prisoners, principles which the Indonesian regime has signally ignored. All other Timorese political prisoners should be treated in accordance with these principles as well.

THE REAL STORY BEHIND GUINEA'S PROPOSAL

Publico, 9 February 1994

Indonesia has not yet replied to Guinea-Bissau's offer to receive Xanana Gusmão as an exile, Guinea's Foreign Minister, Bernardino Cardoso, told *Publico*. Through the Secretary General of the UN – "an institution whose position on the issue may be relied upon to be independent and balanced," – and through Jakarta's representative at the UN, the Bissau Government informed the Indonesian authorities of its availability in this respect.

"During the second semester of last year" contacts were initiated, and continued following a favourable response from the Guinea-Bissau Government to a proposal from Indonesia to establish diplomatic relations. This was brought up at a meeting last May in Jakarta, when the Non-Aligned Summit was being held.

Bernardino Cardoso denied there was any link between Guinea's offer and the Indonesian proposal. "We are not setting the release of Xanana Gusmão as a condition for agreement on establishing relations, just as we cannot accept any demand to abandon the position we have always held on East Timor," he said, and added that "as a State which itself emanated from a fight," Guinea-Bissau will continue to support "the Maubere people's just fight for self-determination."

The leader of Guinean diplomacy, who has been in the post for a year, said he could be meeting Ali Alatas in May, during a meeting to discuss the next chairmanship of the Non-Aligned Movement, currently held by General Suharto. He refused, however, to set a timetable for the establishment of diplomatic relations. He did say that preliminary contacts "which could lead to diplomatic relations being established," were being handled through the Indonesian Ambassador in Dakar.

INDONESIAN MP'S ALLOWED TO MEET XANANA

AFP, February 10 1994. slightly abridged

JAKARTA – Several MPs visited jailed East Timorese pro-independence leader Xanana Gusmão on Thursday, a day after Indonesian authorities restored his visiting rights, a television report said.

The state-run television station Televisi Republik Indonesia showed one of the MPs, Suhardi, speaking to journalists after visiting Gusmão in his jail in Cipinang.

"Xanana still expects to meet lawyers from (Legal Aid Foundation) LBH," Suhardi said.

Gusmão was shown but did not speak. Wearing a long beard, he appeared healthy and smiled when Suhardi asked him whether he was happy in jail.

Suhardi said Gusmão spent his time drawing, painting and making furniture, from which he made money.

Corrections officials lifted the suspension of Gusmão's visiting rights Wednesday. The suspension was put in place in early December following the publication of his letter to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists by Portuguese newspapers.

In the letter, Gusmão asked the commission to annul his trial by an Indonesian court. He also asked to meet lawyers of the non-governmental LBH, who earlier had pledged to defend him.

HUMAN RIGHTS LAWYERS NOT ALLOWED TO SEE XANANA

AP, February 10. slightly abridged

JAKARTA - Imprisoned East Timor rebel leader José Alexandre Gusmão will not be permitted to see visitors from a human rights group, Indonesia's prisons director said Thursday.

Gusmão met Thursday in his cell with a parliamentary commission on legal affairs, which was accompanied by the director general of prisons, Baharuddin Lopa.

Gusmão asked to meet with the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, LBH. The foundation's leader and a prominent human rights defender, Adnan Buyung Nasution, has requested a meeting several times.

But Lopa ruled out the request.

"What is Xanana's interest to meet with the lawyer from LBH?" asked Lopa. "If all the people who want to visit him, his cell will be full. If his relatives want to meet him, they are permitted."

Asked how he feels, Gusmão, who was painting at his cell at the Cipinang prison in eastern Jakarta, said: "How is my feeling? No one wants to live in jail." He seemed healthy with a partly grey beard.

OTHER TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS

TIMORESE FLAG RIPPER SENTENCED TO 22 MONTHS

UPI, 21 Dec. 93

JAKARTA – An Indonesian court has sentenced an independence activist from East Timor to 22 months in prison for ripping an Indonesian flag, news reports said Tuesday.

Alberto Rodrigues Pereira, was sentenced Monday by Judge Heironymus Godang in Dili, the capital of East Timor, the Surabaya-based newspaper Jawa Pos reported.

"After considering accusations submitted by the prosecutor, witnesses testimony, evidence...the court concludes that the suspect was undoubtedly guilty of ripping the Indonesian national flag," Godang said in his verdict.

Prosecutor Sudiro Husodo, who asked for a three-year prison term, said the 21-year-old suspect ripped the red and white flag on Aug. 16, the eve of Indonesia's 48th independence anniversary, in Aimutin, a village on the western outskirts of Dili.

Pereira went on trial mid-October, just a half-month after another East Timorese, Pedro Sarmiento Da Costa, was sentenced to one year for defacing the Indonesian currency, rupiah.

Da Costa was convicted of writing a note to President Suharto on a 10,000 rupiah (\$4.7) bill, demanding compensation for victims of the pro-independence demonstration on Nov. 12, 1991.

At least 50 East Timorese youngsters were killed as Indonesian soldiers fired into a pro-independence protest in Dili. The incident prompted international criticism of Indonesia.

RELEASE OF EAST TIMORESE STUDENTS NOT A "CONFIDENCE BUILDING MEASURE"

CNRM Media Release, 30 December 1993

Mr. José Ramos-Horta, co-chairman of the CNRM, today commended the International Committee of the Red Cross, for their role and persistent efforts in finding safe passage out of Indonesia for seven East Timorese students. The students, political refugees, had unsuccessfully sought asylum in the Swedish and Finnish embassies in Jakarta earlier this year. The ICRC assisted

the students, now in Lisbon via the family re-union scheme.

"In reality the students have been forced to leave their homeland, East Timor, deprived of their basic rights to freedom and security, their have endured hardship through arbitrary arrest, detainment and torture, at the hands of Indonesian Military, are we now to thank Indonesia every time they expel an East Timorese from their own country?"

Mr. Ramos-Horta warned that the so-called "reconciliation talks" held in London recently were the work of pro-integration puppets and the brainchild of Indonesian intelligence aimed at splitting the East Timorese resistance movement. He said that, most of the exiled elements at the London talks, have no links with the resistance and some in fact have been expelled from the movement.

"Indonesia, seeming to allow the students to leave, cannot and should not be construed as part of the confidence-building measures, precisely for the reason that they are deprived of their fundamental right to freedom and security in East Timor.

"Indonesia's attempts to label the London meeting of East Timorese puppets who have no legitimacy is only another attempt to change the international nature of Timorese conflict."

LISBON ON ASYLUM-SEEKERS RELEASE

Statement from the Portuguese Ministry for Foreign Affairs. December 30, 1993. Provided by their Embassy in Washington.

The seven East Timorese that sought refuge in the Swedish and Finnish Embassies in Jakarta, last June, have been allowed to leave Indonesia and are expected to arrive in Lisbon today after a journey organized by the International Committee of the Red Cross.

The Portuguese Government considers this a step that could lead towards an improvement of the atmosphere surrounding the talks being held between the two parties on the question of East Timor, under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General.

Albeit positive, this development does not allow for the drawing of conclusions as to the current situation prevailing in that territory that should remain under the close scrutiny of the international community.

The Portuguese Government, while remaining fully committed to the search for a global, just, and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, would welcome that further concrete steps aiming at the respect for the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the East

Timorese people be taken by the Government of Indonesia.

TIMES OF ANGER: THE SEVEN STUDENTS TELL FOREIGN MINISTER OF THEIR ORDEAL IN TIMOR

Publico, 1 January 1994. By Ana Sa Lopes. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the seven young Timorese men met with Durão Barroso, who heard from them "a detailed and moving account" of live in East Timor. In the afternoon, they spoke to the press at the "Timor Centre" in Lisbon. Their memories are filled with deaths, although "Portugal and the rest of the world only got to know about it" after the massacre broadcast by television.

"Chico" Lopes (Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Suharto's Timorese adviser) interrogated them, as if he were "an Intel agent" (the Indonesian secret service). After their appeal to the Finnish Ambassador in Jakarta for asylum being turned down, the seven students were transferred to the house of the President's adviser, and interrogated on several occasions, over three weeks. "Chico" Lopes (as they call him) wanted to know who was organising them, who the leaders were, "whether it was Xanana or Ximenes Belo who was behind the demonstrations." They replied that it was neither of them, and that the young people themselves organised spontaneously. The house of "Chico Lopes" was not safe for them, and so they contacted Haji Princen (Indonesian human rights activist) and asked for protection.

Yesterday morning, the seven Timorese were received by Foreign Minister Durão Barroso. In the afternoon they spoke to the press at the "Timor Centre." They were not sparing in their criticism of the Finnish Embassy, which they had originally approached, in their belief that "it was a country, European and democratic, which respected human rights," but which eventually turned out to be a place "in which the Indonesian military had complete freedom of action, and were able to come and go as they pleased."

But neither did Portugal escape the accusation of not having done anything to help Timor, until the Santa Cruz massacre, broadcast to the world on TV. According to 20-year-old Valentim da Conceição, "It was only after the 12 November that Portugal and the rest of the world opened their eyes to the Timor issue. The sad part is that for the last 17 years there have been worse massacres, and nobody said anything at all!"

Meanwhile, according to the Timorese Resistance Joint Representation in Portugal, the Indonesian Government's authorisation for the students to leave was a "positive" initiative, in spite of it being "clearly motivated by Indonesia's propagandistic interests, just one month away from the start of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva."

Yesterday morning, Foreign Minister Durão Barroso listened to the "detailed and moving" account of the case of the seven students, three of whom had been seriously wounded during the Santa Cruz massacre, and who were forced to go into hiding for a year, under assumed identities, in order to avoid capture. Durão Barroso reassured the seven Timorese about their immediate future, promising student grants, equivalent to those given to students from the Portuguese-speaking African Countries (PALOPS). "They want to continue their studies, and the grants will allow them to perfect their Portuguese, so that later on they will be able to work and fully become integrated in society," the Minister said. Meanwhile, in spite of seeing their release as "a positive sign" coming from the Indonesian Government, Durão Barroso said it should not be forgotten "that the heart of the Timor problem has still to be resolved."

Almost at the same time as the seven students were arriving, General Galvão de Melo, Chairman of the General Assembly of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association was leaving for Indonesia. During the visit, which started on Monday, Galvão de Melo intends to invite ambassador Lopes da Cruz to visit Portugal next March. In statements made to the LUSA news agency, Galvão de Melo said he hoped that the Foreign Ministry would issue a visa to Suharto's ambassador.

INDONESIA DEFENDS MASSACRE SENTENCES

The Age (Melbourne), 31 December 1993. By AAP, Gordon Feeney

The Indonesian consulate in Darwin has released what is believed to be Indonesia's first written response to criticism of sentences handed out in the wake of the 1991 Dili massacre.

The document defended the conduct of trials of the soldiers involved with the shooting and East Timorese protest organisers, but acknowledged problems in the Indonesian military in relation to events like the Dili massacre.

"Such incidents can happen because part of the apparatus is still limited in their professional capabilities or because they are facing special situations threats so that they

are forced to take steps to defend themselves," it said.

It said the soldiers opened fire to "restore order because the Dili demonstrations of 12 November 1991 threatened to become a physical conflict which disturbed order/security."

"(The soldiers) are liable for the acts... (for) deliberately disobeying orders from superiors, which they should not have done, because there was no order from their superiors to shoot."

At least 50 (sic) people were killed when soldiers opened fire on a group of protesters who had attended a funeral in Dili.

The Indonesian Government was widely criticised for the disparity between sentences imposed on soldiers and protest organisers.

Ten soldiers were sentenced to up to 18 months' jail while East Timorese protest organisers received five years to life.

The document said: "It has often been asked why the sentences of the demonstrators are higher than the military..."

"The reply is in the different sanctions (for offences) the leaders of the demonstrators were accused of, which has a life sentence as a maximum...while the armed forces members get only two to four years for disobeying their superiors or a maximum of five years' jail for unintended acts which cause the death of other people."

A Sydney human rights lawyer, Mr. Rodney Lewis, who was an observer at the trials of demonstrators, condemned parts of the document as "an abuse of language" and said: "It would be amusing if it wasn't so serious."

Mr. Lewis, a member of the executive committee of the Australian Commission of Jurists, said the document revealed that soldiers had faced civil charges as well as military charges.

He said the use of the civil charged "unintended acts which cause the death of other people" in relation to the Dili massacre was "ludicrous."

The head of information at the Darwin consulate, Rachmat Murni, said the document was written last month at the request of the Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas.

The document and a letter by Mr. Alatas about the jailed rebel (sic) leader Xanana Gusmão were included in the January 1994 edition of 'Indonesia Newsletter,' published by the consulate.

In the letter by Mr. Alatas to be a woman identified only as "Ms Potter," he rejected criticism of the conduct of the criminal trial of Mr. Gusmão.

"The trial of Mr. Gusmão was conducted in accordance with the laws and regulations of Indonesia. Throughout the trial proceedings he was assisted by counsel and had the

service of sworn interpreters," Mr. Alatas wrote.

Mr. Gusmão was jailed for life after being found guilty of armed rebellion, and illegal possession of firearms. The sentence was later commuted to 20 years.

M. SOARES TO APPEAL TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

Publico, 8 January 1994. Translated from Portuguese. Unabridged

The President of the Portuguese Republic is going to appeal to the UN Secretary General for increased efforts to discover the whereabouts of the Timorese who went missing after the massacre at Santa Cruz, East Timor, in November 1991.

This promise was made by President Mario Soares to the seven young Timorese men, who recently arrived in Lisbon, after being retained in Jakarta for the past six months.

Yesterday at the Belem Palace, the seven students (who themselves went missing after taking part in the peaceful demonstration at Santa Cruz) told Mario Soares in person about their escape from Timor after the massacre, going underground in Jakarta, being persecuted by the Indonesian Army, being refused asylum which they had sought from the Swedish and Finnish embassies, and the long wait before embarking for Portugal.

As well as giving the President an account of their ordeal (which they had already given to the Foreign Minister, straight after their arrival in Portugal), the seven Timorese left a sealed envelope addressed to him from Haji Princen, the Indonesian human rights activist, in whose home the seven had been given protection until leaving for Lisbon.

On leaving the audience with the President yesterday, José Manuel Sousa, on behalf of the whole group, said "We came to thank the President of the Republic in person for Portugal's efforts in the settlement of our problem, and for taking us in."

RODNEY LEWIS (ICJ AUSTRALIA) ON SENTENCING DISPARITIES

ABC Radio (?), Jan. 9, 1994

Presenter: Indonesia has come out in defense of the disparity in sentences between the East Timorese demonstrators and Indonesian soldiers of the trials following the 1991 Dili massacre. The Indonesian consulate in Darwin has released a document defending the trials and acknowledge problems though within the military at events such as

the demonstration that turned into a massacre. Joining us is Rodney Lewis, Sydney's human rights and also a member of the International Commission of Jurists. Rodney was also an observer at the Dili trials.

Presenter: How significant do you think this is, this document?

Rodney: Well, it's the first time we have seen any official response to the report we prepared last year for the International Commission of Jurists, Geneva.

Q: Were you surprised that they have gone as far as a response in sorts although not directed to you?

Rodney: Well, a lot of surprise because there has been such a long silence. The report that we did eventually was combined with the report of ICJ's observer to the Jakarta trials which was taken place at the same time last year. And that went to the Commission of Human Rights in Geneva, as a result of that Indonesia received a lot of disapprobation if I can put it that way from the international community through the Commission on Human Rights in about July of last year. Arising out of the trial, and arising out of the whole Dili massacre affair.

Q: In your report did you raise this issue about the disparity in the sentences that were handed down, for the demonstrators up to 20 years up to life and for the soldiers 18 months perhaps, I think was the highest wasn't it?

Rodney: Yes, clearly that was one of the most unsatisfactory aspect of the whole affair. The people with the guns were the people who were charged with offences which carried the lighter sentences. And the people who had planned the demonstration, were the ones who were charged with other offences bearing a much heavier penalty including the penalty of death.

Q: And they weren't carrying arms.

Rodney: No, No, the people who had the arms were the military.

Q: How important was it though that they have acknowledge to the extend, that there are problems within the military in Indonesia, that soldiers disobeyed orders and that these sort of incidents as were demonstrations can turn nasty are a problem in terms of the way the military handle them.

Rodney: Well, the military have a very heavy hand in dealing with demonstrators and demonstrations, there is a very interesting precedent which occurred in 1985 I think it was in Jakarta itself, which is now knowing as the "Tanjung Priok riots" where a number of people were shot dead as a result of a much lovelier, a much more unruly demonstration in Jakarta, where the military

met those demonstrators opened fire with automatic weapons and killed a number of them. So, there is a precedent for this in Jakarta itself, the capital city.

Q: How comfortable are you with the notion that it is just soldiers disobeying orders from superiors.

Rodney: Not comfortable at all, but there isn't hard available evidence yet to the contrary. I think the opinion that you have there that was published by the Indonesian Consulate goes on to talk about how, what happened was not Government policy. And I think that that should be conceded. Nevertheless, what followed and the way in which the rule of law was applied is very much a matter in the life of the Indonesia Government.

Q: As we talked of the disparity, they argued the case that it was different sanctions in a sense apply for civilians versus soldiers that is the offences that they may get because they are different offences i.e. soldiers versus civilians. Now would that not be something that has to be addressed.

Rodney: Well, the difference was according to the opinion which has been published, was in the charges themselves, that is, there were a set of charges brought against the military people which carried much lighter sentences, potentially than the charges that were brought notably potentially than the charges that were brought notably subversion, the anti-subversion law charges that were brought against the demonstrators - that beats the whole question. I mean, when you have automatic weapons and you turn them on the crowd of people, who according all of the available evidence and information were not offering any violence whatever to the military people there, then I think, and this is certainly the view that was expressed in my report last year. What you have is homicide in one degree or another and serious assault for those who were wounded and permanently disable and there is no way getting around that.

Q: How much do you think is this public (unclear) largely directed at the western countries that have been critical of Indonesia and handling of the massacre and also critical over the whole East Timor issue.

Rodney: Well, the, I think the report itself was headed a counter-media release to the Australian Section of the International Jurists. It seems to have directed to us.

Q: Yes, do you think it's a feeling that they are feeling pressure because of this criticism?

Rodney: I imagine so, I imagine that's what has induced them to prepare this reply.

Q: So, in the sense that it's up to groups like yourself and others to keep the pressure on.

Rodney: We certainly intend to look in detail at this reply and if it is appropriate and I suspect it will be because I had a bit of a look at that already. If it is appropriate we will respond in writing to the Indonesian authorities.

Q: In a sense though they are defending themselves not acknowledging that there are changes to be made.

Rodney: Yes, that is right. But one would have expected that, not that they defended themselves vigorously at the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva last year for example.

Presenter: Yes. Rodney thanks very much for your time this morning.

SIX PRISONERS WANT TRIALS DECLARED INVALID

Portuguese Catholic RadioRenascenca in Portuguese, 12 Jan 94

Six Timorese prisoners have asked the International Commission of Jurists to declare null and void all the trials and sentences of the Indonesian courts against the people of East Timor.

In an extensive document, comprising several pages, the six Timorese jailed for participating in the Santa Cruz demonstration reveal all the illegalities which surrounded their trial.

The six men, including Saturnino da Costa Belo who became famous for shouting "Viva East Timor" during the trial, said that a lawyer was never present during the preparation of the case.

The defendants were constantly under pressure because of the threat of receiving heavier sentences if they insisted on defending themselves.

The Indonesian secret services were always present in the background guiding the trial.

After noting the false accusations which were never proved in court, such as the accusation that the protesters carried firearms, the document stresses that the Indonesian court's sentence was far from judicially impartial because the perpetrators of the massacre [Santa Cruz cemetery] were presented as witnesses and the victims as defendants.

TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS' LETTER TO THE INT'L COMMISSION OF JURISTS

Translated from Portuguese by CDPM.

28 Sept. 1993, The Central Prison, Dili

The Chairman
International Commission of Jurists
Excellency,

We, the political prisoners of East Timor, survivors of the 12 November 1991 tragedy, are taking the liberty and have the honour of addressing you to bring to your attention our juridical process, orchestrated by the occupying government, as follows:

I. East Timor's Status Quo

a. For centuries East Timor was a Portuguese colony, whose statute was revoked following UN resolution 1514 (XV) of 12 December 1960, when it then became a Non-Autonomous Territory under the administration of the Portuguese Government.

b. Under UN resolution 1514 (XV) of 12 December 1960, the Portuguese Government, as administrating power, assumed responsibility for creating conditions which would lead to freely exercised self-determination for the people of East Timor.

c. Following 25th April 1974, Portugal established a program for the decolonisation of its overseas colonies, including East Timor.

d. Indonesian troops invaded the Territory on 7 December 1975, and simply annexed East Timor to its Unitary Republic. Today, after 18 years, this situation continues to be unacceptable to the Portuguese Government and to the International Community at large.

e. In the wake of the Territory's annexation by Indonesia, and abandonment by Portugal, an impasse situation emerged, in which:

1. Portugal recognises East Timor in its Constitution as a Non-Autonomous Territory under Portuguese administration, while on the road to self-determination for national independence. It condemns the illegal presence of Indonesian forces in East Timor as an obstacle to the successful completion of the decolonisation program.
2. Under its 1976 Law No. 7, Indonesia recognises East Timor as its 27th Province, on the basis of the request for Integration, dated 30 May 1976, made without any prior REFERENDUM.
3. The United Nations recognises East Timor as a Non-Autonomous Territory under the administration of the Portuguese Government - the administrating power, and condemns the presence of

Indonesia in the Territory as a violation of international law.

4. The legality of the political and military resistance of the East Timorese people is based upon UN resolutions 2621 and 3314 (XXIX), which define the right of a people to fight against foreign domination and tyrannical oppression, and to request and receive help from other nations and peoples, and from humanitarian organisations. These resolutions also state that conflicts of this nature, against foreign domination, are considered international conflicts.

II. East Timorese people tried for political offences by Courts of the Indonesian Government of Occupation.

A. The pre-trial period:

In the wake of the 12 November 1991 tragedy, the occupying government sought a way to offset the international community's demands, justifying the savagery committed by its troops against the demonstrators. To this end it chose a few East Timorese people to be used as scapegoats. We were among those chosen.

The pre-trial proceedings took a very long time. During the first stage, which lasted a month, we were interrogated by members of Indonesian military intelligence. The interrogations were long and intensive, starting at 7 am, and sometimes even lasted until 3 am the following day. Throughout that period we were subjected to ill-treatment and severe psychological pressure. After a month, the results of this pre-trial investigation by military intelligence were passed on to a commission called "Pro-Justitia." The victims to be tried by the court had been selected. This Commission, composed of members of Police Intelligence as well as Intelligence from the Attorney General's Office, was then to study the cases and how to present them, conditioning them to the Indonesian Penal Code.

The second stage of the pre-trial proceedings, investigated by the "Pro-Justitia" Commission, lasted longer - for two months. This was because of the constant consultations, and elaboration by the military authorities and by the BAIS in Jakarta. They study and prepare the process, adapting it to the law in force, i.e., Law No. 11 of 1961 (subversion) and Law No. 106 and 110 (separatism), and adjusting it according to the occupier's political aims.

The investigations at this second stage became more intense, involving different commissions from the Attorney General's Office in Jakarta, and the BAIS. Prisoners were subjected to questioning for over 12

hours a day (except on Sundays), by five officials at a time.

Furthermore, throughout the entire pre-trial proceedings, the accused never had access to defence lawyers although, on the Police Commander's instructions, a local government lawyer was available.

B. The Judicial Proceedings

After undergoing various transformations directed by the BAIS and the military authorities, and once finally found to be adequate, the case was remitted to the Court for trial.

After some time, the accused were brought to Court. On the very first day of the trial, the problem of choice of lawyers arose: the Dili Court rejected out of hand the lawyers (who belonged to the YLBHI) chosen by the defendants' families, claiming that a local lawyer had already been made available to the defendants. Although the accused persisted in their choice of the YLBHI lawyers, the Court upheld its rejection, forcing the YLBHI lawyers to lodge a protest before the Supreme Court of Jakarta. This controversy confirmed the previous approaches which had been made to us by delegates from the Attorney General's Office. They had warned us that the sentence would be greater if we defendants' chose YLBHI lawyers, considering that the problem might attract national and international attention if the YLBHI were involved, in which case the Government's political designs would be put in jeopardy. The judicial authorities also tried to tempt the defendants, saying that a lesser sentence would be passed if they did what they were told by said authorities, such as not arguing their case, admitting their guilt, and asking the President for a pardon. All these enticements and warnings were coldly rejected by the defendants, who opted to uphold the truth in spite of the consequences.

It is worth noting that the trial proceedings in the Court took longer than is customary. This was meant to show to the world that trial proceedings are carried out according to the established norms. The occupying government announced that the trial would be open to everyone, without exception. What in fact happened was that the civilian population and even some members of the prisoners' families, were stopped from attending. The courtroom was actually full of members of civilian and military Intelligence, and others of similar kind.

The Witnesses:

The first witnesses called were the members of the group themselves. They were called one by one to give their evidence, and stated what the activities of the group were. It so happens that, while being investigated as witnesses, they were threatened on sev-

eral occasions with being severely punished under the law, if their statements in court did not correspond to those made previously during the pre-trial proceedings. The witnesses themselves had already been sentenced by the Court of Judges during that investigation, and had also been threatened that their families would be constantly harassed in the future, treated with ridicule and mockery, and subjected to other forms of psychological coercion.

In addition to these witnesses from the group itself, other witnesses were presented by the SGI, notably:

- demonstrators captured and imprisoned by the SGI, who had been terrorised with threats, and ordered to give their testimony in court;
- individuals belonging to the group of military forces who had been involved in the Santa Cruz massacre.

C. The Defendants' Case

The verdict of the Occupier's court was very far from complying with juridical objectivity, because the criminals of the massacre were called as witnesses, while the victims of the massacre were the accused. On this basis, the defendants refused to accept the verdict and, as a form of protest, they resolved to appeal to the Superior Court, even though a decision of irrevocability from the latter was a foregone conclusion.

The status quo of East Timor does not give the occupying government the right to try East Timorese people for political or separatist offences. The right of the East Timorese people established by the UN resolutions affirms the legality of the national resistance's fight against the foreign domination, which illegally occupies the territory of East Timor using armed/military aggression, and against the tyranny of said occupying Government which is oppressing the people of East Timor, and preventing them from freely choosing their own destiny.

The impasse in which East Timor has been placed, and the incapacity of the UN (on which the problem of East Timor is dependent) to find a solution to the 18-year-long conflict, have led to a situation in which the political interests of the occupying government prevail and outweigh any attempts to achieve juridical objectivity by trying East Timorese people. The juridical positivism which Indonesia uses to justify the trial of East Timorese, is totally lacking in credibility and impartiality because it is guided by Indonesia's policy of imposing its position on the question of East Timor, which it unilaterally claims to be a fait accompli.

D. The Sentence of the Court

As had been anticipated right from the start of the proceedings, the defendants were given the maximum sentences for Subversion and Separatism.

The sentence passed by the Court of the occupying government never took into account the juridical status of the territory of East Timor or the defendants' testimonies. On the contrary, the defendants' testimonies were arbitrarily used, and turned into "judex facta" to incriminate and condemn them.

It should be noted that the false information given during the trial, especially the accusation that the demonstrators were in possession of firearms (though the Court was unable to produce any proof in support of this, other than the statements of the witnesses who had been previously instructed by the SGI) was taken into consideration by the court as "judex facta" to find the defendants guilty of being the masterminds and leaders of the demonstration.

E. Appeal to the Superior Court and the Supreme Court of Justice in Jakarta:

As a protest against the sentence passed by the Court of the occupying government, the defendants decided to appeal to the Superior Court and, straight-away, to the Supreme Court of Justice in Jakarta.

The Indonesian Penal Code (KUHP) establishes the fundamental right of a defendant to appeal to the Superior Court if s/he disagrees with the local court's sentence. In order to prepare the appeal, to be in contact with lawyers, and exercise other rights stipulated in the Indonesian Penal Code connected with the appeal procedure, the defendant must be given all the necessary assistance. While in other countries citizens' rights, guaranteed by the Constitution and laws, are to be respected and recognised unconditionally, the opposite is the case in East Timor. Not only were we denied these rights but we were put into total isolation. The only sunlight we could see reached us through little squares.

In the ruling of the Superior Court and the Supreme Court in Jakarta, the defence statements presented by our respective lawyers are notably absent.

Although until now no exact explanation has been given on these two cases, there is another case in which the defence lawyers complained that they did not receive the results of the appeals lodged. According to the law, lawyers have a right to receive a copy of the documents for their information.

F. Prison Conditions (See annex)

III. We hereby appeal to the ICJ, of which you are Chairman, to endeavour to:

- put pressure on the Indonesian Government to allow investigation by international groups of jurists within the territory of East Timor.
- Put pressure on the Jakarta Government to allow the accused the materials and the freedom necessary to be able to contact the various international juridical organisations, namely the IPJET (International Platform of Jurists for East Timor), Chaired by Pedro Pinto Leite in Holland, in order to lodge an appeal with an impartial court.
- Contribute towards an exact definition of the juridical statute of East Timor and, in particular, the resolution of the controversy over the Timor Gap between Portugal-Indonesia-Australia.
- Intervene, as far as the ICJ's competence allows, in order to invalidate all the trials and sentences which lack credibility and impartiality, carried out by Indonesia's courts affecting East Timorese prisoners.
- Attend all juridical proceedings and trials of East Timorese prisoners by the Indonesian occupier's courts.
- to get all those responsible for the slaughter of 200,000 East Timorese lives brought to justice at the International Court at The Hague.

We end here, convinced that the international jurists' organisation which you Chair will bring the dawn of a new day of justice to our people, who have been longing for it for 18 years.

Respectfully yours,

1. Francisco Miranda Branco
2. Jacinto das Neves R. Alves
3. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha
4. Filomeno da Silva Ferreira
5. Juvencio de Jesus Martins
6. Saturnino da Costa Belo

EVENTS INSIDE EAST TIMOR

VOICES FROM THE MOUNTAINS

Publico, 20 November 1993. By Joaquim T. de Negreiros, Translated from Portuguese

East Timor's interior, June 1992.

Using up the few sheets of exercise book he had left, the guerrilla writes a reply to his Commander in the fading light of the afternoon. Using his words sparingly (it must all fit into such little space), in Tetum, or

apologetic for his command of Portuguese, he writes down his views on the restructuring of the Resistance, the activities of representatives on the outside, and the future of the struggle. This is, after all, what Xanana Gusmão has requested in his circular, which arrived, by tortuous route, a few days previously. Among political arguments and military evaluations, the human testimonies are put down on paper - views which the armed resistance combatants usually only share amongst themselves.

In mid-1992, echoes had reached East Timor of the cyclical disagreements between representatives of the Timorese Resistance abroad. Xanana Gusmão, (to be captured a few months later), decided it was time to sound out the feelings of his men, scattered throughout the interior. The guerrillas set about writing dozens of letters, in which "they say how they are living and suffering, and how they feel and hurt."

You, on the outside...

"We, the Falintil here in the bush, do not give our support to one to then condemn another, or respect one and disrespect another, or love one to then not love another, etc. ... We have never done that. What we have done is to respect and consider all of you, both here in our Fatherland and on the outside."

B. (Team Commander), E.L.e M.K. (soldiers), and S. (Security Chief), in the mountains of East Timor, 15.6.1992

"The lack of consensus among you, who are at the forefront of our people, constitutes a failure on all fronts for our struggle. It leads to disunity, dividing once again our people to kill each other."

Idem

"As we have already said, here in the bush we, the Falintil, believe in all of you. We repudiate individual ambitions."

Idem

"I am not going to enumerate the disagreements between the leaders of our process, but I and all of us want, our brothers to try to resolve the problems, and come to mutual understanding, and not each one to look out just for himself. That only reflects your disunity, lack of understanding, and personal ambition, which we, your brothers in the interior, who day and night long for your well-being, are suffering for."

N.B. (Section Commander) and N.S. (Platoon Commander), 15.6.92

"I think that organising and reorganising, structuring and restructuring, appointing and dismissing, are all just formalities. The activities carried out are the same."

Idem

“What good have the Fretilin leaders abroad done to lessen the suffering of the Falintil and the Maubere People?”

A.L., 13.7.92

“So I prefer no clarifications, unless the Fretilin leaders out there in Lisbon can send us or get for us some super-sonic aircraft or tanks, which would save us from this certain death.”

F.R.L., undated

“You showed us how to love each other, and so you should be a reflection of that, you were our teachers.”

Signed by 13 guerrillas, from III Unit, Cruzeiro sub-region, undated

Pain and hope

“In the hard years of constant war, suffering and sacrifice, today we feel as though we are in hell.”

M.B. and N.S., 15.6.92

“The truth is that, after 16 bloody years we are still resisting, offering ourselves to Death and, even today we are surviving to continue the sacred work of our fallen heroes - those buried and those not.”

Idem

“If we accept the sacrifices, the deaths, and all our sufferings, it is because we have the same rights as all the others in the world, to live a life free of evil.”

Signed by 13 guerrillas, Cruzeiro sub-region, undated

“We will only cry when its all over.”

Signature illegible, 17.5.92

Everyday things

“Before the batteries got here, X. fell twice while carrying the video recorder. At first, it worked for four minutes on “play.” When I changed to “camera” it went for about three minutes. Fine! But when I put it on “play back” to see the recording, the image was all white.”

Illegible signature, 13.7.92

“I managed to partially cure T.’s illness with the Grivin you sent. Send more for him, as well as for the group, as this kind of fungal disease is the most common here in the bush.”

Idem

“The food given to us by the people is not enough, and even the supply of natural foodstuff is becoming scarce or has run out altogether in various parts of our country.”

T.B., 13.6.92

“Instructions accompanying all the supplies (both the first lot and the second) sent to us, indicated that we were to distribute it equally between the forces and our people. And this is exactly how it was distributed.”

Idem

“Regarding the articles sent by our brother B., I want to confirm that I did receive the four (uniform) shirts, but not the hand grenade.”

Idem

“Disciplinary action has been taken against L.K. for having got the pretty B. (N.’s wife) pregnant. There was general consensus on this measure.”

L., 16.6.92

“Whatever is sent to us, no matter how insignificant it may seem, has a very special meaning for us.”

Idem

“If there is a spare Falintil flag around, I would be grateful if you sent it to us.”

A.L., 8.3.92

After the war, the educated doctors

“We cannot visualise anyone but you, distinguished doctors, representing our Maubere Nation after the war.”

B., E.L., M.K., and S. (undated).

“All of us here in the Resistance know that, after the war, the seats in the Government will go to you, doctors, and not to us here in the rank and file of the Armed Resistance, who have but little education. Most of us can neither read nor write, and were herdsmen and simple farmers before the war.”

A.L., 13.6.92

“Of course, the Armed Resistance is not fighting in order to get seats (in the government).”

Idem

Apologies, respect, and grammar

“We apologise for everything which does not please you, but this is all we have to offer towards the sacred duty of giving, while we still have life and limb with which to get around the hills and vales of our land, Timor.”

B., E.L., M.K., and S., undated

“Colleagues, we ask you to bear with us and all our limitations, - our Portuguese, learned from a grandfather, which you may not even like.”

M.B. and N.S., 15.6.92

“I confess that my theoretical knowledge is very limited for answering such questions. We know that our educated theoreticians have either already been killed in this land of Resistance, or have abandoned their ideas and joined the enemy, leaving the heavy burden of responsibility for the men on my, or our, shoulders.”

A.L., 13.6.92

“You must try to understand the content of my writing, and not be confused by the grammatical errors, - I have had only four years primary education.”

S.S. (nurse), undated

“Dear brother and companion in sweat and tears, I hope not to have to pass on this letter to you, because if I did, you might die laughing at my “philosophy” and reasoning borrowed from other brothers.”

F.R.L., undated

Ideology

“In 1981, when the Falintil Commander introduced Marxism-Leninism, we merely followed the former teaching. And we came to clearly recognise the change from the revolutionary to the social democratic system. If this caused a step backwards in our struggle, the time to resolve the matter is not now!... What we should be concerned about is the problem of our Fatherland’s occupation.”

S.S. (nurse), undated

“I know that the introduction of Marxism was a mistake. But the mistake was made, and now we have to be able to admit it, and correct it with determination.”

A.D.D., 10.6.92

“During the first three years, I did not attend the political sessions, at the Ceforpol (Political Training Centre), but from what I saw from the notes taken by my companions who went to Ceforpol, they were notes on the History of Humanity, Dialectical Materialism, Historical Materialism, Philosophical Materialism, the thoughts of Mao, etc.”

Idem

“It was said in 1975 that Marxism was the Living Science. Today, it is Dead Science in East Timor.”

T.B., 13.6.92

“My loving embraces to you! Your birthday is approaching, and I have nothing to offer you.”

M.B., undated

“Combative greetings, and robust embraces!”

A K Company, 15.5.92

“Respectfully, and emotionally, I send you our combative greetings, and best wishes for long life and constant vigilance.”

F.R.L., undated

“Goodbye, and see you soon.”

B., 16.7.92

“Until our next meeting, God willing.”

L., 21.3.92

HEALTH IN EAST TIMOR

By Helda Buerger. From Medicine and War: International Concerns on War and Other Social Violence, Vol. 9 No. 2, April-June 1993. slightly abridged.

I came to East Timor as a tourist in September 1991. I had been concerned with the

independence of East Timor already in the 1970s as part of my work in the Vietnam Solidarity Movement, and I came into contact with the Salesians - a Catholic order working also in East Timor - by chance through a charity that is working in my region. I decided to extend my holiday trip to Bali and take a 10-day excursion to East Timor. On my arrival in Dili, I was met by two Salesian Sisters who received me and my travel companion very cordially, gave us accommodation for a whole week and treated us like members of the family. On the very day of our arrival we drove with Sister P. to Venilale, which is a fairly large village in the middle of the mountains. I could already see some of the country's main problems: forest areas are cleared out, the soil is widely eroded, villages along the big roads are poor, with people living in often ramshackle huts made out of natural materials giving them a poor quality of shelter. Evidence of military activity is widespread - ruined stoneblock houses, graveyards, police posts, heavy weapons and tank tracks on the roads. Soldiers are seen everywhere. With heavy weapons, they patrol in groups, in markets, in the villages, searching vehicles on the roads, driving trucks recklessly on the narrow mountain roads - more than once we were nearly forced over the edge by military cars. Indonesian soldiers are armed with modern automatic weapons, while soldiers of Timorese appearance carry old guns. The whole country gives the impression of being under occupation.

Moreover, the large number of graveyards is impressive, and inspection of the dates of deaths shows that most people had died within the last 15 years. Independent witnesses estimate that more than 200,000 people have died within the last 16 years through murder, undernourishment or disease, directly or indirectly as a consequence of the Indonesian invasion.

We were based in rooms in Venilale from where we visited Fatumaca, Lospalos and Baucau. For two afternoons I took part in the outdoor clinic in Venilale, and on one half-day I accompanied Sister P. to Badumory, a small village where she holds an outdoor clinic once a week. I visited the Puskesmas, that is the health service of the Indonesian government, in Venilale. I saw a malaria screening session in a school and had a long discussion with the doctor of the Puskesmas, who enabled me to visit the hospital at Baucau where I spoke at length with the physicians. I visited Fatumaca and took part in a surgery in a village nearby with the orderly of the outpatient unit. In Lospalos I visited the outpatient unit and met the Canossa Sisters working there. I also saw the schools of the Salesians in

Lospalos and made a brief visit to the agricultural school in Fuiloro. Everywhere I went I was heartily welcomed, asked to give my opinion on medical matters and taken on house calls in the villages.

My impression is that the standard of health among the Timorese is very poor and the measures being taken by the Indonesian government are having no impact on the cycle of poverty, numbers of children being born, malnourishment and illness. Especially after the events at the end of last year, the feeling remains that, on the contrary, for the Indonesian government, a solution that includes the death of a large number of people, whether by disease or direct intervention, is on the whole acceptable. Although rudimentary, church facilities seem to offer the best basis for bringing about effective change and improvement for the population in this part of the world at the moment.

Civil Rights Abuses

Obviously the health situation cannot be divorced from the political context of the country. Everywhere in East Timor the people are longing for their independence as much today as they were 16 years ago. This wish is openly expressed again and again at the greatest possible risk. The sole answer the Indonesian government had for this was violence.

Of course local people cannot forget the forced military occupation of their country - every family has its dead and injured to remember. And the army continues to control the country through terror. Spying, house searches and killings are everyday occurrences, and from time to time people disappear. The Hotel Flamboyant in Baucau has been partly converted into an interrogation and torture centre. The presence of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), with the special task of monitoring conditions of detained political prisoners, testifies to the truth of these assertions. The work of this organisation is permanently and systematically handicapped; for example, after the massacre of November 1991, ICRC members could not visit the detained prisoners for many days on the pretext that they would interfere with the interrogations.

I was shown many examples of violence. Mr. Aleixio Ximenes, elected president of the Baucau parliament, member of UDT and convinced of the need of national independence informed me that only two weeks before my arrival the military had been behind a plot to have him assassinated that even the Timorese employed by the Indonesian government are spied on and treated as second class citizens - giving them an even greater interest in seeing an independent East Timor. It comes therefore as no surprise that local people are suspicious of all gov-

ernment-led projects such as immunization programmes or agricultural projects. Who wants to take advice when the adviser is an Indonesian soldier with a rifle in his hand?

The Indonesian government has used the army to destroy villages and forcibly remove people, the idea being that they resettle along roadsides where control is easier. Many had to leave the terraced and irrigated fields now left derelict. They all remember forced early morning roll-calls at times when they had to go to field work, and even today from time to time people disappear from field work and never come back. How could anyone imagine that the peasants of East Timor will accept lessons in agriculture and construction from these same soldiers?

The local military command has forbidden villagers to provide food and clothing for their relations in Fretilin when they come back from the forests at night, and civil servants are supposed to report any such contacts being made. Methods of forcing people to denunciation are multiple and violent. They offer money or threaten their lives, and very often these threats have been carried out. So there are many spies. How can these civil servants expect to launch successful immunization campaigns and have their advice followed, still less be accepted as friends?

In contrast, the Catholic Church has credibility among the Timorese. The church has always been neutral and in its defence of the rights of the individuals has even found itself in the firing line. Even today in church-run schools many pupils are the children of Fretilin members, but the priests do not exclude them on that account. Schools run by the church are also better than those run by the government. They are built solidly and offer a broadly-based education. Government schools, on the contrary, seem to be a sham. Pupils do not have books but learn by rote. The final results in East Timor government schools are below Indonesian standards.

After the invasion, the Indonesians had killed nearly 311 the Timorese teachers who had begun to build up an education system. Then they sent Indonesians as teachers to Timor, who could not speak the native language, and pupils have to learn Bahasa Indonesia nowadays. In a village school in Venilale that I visited there were four classrooms, very dark, with benches and tables and about 60 children in every classroom, all of them small and thin. I did not see a single book. The children owned copy-books with the letters crooked, obviously copied without any system. I was told repeatedly that children have great difficulty in following the lessons; because of their malnutrition they cannot concentrate for long.

The large number of adults murdered or disappeared in jail or elsewhere has led to an extremely high number of orphans. Some have to be fed by their relatives, impairing their living conditions, others are brought up in the continuously growing church orphanages.

Agriculture and Nutrition

Agriculture on the meagre soils of East Timor was always based on traditional methods; the plough was unknown and the soil was broken up by letting water buffaloes trample over the fields, or by digging sticks. But because of the favourable climate and well organized village structures, food supply in the villages was sufficient in the past; a good variety of edible plants was available. But now the effects of forced moves have left fields uncultivated, and the scorched earth tactics of the Indonesian army have led to deforestation and erosion. As a result of military actions and intimidation the inhabitants were prevented from working in the fields. New fields worked by the old methods brought insufficient harvest. The male members from many families have fled to work in the resistance or are in jail or murdered. Knowledge cannot be transmitted. A whole new generation has grown up under war conditions and much knowledge seems to be lost.

Even if peasants can grow enough food for their own needs, some of it has to be sold on the market to pay for shoes, clothing and other essentials. Small, undernourished and ill-looking women are seen in the markets in East Timor selling a few maize cobs or sweet potatoes or a chicken.

There is a very low level of knowledge about nutrition and good practice in preparation of food. The staple diet consists of a maize porridge or plain rice with no vegetables or meat. There are very few cows on the island and so that very little milk is available. Breastfeeding is the only source of infant food, and if the mother is unable to produce enough milk her infant will die or become, while undernourished, vulnerable to infections.

Health Problems

The well-known problems of a Third World country are complicated by the special conditions in East Timor, resulting from its political situation and the predominant customs. The two fundamental problems are malnourishment and lack of hygiene. The most prevalent diseases are tuberculosis, endemic malaria, pneumonia, parasitic infestations, skin infections and severe anaemia, especially in children and women after many childbirths, and are related to undernutrition. Tuberculosis is widespread and the undernourished Timorese are easy victims. Within three days in the outdoor clinics I saw at

least 20 cases of severe lymph node tuberculosis, some with abscesses, and several women with severe cavitation of the lung. Tuberculosis is commonly transmitted from mother to child, and entire families have been wiped out; I have seen a family consisting of five children between two and 13 years who had recently lost their parents through this disease. Three of the children were also very ill, infected with the condition, as probably were the other two. Two more sisters had been in Baucau hospital for a week for their TB treatment. Parasites and skin infections are the results of poor awareness of hygiene. The simple grass huts standing on the bare soil are crawling with insects and all animals of the region have free access. People who have been forcibly resettled are less likely to build their huts on stilts, the traditional way of construction, giving some protection against vermin. Today domestic animals run through the open huts, there are no toilets and hardly any running water, children have to be raised without nappies, leading to the spread of parasites through animal and human faeces.

Child mortality is high. I saw one mother breastfeeding her second living newborn child; she had lost five other children within their first year of life. The women are tired out at 30 after multiple pregnancies, and easily become victims to tuberculosis. There is no gynaecological support. Birth takes place at home with ancient and often unhealthy customs. One of these is to burn an open fire in the hut of a parturient woman until the child is four weeks old. The newborn child is not dressed during this time. As the huts have no chimney, mother and child are sitting the whole time in dense smoke which damages the sensitive lungs of the newborn. A midwife is only called if there are complications in the birth. If a hospital stay is needed it is very difficult to transport the women there because of the bad conditions of the roads, and even in hospital too often there is no help. There are many eye infections in children, some of which can lead to blindness.

Health Facilities

There is a large hospital in Dili, capital of East Timor, which I could not visit but which has a good reputation. Several medical specialists practise in Dili. There is another hospital in Baucau and a smaller one in Los Palos.

At the time of my visit, Baucau hospital had three working doctors, two of whom were Indonesian students sent over by the government for two years to do their internship, not fully trained and lacking experience. One of them is also responsible for the local Puskesmas. There is also supposed to be a paediatrician, whom I did not meet, and

also a dentist. The dentist is said to extract teeth because there is no time or material to make fillings and therefore people are afraid of going there and go very late.

The hospital buildings are situated on a large sector of ground. They are new but poorly equipped and managed. Everything is in short supply. Starting with the food, I was told that the hospital kitchen would supply all patients with food of first or second standard. But the kitchen was out of food at 11 a.m., a single rice pot was cooking, and family members of many patients were cooking meals on campfires at the back of the buildings.

Hygiene is abysmal, the wash-room, if existent, is often dirty, bedsteads corroded. Patients with tuberculosis were only separated from surgical patients by a curtain, although at the time of my visit the hospital was not full. I saw incorrectly applied plaster casts. The treatment of seriously ill patients is made impossible by lack of equipment (bladder catheters, nasogastric tubes, artificial nutrition, disposable materials). Medical supplies are only delivered every three months, always less than required. Infusions are in short supply and cannot be produced locally. The surgical emergency room was very dirty with a single, faulty AMBU bag. The operating theatre was equipped with the basic necessities but was unhygienic. There was a modern anaesthetic breathing machine that could not be used because anaesthetic gases (nitrous oxide and halothane) were not available; anaesthesia is performed with an ancient ether evaporator, if oxygen, that has to be delivered from Dili, is available. During my visit I was told that the oxygen supply was interrupted because the oxygen filling machine in Dili was broken. Only a few basic laboratory tests are possible, fewer than are found in the average practice at home.

Blood for transfusion has to be brought in from Dili (6 hours' drive away), so that urgent transfusions are impossible. Blood grouping and matching is inadequate, and the Rhesus factor cannot be cross-matched. This did not seem to disturb the doctors much, as they estimated only 10 per cent of the Indonesian population to be rhesus negative!

It has to be said that although the doctors are inexperienced and overtaxed under the stress of the conditions, they are certainly willing and enthusiastic. Obviously this description would not be out of place in many Third World countries, but the frustrating fact is that Baucau Hospital has the potential but is being neglected. The wards are half empty although there is no shortage of patients. The Puskesmas, established by the Indonesian government in every largish town, only cover some 30 per cent of the

health care needed, and 70 per cent of their work is concentrated on organizing campaigns for the early detection of malaria, tuberculosis, vaccination, prevention of infections, advice on nutrition, family planning and so on. As already noted, Indonesian students are working as doctors doing their internship, working independently without medical supervision but under the control of the military. They are offered inducements to work in Timor and even higher incentives if they stay on once here. They do not speak Tetum, the language most spoken in Timor, and have hardly any practical experience. They do not have the supplies for an adequate service, and sometimes the Puskesmas doctors in Venilale have to ask the Sisters for antibiotics. In some cases the local people were too suspicious to take drugs prescribed for them by the Puskesmas. Some of the Puskesmas can perform simple laboratory checks such as haemoglobin. Hundreds of people go to the very committed church health workers in the weekly outdoor clinics and surgeries, and mostly, they follow the Sisters' advice. But they are overtaxed and their work is a drop in the ocean. There are some experienced workers among them, but most are semi-skilled. Very little diagnostic work can be undertaken, and diagnosis is mainly based on verbal complaints from the patients. Even a superficial physical checkup is impossible in the middle of the masses of patients and with no privacy. Sometimes antibiotics are given for 'safety's sake,' often with too low a dosage to cause resistance. Some medicines, such as eyedrops or eardrops, are completely lacking in the surgeries. The best conditions I found were in the church-run surgery in Los Palos. There is a quiet examination room, registry, a corner for administering injections and bandages, and a dispensary. In Venilale there is one small room without electric light, but at least there are some sanitary facilities and an examination bed, divided from the rest of the room by a curtain. There are plans to convert an old Red Cross building which was commandeered by the army into a small clinic with some beds, so that patients living far away can stay for some days. A Timorese nurse will be returning from her training in the Philippines to take charge of this project which, it is hoped, will be completed in about one year's time. The outpatient room at Fatumaka is even darker and worse equipped. The Salesians are planning a hospital at Suaai with 50 beds, and the Sister (not a Salesian) who will be supervising this, had just arrived the day I left Timor.

There have been complaints that the drugs manufactured in Indonesia perform very poorly in comparison to those smug-

gled in from the West, and that those supplied on state prescription have no noticeable effect. I have brought back some samples bought in pharmacies and had them analysed in a well-known laboratory. The contents were identical with those declared or the label.

Visits by doctors from abroad are very welcome. They are lodged for : month at a time if they are willing to share in the work of the health teams and advise and train health workers. Such a stay can be a very important experience for any young doctor, and is a useful support even if it does not change the situation entirely.

The Need for Change

A change in the situation can only take place on the political level. As long as the suppression of the people in East Timor continues - and there is no sign of a change - so people will go on dying from undernourishment and curable diseases, and nothing will improve. Even the wish for independence, however expressed, is a revolution against state doctrine according to the Indonesian government and is uncompromisingly persecuted. The independent existence of the military apparatus within the Indonesian state is furthermore a guarantee of uncontrollable violence and tyranny throughout the country. In this connection world-wide action is required. We cannot permit the rearmament of Indonesia with modern Western weapons systems for them to be brought into action against the people of East Timor. Recently, the German government has decided to send weapons, including 39 warships, from the armed forces of former Eastern Germany to Indonesia. This must be most strongly condemned!

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VISITOR'S IMPRESSIONS OF EAST TIMOR

From Andrew McNaughton, Darwin, Australia, based on a visit in May 1993

Introduction

I am an Australian Doctor who decided to visit East Timor to gain my own impressions of that country. I became concerned as a result of hearing about the Dili massacre of 1991, then meeting East Timorese refugees and learning something of the events since Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. I speak some Spanish that helped me communicate in Portuguese. I was able to visit East Timor in May of this year for two weeks. This coincided with the last days of the trial of the Resistance Leader Xanana Gusmão.

I spent some time in Dili as well as parts of the countryside, and was able to speak to a number of church people including Bishop Belo, the head of the Church in East Timor, some other priests, an ICRC representative and some journalists and diplomats (in Dili for Xanana's trial) as well as a number of local people.

For convenience I have dealt with my impressions under the headings below. In the interests of the safety of individuals with whom I spoke, I have avoided specific details of names and places.

Interview with Bishop Belo

I spoke to Bishop Belo, and started by asking what would be the most useful contribution that I could make as a medical doctor interested in the problems of East Timor. He replied by saying that as an Australian I should be aware that one of the main obstacles to a solution in East Timor was the position adopted by the Australian Government. He pointed out that Australian Governments had consistently acted as facilitators and apologists for Indonesian policy and not sought lasting solutions in East Timor. He suggested that Australians interested in seeing a resolution in East Timor should be trying to alter the Australian government's position.

Then I asked him about the current human rights situation. He replied that al-

though the rate of killings was reduced compared to the worst periods, that there was more to human rights than that alone. He said that the freedom for people to express themselves, and to talk openly and live as they choose was also a human right and one that was absent in East Timor. He also talked about the freedom of cultural expression as a form of human rights and one that was also being suppressed, such as the enforced speaking of Bahasa Indonesia and suppression of Tetun and Portuguese.

Other methods of cultural dilution and suppression he mentioned are through transmigration of people of other ethnic backgrounds into East Timor and the encouraging of conversion to Islam. This may be implemented indirectly, e.g. through favoritism in employment. The Bishop commented also that employment and education opportunities tended to by-pass the Timorese and to be offered to people of other ethnic backgrounds.

Another social and cultural disruption that he commented on was due to the continuous presence of a large number of foreign troops. Apart from intimidating the people this had also resulted in a massive upsurge of illegitimate children and consequent disruption of the structure of traditional family life.

However, he said that gross physical human rights abuses still occur regularly, including sweeping arrests and detention of people often occurring in midnight raids. He said that torture of people was common and that disappearances and possible deaths still occur. He pointed out that it is often impossible to get access to people in prison to check on their physical state.

I asked him about his views on development by Indonesia and what the effects had been. He started by saying that the East Timorese had never asked for this development to occur. He pointed out that the building of roads was necessary for the military occupation, and also used to justify the continuous presence of Indonesian soldiers in the countryside.

On the subject of education he pointed out that the enforced learning of Bahasa Indonesia and history from an Indonesian angle was a vehicle for repression of East Timorese culture rather than primarily educational.

He said that overall he felt the Timorese would be better off without the presence of the military and the associated "assistance." He said that the first step to peace was the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor. I asked him how would the Timorese vote if given the chance for self-determination. He answered that it was not up to him to say how they would vote, but that it was their fundamental right to choose

for themselves the system under which they live. He said that the people had not been given the right to choose.

Human Rights in General

I was able to speak privately with a number of priests during my trip on the subject of human rights. One commented that during the early to mid 1980's, violations were so frequent that dead bodies were found and disappearances occurred almost daily.

Another commented about the massacre of a whole village of around 300 people that had occurred nearby in the early 1980s. I also saw large numbers of graves including gravestones with more than 70 names on them dated in the early 1980s in one regional graveyard I visited.

A man I spoke to had been a prisoner on Atauro Island where he saw many fellow prisoners die. More recently I was told of number of human rights violations within the last 6 months:

- The arrest of approximately 200 people held in detention with many subjected to mock executions at night in the bush with guns fired off beside their heads.
- One person was tortured and then stabbed to death and returned in a closed coffin that the people were not allowed to open. Another person disappeared at that time and has not been seen since.
- In the same area, reports of people being hung from the ceiling of the local police station and beaten.
- Elsewhere I was told of the arrest of at least 60 (probably closer to 100) young people who were held incommunicado for up to 4 months. Many of these were tortured.

I was told that it was common if not routine to torture people in detention. I was also told that this was frequently done by pulling out fingernails, burning with cigarettes, and electric shocks to the body. I was struck by the local perception that this was a regular part of the detention process.

As I was leaving East Timor I was told of the arrest of a further 8 young people. I know nothing of the outcome.

Prior to leaving I spoke informally with a Red Cross representative who acknowledged privately that it was often difficult or impossible to get access to people in jail and that on gaining access it was common to find they had been physically abused. He acknowledged that he was frequently approached for help and often felt frustration at being in a position where his requests were ignored. He pointed out that the brief of the ICRC is to help where possible but keep all relevant findings secret as publicity may jeopardise their work and close the

access completely. I feel this point is relevant because some people cite the presence of the ICRC as evidence that human rights violations don't occur: firstly the minuscule size of the human rights monitoring (one person at the time I was there), secondly the frequently thwarted access, and thirdly the inability to report findings publicly make the ICRC unable to report adequately on the human-rights situation in East Timor.

The Trial of Xanana Gusmão

Coincident with my trip was the last days of the trial of the captured Independence leader, Xanana Gusmão. As I was told that there was open access to the trial, I presented myself to the relevant police station on the morning in question to obtain the necessary permit. However I was told that I could not enter the court room as all seats had been taken by local people. I was shown a list of 40 to 50 East Timorese names, all in the same hand writing, who I was told had applied before me.

That night when I asked one of the diplomats about who was present in the court he commented that those present appeared to be asleep during the proceedings. It is my opinion that East Timorese people would not take the risk of seeking permission to attend a trial of this nature and then fall asleep in court. I am doubtful that these people were East Timorese. Interestingly, Gusmão's statement smuggled from jail comments on the courtroom being stacked with plain-clothes military personnel.

I understand that journalists attempting to arrive that day were stopped at Bali and I know that the only foreigners present in the court were 3 diplomats and a representative from the International Council of Jurists who were at the back of the court and unable to hear proceedings. An outside loud speaker (previously used) was kept turned off. This was the day that Gusmão was to read his defence statement, and I understand that he was stopped within the first few pages of a long prepared statement. As this was the only day that he was allowed to read his statement, the result was that his defence was not heard and also was inaccessible to outside observers. On the last day of the court hearing when foreign journalists were present Gusmão was not allowed to speak.

It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that there was an orchestrated campaign to make sure he wasn't heard. As I understand it, under Indonesian law, a defendant has the right to make a full statement. It is worth making clear that his statement was subsequently able to be released after being smuggled out of the country but this was certainly not with the cooperation of the Indonesian authorities.

Impressions of Military Occupation and Surveillance

During my time there I was struck by the presence of military and police in almost all locations. This varied from extremely obvious and open presence in multiple locations around Dili and rural centres to much less obvious presence in smaller villages I visited. In one regional centre I saw groups of more than 60 armed soldiers travelling on the back of trucks. Along the roads I frequently saw military depots and encampments, and also groups of armed soldiers on foot patrol.

In each small village I visited I came across depots of 6 - 10 soldiers who seemed to be based in local houses. These were not immediately obvious - in fact on one occasion I accidentally entered one of these depots trying to find a drink, misled by a beer sign hung on the doorway. My impression is that the military presence numbers in the tens-of-thousands. This impression was reinforced by some German visitors with whom I spoke. Their experiences were fairly similar and their feeling about the military numbers was quite comparable. It was interesting to me that having travelled through the rest of Indonesia prior to ET they felt that the military presence was vastly more obvious in ET.

On one occasion I was in a remote town and found a concert occurring at night. It transpired this was performed by and for the local Indonesian military, indicating to me that though not at first obvious, there were a lot of military personnel in the vicinity. In that same town as we left on the bus we initially drove round picking up passengers and we ended up in a military base hidden from the main road and appearing to contain at least one hundred soldiers. That was a recurring impression as a number of times buses or trucks would stop at apparently remote locations on mountain roads and a number of Indonesian soldiers would appear from the bushes apparently picking up supplies. I was told by some Timorese that in their particular region there were many small military encampments distributed through the hills. Given the hidden nature of much of the deployment I think it would be hard to assess numbers.

I found that as I travelled around I appeared to be frequently under surveillance. I was often questioned by police and was approached by people in plain clothes who asked repeated pointed questions about my intentions. Whilst staying alone in a previously empty hotel in one regional centre I heard one of two men who had booked into the adjacent room using a "walky-talky" during the night. This combined with the questions they had asked me about my visit

left me in little doubt I was being watched by them and a man who seemed to be stationed outside the hotel.

At one point I tried to take a photo in Santa Cruz cemetery. As I raised the camera I was tapped on the shoulder by a plain-clothed man who said he was "security." He said that photos were prohibited in the cemetery (subsequently church people told me that this was a military decree). Looking round the area as I left I saw a number of Javanese looking men in plain clothes conversing with the man who had forbidden the photo. I was told later that "security" or plainclothed army personnel watched this area closely presumably because of its association with the Dili massacre. Interestingly when driving in a car at one point with some diplomats and an aid worker they were loath to even drive past the cemetery (let alone stop there) apparently fearing that this could be construed as a political act.

On another occasion I visited a town in the mountains arriving in the late afternoon by truck. I was subsequently questioned at length by 3 different police officers for about 3 hours in 2 different police stations. I was told I could not stay in the area and must leave by the first bus at 7 next morning. I had done nothing wrong.

During conversations with any foreigners or locals it was not unusual to have someone move within earshot then either ask a number of pointed questions or else studiously look the other way. This reinforced the sense of being frequently watched, which I must say I was not alone in feeling.

I feel that an assessment of total military numbers in East Timor would be very difficult, because of the number of "security" personnel in plain clothes, the tendency to locate bases away from where they can be seen from main roads and the deployment of small groups of soldiers in multiple locations such as villages and mountainous rural areas.

Transmigration

My contact with people gave me the perception that there were a large number of people living in East Timor who had arrived from elsewhere in the last 10 - 15 years. These areas included Java (particularly Surabaya), Sumatra, Lombok, Flores, Ambon, and Kupang among others. This was very striking in Dili where at least 2 out of 3 of the people I spoke to came from somewhere else but was reinforced by the presence of transmigrants in every town I visited. The majority of small businesses appear to be in the hands of transmigrants, and most students I spoke to at the University were from other places. I was advised specifically of 500 Javanese families moved to a trans-

migration project at Suai, as well as other transmigration to the south coast.

My impression is that transmigration numbers are in multiples of tens of thousands at least, although I was told the official figures were around four thousand.

The People's Response

During my trip there were some constraints: time, language, and especially the difficulty of talking freely to East Timorese people due to the omnipresent military and police and their informers. However, there were a number of occasions when I could speak with young East Timorese people, and hear their feelings about the current situation. That left me with a strong impression of a continuing resentment of the Indonesian presence, and a continuing desire for self determination.

This impression seemed consistent in all the areas I travelled to. Any discussion of politics or any talk of the Indonesian occupation and its consequences could only take place in moments of privacy and would be accompanied by furtiveness, and lowered voices. For example at the university I was warned about "escondidos" (hidden ones), the expression seemingly used for plain-clothes police and informers.

Some individual examples come to mind - a young boy about 12 years old telling me how "the people suffer." He kept repeating the word "suffer" in poor English and told me both parents had been killed by Indonesians. Another time I asked a group of youths what they thought of the Indonesians. They replied in unison "no gusto!" (we don't like them). When travelling in cars, East Timorese would illustrate their feelings by making hand signals out of view under the dashboard.

On return to Australia a photo of a group of youths on a truck in the mountains revealed that they were making a resistance salute to me. One well educated man I met told me emphatically that the vast majority of Timorese are against the Indonesian presence. When I pressed him on the percentage he said "over 90%." He said that "if the Indonesians had no guns they would be gone in a matter of days."

The most graphic example occurred when I passed a group of 3 youths in the street. A voice called out "independencia." I looked around and one of the youths pointed to an Indonesian flag making a fist and shaking it. As we were in line of sight of one of the ubiquitous military depots this was a very risky thing to do - I think he took this chance to show his feelings to a foreigner.

The East Timorese people to whom I spoke, consistently appeared to support and show respect to Xanana Gusmão.

The Armed Resistance

As far as the armed resistance is concerned I became aware during my trip that they were still active in at least two areas: when I considered travelling to Los Palos I was advised by a priest not to go because 3 soldiers had recently been shot there and I was told if I talked to anyone they would be under suspicion. I was also told that there were guerrillas active in the Bacau region. Tight security and the very large military presence around Same, made me feel that there must be instability in that area too.

Foot patrols on a number of mountain roads and at frequent intervals through some public places (such as the market place in Bacau) as well as the existence of military depots in most locations I visited suggested military activity in other areas.

Conclusions

My overall impression was of a distinct resistance to, and resentment of the Indonesian presence, particularly amongst younger people.

My perception is that if these underlying resentments are not addressed openly, "stability" will only be maintained by continuous military occupation. I find it difficult to avoid the conclusion that a fundamental injustice has occurred with Indonesia's occupation and is continuing and that the Indonesian presence is not widely accepted by the East Timorese people.

A free act of self determination is not only a right but, I feel, also a practical necessity if there is to be a lasting peace in East Timor.

(Compiled with the assistance of East Timor Relief Association, Darwin, 13 August 93.)

ALLEGED EAST TIMOR REBEL SURRENDERS IN INDONESIA

UPI, 20 Dec. 93

JAKARTA – An alleged member of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, or FRETILIN, has surrendered to the Indonesian authorities in the former Portuguese colony, the daily *Kompas* reported Monday.

A spokesman for the East Timor Military Command was quoted in the report as saying the rebel, Manuel Racudy, gave up Friday.

He quoted the 51-year-old Racudy as saying he surrendered after finding the Fretilin struggle was longer supported by the people, while he had been separated from his group and was running out of food supply.

Simbolom said Racudy, 51, had been in the jungle for about 17 years.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 after intervening in a civil war there between FRETILIN and pro-Indonesian forces. The territory was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years but was abandoned by Lisbon in its 1976 anti-colonial drive.

East Timor is now claimed as Indonesia's 27th province although the United Nations still recognizes Lisbon as the legal administrative power.

The Indonesian military deployed in the territory has said more than 1,000 members or supporters of FRETILIN have surrendered following the capture last year capture of its leader, José Alexandre Gusmão, leaving only about 100 armed rebels remain in the jungle.

Gusmão, 46, is serving a 20-year term at the Cipinang Prison in Jakarta.

OFFICER JAILED FOR PROTECTING XANANA

Jakarta Post, February 14

(Dili, East Timor) A local police officer was sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for giving protection to East Timor rebel leader José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão when he was still at large.

The local military court said Augusto Pereira provided sanctuary at a suburban home for Xanana before his arrest in November 1992.

Judge Lt. Col. H. Pakpahan took into account the dedication of Augusto to the police service in passing the sentence, which was six months shorter than demanded.

Further information about Timorese police officer Augusto Pereira, 44 years old, from a protected source:

He was charged and convicted of violating military regulation #120, having help hide Xanana Gusmão for three years.

The February 3 trial, in military court 1627 in Dili, was presided over by Lt. Col. H. Pakpahan. The other two judges were Maj. Sumari and Police Captain M. Ginting.

He was sentenced to 18 months, and is being held in military prison in Dili.

– Charlie Scheiner, ETAN/US

HORTA: TIMORESE USED AS HUMAN SHIELDS BY INDONESIAN MILITARY

Press release from CNRM, 17 January

Statement by José Ramos-Horta Co-Chairman and Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance

CNRM denounces the renewed campaign of violence against the East Timorese by the Indonesian Military while the Indonesian Government engages in gestures designed to

project a commitment to the resolution of the conflict in East Timor, for the consumption of the international community.

The human rights situation in East Timor continues to deteriorate. On December 2 1993, Indonesian 'red berets' arrested three East Timorese, Martinho Maia, Lucas Maia and Gastao Mendonca and tortured them in the Colomera prison in Dili. On October 28 1993, two young East Timorese were executed in Colomera, Dili, by members of the Indonesian intelligence service. The two were identified as Matias da Costa, 24, and Duarte Dias, 22.

We accuse the Indonesian army of the cold-blooded murder of six East Timorese civilians in Baucau in October 1993. The Indonesian military authorities then alleged that East Timorese freedom fighters killed six civilians in a village in the Baucau district. However, evidence now proves that the killings were the work of Indonesian troops belonging to Battalion 301. Those killed were freedom fighters captured and forced to work for the Indonesian military since 1982, who had failed to produce 'results,' i.e., to capture or kill their former comrades.

Indonesian army presence in East Timor now stands at more than 10 battalions. Some of these are identified as battalions 512, 515, 611, 502 and 745. In addition, there are others stationed in the towns of Lospalés, Baucau, Vikeke, Same and Ainaro.

East Timorese have been drafted into battalions 741, 744, 745, 'Team Seran,' 'Saka,' 'Alfa,' 'Makikit,' 'Samodok,' 'Loriko' and 'Sakunar,' and forced to march in front of the Indonesian army units as shields against the freedom fighters. This is the re-enactment of a previously and oft used cruel military strategy, which involves the forcible use of thousands of civilians, women and children, to provide a human cover for advancing Indonesian troops. Catholic Church leaders have strongly condemned this practice in the past, which has led to thousands of civilian deaths.

East Timorese political prisoners continue to be denied their basic rights under conditions which breach internationally accepted norms on the treatment of prisoners. CNRM has repeatedly expressed its deep concern about the deplorable treatment given to imprisoned East Timorese Resistance Leader Commander Xanana Gusmão.

Indonesian authorities have consistently denied his mistreatment in prison. Xanana has meanwhile been able to inform the outside world, by means of documents in his own handwriting, of the physical and psychological torture he is being subjected to by his captors. As a result he has been confined to isolation. CNRM again denounces and strongly condemns Xanana's illegal impris-

onment and his ongoing mistreatment. We protest against the cowardly behaviour of the Indonesian military, who continue to deny the rights of the East Timorese.

Against this background, Indonesian authorities made a small gesture of good will by allowing safe passage out of Indonesia late last month for seven East Timorese students who, in June 1993, had sought asylum at the Finnish and Swedish Embassies in Jakarta. We condemn and will continue to denounce the Indonesian military authorities for imposing a reign of terror in East Timor, which forces East Timorese to flee their country. However, we take note of this small gesture. We also encourage the Indonesian authorities to show more genuine good will by drastically reducing its military activities in East Timor, offering a cease-fire, releasing all East Timorese prisoners and allowing them to remain in their own native country under conditions of complete security.

We note with satisfaction the visit to Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor of a special envoy of the UN Secretary-General. We are grateful that the special envoy will be making a special visit to Australia for informal consultations with members of the East Timorese community. CNRM reiterates again its willingness to cooperate fully with the Secretary-General in his efforts to negotiate a lasting resolution of the conflict. In this regard, we share the views of the Secretary-General, expressed in his recent report to the UN General Assembly, that an improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor is a sine qua non condition for a resolution of the core of the conflict. We add that the visit of the Secretary-General's special envoy to Indonesia and East Timor offers an opportunity for the Indonesian authorities to put into practice their professed good will by releasing all East Timorese prisoners.

JAKARTA DENIES REPORTS OF EAST TIMOR EXECUTIONS

Agence France Presse, January 18, 1994

(Jakarta) Indonesia on Tuesday denied allegations reported in Portugal that the Jakarta government had organized the execution of two East Timorese rebels.

Sumadi, an official interpreter who accompanied retired Portuguese general Carlos Galvão de Melo on a visit to Vice President Try Sutrisno, quoted Try as saying that overseas news reports about East Timor could be proved false.

"Two people who were said to have died in East Timor, it turns out, De Melo has been able to meet," Sumadi quoted Try as saying.

Sumadi did not identify the two East Timorese who were met by De Melo during his six day visit to East Timor, which began January 11.

However, he said the meeting between de Melo and the pair had been recorded on video and will be shown later in Portugal.

A statement issued Monday by José Ramos Horta, leader in exile of the National Council of Maubere (East Timor) Resistance, claims that two East Timorese identified as Matias da Costa, 24, and Duarte Dias, 22, were executed by Indonesian intelligence service in Dili, East Timor, on October 28.

The East Timorese pro-independence movement has mounted armed resistance against Indonesia since Jakarta invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975 and declared it its 27th province the following year.

Horta also claimed that the Indonesian army had killed six East Timorese civilians, former rebels, in a village in the Bacau district in October. The Indonesian military has said the six were killed by East Timorese rebels.

De Melo, who chairs the recently-founded Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, is a staunch anti-communist who headed the junta which overthrew the Caetano regime in Portugal in 1974.

in presenting himself as the ambassador of Indonesia to Portugal," Belo said. "The presence here of that type of person is of no interest to anyone."

De Melo "came to talk to the people of integration (with Indonesia) and tell them there is no other way but integration, when we know the question must first be put to the people," Belo added.

"He has made a very bad impression, raising the question if he is a real Portuguese or a false Portuguese."

De Melo said on arriving in Indonesia that talking of a referendum in East Timor "smacks of hypocrisy." He said he was also convinced that Lisbon's attitude towards its former colony would change this year.

Meanwhile, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, said Tuesday two envoys of the UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali - Tamarat Samuel and Francesc Vendrell - were in Indonesia to prepare for the upcoming talks on East Timor between Alatas and his Portuguese counterpart Durão Barroso on May 6.

For more on the De Melo visit, see the section on "Collaborators in Portugal." For more on the Samuel/Vendrell visit, see "UN Mission's travels" section, both in this compilation of Documents on East Timor.

ARMY SAYS TWO GUERRILLAS KILLED

AP, 20 January 1994. Dateline: Dili

Indonesian soldiers have killed two rebels in a clash in East Timor, the local military commander, Col. Johnny Lumintang said on Thursday. He gave no details however about the clash Monday in Lautem reGENCY, about 130 kms east of Dili.

It was believed to be the first clash this year between the Indonesian soldiers and members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, Fretilin (sic)

EVENTS IN INDONESIA

SDSB HUMAN RIGHTS PROTESTERS RELEASED

Abridged from Jakarta Post, Dec. 13, 1993

The police released three student protesters Saturday, after holding them for questioning for one day. They were released at 4 p.m. today, Joko an activist of the Pijar Foundation, an NGO for the promotion human rights, said on Saturday.

The three students were arrested in the wake of protested, involving around 40 students from across Java island, in front of the State Secretariat on Friday afternoon. The protests, in which the students carried banners reading, "Human Rights Commission is an Instrument of Legitimatization of Authority," was held in connection with human rights day.

The arrest by uniformed and plainclothes officers was said to have taken place after the protest at 1 p.m. Friday at a bus shelter in front of Minister of Home Affairs building, Central Jakarta.

Joko said they didn't know the reason for the arrested, aside from the demonstration. Some speculated the officers were trying to find out whether the three carried stickers which defamed the President.

A colleague of the protesters, named Nuku Sulaeman, had been earlier detained for having stickers which read "SDSB - Suharto Dalang Segala Bencana" (SDSB (lottery) - Suharto the mastermind of all disasters).

When contacted, Lt. Col. Latief Rabar, spokesman for the city police, said on Saturday that the three students were picked up for questioning to find out if they had connection with Nuku Nuku's case.

DEMONSTRATORS BEATEN UP BY ARMY OUTSIDE PARLIAMENT BUILDING

The following is the translation of a document received by TAPOL from Jakarta on 14 December 1993:

Two hundred people who took part in a demonstration at the Parliament Building in Jakarta today, 14 December 1993, were beaten and roughed up by military who had been drugged to dull their senses. After forming a military barricade, they moved forward armed with rattan batons and rubber truncheons, pushing the crowd of people back, beating them as they pressed on. The demonstrators who included both children and old people, scattered in all directions as truncheon blows rained down and they were trampled on by soldiers who had lost all sense of feeling because they had been drugged. Many of those who scattered sustained injuries and twenty people were taken away by the military to an unknown destination. Among those taken away was Yeni, a student at the National University who is unwell, three people from Bogor and others who come from Jakarta, Bandung, Semarang, Salatiga, Solo, Surabaya, Jember, Tulungagung, Jogjakarta and several places outside Java.

Chronology of the mass action (by students and members of the community) at the Parliament building on 14 Dec. 1993

10.00 More than two hundred people, including students and people who have been affected by land conflicts at Nipah, Rancamaya, Cijayanti, Aceh, Haur Koneng and elsewhere came to Parliament to raise a whole range of human rights issues, land disputes and the arrests of dozens of students and young people during the past few years.

The crowd of people gathered outside the Building and moved to enter, shouting slogans and yells against oppression. They also carried a number of banners and posters about human rights abuses and land disputes in many parts of Indonesia, a wide range of issues that have erupted under the new order regime led by Suharto.

11.00 The crowd of people entered the lobby of Parliament and engaged in spontaneous activities as they waited. A few people were meanwhile holding negotiations to arrange a meeting with Wahono, chair of Parliament and the People's Assembly (DPR/MPR). Wahono received the group and promised to hold a meeting at 14.00.

As they waited for the promised meeting with Wahono, the crowd took part in spontaneous drama performances criticising the arbitrary actions of the government. They sang songs and recited poetry. Intel agents were watching them as all this was happening.

14.10 Before the meeting with the chair of Parliament had taken place, fifty anti-riot troops entered the lobby, formed a barricade and moved forward, rough-handling the crowd. The crowd which included children as well as elderly people were silent as they tried to withstand the shoves and truncheon blows of the troops. But the troops, who appear to have been drugged so as to deaden their senses, pressed forward, clubbing people in their way. When the helmet of one of the soldiers fell, he did not stop to pick it up but pressed on, and started kicking a student who was trying to protect some women and children.

Some young people who were already writhing in pain and unable to move were pushed and kicked, causing them to roll over and over. In another corner, women and young people were chased beyond the fence and to other friends, by troops who beat them all the time with their truncheons.

After the crowd took stock, they realised that twenty people had been arrested and taken away by the military to an unknown destination.

This action undertaken by students and members of the community was calling upon the DPR-MPR to convene an extraordinary session to dismiss Suharto as President and bring him before a court to answer for all the violations and corruption which have occurred during the time he has been in office.

This action was a continuation of an action taken on 13 December 1993 when a crowd of people which went to the Department of the Interior was also subjected to violent treatment by the security forces.

ANOTHER GROUP OF STUDENTS PROTEST AT THE HOUSE, JAKARTA

Adapted from Jakarta Post, 15 December 1993

Troops dispersed around 50 students who were demonstrating yesterday to demand that the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) convene a special session to evaluate President Suharto leadership. Security forces in anti riot gear arrested over 20 of the protesters at the House of Representatives (DPR) at 2 p.m. after a brief scuffle.

The troops clubbed and kicked the student demonstrators who were waiting to

meet with the ABRI faction in House. The protesters scattered as the troops swept them out and onto a waiting truck. Some sustained bruises. "I was kicked in the back three times as I was trying to get away." Gugun Daud, a student from Surabaya-based Airlangga University said.

The protesters of the Front for Indonesian Student Action came from various universities in Java, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Bali to congregate in the foyer of the House, reading statements and verses and singing songs in criticism of the Suharto's administration. Last night, the Front issued a list of twenty six activists whom it said had been detained following the clash at DPR in the afternoon. The demonstration was usually forthright in each direct criticism of the President. Banner waving students charged the government with suppressing pro democracy movements. In a written statement, the protesters said the Government has been involved in gross violation of human rights, such as extra judicial detention, eviction of the poor and intervention in labor disputes.

They blamed the Government for controversial incidents, such as the killings of members of Moslem group in Majalengka, West Java, and villagers in Madura, East Java, both occurring this year, and the shooting of at least 50 demonstrators in Dili, East Timor in 1991. Many of the demonstrators were also involved in a similar protest at the State Secretariat last week. Among them were Dedy Ardian and Yeni Damayanti, who were only just released after being arrested at that demonstration. The raid apparently surprised the demonstrators who observed that there was a minimum presents of security forces in the morning when they met with the House's member Sabam Sirait from the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI). He said PDI shared the student's concern. "The PDI believes that Indonesian political system must be overhauled to allow greater democracy" Sabam said.

Before yesterday's incident, both the government and the military said recent demonstrations were still within acceptable limits since they had not created public disturbances. Armed forces (ABRI) Chief Gen. Faisal Tanjung during a hearing with House of Representatives Commission I on security affairs on Monday, however, warn that the authorities would act swiftly the moment the borderline between the protest and riot is crossed. He noted that these protest were now reaching what he called "near the limit of our political culture".

Warning

Coordinating Minister of political affairs and security Susilo Soedarman warned earlier yesterday on a separate occasion that

certain parties were taking advantage of these demonstrations so that they are no longer "pure" in terms of motivation. Asked to comment on Monday's student protest demanding the resignation of Minister of Home Affairs Moh. Yogie SM because of the way he handled the bloody incident in Nipah. East Java, Susilo responded : "Surely they have the right to speak. If we muzzle them, then we will be charged with violating their basic rights." He added, however, that people should not abuse the greater political openness now being pos-tered in the country. "Openness yes, but it entails responsibility." Both Faisal and Susilo said the government is now consider- ing legislation that regulates street demon- strations. Susilo noted that demonstrations are regulated in other countries.

HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS RAMPANT IN IRIAN JAYA, SAYS ACTIVIST

UPI, December 16, 1993.

JAKARTA – An Indonesian human rights activist said violations of human rights are rampant on Irian Jaya, the coun- try's easternmost province, a news report said Thursday.

Bambang Widjojanto, this year's winner of the Robert Kennedy Human Rights Award, was quoted by the daily Jakarta Post as saying the local military often ex- ploits the indigenous people of the province by labelling them as members or supporters of the Free Papua Movement.

"In Irian, human rights abuses are far worse than in Java," Bambang told a gather- ing of human rights activists celebrating his election as the award winner.

"The Irian Jayans can be easily accused of being members of separatist groups and detained without proper trial," added Bam- bang, a former chairman of the Irian Jaya chapter of the Indonesia's Legal Aid Insti- tute.

Irian Jaya, formerly West Papua, became an Indonesian province in 1963. Since then, the Free Papua Movement has been fighting for independence or being merged with Papua New Guinea, which occupies the eastern part of the island.

Meanwhile the daily Media Indonesia reported that the local authority would use all means to encourage the Irianeses wander- ing in the jungles to return home.

Quoting the local Social Office in Jayapura, the daily said more than 1,600 Irianeses are still wandering the bordering areas.

Initially, at least 10,000 Irianeses fled their homes over incursions by the Indone- sian troops in pursuit of the rebels.

MASSIVE SURABAYA STUDENT PROTEST

UPI, 21 Dec. 93

JAKARTA – Thousands of Indonesian students lined the streets of Surabaya to protest the arrest of 21 demonstrators who criticized President Suharto for his admini- stration's record on human rights.

The protests Monday at the state-run Surabaya Institute of Technology involved students from various universities and acad- emies in the East Java's capital, a security guard at the university said during a tele- phone interview.

"It was the fourth and the biggest protest against the arrests in this city," said the guard, who refused to be identified.

Meanwhile, the daily Jawa Pos in Sura- baya reported that thousands of students rallied on the campus, shouting "long live democracy, long live students, long live people."

The students were protesting the arrest of 21 other students, including two women, by Jakarta anti-riot police during a demon- stration last Tuesday against President Su- harto at the parliament building.

The 21 demonstrators, who are awaiting trial, called for a Special People's Consulta- tive Assembly Meeting to investigate vari- ous human rights abuses and military sup- pression in the country under Suharto, who has been ruling Indonesia since 1968.

The protest in Surabaya also criticized House Speaker Wahono, saying his remark that the Jakarta demonstration was "dis- courteous" contradicted his capacity.

"Wahono said we humiliate other people at another's house...he forgets that the par- liament building is our house, also the house of the Indonesian people," shouted one of the speakers at the rally.

Suharto warned that those who criticized the country's political system could be treated like members of the outlawed Indo- nesian Communist Party.

Suharto came to power after leading the country against the communists in their abortive coup attempt in September 1965.

On Monday, the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute criticized the arrests in last week's demonstration and the arrest of a human rights activists who was accused of distrib- uting stickers insulting the president.

The activist, Nuku Sulaeman, and the students will be tried before the end of the year on charges of humiliating President Suharto.

Critics have accused the Suharto admini- stration of being authoritarian, corrupt and nepotistic.

TAPOL URGENT ACTION: RELEASE THE 22 STUDENTS!

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Cam- paign, issued the following URGENT ACTION 22 December 1993:

STOP THE CRACKDOWN AGAINST PEACEFUL PROTESTERS

Twenty-two student activists under ar- rest in Jakarta for taking part in peaceful demonstrations are likely to be tried before the end of 1993 on charges of "insulting the Head of State." TAPOL has called on the British government to protest in the strong- est terms at this grave abuse of the right of peaceful protest and to call for the immedi- ate, unconditional release of these 22 men and women. It is also calling for worldwide pressure on the Indonesian military regime to stop terrorising peaceful demonstrators and stop violating the right of assembly and free expression of opinion.

The arrests have led to mass protest ral- lies in the East Java capital, Surabaya and to a call for the immediate release of the 22 by the Legal Aid Institute in Jakarta, which has set up a defence team in preparation for their trials.

The first to be arrested was Nuku Sulae- man, an activist of Pijar Foundation, who was taken into custody on 25 November, because of a sticker distributed to demon- strators in Jakarta who were calling for the national lottery to be halted. The sticker accused President Suharto of responsibility for a series of massacres, going back to the Tanjung Priok massacre of Muslims in Sep- tember 1984 and including the mass killings in Aceh, the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili in November 1991 and more recent killings in West Java (July 1993) and Nipah, Madura (September 1993).

The other 21 were arrested on 14 De- cember when two hundred people, including women and children involved in recent inci- dents in West Java and Madura, as well as students from all parts of Java, held a demon- stration outside Parliament, calling for a special session of the MPR (People's Con- sultative Assembly) to impeach the presi- dent because of his responsibility for a whole series of human rights violations. Security forces attacked the demonstrators with batons, beating them back and tram- pling on those who fell. At least four people were injured and 21 were loaded onto trucks.

Only four of the 21 names are available so far: Yeni Damayanti (24) - one of the two women - a student at the National Univer- sity, Jakarta; Pius Lustrilang (25) and Bambang (22) both students at Parahyangan

University, Bandung; and Saef Lukman (22) a student at an Islamic college in Cianjur.

Since this crackdown, Suharto has warned that demonstrations of this kind "reflect the tactics of the banned communist party." This is a clear sign that he intends to get tough with his critics. Major-General Hendro Priyono, Jakarta military commander, has said that such protests "will not be tolerated," suggesting that the army will use even more brutal methods to deal with any protesters.

The Jakarta Police Force has since announced that all 22 detainees are under intense interrogation and may go on trial before the end of the year under Article 134 of the Criminal Code for 'insulting the head of state' which carries a maximum penalty of six years.

As pro-democracy forces in Indonesia press ahead with a comprehensive criticism of Suharto and his regime for their many crimes in the past decade, Suharto and the armed forces could be preparing for a major crackdown, employing iron-fist methods as part of their "security approach." In solidarity with those pressing for the restoration of democracy in Indonesia, TAPOL believes that a worldwide protest campaign is needed to put pressure on Jakarta and on the many governments who continue to maintain close links with this regime.

You are urged to write to the following, calling for the immediate and unconditional release of all 22 detainees in Jakarta and for a halt in the crackdown against peaceful demonstrators:

President Suharto,
Bina Graha, Jakarta
Fax: (at the Foreign Ministry) +62 21 367781 or 367782

Major-General Hendro Priyono,
Military Commander of Jakarta,
Pangdam X/Jakarta Raya,
Markas Besar Kodam X Jaya,
Jl Maygen Soetoyo, Jakarta
Fax: +62 21 361471

Major-Gen. Moh. Hindarto, Jakarta Police Chief,
Kapolda,
Markas Besar Kepolisian Jaya, Jakarta

Haji Utoyo Usman, Minister of Justice,
Department of Justice,
Jl Rasuna Said Kav 6-7,
Kuningan, Jakarta Selatan
Fax: +62 21 321625

Letters for publication could also be sent to:

The Editor, Jakarta Post,
Jl Palmerah Selatan 15, Jakarta 10270
Fax: +62 21 549 2685

Also write to your own government, urging them to make similar demands of the Indonesian government.

Letters to the national press would help publicise this campaign.

[NB: East Timor solidarity groups are in particular urged to join this campaign. Note that the pressure on Suharto includes accusing him of responsibility for the Santa Cruz massacre.]

Copies can also be sent to Yayasan Pijar, Jl Penggalang No. 10, Jakarta 13140. They do not have a fax machine.

Please do what you can in the next few days despite the fact that the holiday season is now upon us. Thank you.

TAPOL

TAPOL WRITES TO UK FOREIGN SECRETARY

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, sent the following letter to Douglas Hurd, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs 22 December 1993:

Dear Mr. Hurd,

The Jakarta Police Force announced yesterday that 22 student activists who were arrested recently for taking part in peaceful demonstrations are likely to be tried before the end of the year for "insulting the head of state." Under Article 134 of the Criminal Code, they could get up to six years.

Nuku Sulaeman of Yayasan Pijar was arrested on 25 November in connection with a sticker that was distributed to people demonstrating against the national lottery. The sticker held President Suharto responsible for a number of massacres since 1984. The other 21 were arrested during a demonstration of about 200 people outside Parliament on 14 December. The demonstrators were rounded on by armed troops who beat them with batons and trampled on those who fell. Four people were injured as they fled the attack. The protesters were demanding a special session of the MPR to call Suharto to account for many grave abuses, including a number of massacres, committed by his government in the past ten years.

President Suharto has since alleged that the demonstrators "reflect the tactics of the outlawed PKI," indicating that he intends to clamp down harshly on anyone daring to criticise him. The Jakarta Military Commander, Major-General Hendro Priyono, has declared that such protests "will not be tolerated."

The right to peaceful demonstration is now under grave threat in Indonesia. The decision of the authorities to put the demonstrators on trial is a violation of their right to engage in peaceful protest.

TAPOL urges you to call on the Indonesian government to release immediately and

unconditionally all the 22 people now in police custody. We also urge you to call on the Indonesian government to end these strong-arm methods against peaceful demonstrators which are a serious violation of freedom of assembly and freedom of expression.

We hope that these matters will be discussed with the Indonesian authorities by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Kenneth Clark, when he visits Jakarta on 31 December. We would welcome your assurance that these matters will be raised without delay by the British government.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

ASIA WATCH CONDEMNS STUDENT ARRESTS IN JAKARTA

For immediate release, December 22, 1993

Asia Watch today condemned the arrest of 21 students for taking part in a peaceful protest in Jakarta against President Suharto last week and urged the government to release all 21 immediately and unconditionally. The students have been charged with insulting the President under Article 134 of the Criminal Code and if convicted, could face sentences of up to six years in prison.

The demonstration of about 100 students in front of the Indonesian parliament was forcibly broken up by Jakarta anti-riot police at about 2 p.m. on December 14. The students, all members of the Front for Indonesian Student Action, had been demanding that a special session of the People's Consultative Assembly, a policy body that meets every five years, be convened to hold President Suharto accountable for human rights violations and abuse of authority. Among the human rights violations cited in a written statement were arbitrary detention and military intervention in labor disputes. The students also said that President Suharto should be held responsible for using violence against civilian protesters in Tanjung Priok in 1984, East Timor in 1991, and Madura in 1993. At least 100 people are believed to have been killed in each of the first two incidents when the army opened fire on Muslim demonstrator and pro-independence marchers respectively. Four villagers were killed in late September when the army fired into a crowd protesting the construction of a dam on the island of Madura, off the coast of East Java.

"These arrests are in clear violation of the internationally-recognized rights to freedom of expression and assembly," said Sidney Jones, Executive Director of Asia Watch. "Indonesia prides itself on moving toward greater political openness, but openness by definition means tolerating dissent. The students should be freed at once."

A week earlier, many of the same students had been involved in a demonstration in front of the State Secretariat. Three of them had been detained briefly and released. Those arrested and charged in the wake of the December 14 demonstration were identified as Teddy Paulus, Adi Kurniawan, M. Rifki, B.H. Kholid, Suwito, Priyadi, M. Farid, Anthony Leroy Ratag, A. Yunus, Fery H. Idachus, W. Nicodemus Tuturong, Saep Lukman, Masduki, Andi Martono, Gunadi Aswanto, Tony Sinaga, Andrianto, Hendrik Dikson, Sunandar, Munasir Huda, Yeni Damayanti and Simarmata.

The Indonesian government's reaction to the protesters illustrates its ambivalence towards freedom of expression. President Suharto said on December 17 that the students were behaving like Communists and should be grateful for the stability that had allowed the Indonesian economy to grow. Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces General Feisal Tanjung, speaking in the interval between the two demonstrations, said that the protests were reaching "the limit of our political culture" and disturbing national development. Several government officials hinted of third-party involvement and questioned how pure the motivation of the students had been. Coordinating Minister of Political Affairs and Security warned students against taking advantage of greater openness in Indonesia and said that the government was considering legislation that would control street demonstrations. Jakarta military commander Hendro Priyono warned that the military would not tolerate any more protests insulting the head of state. And Jakarta Police Chief Major General Mohammed Hindarto said that the arrests would serve as a warning to those who might want to engage in similar actions in the future.

"There should be no trade off between economic development and protection of freedom of expression," Jones said. "And arresting students is a poor way to demonstrate commitment to human rights."

The arrests have sparked massive protests in Surabaya, Malang and other cities on Java. Since May, with an extraordinary outpouring of public protest over the death of a young labor organizer named Marsinah, apparently at the hands of factory managers and the local military, expressions of disaffection with government actions and policies have been more vocal and visible than ever before. In addition to the Marsinah murder, issues which have drawn particular criticism have been the state lottery, now abolished, and the Madura killings in September.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL URGENT ACTION ON 22 INDONESIAN STUDENT ACTIVISTS

23 December 1993

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)
AI Index: ASA 21/29/93

Distr: UA/SC

UA 441/93 Arrest of prisoners of conscience / fear of ill-treatment / legal concern

Nuku Sulaiman, student at the National University and 21 student activists

Amnesty International is seriously concerned for the safety of Nuku Sulaiman and 21 other student activists currently detained in Jakarta. They were arrested on 25 November and 14 December after taking part in peaceful demonstrations. Amnesty International fears that the 22 may be at risk of ill-treatment by military or police officials while in custody. It considers them to be prisoners of conscience and is concerned that they may face an unfair trial if brought before the courts.

Nuku Sulaiman was arrested along with four others on 25 November. He had participated in a demonstration outside Indonesia's parliament (DPR) building during a hearing about the national lottery. Nuku Sulaiman was reportedly arrested after distributing pamphlets which accused President Suharto of being the "mastermind" of a number of "disasters" including the killing of dozens of Muslim activists in Tanjung Priok, North Jakarta in 1984; the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor, during which an estimated 200 unarmed civilians were killed by Indonesian troops; and the killing of four villagers during an October 1993 protest against the Nipah Dam project in Madura, Java (all these human rights violations have been independently documented by Amnesty International). Nuku Sulaiman was subsequently reported to have been taken to the Central Jakarta Police Station where he is now being held. His four companions were released.

On 14 December there was a further demonstration outside the parliament building, during which riot police and soldiers reportedly clashed with about 200 students who were protesting against the suppression of human rights in Indonesia. The demonstrators read statements which again cited cases of human rights violations, including the killings at Tanjung Priok, Santa Cruz in East Timor and at the Nipah Dam protest. The statements were directly critical of President Suharto, with one banner reportedly saying: "Drag Suharto before a Special Meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR)." During the demonstration,

four students were reportedly beaten and trampled on by soldiers using rubber clubs and tear gas to force the protesters out of the main lobby of the parliament building. The four were among 21 people who were subsequently arrested.

Since the demonstrations police have reportedly stated that Nuku Sulaiman and the 21 activists will be charged with insulting the president and will face a maximum penalty of six years' imprisonment if found guilty. Police sources have also said that the 22 will be brought to trial before the end of the year. Political trials in Indonesia consistently fail to meet international standards of fairness and Amnesty International is concerned that, in addition to being prisoners of conscience, the students will face an unfair trial if brought before the courts.

On 17 December President Suharto responded to the protests by accusing the students of using tactics similar to those of the now banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI). In 1965 President Suharto came to power after crushing a coup attempt the authorities attributed to the PKI, until then a legal political party. In the immediate aftermath of the October 1965 coup an estimated 500,000 to one million civilians were arbitrarily executed by government forces or by groups acting with their support. Those killed were alleged members of the PKI or members of its affiliated organizations.

RECOMMENDED ACTION:

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

- Protesting against the arrest and detention of Nuku Sulaiman on 25 November and the 21 students arrested on 14 December;
- Urging the authorities to guarantee their safety and well-being while in custody;
- Urging the government to ensure that, while in detention, the detainees are permitted regular visits by lawyers of their choice, doctors and relatives;
- Saying that you believe that all the students are prisoners of conscience, detained solely for the peaceful and legitimate expression of their political views and urging the government to release them immediately;
- Expressing concern that the 22 may face a trial which fails to meet international standards if brought before the courts.

APPEALS TO:

President Suharto

[Salutation: Dear President Suharto]

President RI

Istana Negara

Jl. Veteran, Jakarta, Indonesia

Telegrams: President Suharto, Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: (via Ministry of Foreign Affairs +62 21 7781/7782)

Gen. Edi Sudrajat

[Salutation: Dear Gen. Sudrajat]
Menteri Pertahanan dan Keamanan
(Minister of Defence and Security)
Jl. Merdeka Barat 13, Jakarta, Indonesia
Telegrams: Gen. Sudrajat, Menteri Pertahanan dan Keamanan,
Jakarta, Indonesia

Maj. Gen. (Pol) Mohammad Hindarto
[Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Hindarto]
Chief of Police, Greater Jakarta
Markas Besar Kepolisian Jakarta Raya
Jakarta, Indonesia
Telegrams: Markas Besar Kepolisian,
Jakarta Raya, Jakarta, Indonesia

Please send copies of your appeals to diplomatic representatives in other countries and, if possible, to the following:

Ali Alatas
Minister of Foreign Affairs
Menteri Luar Negeri
Jl. Taman Pejambon 6,
Jakarta, Indonesia
Faxes: +62 21 36 7782

PLEASE SEND APPEALS

IMMEDIATELY. Please do not send appeals after 31 January 1994.

PROSECUTORS TO PROCEED AGAINST DEMONSTRATORS

UPI, 5 Jan 94

JAKARTA (UPI) – Indonesian prosecutors are to receive dossiers this week on 21 demonstrators arrested for humiliating President Suharto by protesting the government's human rights record, reports said Wednesday.

The dossiers, to be provided to prosecutors on Jan. 8, are in preparation for court action against the students, who were among 100 students who staged a protest last month accusing Suharto's government of human rights violations.

In related development, police arrested a total of 19 students Tuesday who were among 30 protesting December's arrests.

A similar demonstration was conducted by 300 students in the southeast Sulawesi provincial town of Palu. There were no reports of arrests from the Palu demonstration.

Students have cited the killings of scores of a pro-independence demonstration on Nov. 12, 1991, in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor as an example of abuses.

INDONESIA ASSURES INTERNATIONAL GROUPS ACCESS TO EAST TIMOR

UPI, 7 Jan 94

JAKARTA – Indonesian President Suharto told U.S. Rep. Richard Gephardt Saturday that international organizations will be assured access to East Timor to investigate possible human rights violations in the former Portuguese colony.

"We were told by the president that there would be no problem with groups or organizations or individuals to go there to see for themselves whether or not the problems have been resolved," Gephardt told reporters shortly after meeting Suharto.

The East Timor situation was a concern in the United States as well as other countries, said Gephardt, who led a visiting group of U.S. congressmen.

"We will continue to pursue the questions that have been raised," he said.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor soon after Portugal withdrew in 1975. Jakarta annexed the territory of 600,000 inhabitants one year later but the United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's sovereignty and still regards Portugal as the administrative power.

Washington recently decided to cut off its military training aid to Indonesia over human rights condition in the former Portuguese colony. For the same reason, the United States rejected last August Jordan's request for authorization to sell four used U.S.-made F-5E jet fighters to Indonesia.

Gephardt and six other U.S. congressmen were in Indonesia for 3-day talks with government ministers on various issues.

In response to a question about the prospect of the Generalized System of Preference granted by the United States to Indonesia, Gephardt said the administration in Washington would have to make a decision about Feb. 15.

Gephardt also raised questions about workers' rights in Indonesia, including their right to organize and collectively bargain.

Washington has accused Indonesia of failing to provide internationally-recognized labor rights and has threatened to revoke trade privileges under the Generalized System of Preferences unless Jakarta improves its record by February.

Indonesia's exports to the U.S. in 1992 were valued at more than \$4.3 billion. About \$642 million in goods were covered by preferential rates.

Gephardt said he was aware of Jakarta government's willingness for workers to be able to associate and collectively bargain on a plant-by-plant basis.

"If that's the case...that would be very helpful in our government's willingness to continue the GSP treatment," he said.

Gephardt also asked Indonesia to lower its tariffs on imports in line with the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, saying such a move could give greater access to each others' markets.

US CONGRESSMEN SECURE PROMISE OF EAST TIMOR INSPECTION FROM SUHARTO

AP, 8 January 1994 Abridged

(Jakarta) A delegation of US Congressmen led by Richard Gephardt of Missouri met President Suharto Saturday to express concerns over human rights. Rep. Gephardt told reporters after the meeting the US is concerned about human rights violations in East Timor and limitations on access to the area by human rights organisations.

He said Suharto told his delegation no one wishing to investigate the human rights situations in the area is prohibited from doing so.

The delegation, all Democrats from the House of Representatives, included Fortney H (Pete) Stark and George Miller from California, Norman D. Dicks of Washington State, Michael L. Synar of Oklahoma, Rosa L. de Lauro of Connecticut and Thomas (Chet) Edwards of Texas

HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION TEAMS TO VISIT PROVINCES

Radio Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, in Indonesian, 9 Jan 94

The National Human Rights Commission will do its best to uphold human rights in Indonesia. Speaking to reporters in Jakarta yesterday [8th January], Ali Said, chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, said the commission has its programmes to implement, adding that the commission members will be grouped into five teams, which will travel to several provinces in Indonesia to introduce themselves and seek information on the human rights situations in their areas.

Meanwhile, speaking to reporters after his meeting with Ali Said, retired Portuguese general Galvão de Melo, chairman of the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association, said he was enjoying freedom of travel and was able to meet anybody he wished during his stay in Indonesia. The Portuguese visitor said Indonesia was no different from other free countries in the world. He is scheduled to visit East Timor tomorrow and hold talks with Bishop Belo and several military commanders in the province.

ADNAN BUYUNG REFUSES TO MEET DUTCH PARLIAMENTARIANS

Media Indonesia, 14 January 1994

See Events in Europe section for more about the Dutch delegation.

(Jakarta) Human rights activist Dr. Adnan Buyung Nasution refused to take part in a meeting with Dutch parliamentarians headed by Wim Deetman [Speaker of the Dutch Parliament] because he considered that such a meeting would be of no value in bringing about improvements in the human rights situation and the struggle for democracy.

According to Adnan Buyung, he also rejected the meeting with the Dutch delegation because it would take place in private - clandestine - with a very limited attendance. Buyung was willing to have such a meeting on condition that it would be held in the open with the participation of intellectuals such as Abdurrahman Wahid and activists from other NGOs.

Buyung, who is also director of the Foundation of Legal Aid Institutes, told Media yesterday that initially he was invited through the intermediary of the Dutch ambassador to have lunch at a room in Hotel Indonesia with the delegation, together with Marzuki Darusman, (deputy) chairman of the National Human Rights Commission, Mukhtar Pakpahan, the chairman of the independent trade union SBSI, and T. Mulya Lubis, Executive Director of the Centre for the Study of Human Rights.

Buyung said that it was regrettable that the Dutch parliamentarians had wanted to have a clandestine meeting with human rights NGO activists. They have no reason to fear an open meeting with NGO activists and hold an open discussion about human rights. These are matters of the state and nation; they are not private affairs.

Responding to Buyung's refusal to meet the Dutch parliamentarians, Mulya Lubis said this was the most appropriate position to adopt. Such a stand would convey the view that the question of human rights and democracy must be placed at the top of the agenda of the Dutch parliamentarians' visit. If they do not do so, their visit here will be useless.

Mulya Lubis said that the Dutch delegation should be prepared to listen to all kinds of information, not only that coming from the government side but also from NGO circles. By only listening only to information from the government, it will be difficult for them to obtain a comprehensive picture of the human rights situation and developments on the democracy front in Indonesia.

In answer to questions, Lubis said that besides meeting government officials in the regions, they should also meet regional NGO activists. Such meetings should take place in public and be quite transparent for the press

RIGHTS ACTIVIST ON TRIAL FOR ALLEGEDLY INSULTING SUHARTO

UPI, Jan 15

JAKARTA - In a major crackdown on anti-government demonstrators, a human rights activist went on trial Saturday on charges of defaming President Suharto.

Nuku Soleiman, 29, chairman of the Pijar Foundation, is charged with handing out stickers that insulted Suharto outside the House of Representatives in November, said state prosecutor Zubir Rachmat.

Soleiman, on trial in Central Jakarta District Court, is charged with handing out stickers that suggested Suharto was to blame for the suppression of human rights in the shooting of farmers on the island of Madura, East Timor's 1991 massacre and military action in Aceh on the northern end of Sumatra. One of the stickers said, "Suharto Mastermind of All Calamity."

"The defendant had intentionally defamed President of the Republic of Indonesia" through the distributed stickers, Rachmat said in his indictment.

If convicted, Soleiman could face up to a maximum of six years in prison.

At Saturday's court session, human rights activists crowded into the courtroom while dozens waited outside to hear the testimony, but there were no open demonstrations.

The trial of Soleiman was a clear warning to other demonstrators which have become more vocal in expressing their opposition to the military-backed government.

Suharto, in response to a wave of anti-government demonstrations, had warned recently he may start treating protest organizers as communists.

The judges panel hearing the case adjourned the trial until Jan. 24 to give the defense team time to respond to the prosecution.

Defense attorney Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara expressed hope the trial would be fair. "If it can run fairly, it would represent a good contribution to democracy in Indonesia," he said.

GOVERNMENT LASHES OUT AT EAST TIMOR BISHOP

United Press International, January 20, 1994

JAKARTA - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas lashed out Thursday at East Timorese Bishop Filipe Ximenes Belo, who has called for a referendum to determine the future of the former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta 17 years ago.

Belo is the pope's representative in East Timor's capital of Dili charged with overseeing pastoral activities, not political matters, Alatas said at a news conference.

"We will welcome Bishop Belo's suggestions" concerning humanitarian issues, but the religious leader oversteps his bounds in suggesting a referendum, Alatas said.

Belo has repeatedly suggested a referendum, the same proposal repeatedly made by Portugal, which is still regarded by the United Nations as the administrative power in East Timor despite Jakarta's move in 1976 to annex East Timor.

The annexation was opposed by many residents and resulted in a bloody civil war that reportedly claimed the lives of as many as one-third of East Timorese population. Jakarta earned international condemnation when the military squashed a demonstration in Dili by firing into a crowd.

ALATAS: EAST TIMOR GROUPS CAUSE INDONESIAN IMAGE PROBLEM

The Australian, 21 January 1994. By Patrick Walters

(Jakarta) Indonesia still had an international image problem largely due to the efforts of a small but vocal group of campaigners on the East Timor issue, the Minister for Foreign affairs, Mr. Ali Alatas, said yesterday.

Mr. Alatas said the group consisted of Fretilin remnants supported by certain non-government organizations "of doubtful credentials but strong political motivations" and section of the media of some countries.

The shrill campaign had managed to distort views about Indonesia in Western parliamentary forums and made more difficult the honest appraisal by Indonesians of certain things that needed to be improved inside the country.

Mr. Alatas said Indonesia had no intention of freeing jailed East Timorese rebel leader José "Xanana" Gusmão. Press report from Lisbon earlier this week suggested that Gusmão could be freed into exile following

negotiations with the West African State of Guinea-Bissau.

"It was never requested by Guinea-Bissau and neither are we contemplating it," Mr. Alatas said.

He said Gusmão had only himself to blame for the suspension of his right to receive visitors at Jakarta's Cipinang jail. This follows the smuggling of a letter from Gusmão to the International Commissions of Jurists asking them to intervene in his case.

Mr. Alatas claiming Gusmão had been playing politics, said that if the visits were misused for political reasons, "don't be surprised that we reacted politically too."

He said the foreign media, including the Australian press, had occasionally fallen into "ridiculous" characterisations of Indonesia. "No country is perfect in matters of human rights. No country is perfect in their economic and political policies."

In the course of lengthy press conference yesterday, Mr. Alatas said he believed Indonesia had made considerable improvements in addressing United States concern in labour issues such as minimum wage rates, trade union associations and child labour.

Washington had given Indonesia until February 15 to show some progress on workers' conditions if it were to continue to receive preferential trade access under the Generalized System of Preference scheme. A report by the Indonesian Government addressing these concerns is due to be submitted to the US Special Trade Representative this week.

"Labour relations are becoming more important. It is in our own interest to continuously improve these things - not because somebody else tells us." Mr. Alatas said Indonesia and Malaysia would resume talks on the disputed islands of Sipadan and Ligitan next week in Kuala Lumpur. The two small islands of the coast of East Kalimantan had been a major irritant in bilateral relations in recent years.

"The Malaysian side is on the island of Sipadan. We have said we want the status quo to apply. It's a problem. We have to solve it. We are going to solve it."

He also revealed that Indonesia planned to host a fifth informal workshop on conflict resolution in the South China Sea in August. The workshops have focused on trying to build co-operation on economic issues affecting the Spratly islands while concurrent efforts to settle sovereignty issues have been proceeding.

Brunei, China, Malaysia, The Philippines, Taiwan and Vietnam have all laid claim to parts of the Spratlys in the South China Sea.

RIGHTS WATCHDOG ADAMANT IT HAS TEETH

The Age, 30 Jan 93. By Lindsay Murdoch.

(Jakarta) A leading member of Indonesia's human rights commission has defended the fledgling organisation, saying the Suharto government's credibility will be seriously damaged if its advice is not taken seriously.

Mr. Marzuki Darusman, a former MP, admits the 25 member commission had yet to receive a budget and does not have powers other than to give advice but he insists its openness and transparency will restrain the government from tampering or meddling in its work.

Any meddling would defeat the purpose of setting up the commission in the first place, he said.

President Suharto announced the commission in June last year in an attempt to improve Indonesia's image on human rights.

The move followed a stepping up of international pressure on Jakarta over its human rights record around the country, including the former Portuguese territory of East Timor [...]

Some human rights groups have said they are worried about the commission's membership and its ability to challenge the government on policy and specific human rights cases.

No noted human rights activists are among the commission members, who comprise lawyers, religious leaders, former parliamentarians and intellectuals. The commission is chaired by a former head of the Supreme Court, Mr. Ali Said.

Mr. Darusman said in Jakarta that a presidential decree gives the commission a comprehensive mandate, including the ability to investigate specific cases and to review laws contrary to human rights promotion and protection. "We can investigate anything related to human rights. You name it. We want to be effective," he said.

Mr. Darusman said some people have cast doubt on the commission's independence because it was formed under a presidential decree. But he said members cannot be sacked before the end of a five year term and "the focus of the public will be on the commission."

"The moment you have a commission and the government is subjected to a greater degree of openness then it can never go back to a situation where you do not have a commission ... there is no going back."

The commission is scheduled this week to review a controversial ban on jail visits to East Timor guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmão which was imposed by the director general of correction, Mr. Baharuddin Lopa.

Mr. Lopa is also secretary general of the human rights commission.

Asked about the perception of a conflict of interest in a commission member being in charge of jails where human rights are sometimes subject to abuse, Mr. Darusman said the commission may not necessarily see things the same way as Mr. Lopa.

Mr. Darusman, chairman of a sub-committee designed to monitor and investigate specific cases, said the immediate aim of members is to make the public and government aware of its role.

We don't have executive powers. But the decree makes it clear that we have powers of investigation," he said. "We can initiate and conduct investigations on request."

Mr. Darusman said that while it is not the role of the commission to meddle in court cases, it could ask a court to speed up the hearing process.

Mr. Darusman said the commission could also make a recommendation direct to a government minister or the president.

The commissions biggest category of cases is expected to be land eviction, he said.

ADITJONDRO: JAKARTA'S CONTRADICTIONS

Diario de Noticias, 6 February 1994. By Catarina D'Orey

He is Indonesian, a priest, and university professor in central Java. George Aditjondro carried out research on East Timor, the results of which refute the "official views" of the Suharto regime.

George Aditjondro begins by refuting the official thesis of Jakarta, according to which the invasion of East Timor in 1975 was carried out by "volunteers" on the request of Timorese parties.

He talks about "the culture of violence" prevailing since that time in the territory, in reference to the various kinds of aggression practiced by the occupying army.

But that is just the beginning. He goes on to disprove Indonesia's claim of having stimulated "economic vitality" in the Maubere territory since 1975. His research showed that, on the contrary, there has been a progressive fall in agricultural and live-stock production during that period.

To this phenomenon may be added the monopolistic appropriation by Indonesian companies operating and trading in Maubere coffee, sandalwood and marble. In addition, there is the obvious Indonesian discrimination in the construction of roads and communications. In this there seems to be no room for doubt about Jakarta's favourable bias towards areas in which Indonesian military are based, to the detriment of others of

no military interest, where "not even bridges are to be found."

Still in a critical vein, George Aditjondro investigated the transmigratory movements of Indonesians to East Timor. In this context, he raises the question of the survival of rural populations in Maubere territory. Aditjondro says that they have been uprooted from their villages in the mountains and relocated in "settlements," with no provision of fields for growing their crops, and here lies the question of their survival, since their *modus vivendi* has been taken from them. Furthermore, the Indonesian professor denounces the disrespect on the part of the Indonesian migrants who occupy the lands of the Timorese country people and "do not even pay them compensation."

Concerned about the current situation, Aditjondro fears that the oil and natural gas operations in East Timor will lead to new waves of migration and occupation of lands by the forces commanded by Suharto.

GEORGE ADITJONDRO THESIS ABSTRACT

Extracted from list posted by David Bourchier Feb. 1.

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Title: THE MEDIA AS DEVELOPMENT 'TEXTBOOK': A CASE STUDY ON INFORMATION DISTORTION IN THE DEBATE ABOUT THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF AN INDONESIAN DAM

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School: CORNELL UNIVERSITY (0058)
Degree: Ph.D. Date: 1993 pp: 410

Source: DAI-A 54/02, p. 400, Aug 1993

Subject: EDUCATION, ADULT AND CONTINUING (0516); SOCIOLOGY, GENERAL (0626); MASS COMMUNICATIONS (0708)

Abstract: The objective to do this dissertation was to obtain an understanding of the nature of public discourse about the social consequences of large development projects as mediated by the printed media. The publicity surrounding the displacement of local villagers by Kedungombo, a medium-sized irrigation dam in Central Java, Indonesia, was selected as a "magnifying lens" to look into the media coverage of similar large development projects built during the New Order administration.

The findings of this case study show how the wide spectrum of adverse social effects and resistance to them were reduced into a dramatic story about the persistent resistance of one hamlet community, Kedungpring, to three overlapping government policies: unfair compensation, forced

resettlement, and a prohibition to inhabit and cultivate the reservoir's green belt.

This simplistic picture developed out of four levels of information distortion by the media in conjunction with the advocates and critics of the dam. First, they repeatedly claimed that massive grass roots resistance to large dams had not happened before during the New Order administration, which is incorrect. Second, they underemphasized the grass roots resistance to the project site, outside that particular hamlet. Third, they underemphasized various other adverse social effects experienced by the people living around the reservoir, apart from forced resettlement. Fourth, they underemphasized the impact of the entire irrigation project, of which the dam was only one component, upon the local villagers living in the dam's command area as well as the impact of resettling the displaced villagers upon the host population in a watershed in Bengkulu, Southern Sumatra. This information distortion was the result of the interplay of various media strategies carried out by the dam advocates as well as the critics, supported and amplified by the media. In addition, various political, cultural, and economic forces outside the media influenced the coverage of the Kedungombo dam as well.

Based on the findings of this thesis, some theoretical implications in the fields of education, political language, and social impact analysis are forwarded. In addition, the thesis also recommends certain practical suggestions to the anti-Kedungombo activists, who have embarked on campaigns to halt the construction of two new large dams in Indonesia.

THE DEFORESTING OF IRIAN JAYA

The Nation magazine (NY), Feb. 7, 1994. By Russ W. Baker, an investigative reporter, a contributing writer at The Village Voice.

Carrying its odd trio through a valley deep in Irian Jaya, the van made excellent time. The driver, a young hipster from far-off Java in jeans and reflecting sunglasses, cranked up a scratchy tape of Indonesian rock and drummed away on the dashboard. The wiry old man next to me, toothless and sporting nothing save his tribe's traditional penis gourd, grinned sweetly as we made dust fly. But his cheeriness could only momentarily transcend a sobering reality: that his culture, which dates back 10,000 years, may be wiped out in ten.

Irian Jaya is having a nervous breakdown. Change here is way too rapid for this fragile land, the western half of the island of New Guinea and the easternmost province of the

13,000-island Indonesian archipelago. Nowhere is this more apparent than in the valley town of Wamena, the van's destination.

Though naturally devoid of the luxuriant forest that is the province's life-giving marrow, Wamena is the main draw for the gaggle of tourists who journey to Irian Jaya. The market in the dusty town center packs a full dose of National Geographic splendor: Bare-breasted women haggle over piles of brilliantly colored vegetables, fruits and roots. Fierce-looking warriors, some not long weaned from a culture of cannibalism and headhunting, stand in clusters chatting with cousins clad in slogan-bearing T-shirts.

Until recent times, the Irianese lived relatively undisturbed. So, too, did the hodgepodge of endemic creatures that rival Australian fauna—including the bird of paradise, the world's most opulent and showy bird, and tree-dwelling kangaroos. They flourish in Irian Jaya's rain forest, which covers the bulk of the province's 163,000 square miles, the largest remaining stand of trees in a nation that is second only to Brazil in rain forest acreage. Anthropologists, herpetologists, biologists and other scientists consider Irian Jaya a treasure trove of previously undiscovered cures and an evolutionary roadmap. It is also home to much of the earth's remaining Stone Age civilization.

None of which has been able to withstand the forces of mammon. Each year, Indonesia loses 3 million acres of green—an area the size of Connecticut. Annual plywood exports have tripled since 1986; at the current rate, the country's old-growth forest will have disappeared entirely by midway through the next century. The provinces of Borneo, the largest island in the Indonesian archipelago, are already heavily denuded, and Irian Jaya is now the chief magnet for the chain saw.

Last year, the United Nations' Year of Indigenous People, would have seemed an ideal time to address such devastation. But aside from the recent bestowal of the Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights Award on Bambang Widjojanto, an Indonesian lawyer fighting to save 250 Irianese tribes, scarcely a peep was heard from abroad.

Meanwhile, "progress" waits for no one. One hundred sixty miles north of Wamena, in Jayapura, a coastal boomtown and the capital of Irian Jaya, one finds a hotel with TV movies, Fuji film shops and petty thievery and alcoholism galore. AIDS has arrived, thirty-seven cases so far, probably brought in by Thai fishermen.

When I stepped from a bus, a drunk pinched me hard, with malice. Perhaps that was a message for the United States, one of the leading importers, along with Japan and Germany, of Indonesian hardwood. But in

the hierarchy of colonialism, the villain is also the Malay and the Chinese, scanning timber production schedules in the high-rises of distant Jakarta.

Shortly after President Suharto took power in the mid-1960s, Indonesia received a \$200 million development loan from a fourteen-nation consortium, and Suharto launched myriad initiatives, enough to alarm many over the mounting national deficit. But not Suharto, who responded cheerily in a 1971 speech, "We do not need to worry our heads about debts, for we still have forests to repay those debts!" Since that time, a handful of businessmen and generals have made fortunes from stripping forested provinces.

On Java, the island where half of all Indonesians live, the ancient forests are long gone. Now, the only Javanese to bear witness to the mutilation of the country's forests are the "transmigrants," the men and women at the bottom of the economic totem pole who are sent to distant provinces to relieve population pressures on Java—and to harvest the natural riches.

On a wet early morning drive through the coastal jungle west of Jayapura, I passed traditional wooden houses on stilts and villagers harvesting coconuts. Soon, though, the landscape changed, to workers laying blacktop and then block upon block of one-story cement buildings. The houses, and a new mosque, are for the transmigrants, who share neither a culture nor a history with the indigenous peoples of Irian Jaya. Indonesia, 90 percent Muslim, is the world's most populous Islamic country, and its ethnic makeup is primarily Malay and Chinese.

The Irianese, on the other hand, are Melanesian—black as Africans—and animists, though Christianity has a strong foothold thanks to waves of missionaries with private air forces that carry them to the most remote and inhospitable terrain.

Inherently unworkable, the government's transmigration program is already stumbling—largely because efforts to plant rice, an alien crop, failed. The government is having second thoughts about exporting people, but the resource depletion and the logging continue.

Our four-wheel-drive emerged from the jungle into the sun at the coastal town of Denta, a former fishing hamlet turned lumberyard and port. At a roadblock, we debarked so a light-skinned soldier could examine my surat jalan, a travel pass that is mandatory in most parts of Irian. Then, like a lot of soldiers looking to cash in, he pointed to a purportedly rare parrot he had chained nearby, and suggested I purchase it.

Although the Irianese, almost to a person, believe the Indonesian presence is an occupation akin to that in East Timor, the

only active, armed resistance is sparse, geographically limited, and bottled up by the army's superior numbers and firepower. Rifle-toting troops are everywhere in the province, functioning as a virtual private security force for Suharto's lumber cronies.

I made my way up the road to the dispirited dwellings of fishermen and farmers who tenaciously cling to a fading way of life. There I met Daniel, a village elder sporting a canary yellow T-shirt promoting Golkar, the government party that wins every election despite its lack of popularity. Daniel is no convert; it's just that the T-shirt was free.

The shirt was also the only thing the government actually delivered. Advance men had offered a veritable catalogue of benefits: schools, clean water supply, more food, money and jobs for locals. The first four items never materialized, and what jobs there were didn't go to indigenous people. An army of skilled laborers from previous chopping grounds, supervised by Korean and Filipino managers, usually end up with most of the paychecks. In Demta, villagers hired to help cut timber were replaced before the first year's harvest was out.

"Now we live as before," Daniel said with a sigh, "but our forest has been cut." Often, logging is done by bulldozer, compacting the soil and causing disruptive runoff. Another casualty is the game on which residents depend for food, and which clear out at the first whine of the saw. Tribe members find they can no longer ceremonially affirm their chief's sovereignty by presenting him with a bird of paradise. "The bird moves away, and we have no more pride," Daniel said.

In a zero-sum equation, vanishing species get replaced by television and its sunny version of reality. The moment electricity comes to the larger towns, so does Papa Suharto, a mainstay of nighttime entertainment. The great one, now in his sixth unchallenged five-year term, is seen touring factories and villages and praising the benefits of development. As citizens prepare for bed, the broadcast day concludes with the solemnly intoned government creed, the five principles of his political philosophy, known as Pancasila: belief in God, humanitarianism, nationalism, democracy and social justice. Pancasila is the artificial glue that holds together a country of 900 populated islands and scores of ethnic and language groups, many of whom have nothing in common.

A sixth Orwellian unprinciple could be added: economic justice. Suharto has tirelessly added roads, schools and industrial capacity during his twenty-five years in power. But most of the benefits have accrued to a handful of billionaire cronies, and

to Suharto's avaricious family, which is often likened to the Marcos clan. His wife and children pop up at the helm of state-run and private firms reaping enormous benefits from resource-depletion enterprises, including mining, oil drilling and logging.

One Indonesian press photographer discovered the official links when he tried to take pictures of a logging operation in Irian Jaya. Soldiers grabbed his camera and threw it in the river. "This is Mrs. Tien Suharto's company," an officer snarled. "You make trouble, we'll kill you—no problem." Suharto reportedly assures the loyalty of the armed forces by providing some generals with their own logging franchises.

Among the foreign operations that have presumably paid their dues for operating in Irian is the American firm Freeport McMoRan Copper and Gold, which plans to double the production of its already vast mining operation in a remote and beautiful area. Mobil Oil and Conoco, too, are firing up their engines.

The grand capitalistic venture reaches beyond the New Guinea landmass. Biak, an island to the north, once looked like Irian from the air: a carpet of deep green. Today, it resembles a balding man with a bad haircut. That ill-considered pluck job left Biak's residents waiting, like everybody else, for promised riches that never came.

The locals buckled under heavy government pressure, selling access to their communally owned forest for a paltry \$14,000. Barito Pacific, the world's largest plywood and hardwood export company, owned by a close friend of Suharto, also agreed to pay \$2 per tree (worth perhaps 250 times that on the world market). But at the beach, where villagers carved dugout canoes from the few remaining trees, they told me they were never compensated.

In a sardonic tribute to "progress," natives have named the entire gutted region "Barito" after the perpetrator. "They put in the road, they cut down the trees. They ran everything," explained John, a 20-year-old who earned a dollar a day as a surveyor for the company.

Today, Biak is exhausted, the loggers long gone. It is common to see a resident with a chain saw cutting one of the few remaining trees, like a man so degraded he thinks nothing of selling a lung for a week's food. Meanwhile, villagers are being forcibly resettled in the interior to make way for a five-star hotel and golf course, which Suharto is expected to dedicate.

On Yapen, a cigar-shaped island to the south of Biak, the timber companies continue the devastation. Near the small village of Wooi, a Jakarta-based company cleared a 120-foot-wide swath for a logging road, obliterating more than half the communal

fields of cassava, sweet potatoes and beans. Again, the same story: The company never paid the villagers for the land, despite angry insistence that the property was theirs—by tradition, by law and by verbal contract.

Instead, the company chose to dole out a token payment for each fruit-bearing tree it leveled. The amount was appallingly low for a source of continuing sustenance: one-fifth the value of one year's fruit crop. Then, fulfilling a promise to employ local workers, the logging company hired natives to fell trees at 2,500 rupiah, or about \$1.25, a day. (Indonesia has among the lowest average wage rates in Asia; although the government sets a minimum wage for each province, rates often dip far below that.)

After three months, though, nobody had seen a single rupiah. Company foremen claimed they were having trouble getting the funds from Jakarta, and warned that wages would now be contingent on good production. So desperate were workers that, after going months without pay, they broke into a company storehouse and stole food.

In June 1992, 40 percent of the Wooi electorate sent a message to Jakarta by brazenly voting against the parliamentary candidates of Indonesia's ruling party. Jakarta sent one back: Officials canceled construction of a primary school planned for the village. So far no one has been paid.

Elsewhere on Yapen, interlopers are crushing other precious habitats. Near the town of Serui, mountain villagers took me to a clearing where the ornately plumed bird of paradise daily performs a balletic spectacle. Though a feathered orchestra surrounded us in the lush forest, no birds of paradise emerged that day. Even fewer are likely to be spotted on the lavish golf course planned for Japanese tourists in this most remote of spots.

A golf course will look pretty good compared with the dusty devastation on Java, more than 1,500 miles to the west. Traveling across that vast island in a sweltering bus, I found myself wedged among packages and too many people. Observing my sweaty discomfort during the fifteen-hour ride, an Indonesian man sitting near me offered a sympathetic excuse for the stifling heat: "The trees..." he said, shrugging. "Without them, it is hot. Unfortunately, they cut them all down."

MORE SBSI ACTIVISTS ARRESTED

From TAPOL, Feb. 10.

According to a release issued today by Amnesty International, altogether 19 SBSI activists are now under arrest. In addition to the three leaders held in Central Java and the

four held for question in Bekasi, West Java, another twelve were arrested at 9 pm Thursday, local time, while attending a meeting at the SBSI's office in Tangerang, West Java. All are understood to have been taken to the District Military Command in Tangerang

INDONESIAN MILITARY RESTRUCTURING

KALBUADI HAUNTED BY CRIPPLES, WIDOWS FROM ET CAMPAIGN

From David Bouchier, Melbourne. Jan. 9

This provides a rare glimpse into the psychological (and physical) scars that the Timor conflict has caused the Indonesian military. Interesting also is Kalbuadi's attempt to unload some of the blame for his actions to 'the state,' recalling (fore-shadowing?) his lifetime friend Murdani's effort to distance himself from the Timor war in his auto/biography. In fact it would be hard to find two men with a greater hand in directing operations in Timor in the 70s and 80s. - David Bouchier

Lt-Gen (Ret.) Dading Kalbuadi, Indonesia's ambassador to India and the first commander in East Timor after the invasion (1975 - October 1978), has admitted that he is haunted by his past. In an interview in *Jakarta Jakarta* (24-30 July 1993:30) he says:

"I feel really terrible, because more of my boys died than under any other panglima, and more wives were widowed.... You guys know the Taman Seroja housing complex [for disabled veterans of the East Timor war]? I don't have the courage to go there, because I feel such pity. It was all because of me. Even though I was just carrying out the orders of the state."

Cited in "Current Data on the Indonesian Military Elite, January 1, 1992- August 31, 1993" by the Editors of *Indonesia*, issue No 56, October 1993 p.126

THEO SYAFEI REPLACED

TAPOL Report 24 January 1994

Antara newsagency reported on 21 January that Major-General Theo Syafei has been replaced as commander of the Udayana Military Command, which oversees East Timor.

He is being replaced by Brigadier-General Adang Ruchiatina.

This replacement comes along with a number of other changes in the armed forces

which may or may not be connected with Syafei's removal. The changes include the replacement of chief-of-staff for social-political affairs of the armed forces after only seven months in the job. Also an overhaul of BAIS, the Strategic Intelligence Agency, has been announced, the apparent aim of which is to clip the wings of Murdani and eliminate his continuing grip on many positions in the armed forces because of his control over intelligence forces for so many years.

SUHARTO URGES MILITARY TO REMAIN ALERT

UPI, 24 Jan 94

JAKARTA – President Suharto called on the Indonesian Armed Forces to remain alert against any threats to replace the state ideology and discredit him and his 25-year administration, news reports said Monday.

"I called to you to keep a vigilance against these efforts at finding alternative to Pancasila," Suharto told Antara, the official Indonesian news agency.

Suharto met with high ranking navy officers Sunday at his "Tapos" ranch, about 40 miles (65 km) south of Jakarta.

He did not say what party or group was trying to replace the Pancasila, a five-point creed that includes multi-religious tolerance, as the sole principle guiding the social and state activities.

Suharto also publicly criticized a book, titled "Prima Dosa" or "Prime Sins," as a distorted account intended to discredit him and his administration.

"They are intentionally distorted on facts," he told the *Republika* newspaper.

Suharto said the book claims that Suharto was behind an abortive communist coup attempt on Sept. 30, 1965, coup because Lt. Col. Untung, the leader of the coup, was one of Suharto's staff.

Suharto rose to power after he played a major role in putting down the 1965 uprising that led to the fall of President Sukarno.

MANY ABRI OFFICERS TRANSFERRED

Editor, 27 January 1994. By Bekti Nugroho. Translated from Indonesian by Gerry van Klinken.

Original title: *Sudden changes in Cilangkap <Mutasi menjejutkan di Cilangkap>*
Abridged

Seventeen Senior ABRI officers are being transferred in ABRI Headquarters in Cilangkap, as follows:

who	was	becomes
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Lt-Gen Hariyoto PS	Soc.-Pol Chief ABRI	unknown, in HQ
Vice-Adm. Soemitro	Insp. Gen. ABRI	Transport Dept.?
Air Vice-Marsh. Isbandi Gondo	Pangkoopsau II	Insp.Gen. ABRI
Maj-Gen R Hartono	Gub. Lemhanas	Soc.Pol.chief ABRI
Maj-Gen R Pramo	Terr.Asst Chief Gen.Staff	unknown, HQ
Maj-Gen Syam Sumanegara	Expert under Pangab	unknown, in HQ
Maj-Gen Rusmadi Siddik	Coord. Expert Pangab	unknown, in HQ
Maj-Gen I Made AR	As't Gen. Planning Pangab	unknown, Defence
Maj-Gen Subarda Midjaja	unknown, HQ	unknown, Defence
Maj-Gen Moetojib	Com'dr Abri Staff Col.	Gub. Lemhanas
Maj-Gen Theo Syafei	Udayana Com'dr	Com'dr Staff Col.
Maj-Gen Bantu Hardijo	Intel.Ast. Chief Gen.Staff	Asst Gen. Planning Pangab
Maj-Gen Arie Sudewo	Dep.Chief Bais	Asst.Intel Chief,Gen. Staff/ Chief BIA
Maj-Gen Moch Ma'roef	Ast. Soc-Pol Soc-Pol Chief Abri	Terr.Ast Chief Gen. Staff
Brig-Gen Adang Ruchiatna	Comd'r Div I Kostrad	Udayana Comd'r
Brig-Gen Drs Arie J Kumaat	Dir. "D" Bais	Dep. Chief BIA
Brig-Gen Hari Sabarno	Dep.Ast Soc-Pol Chief	Ast. Soc-Pol Chief

Maj-Gen R Hartono's career has been in Kostrad and in Siliwangi. He has held lower level commands in Macassar (Ujung Pandang), Cirebon, and Bengkulu. His most senior positions have been as Brawijaya Commander (East Java), and as Commander of the ABRI Staff College (Sesko). He is 52. [Comment:- no service in East Timor, no intel. background?]. In an interview he said he saw no need for ABRI political involvement to be as prominent as in the '60s.

Ex-Kassospol (Soc.-Pol Chief, the officer mainly responsible for ABRI's Dual Function) Hariyoto had only been in his position for 7 months. Speculation has it he is being punished for lack of performance during PDI Extraordinary Congress and Golkar National Convention. Hartono is actually a year senior to Hariyoto (AMN 1962), same class as Wismoyo Arismunandar. Reports say the sudden transfers were not routine, because they did not pass through the Wanjakti (Dewan Jabatan dan Kepangkatan Perwira Tinggi - Senior Officers Appoint-

ment Board). Or rather, Wanjakti recommended a different person as the all-important Kassospol - Maj-Gen Hendropriyono. Some see the new appointments as "Habibienasi," others as "ijo royo-royo" (Islamicization), but observers Arbi Sanit and Amir Santoso see it in terms of "redefining" (reducing) ABRI's political involvement, as desired by Suharto.

An article by Suryansyah in the same issue ("Just changing shirts?" <Hanya Ganti Baju?>) discusses the apparently reduced role of political intelligence to accompany the dissolution of Bais and its replacement by a new agency called Badan Inteligens ABRI BIA. Bais was set up by Murdani in 1983 on the South Korean model of the 1970s. It was more powerful even than Bakin, and dealt especially with the tricky situations - East Timor, Aceh, Lampung, petrus (shooting of criminals), and ideological screening of parliamentarians and public servants. Whereas Bais resided directly under the ABRI Commander, BIA will reside under ABRI Chief of Staff, a lower ranking officer. The old Bais had 8 departments, the new will have only 5. But much of the personnel will be the same: headed by Maj-Gen Arie Sudewo. Observers interpret the change as in the context of reduced ABRI political involvement, and [implied here, but explicitly in the recent FEER article on the same subject] as an attempt to clip the wings of dissident thought within ABRI that continues to look to Benny Murdani. Murdani reputedly has an office at Bais to the present day. These offices (in Tebet) will now be vacated - they'll move (I think) to South Jakarta.

Remark: Much food for thought here. Is Theo Syafei's transfer a promotion? If the chain of promotion in the list above is a good indication (Commander Sesko ABRI-> Gubernur Lemhanas -> Kassospol) it is. What do we know of Adang Ruchiatna, the new Udayana Commander? Why is only Udayana singled out for commander rotation, no other Kodam?

Hariyoto is regarded by journalists in Jakarta as close to Hartas and Murdani - is he being punished for harbouring "Sembiring" type views, which were expressed in too little enthusiasm for Harmoko, and too much for Megawati?

The best observers in Indonesia think that these transfers and the restructuring of Bais are positive for democratization in Indonesia. They will continue the process of the political marginalization of ABRI, and will strengthen Suharto's prestige, and hence that of his protégé Habibie.

- Gerry van Klinken

Gerry asked whether anyone had info on Syafei's replacement Adang's background. Here's what I have. - David Bourchier

R. Adang Ruchiatna Puradiredja, Brigadier-General

Born 24 November 1943, Jakarta (Sundanese)

67 Class 8, National Military Academy [AMN]

? field experience in Sumatra, Kalimantan, and East Timor

86 worked with Hendro Priyono in intelligence in Jakarta

89-91 Assistant for Intelligence, Kodam IV/Diponegoro (Central Java) and temporarily at Joint Services' Staff and Command School [Seskogab]

91-92 Commander, Korem 091/Aji Suryanatakusuma (HQ Balikpapan) 3.I.91 - 1.IX.92

-93 Chief of Staff, Kostrad First Infantry Division

93-94 Commander, Kostrad First Infantry Division 93 - ?I.94 (replacing Brigadier-General Ilias Yusuf). [Colonel to Brig-Gen]

94- Commander, Kodam IX/Udayana (Bali and Nusatenggara) ?I.94 - (replacing Maj-Gen Theo Syafei)

Sources Editor 24 April 93; Current Data...(Indonesia, Cornell) 1993b:137,147; The Australian 22 Jan 94

SLIMMING DOWN BAIS <MERAMPINGKAN BADAN INTELIJENS STRATEGIS>

Editor, 3 February 1994. By Aries Kelana. Translated from Indonesian. Abridged

Gives a little more detail on the restructuring of Bais to become BIA. Quotes from Richard Tanter's "Intelligence Agencies and Third World Militarization" about Bais. Bais had eight directorates (interior, foreign, military, security, planning R & D, management, intelligence production, supervision), plus two sections (section I for unknown purposes, and a special section for Vietnam). Bais was formed by Benny Murdani following Malari of 1974, and incorporated Pusintelstrat and Kosatgasintel (the latter previously under Kopkamtib). Bais was directly under Pangab. It began to take over the coordinative function allocated to Bakin, which is directly under the President and thus ought to have been more senior. Bais was involved in much violence in Indonesia, from Aceh to East Timor.

Restructured as BIA, it will now reside under ABRI Chief of General Staff, headed by his Assistant for Intelligence. It will have

only five directorates. But does the change mean it will be less effective? ABRI parliamentarian Abu Hartono says "its role and mission will not change."

TIMORESE EXTERNAL RESISTANCE

HORTA'S RETROSPECTIVE VIEW OF 1993 DIPLOMATIC STRUGGLE

By José Ramos Horta, Matebian News, 14 December 1993

1993 which is drawing to a close was an eventful year for the Timorese resistance on the diplomatic front.

Commission on Human Rights

The first victory scored by the Timorese in 1993 was the vote in the Commission on Human Rights (CHR) where out of 53 members of this UN body, 23 voted with a strongly-worded resolution condemning Indonesia for gross and systematic human rights violations in East Timor and only 12 sided with Indonesia. Indonesia had arrived in Geneva with the confidence as leader of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) and the arrogance over the capture of Xanana Gusmão, certain that it would inflict a crippling blow on the Timorese.

While Indonesia expected that Xanana Gusmão's capture and forced "confessions" would result in demoralization inside and outside East Timor and erosion of the support internationally for the cause of the East Timorese, the opposite took place. Best evidence of this was the CHR vote.

The month of August witnessed another major victory for the Timorese resistance. After a full month of intense lobby, the Geneva-based UN Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities adopted perhaps the most politically significant resolution on East Timor. The resolution contained references to the previous UN Security Council and General Assembly resolutions on East Timor and, for the first time, the 4th Geneva Convention relating to treatment of civilian population and prisoners in time of war.

The CNRM was in full force in Geneva with its Special Representative leading the battle and assisted by José Amorim Dias, Nelson Santos and Adalberto Alves, all CNRM diplomatic and political cadres.

Negotiations under UN auspices

When the first round of talks took place in New York in December 1992 less than one month after Xanana's capture and his humiliating display on Indonesian and inter-

national TV, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas did not hide his satisfaction and overbearing confidence and did not mince words in stating that there were no more reason for negotiations with the capture of Xanana.

The second round of talks between the Foreign Minister of Portugal and Indonesian in Rome in April 1993 was a different one for Portugal and East Timor. Foreign Minister Durão Barroso arrived in Rome with a strengthened position following the CHR victory.

The CNRM was on the forefront of the battle in those excruciating days and weeks, the CNRM Special Representative was in Four world capital cities (New York, Lisbon, London, Geneva) to counter Indonesia's propaganda claims.

As it happened in the first round of talks in New York in December 1992, the CNRM was present also in Rome through José Ramos-Horta. However, while the Timorese political parties were absent from New York, the leaders of FRETILIN and UDT joined the CNRM in Rome in a united front.

The CNRM was present in the third round of talks which took place in New York on September 17 with leaders of FRETILIN and UDT.

The third round produced some tangible results. Foreign Minister Alatas put his signature on an agreement to facilitate access to East Timor by UN specialised agencies and human rights bodies. Timorese resistance participation in the talks is an already acquired fact. It is now almost certain that a meeting will take place between the Secretary-General himself and overseas resistance representatives. It is hoped that before the end of the year a political mission of the UN will visit East Timor for talks with the clergy and members of the civil society. The CNRM has advocated in its peace plan the modality of "indirect talks" as long as Indonesia refuses to seat face to face with resistance leaders. This modality is satisfactory and has drawn the Timorese gradually into the negotiation process.

Xanana's trial and sentence

In May 1993, as Xanana's trial drew to a close, the CNRM Special Representative released in New York the full text of Xanana's Defence Plea, thus completely outmanoeuvring the Indonesians who were not aware at the time that the original version of that historical document had been smuggled out of the country. This was no doubt the most embarrassing moment for Indonesia. The CNRM had access to the original version of the Defence Plea a few days in advance and had given advance copies to Reuters and the Portuguese daily *O Publico* which carried lengthy excerpts the

same day the Indonesian presiding judge banned Xanana from reading it.

Amos Wako, Personal Envoy of the UN Secretary-General, visited East Timor in late March 1993 and met with Xanana. This was an important acknowledgment of Xanana's stature and the importance of the East Timor issue. In an ironic twist, the Indonesian authorities accused Mr. Wako, the Attorney-General of Kenya, of having "influenced" Xanana into changing his "original" position.

Progress in the US position

Credit is due to the Clinton Administration which within only two months of taking office reversed previous US position on East Timor in the CHR. The US joined with the EC, Canada, the Nordic countries and several African and Latin American in co-sponsoring the CHR resolution on East Timor.

In July 1993, prompted by 43 US senators, President Clinton raised the issue of East Timor with the Indonesian dictator when the two met in Tokyo during the G7 summit meeting. The meeting turned out to be a total PR fiasco for Indonesia as several Indonesian newspaper editorials noted.

The CNRM was in Washington for the battle in the US Senate over arms sales to Indonesia. It is to be noted, the CNRM maintains a professional lobbyist in Washington, Mr. Bruce P. Cameron, with more than 20 years of work in the US Congress. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted without dissent in support of the Feingold Amendment to the Authorisation Bill conditioning arms sales to Indonesia. This was no doubt the most significant victory in the US which sent a strong signal to Jakarta.

Secretary of State Warren Christopher wrote a confidential letter to both the Portuguese and Indonesian Foreign Ministers urging "progress" in the New York round. This accounted for the tangible progress noted above.

Working in public or discretely, the CNRM has invested time, energy and resources in the US over many years. Certain activities must remain in the realm of secrecy such is the nature of diplomacy, but fruits of this are visible.

CNRM Latin America offensive

The CNRM undertook some initiatives regarding Latin America. Its Director-General for International Relations visited Chile and Argentina in August/September and had fruitful discussions with NGOs and senior government officials. The film "Cold Blood" was shown on Chilean national TV. Contacts were made with Latin America diplomats in Geneva and New York.

In July 1993, at the Brazilian city of Salvador de Bahia, the Third Ibero-Latin American Conference of Heads of State and Government included a reference to East Timor in the Final Declaration. This was no doubt significant since East Timor was the only issue outside the region that was discussed at all.

Human Rights Prize

On October 24 the Special Representative was present at the inauguration of a "Human Rights Street" in Nuremberg as guest of the Mayor along with 14 other world personalities.

One of the most important events of the year was the 1993 Professor Thorolf Rafto Human Rights Award given to the people of East Timor through the CNRM Special Representative. This served to highlight the issue of East Timor not only in Norway but in the whole of the Nordic countries and enhances the chances of Bishop Dom Carlos to be the 1994 Nobel Peace recipient.

Toward 1994 and beyond

In view of the space limitation, this was not meant to be an exhaustive CNRM "Activity Report." We tried to highlight only some of the main facts. However, the diplomatic struggle has many other sides to it. Many CNRM cadres travelled the world with different missions. For 1994 the CNRM has already a full agenda - the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva (Feb./March), a visit to Norway and Iceland in March, the 4th round of talks in May in Geneva, the Asia-Pacific Regional Conference on East Timor in May/June in Manila, visits to Thailand and Malaysia in April, etc.. Apart from these more "conventional" activities, 1994 will be rich in other activities - hopefully a major documentary will be shown in England and around the world in February; a group of world renown artists will display their work dedicated to East Timor in September 1994 in New York. The lobby in the US will continue to be a top priority and a renewed Latin America offensive will be effected.

TIMORESE LEADERS: MORE UNITED THAN EVER

From CDPM (Maubere People's Rights Commission), 16 December 1993

On 15 December, Lisbon's Timor Centre became the forum for three leading Timorese politicians to publicly respond to questions put to them by three Portuguese journalists and others present.

The three political leaders, Mari Alkatiri (Fretilin), João Carrascalão (UDT) and José Ramos-Horta (CNRM), spoke to journalists Oscar Mascarenhas (Diario de Noticias),

Joaquim Trigo de Negreiros (Publico) and Manuel Acacio (TSF - Radio) about their organisations' policies, and strategies to find an acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor.

In a relaxed and friendly atmosphere, the three leaders, together for the first time in a public debate in Lisbon, spoke of their common goals, and their readiness to exercise flexibility in their positions in order to achieve those goals. They were, they said, more united than ever.

The Peace Plans of the three organisations concurred in many aspects, especially in the first phases which would precede a referendum on self-determination. Included in the first phases would be withdrawal of Indonesian forces, release of political prisoners, access to the territory for humanitarian organisations (e.g. UNHCR), and legalisation of political activities and parties. There would have to be a readaption period for the Timorese people, now in exile throughout the world, to return and readjust to life in East Timor. Time would also be needed to organise the electoral process, and resolve many complex issues linked to holding a referendum (e.g. would non-Timorese, resident in Timor and married to Timorese, be eligible to vote?; a carefully supervised census of the whole population would have to be carried out before any voting, etc.).

The Fretilin representative stressed the importance of international support and recognition during the transition stage, and believed that the UDT and CNRM Peace Plans were not irreconcilable. He recalled that UN Resolution 1541 required that self-determination should follow a period of autonomy, and agreed that this time would be needed to resolve the issues already referred to.

The Peace Plans diverged when it came to Portugal's role in the future of East Timor. The UDT leader recalled various pro-Portugal demonstrations in East Timor, and said that, contrary to what happened in Portugal's other former colonies, the departure of the Portuguese from Timor was regretted by the majority there. As East Timor's best ally, UDT upholds that the former colonial power should return to East Timor in order to complete the decolonisation process. However, the CNRM special representative suggested that, although Portugal is considered a strong ally, any role it may play in the future should be seen in the context of the European Community. In the CNRM's view, a settlement which included a return of the Portuguese to the territory would be far harder to negotiate with Indonesia than, for example, one which supported the establishment of an EC diplomatic mission (which would include a high-

ranking Portuguese diplomatic representation).

There was general agreement on three factors considered essential to bringing about change in East Timor's situation: continuing strength of armed and popular resistance within East Timor, maintaining international pressure, and changes within the Jakarta regime itself. Fretilin's representative said that support for the East Timor cause was increasing within Indonesia itself, and that closer links should be maintained with those people and organisations sympathetic to the cause. José Ramos-Horta, for the CNRM, considered that the guerrilla war, combined with continuing international pressure were beginning to reap rewards - the Indonesian civilian population had realised that their leaders' policy on East Timor had so far failed, there was growing opposition, and changes would come about eventually.

There was general praise for Portugal's diplomatic efforts, especially under the leadership of Foreign Affairs Minister Durão Barroso.

There were differing views on the continuing presence of Indonesians in East Timor, following a withdrawal of troops from the territory. The CNRM representative believed a distinction should be made between the Indonesian invaders of East Timor and the Indonesian people who had emigrated to the territory in search of a better life. The latter category, he maintained, who were not there for any political reasons, but who had been fleeing poverty and starvation, should not necessarily be expelled from East Timor. UDT, however, upheld that Indonesians in East Timor today, whether rich or poor, were necessarily in agreement with the spirit of occupation. The little wealth in East Timor, he maintained, should go to Timorese who are starving and dying in their own country because Indonesians are there stealing all they can get their hands on. Fretilin's representative believed that each case should be studied before reaching a decision: there were victims as well as exploiters among the Indonesians.

All three leaders agreed that the young people within East Timor are as committed as ever to the struggle for self-determination, while the guerrillas were respected by the people in general. The Resistance, both armed and clandestine, far from being defeated as Indonesian would have the world believe, had reorganised earlier in the year and had seen a considerable increase in its numbers and strength. There would be no end to the fight until the people of East Timor were free to exercise their right to self-determination.

ASAHI INTERVIEWS MARI ALKATIRI

Asahi Shimbun, December 16, 1993. By ITOH Masataka

Abridged (East Timor background section omitted). Translated from Japanese by Jean Inglis

Translator's remarks: This interview was made while Mari Alkatiri was in Japan for a speaking tour sponsored by the Free East Timor Japan Coalition in November in which four Timorese spoke in sixty places. Mr. Alkatiri went on to South Korea to mobilize support there as well. Asahi Shimbun is a major daily. A large photo of Mr. Alkatiri appears with the caption: "The people of Asia are in the process of liberating themselves," said Mari Alkatiri, Central Committee Member of the Revolutionary Front for Independent East Timor."

Headlines:

Human Rights Awareness Growing in Developing Countries

Support from Asia for East Timor Independence

Overlapping with Democratization Trends
Interview with Central Committee Member Mari Alkatiri

Headlines for background section (omitted here):

UN Supports Right of Self-determination
Indonesian Government Ignores It

The Third World is always criticized by the advanced Western countries for its lack of democracy and awareness of human rights. But democratization movements are taking root in developing countries too and interest in human rights is growing. On the occasion of his visit to Japan, I asked Mari Alkatiri (44 years old), a central committee member of the Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor (Fretilin), about human rights awareness in developing countries, as seen from the support given for his struggle.

Interviewer: ITOH Makataka (editorial staff)

Clinton Administration Takes a Serious View

Itoh: The independence movement in East Timor, integrated by Indonesia, has continued for eighteen years. To what extent have you gotten international support?

Alkatiri: The massacre by Indonesian troops that took place at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor in November 1991 drew the attention of countries around the world, and support began to come in from various countries.

The Clinton administration in the U.S. is taking quite a serious view of the situation, and in March of this year Secretary of State Christopher told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that 'the situation in East Timor merits renewed attention by the Clinton administration.' In July of this year the State Department stopped the transfer sale by Jordan of U.S. made fighter planes to Indonesia.

Q. How about United Nations moves?

A. In March this year the UN Human Rights Commission adopted a resolution calling, among other things, for access to the territory by an investigation team. Twenty-two countries voted in favor of the resolution, twelve voted against, and fifteen abstained. Among those in favor were the U.S., Great Britain, France, and Russia. Japan abstained.

Support for the Movement from South Korea

Q. Influential Asian countries like China and India were opposed, and South Korea abstained, I believe.

A. With a population of about 200 million, Indonesia is a very large Asian country, and Japan and other Asian countries defer to the wishes of the Indonesian Government. Also, because Indonesia is the largest country in the Islamic world, it has solid support from Islamic nations.

But peoples and the governments are not the same. What is very encouraging for us is the fact that we are increasingly getting support from NGOs in the various Asian countries. Around 1987 our supporters in this region were only in Japan and Australia. But since the Santa Cruz massacre, support movements have been spreading in South Korea, Hong Kong, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore and Thailand. In Korea, the human rights movement Saraban (translator: phonetic) chaired by MR. Soh Joon Shik (brother of Soh Sung, the ethnic Korean Japanese resident who was imprisoned in South Korea) invited me to South Korea in November. I'm told that this is the first time a South Korean human rights organization has taken up support for a foreign country.

Linking Organizations with Student Involvement

I: How much support do you expect?

A: They invite us and listen to what we have to say. In most cases we pay our plane fare and they cover our expenses in their countries. We can't expect them to give us substantial financial support. But we are very grateful that so many people in these countries are so earnestly listening to us. All these organizations are increasing and holding more meetings every year on the issue.

And a meeting to be held next year in Manila, "The East Timor Issue and Democratization in Indonesia," which is being sponsored by a Catholic organization, will represent a new step and pull together the international support we have garnered so far.

I: The massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery was a shocking incident, but does that alone account for the growing circle of support?

A: No, it's not just that. The people of Asia are in the process of liberating themselves. They see the East Timor liberation struggle as overlapping with the democratization movements which they themselves are carrying out. They are able to understand our struggle very quickly. The people of Asia are seeking active political participation. That helps our struggle.

I: And what is happening as far as the Indonesian people, the most important, are concerned?

A: Antigovernment movements have been very severely repressed up to now. Although we know that democratization in Indonesia is indispensable to the liberation of East Timor, it just wasn't happening. However student organization and the like are now criticizing the government both for Indonesia's own human rights violations and for human rights violations in East Timor. At the Fifth East Timor Symposium, held this July in Portugal, the former colonial ruler, six people participated from Indonesia and reported that 'the democratization movement is moving forward little by little by linking up workers, students, and peasants. Although admittedly very limited, some of the press is calling for self-determination for East Timor.'

I: And what about the struggle in East Timor?

A: Santana, thirty two years old, has taken over as chairman in place of Chairman Gusmão, who was captured last year. Both the military and political organizations are being rebuilt and fighting is going on in the central and eastern sections of the island. The clandestine movement is also very active.

NEW CNRM BROCHURE

From CNRM, Dec. 22, 1993

Following is the text of a brochure introducing CNRM which has just been released. Please assist with distribution. Hard copies come on a single A4 paper sheet and will be available from the CNRM Media and Communications Department, whose address is in the brochure which follows below.

EAST TIMOR

National Council of Maubere Resistance
Conselho Nacional de Resistencia
Maubere
C.N.R.M.

-an introduction-

The East Timor problem

The territory of East Timor, a Portuguese colony for over 400 years, is located on the fringe of the Indonesian archipelago, between Southeast Asia and Australia in the vicinity of the South Pacific. It is at least equal, if not larger, in size and population than some 30 independent member states of the UN. East Timor has been the scene of a major and tragic conflict since 1975. In that year Indonesia invaded this 19,000 square kilometre territory, maintaining to this day its illegal presence in defiance of international condemnation, including United Nations Security Council Resolutions. The armed forces of the huge Indonesian Republic have maintained a brutal war of genocidal proportions, in a futile attempt to crush the resistance of most sectors of the approximately 600,000 East Timorese. Massive human rights violations have caused the death of over one third of the local population. The resistance against Indonesian occupation remains strong as international support for the cause of freedom and self-determination of the East Timorese people grows.

C.N.R.M. origins and composition

The East Timor-based National Council of Maubere Resistance, CNRM, is the supreme organisation of all East Timorese nationalists struggling for self-determination and independence of their country. CNRM was officially launched in 1988 by Resistance Leader Commander Xanana Gusmão, aiming to unite all Resistance factions in one effectively coordinated national effort. CNRM brings together the leadership of the Resistance Armed Forces in East Timor, the Political Resistance Front inside Indonesia and occupied areas, and the Diplomatic Resistance Front operating overseas. Participation in CNRM is open to all East Timorese nationalists seeking self determination and independence, regardless of any political party affiliations they may also hold.

Leadership Structure

Following Commander Xanana Gusmão's capture in late 1992, CNRM is now co-chaired by the Commander-in-Chief of the East Timor Resistance Armed Forces (FALINTIL), Nino Konis Santana; the Head of the Political Front; and the Head of the Diplomatic Front, Special Representative José Ramos Horta. Given the nature of the struggle and of the Indonesian governing

regime, the Political Front operations are clandestine. Commander Xanana Gusmão remains the titular head of the Resistance.

Mission

The chief mission of CNRM is to lead the resistance against Indonesian aggression and enable the East Timorese people to freely determine their future in accordance with their internationally acknowledged human right of self-determination. Simultaneously to the conduct of East Timorese resistance activities, CNRM is attempting to develop the governing institutions of a future state of East Timor. Inside East Timor and Indonesia, CNRM is supporting the development of the human resources required for a future administrative bureaucracy; undertaking measures to protect the culture and language of the country; and monitoring the human rights situation and informing on violations. Overseas, CNRM is leading a diplomatic struggle aimed at achieving, within the United Nations framework, a peaceful resolution of the East Timor issue in a manner reflecting the aspirations of the majority of its people and acceptable to the international community .

Organisational structure overseas

The conduct of the CNRM diplomatic struggle has required the establishment of Departments of International Relations, Information and Media Relations, Community Relations, Culture, and a Centre for Documentation and Information. These are assisted by some technical and advisory bodies. Resource limitations are a major hindrance however. As more human and material resources become available, these structural components will be developed further and additional organs required for the functioning of CNRM will be added.

International Relations Department

Is led by its Director General and has a number of CNRM East Timor Representatives placed in several key locations in the world. These include Australia, Canada, Europe, Portugal, South East Asia, and the USA. Subject to resource availability, further appointments in Asia, Europe, and Latin America are under consideration. The tasks of CNRM Representatives include diplomatic activities with multilateral organisations, human rights organisation, lobbying governments, liaison with local non-government support groups and other important pressure groups. Public diplomatic activities include keeping close relations with mass media organs and other means of informing public opinion. The Director General directs these activities and is also involved, together with the Special Representative and his delegates, in the raising of

funds required for CNRM operations and special projects.

Media and Communications Department

The Information and Media Relations Department takes a central role in the area of information dissemination. It is led by its Director, whose function is to ensure close relations with information media internationally. The Department is solely responsible for the issue of CNRM public statements.

Community Relations Department

Fosters the development of close and harmonious relations between the various sectors of the East Timorese community in exile.

CNRM's Cultural Department

Has the task of advancing and promoting East Timorese culture overseas. The Department assists East Timorese music composers, drama writers, painters to perform and exhibit their works. It organises exhibitions and performances and assists with publications. Members of the Cultural Department are also involved in the development of a Tetum language school in Darwin, Australia, which teaches East Timorese children in exile the language and culture of their ancestors.

East Timor Centre for Documentation and Information

Operating from Australia, this CNRM-associated centre produces and distributes number of publications. They include *Matebian News* published monthly. Daily news postings on electronic media are also performed on conferences such as *reg.easttimor* and *reg.indonesia*.

CNRM policies for an independent East Timor

Aware of the country's location, CNRM believes in close and harmonious relations with all neighbouring states in Asia and the South Pacific. The independent Republic of East Timor will seek membership of both ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum. Close ties with Portugal will also be maintained, given the high moral standing it has shown through its abiding commitment to East Timorese self-determination.

East Timor is at the crossroads of three major cultures and religions: Melanesian, binding its people to its South Pacific brothers and sisters; Malay-Polynesian, as many of its people trace their roots to Southeast Asia; and, European, a result of the four centuries of Portuguese-Catholic presence. This influences give the East Timorese nation-state a distinct character. East Timor will be a potentially valuable partner for ASEAN and South Pacific Forum member states in their relations with the European

Union, Africa and Latin America. The majority of East Timorese exiles are resident in Australia and Portugal. They would contribute to the bridging role of East Timor between their adopted countries and South-east Asian and South Pacific states.

CNRM envisages an independent Republic of East Timor without a standing army. External security will rely on a Treaty of Neutrality, guaranteed by the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. Working with its neighbours and the UN, East Timor will endeavour to declare the country's surrounding seas a Zone of Peace, and to work towards demilitarisation of the Southeast Asian and South Pacific regions.

CNRM aspires to a strong democratic state based on the rule of law, emanating from the will of the people expressed through free democratic elections. Development of a free information media, as independent as the judiciary, will be encouraged. Firmly believing in the universality of human rights, transcending state boundaries and prevailing over state sovereignty, an independent East Timor will contribute to the strengthening of the UN human rights machinery. The creation of an international human rights court and a penal court to try war crimes and crimes against humanity will be actively supported. All human rights treaties will be submitted to its Parliament for ratification.

Free education and health care are essential for the welfare of the population. Significant investments in these areas will be required, as part of human resource development. The money saved from not supporting a standing army will be well used in these areas.

A healthy, sane and happy society cannot be based on hatred and revenge. Therefore a general amnesty and national reconciliation will be proclaimed, aimed at forgiving current enemies. Because of its credibility and standing over the past twenty years, the East Timor Church will be expected to play a major role in the social healing process. The issues of resettlement for the many thousands up-rooted throughout the last two decades, as well as compensations for properties lost will need to be addressed. Also, over 100,000 Indonesians have settled in East Timor, many of them looking for a better life. Those who are willing to abide by East Timorese laws and live in harmony as members of the society will be welcome to stay and join in building a better future for everyone. The wealth of their culture could be an enriching contribution to the future of East Timor.

East Timor is potentially self-sufficient in most agricultural goods, meat and fish. It also has large oil reserves and other minerals. After independence, economic resources will

be channeled into food production to feed the population. Policies will be a result of close consultation with the people in each region, town and village. The cooperation of UN Specialised Agencies will be sought. A reforestation program to save the badly damaged environment will be launched together with international bodies. International partnership in mineral explorations such as oil will be sought. However, the environment must not be sacrificed for short term gains. The 'Timor Gap Treaty' will be looked at, clarification sought, and renegotiated. The sea boundary dispute will have to be settled through an international tribunal.

East Timor Peace Plan

Consistent with the enhanced peace making and peace keeping role of the United Nations, the leaders of CNRM have advanced a plan to assist the UN Secretary General's mandate to find a solution to the East Timor conflict. Presented by CNRM Co-Chairman and Special Representative José Ramos Horta, the plan is congruous with statements by East Timor Catholic Church leader Bishop Belo. It is consistent with current approaches by Portugal and the UN for the resolution of this conflict. The plan has also received support in the US Congress, Europe, Canada and Japan. Indonesia's friends have been able to perceive its usefulness as a potential means of assisting Jakarta to extricate itself from its East Timor quagmire and conveniently resolve this issue.

Phase One -normalisation- (one to two years): Indonesia-Portugal talks under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, with East Timorese participation, to achieve an end to armed activities in East Timor; release of East Timorese political prisoners; reduction of Indonesian military personnel; removal of armaments.; expansion of International Committee of the Red Cross activities; reduction of Indonesian civil servants; population census; access by UN Specialised Agencies for restoration and protection of the environment, resettlement, district development, women and children care and public health and immunisation; restoration of all basic human rights, removal of restrictions on Portuguese and Tetum languages; setting up of an independent Human Rights Commission; appointment of a UN Secretary General Resident Representative in East Timor.

Phase Two -autonomy- (five years): This is a transition stage of autonomy in which East Timorese would govern themselves democratically through their own local institutions.

Phase Three -self-determination-: Covers preparation for a self-determination referendum, to be held within one year of the

commencement of this phase, whereby the population may choose between free association or integration into Indonesia, or independence.

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TIMORESE RESISTANCE REITERATES PROPOSAL FOR TALKS WITHOUT PRE- CONDITIONS

Press release from the Joint Representation of the Timorese Resistance in Portugal. Lisbon, 31 Dec. 1993. Translated from Portuguese

1. The Timorese Resistance welcomes the arrival in Portugal yesterday, following the Portuguese Government's diplomatic efforts, of the seven Timorese students who, on 23 June 1993, had sought political asylum at the Finnish and Swedish Embassies in Jakarta.

2. We express our appreciation to Mr. Haji Princen, Indonesian human rights activist, and to the International Red Cross, for their direct contributions towards finding a settlement to the case. We are equally grateful to the media, namely the Portuguese and Indonesian press, and to various international organisations - especially Amnesty International - for the important role they played.

3. We consider the Indonesian Government's decision to finally allow the Timorese students to leave to be a positive initiative. However, we note that this decision was obviously motivated by Indonesia's propagandistic interests, just one month away from the commencement, in Geneva, of the next UN Human Rights Commission sitting.

4. In spite of propaganda to the contrary, the East Timorese National Resistance is active and will continue to be so. There is no sign of any significant act on Indonesia's part to solve the problem. Their current schemes aimed at substituting the National Resistance with other interlocutors will not work.

5. We wish to reiterate the proposal, made two years ago by the Timorese National Resistance, of talks without pre-conditions within the framework of the UN. Meanwhile, it is up to Indonesia to exercise flexibility in its position, and to start with tangible measures, namely, the release of Xanana Gusmão and all the Timorese nationalist prisoners.

COLLABORATORS IN PORTUGAL

EAST TIMOR: GALVÃO DE MELO WITH ALATAS

Diario de Noticias, 6 January 1994, Translated from Portuguese. Abridged.

(Lisbon) "Very constructive." This was an Indonesian Foreign Ministry spokesperson's comment yesterday to describe the meeting in Jakarta between Ali Alatas and Portuguese General Galvão de Melo. "It was a friendly, very constructive meeting, which contributed towards a better understanding of the position of both countries on the question of Timor," said Irawan Abidin.

General Galvão de Melo arrived in Jakarta on Tuesday for a visit which will last until 19th January. The trip will include a visit to East Timor, from 12 to 15 January, and even a meeting with President Suharto on 19th.

SUHARTO'S DAUGHTER TO VISIT LISBON

Jakarta Post, 8 January 1994 Abridged

Suharto's eldest daughter, commonly known as Tutut, is taking on an increasing political role particularly in foreign affairs. Her special sphere of interest has now clearly become East Timor.

— Carmel, TAPOL

(Jakarta) Leading businesswoman, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, who is expected to chair the new Indonesia-Portugal friendship association says she hopes the ties between the two countries will be restored this year.

The association which will be inaugurated next week hopes to help pave the way to the resumption of relations. Hardiyanti, the eldest daughter of President Suharto met General (ret'd) Carlos Galvão de Melo of Portugal, who chairs the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association in Lisbon, at her office in Jakarta on Wednesday.

"On this occasion, we are announcing that we have been given the trust to chair the friendship association in Jakarta," she told reporters.

The association which will be inaugurated on 17 January will send a delegation to Lisbon which she herself will head. "We want to convince the Portuguese government that we are for peace."

Hardiyanti, who is also a member of the governing board of GOLKAR, was involved in the historic meeting in London last month between East Timorese leaders and those living in exile in Portugal and other countries

VISIT BY PORTUGUESE OFFICIAL WILL GO AHEAD WITHOUT OBSTRUCTIONS

Radio Republic of Indonesia, Jakarta, in Indonesian, 12 Jan 94

Maj-Gen Theo Syafei, the commander of the 9th Udayana Regional Command, has stressed that the visit by former general, Carlos Galvão de Melo, the head of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, PIFA, to East Timor would not be obstructed.

Speaking to journalists in Denpasar, the regional commander clarified that de Melo would be free to talk to anyone or visit any place he wished in East Timor. Therefore, no restrictions would be placed on him compared to (?Manuel Tilman), a Macau (?programmer), who was originally from East Timor and has been visiting Dili in the past week.

The regional commander hoped Galvão de Melo, who had been given the freedom to visit East Timor, would observe personally the situation which exists there. He also hoped de Melo would then clarify to the Portuguese community what he observed without distorting any facts.

Meanwhile, after a meeting with the regional commander, de Melo said his current visit to East Timor had no specific bearing and that it was only aimed at further fostering ties between Indonesia and Portugal.

MBAK TUTUT INVITES EAST TIMORESE CITIZENS IN PORTUGAL

Republika, 12 January 1994. Translated from Indonesian.

[Only words in square brackets are added. Carmel, TAPOL]

Mbak Tutut [Mbak means 'elder sister,' Tutut is how Suharto's eldest daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana is popularly known] will invite 20 East Timorese citizens in Portugal. The plan was that they would come when the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association is officially set up, on 17 January 1994.

Fanny - the name by which JE Habibie [Indonesian ambassador to London and brother of the high-powered Minister JB Habibie] is known - was the busiest person of all in preparing for Mbak Tutut's meeting with the anti-integration East Timorese in London last December. For several days, Fanny has been in Jakarta to report the results of Tutut's meeting with 'President' of Fretilin [the inverted commas are in the text] Abilio Araujo to Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. The Indonesian ambassador to London was delighted that the Foreign Minister was "very satisfied indeed."

According to Fanny, Mbak Tutut's meeting (she is also deputy chair of Golkar) with Abilio Araujo was part of the Indonesian government's strategy. At first the atmosphere at the meeting was very tense but by the end, there was a warm spirit of friendship.

As a way to loosen things up, Fanny whispered in Abilio Araujo's ear that Tutut is a very reliable businesswoman who handles personal relations in a very humane fashion. And in the talks, Tutut spontaneously invited overseas East Timorese to come and see the land of their birth while at the same time visiting other parts of Indonesia. "Abilio was very appreciative of this," said Habibie.

The intention was that Manuel Macedo - a businessman from Portugal would visit Indonesia last August together with East Timorese exiles. They also met Mbak Tutut [this seems to suggest that Macedo did go to Indonesia together with some East Timorese].

"He wants to do business" said Habibie. At the London talks, they wanted to discuss at greater length the question of improving these ties between Indonesia and Portugal.

The plan was that on 17 January, exactly a month after the London talks, the Indonesia-Portugal Friendship Association would be officially established and that Mbak Tutut would invite 20 East Timorese now exiled in Portugal. "Mbak Tutut has of course considered the question of how to finance the trip," said Habibie when asked about this aspect.

The impression is that the overseas East Timorese were very impressed by the activities of JE Habibie, the Indonesian ambassador. This sympathetic, friendly approach was touched on by Rogerio Lobato, the younger brother of Nicolau Lobato, the Fretilin leader who was murdered in 1978. In a letter [to Habibie?] he explained how difficult it was for him, when it came to meeting the Indonesian ambassador and his staff, to forget the murder of his brother, but he was able to appreciate the good prospects opened up by the meeting so he now

said he believes that the time has come for mutual forgiveness.

JE Habibie said that Portugal's position is often unclear. But he feels certain that it will be possible to resolve the East Timor question provided that Indonesia can win people's confidence. In order to do this, Indonesia needs to adopt an attitude of openness and display its goodwill. "We need to be patient. We should watch the reverberations of the London meeting," he said.

As for the desires of East Timorese youths to leave for Portugal, Habibie did not think that this would damage Indonesia's image on the international arena. He is inclined to think that we should encourage people to go there. "Then they will see for themselves that in Portugal they become fourth-class citizens," he said

DURÃO BARROSO: "I AM NOT SAYING I WILL NEVER RECEIVE THEM..."

Publico, 13 January 1994. By Ana Sa Lopes. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the Foreign Minister met with the Parliamentary Commission on East Timor. At the meeting he stated that "it would be giving the wrong diplomatic signs" to receive the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association adding that "The Indonesian Foreign Minister has, on various occasions, been urged to receive the Resistance representation, but has not done so until now." He did, however, allow for a possible change of heart: "But also, I am not saying I will never receive them. The matter would have to be seen in the light of certain tactical objectives, and always taking into consideration the principles which, for us, are inalienable."

Regarding the audience given by the Foreign Ministry to Gen. Galvão de Melo (Chairman of the Friendship Association) in his personal capacity, Durão Barroso said that the General was "a person who had belonged to the National Salvation Junta, who had once played an important role at a particular period in history," and that he was "an older person, to be respected," "whether or not one agrees with his opinions, a person with a certain status...". It was even "a nice talk, which covered subjects other than East Timor." At the end, the Minister told the journalists that "receiving Galvão de Melo held no political significance whatsoever," and that the Foreign Ministry did "not accept intermediaries," other than the UN, to deal with issues linked to East Timor.

Durão Barroso warned not to "overestimate said Association, giving it importance

which, in the context, it does not have" and whose "public statements have been badly chosen and counterproductive to its stated aims."

On the subject of the next negotiating round scheduled for May in Geneva with Ali Alatas, Durão Barroso said he was "not expecting significant progress," which did "not mean that I do not wish there would be." He refused to comment on whether visas might be issued to Ali Alatas and Francisco Lopes da Cruz to visit Portugal, saying that he never speaks about visas "before they have been requested."

LETTER FROM MNSGR. BELO, BISHOP OF DILI

From CDPM, Translated from Portuguese.

Jakarta, 14 January 1994

To: Dr. Paulo Remedios
CSC Tata Mai Lau
Macau (via Hong Kong)

Dear Dr. Paulo,

My sincere and respectful good wishes to you.

I am in Jakarta to deal with matters of interest to Timor, and from here I wish to express my deep gratitude for your company during my brief visit to Perth, W. Australia, last December.

At the moment, General Carlos Galvão de Melo and Dr. Manuel Tilman are in Timor. Both are always accompanied by informers (bufos). The Timorese generally believe that these visits only serve to benefit the Indonesians, not the Timorese. The General's statements have been truly offensive.

In general, the plight of young people is difficult. There are many in Jakarta; dis-trusted by the Indonesians, they are always harassed. I think that many are going to try to leave, making their way from here to Macau.

The meeting in London, in which Father Francisco Fernandes was also present, is seen in a very negative light by the Timorese inside. Indonesian television said that the Reconciliation Meeting was held to show support for Integration! It was too.

I am going to see if I can make it to Macau in May or June.

No more news at present. Again, my best wishes and thanks for everything.

Kind regards to all those working in the CSC Tata Mai Lau.

Yours sincerely,
(signature)

Carlos Filipe X. Belo, SDB
Apostolic Administrator

MELO: FALL OF FRETILIN ONLY A MATTER OF TIME

Jakarta Post (14 Jan, Dili) and AFP (18 Jan, Jakarta) Summarised.

The chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, (PIFA), Gen. (ret'd) Carlos Galvão de Melo says its only a matter of time before Fretilin is completely crushed.

"The Fretilin remnants abroad led by Ramos-Horta have no longer any influence over the East Timorese living overseas. Their activities are practically meaningless." He was speaking before meeting East Timor governor, Abilio Osorio Soares Wednesday. He had met Udayana military commander, Major-General Theo Syafei in Denpasar.

He said he is very impressed with the progress of development in East Timor. "There is no doubt that the situation is much better than when it was still a Portuguese colony."

Meanwhile Governor Soares said Melo told him "that he would do the best he could to convince the Portuguese government that the majority of the people here support East Timor's integration with Indonesia."

AFP reported meanwhile that Melo's visit to East Timor was strongly condemned by Bishop Belo Tuesday in an interview with Portuguese Radio, TSF. "He has insulted the people of East Timor in presenting himself as the ambassador of Indonesia to Portugal. The presence here of that type of person is of no interest to anyone," said Belo.

INDONESIA-PORTUGAL: A THAW IN RELATIONS SOON?

By Yuli Ismartono

JAKARTA, Jan 15 (IPS) - A visiting Portuguese ex-air force general who is said to have close ties with Portugal's president has predicted the fall of FRETILIN, the rebel group leading the independence movement in East Timor.

Retired General Carlos Galvão de Melo, who is on a tour of Indonesia and East Timor, also told reporters here this week that he is confident relations between Lisbon and Jakarta would improve soon.

Indonesia and Portugal have been at odds over East Timor for the past 17 years.

A former colony of Portugal, East Timor became Indonesia's 27th province following a plebiscite, the results of which remains unrecognised by the United Nations and many Western countries. Lisbon broke off relations with Jakarta a year later in protest.

FRETILIN, the Portuguese acronym for the Revolutionary Front for the Independ-

ence of East Timor, has been resisting the Indonesian annexation since. About 100,000 East Timorese died because of the conflict in the late 1970s.

But de Melo, the most senior Portuguese political figure to visit Indonesia in years, now says it is only a matter of time before FRETILIN collapses.

"The FRETILIN remnants abroad led by (José) Ramos Horta have no longer any influence over the East Timorese living overseas," he said at a press briefing here. "Their activities are practically meaningless."

Reports reaching here say rebel activities in Timor itself have slowed down drastically ever since FRETILIN leader José Alexandre Gusmão was captured by the Indonesian military in 1992.

He is currently serving a 20-year prison sentence at Cipinang Correctional Institution in Jakarta for treason and illegal possession of firearms.

De Melo, chairman of the newly-created Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, is visiting Timor island as part of his fact-finding trip that follows a landmark meeting between Indonesian East Timorese and their exiled counterparts in Europe, Australia and Macao.

The meeting that took place last month in London was the result of diplomatic efforts by Indonesian Ambassador-at-large Francisco Xavier Lopes da Cruz, who hails from Dili, the capital of East Timor. The two-day breakthrough talks brought together FRETILIN president Abilio Araujo and Indonesian President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana.

De Melo has invited Rukmana, a senior member of Indonesia's ruling Golkar party, to visit Portugal later this year.

It was de Melo who headed the junta that overthrew the Caetano regime in Portugal in 1974, an event that spurred Lisbon to abandon East Timor, though not relinquishing formal sovereignty.

In Dili, de Melo met with Timor Governor Abilio José Osorio Soares.

"De Melo told me that he would do the best he could to convince the Portuguese government that the majority of the people here support integration with Indonesia, despite the fact that up to now the United Nations has not yet recognised the action," said Soares.

De Melo has indicated he was impressed with the progress of development in Portugal's former colony, and the tolerance toward Christianity, given Islam's dominance in Indonesia.

The general admits his mission to forge a better understanding between the peoples of Indonesia and Portugal has no official backing, but he is convinced it would help lead to

a thaw in the two countries' frosty relations.

Still, he notes that the Portuguese press remains hostile to Indonesia and says media there would be the hardest to convince of Indonesia's policies toward East Timor – particularly with recent news that Gusmão has been denied visitation rights because of a letter he allegedly wrote and smuggled out of jail.

The FRETILIN leader is said to have addressed the letter to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists requesting help in annulling his trial by an Indonesian court in Dili, since he is a Portuguese citizen. Gusmão also wants a retrial because he says he was given inadequate representation.

Indonesia has been trying to have diplomatic negotiations with Lisbon, which is still recognised by the United Nations as the administrative power over East Timor. But the massacre of scores of protesters in Dili by Indonesian troops in November 1991 overtook such attempts.

This June, however, Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas is scheduled to meet again with his Portuguese counterpart at the U.N. headquarters in New York.

Past dialogues ended inconclusively as Portugal persisted in demanding a referendum be held in East Timor, a proposal that Indonesia repeatedly rejected.

COMMENT FROM CHARLIE SCHEINER, ETAN/US

Please read with the usual grain of salt appropriate for IPS articles. A few errors at first glance, among many: Xanana is head of CNRM, not Fretilin. The next Alatas-Barroso meeting is May 6, in Geneva. There never was a 'plebiscite' of any credibility. Gusmão doesn't want a retrial – he rejects any sentence by an Indonesian court and has asked for an annulment of the earlier trial. And so forth.

INTOLERABLE

Publico, 15 January 1994. By Vicente Jorge Silva. Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Democracy is a system tolerant of all opinions, even those of its enemies. However, being democratic does not mean being indifferent. The views of the Jakarta dictatorship's Portuguese friends are, of course, admissible as long as they are seen as personal views of independent citizens and, as such, are subject to the ethical and political judgment of public opinion. However, what is not tolerable is that an international figure of such standing as the United Nations' Secretary General, agrees to talk with – even indirectly – citizens, who only

represent foreign interests, to the detriment of their own country.

The interview given by Boutros Ghali's special envoy to the Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association is an initiative has brought shame upon the UN, and requires an immediate and unequivocal response from the Portuguese authorities. No country which seeks international respect for its name and positions would take such humiliation without reacting vigorously – and not just for formality or protocol's sake, but for reasons of basic dignity. If national sovereignty has not yet become an anachronistic abstraction, then the award by the UN of interlocutor status to a private organisation distinguished only for its offence to that sovereignty, cannot be accepted as normal, "pragmatic" or "responsible."

Mr. Manuel Macedo and General Galvão de Melo merely represent the political and economic interests of a collaborationist fifth-column in alliance with the Indonesian dictatorship. Now, if there is one issue on which there is full consensus in Portugal among political parties, institutions and public opinion, that issue is Timor. Furthermore, at a time when the resistance is once again raising its voice against Jakarta's oppression, the schemes of Suharto's friends, and the shameful respectability conferred on them by the UN Secretary General, are stabs in the back for Portuguese and Timorese alike.

It was a mistake for Durao Barroso to officially receive Galvão de Melo, when the General's role in the Jakarta connection was already clear and notorious. But that meeting was still exclusively "Portuguese," between Minister and citizen. Now, however, Jakarta's Portuguese friends have been elevated to a position of respectability by the highest authority in world affairs.

If Manuel Macedo wants to buy cheaper shirts, and Galvão de Melo enjoys exotic holidays in exchange for favours for Suharto, that is their business, but when the UN holds meetings with them and Portugal does not react, that is just downright intolerable.

PORTUGUESE CUSTOMS CLEAR INDONESIAN COTTON

Jornal de Noticias, 16 February 1994

(Lisbon) Fifteen tons of cotton yard from Indonesia arrived on Wednesday to the Port of Leixoes (Portugal), and were cleared by customs without a hitch, in spite of the trade boycott decreed by the Government. The importer was Manuel Macedo, Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association.

The raw material, 15 tons of cotton yarn, to be turned into cloth for making, among other articles, shirts and sheets in a textile factory in Ermesinde, was imported by businessman Manuel Macedo and cleared customs on Monday, without any problem.

The businessman said that the import of goods from Indonesia is legal and that there is not such boycott on trade with that southeast Asian nation which, in 1975, annexed the territory of East Timor under Portuguese administration.

Everything was done above board. The payment for the goods was made by transfer to Indonesia through a Portuguese bank, emphasised Manuel Macedo, adding that "the boycott is just hypocrisy on the part of the Government and President of the Republic."

Macedo, who intends to conduct 2,000,000,000 Escudos worth of business this year with Indonesia, said he had followed all the trade and imports regulations, established by the European Union, which authorises Indonesia to negotiate with member states.

Manuel Macedo added that Portuguese businessmen are already doing business with the Indonesians, but that they use a third country, mainly Holland, as a stopover for their merchandise, before it arrives in Portugal. This procedure makes the product more expensive, he said.

The freighter that transported the eight containers loaded with cotton yarn from Indonesia to Portugal arrived Wednesday of last week in the Port of Leixoes, where it was cleared by customs on Monday morning, and then taken to Manuel Macedo's textile factory to be spun into cloth.

Comment from CDPM (Maubere People's Rights Commission):

The Portuguese Government has never decreed an official boycott on Indonesian products, claiming that this is not possible while Portugal is a member of the European Union (EU), given that such is not the position of the EU.

Following the Dili massacre, the Portuguese Government appealed to both Portuguese businessmen and consumers, and recently, the Foreign Minister renewed that appeal not to import or buy Indonesian products. Manuel Macedo's statements referring to "hypocrisy" are intended to cause confusion.

MELO: EAST TIMOR CAN'T AFFORD INDEPENDENCE

Agence France Presse, January 19, 1994

A leader of the 1974 Portuguese revolution said Wednesday that East Timor was too small and poor to be independent and

that the former Portuguese colony was better off as part of Indonesia.

East Timor was "too little, too poor, to become independent," retired general Carlos Galvão de Melo told a news conference toward the end of his 16-day visit to Indonesia, including a trip to East Timor.

The anti-communist general was one of the leaders of the junta which overthrew the Caetano regime in Portugal in 1974 in order to halt the fighting in Portuguese colonies.

De Melo said there has been greater progress in East Timor in 17 years of Indonesian rule than in 400 years as a Portuguese colony.

He said he had nothing against a referendum but thought it was hypocritical for Portuguese politicians to call for one.

Indonesian troops invaded East Timor in December 1975, and Jakarta unilaterally annexed the territory as its 27th province in 1976.

The United Nations still views Portugal as the administrator of East Timor. A UN decree stipulates the need for self-determination for the East Timorese, and Portugal has been demanding that a referendum be held in its former colony.

De Melo, invited here as chairman of the Lisbon-based Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, told journalists after meeting Indonesian President Suharto earlier Wednesday that integration with Indonesia was the best solution for East Timor.

The general said that Suharto did not ask him to convince the government and people of Portugal to recognize Indonesian sovereignty in East Timor.

BISHOP OF DILI WILL NOT RECEIVE GALVÃO

Radio Renascenca, 19 Jan. translated.

General Galvão de Melo, who is expected to arrive in Dili today, may find himself deprived of one of his most important contacts. Yesterday, Mnsgr. Ximenes Belo, Bishop of Dili, said he would be unavailable to meet the Vice-Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association. "Why is he interested in coming here, I ask myself?" the Bishop told Radio Renascenca, keeping his view on Galvão de Melo's visit to himself until after 17th January, when Galvão de Melo is due back in Jakarta, where the General's visit commenced.

Before leaving for Bali, where he is to meet with the Indonesian Military Commander of the Region, before continuing his journey to Dili, Galvão de Melo told Agence France Press that he was sure that the Portuguese Government's "attitude" towards Timor would change "during this year."

INDECENT PROPAGANDA

Publico, 27 January 1994. By Vicente Jorge Silva. Translated from Portuguese

The press conference held two days ago by General Galvão de Melo and his partner friends of Jakarta was the final act in grotesque and degrading buffoonery, whose only objective is to sell in Portugal the propaganda of the dictatorship that oppresses Timor. Suharto's Portuguese associates are so anxious to feature in the demonstration of their services to Indonesia, that they can no longer disguise their jealousy of each other. They all talk at the same time, and argue among themselves over the quality of privileged speakers or interpreters of Indonesian interests.

Galvão de Melo - who has a glorified idea of himself being Alatas's ambassador - turned furiously at Nuno Rocha when the latter, attempting to rival the General's statements, interrupted to emphasize the goodness of Indonesia's intentions. And Manuel Macedo - who at least is more direct and shameless - once again exhibited his considerable rewards from his business dealings with Timor's occupiers.

The fifth-column of Jakarta's Portuguese friends must not be allowed to continue the indefinite abuse of the Portuguese press for their indecent propaganda. In the pluralist spirit, for which it is known, *Publico* published the views of citizens supporting Timor's integration in Indonesia. However, it is now perfectly clear that that openness of spirit has been taken advantage of by the pro-Indonesia fifth-column in their eagerness to exhibit the services rendered to the Suharto dictatorship. The creation of the so-called Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, and the recent propagandistic journeys of some of its leaders, fit into a campaign orchestrated and financed by Jakarta to consummate Timor's annexation.

As from today, *Publico* will no longer give coverage to the propaganda activities of this group of individuals, which represents nothing but a shameful attitude of subservience to the foreign occupier of Timor. From now on, *Publico* will only print information considered to be truly relevant to the issue. Furthermore, we appeal to the Portuguese press - which, in general, has given such wide coverage and been responsive to the Timorese drama - to understand the urgent need to put an end to this indecent propaganda. If there are causes and principles which justify the noble role of the press, the problem of Timor is certainly one of them.

INFORMATION AND PROPAGANDA

Publico, 30 January 1994. By Vicente Jorge Silva Translated from Portuguese.

No matter how complete, all-embracing, and generous their information criteria may be, no newspaper, TV channel, or radio station ever reports everything about all that happens. Of course, this has something to do with the obvious physical and material impossibility of covering all issues, but basically it is because informing means choosing, opting between what is relevant and what is not. Journalistic editing is not a bureaucratic function involving unsystematic and indifferent recording of current events. It means noting, organising and selecting material, according to rules and criteria of importance and relevance to the public, which vary according to the nature and direction of the media. It is this which defines the outline and characteristics of each information channel, and the mutual confidence established with its readership, viewers or listeners.

Publico considered that the activities (mere propaganda organised by individuals lacking any political representation whatsoever) of the so-called Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association do not justify news coverage. This attitude, which was made public and clearly explained (see *Publico* of 27.1.94) became a controversial issue and led to, in some cases, expression of pure political hypocrisy. MP Pacheco Pereira - the same one that inspired the failed attempt to restrict freedom of information within Parliament (Assembly of the Republic) - seized the opportunity to accuse *Publico* of practicing censorship. There were also media chiefs who, while acknowledging the ethics behind our attitude, seemed intimidated by their practical consequences.

Publico is not confusing information and opinion. But for exactly this reason, it does not wish to confuse information and propaganda, especially when such propaganda reaches levels of obscenity on a par with the activities of Jakarta's Portuguese agents. Although it is true that no text published in *Publico* inferred any identification of the paper with the positions held by Indonesia's propagandists, it is also true that the media coverage given to their activities, apart from being way out of proportion, has given them such relevance that it can only serve to benefit their interests and those of the Suharto regime.

Journalists are permanently confronted with political and ethical issues, in which the borderlines between information and propaganda are often blurred. There was much hot debate about this when the Gulf

War was being covered. Like all positions, the stand we have taken on the propagandistic activities of Indonesia's friends is certainly arguable and controversial. But we prefer take it full in the face than to lend ourselves to spotlighting in our pages an indecent propaganda circus, which only exists in reality because of all the attention given to it by the Portuguese media.

LONDON "RECONCILIATION" TALKS

INDONESIA-SPONSORED EAST TIMORESE 'DIALOGUE' IN LONDON

TAPOL Report, 13 December 1993

Talks between East Timorese from the exterior and from the interior are to take place in London on 14 and 15 December at a hotel, the name of which has not yet been made public. A press conference is due to be held on Thursday, 16 December.

These talks have been promoted by Jakarta and strongly advocated by Abilio Araujo, former head of the Fretilin External Delegation, as a way of seeking agreement with 'pro-integration' and 'anti-integration' East Timorese personalities, and hoping thereby to take the East Timor issue out of the hands of the UN-sponsored negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal.

These talks, sometimes referred to as 'conciliation talks,' have been shrouded in secrecy up to the last moment and even late on Monday, the Indonesian embassy in London was denying all knowledge of the event. The talks were earlier to have taken place in Madrid but did not take place for reasons that remain unclear. Some sources say that the leaking of information about the event caused the cancellation.

Preliminary lists of names deleted.

MORE ON LONDON TALKS

Radio Netherlands, 13 December 1993. By Jill Jolliffe in Lisbon.

Dateline: Hilversum. Broadcast in Indonesian, translated.

It is a matter for the record that Bishop Belo does not support these talks. In response to claims to this effect by Abilio Araujo in an interview with the Portuguese press several months ago, Bishop Belo was quoted as saying that he would only support talks in which the national resistance council, the CNRM, and its overseas representative, José Ramos-Horta, participated.

- TAPOL

On Tuesday, 14 December, the first meeting will take place in London between pro-integration and anti-integration groups of Timorese. The meeting will be held in private and will go on for three days, to discuss various issues regarding East Timor, the former Portuguese colony which was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. The talks are taking place on the initiative of Indonesia and will be informal in nature; they will not touch on the status of East Timor. The following is Jill Jolliffe's report:

The announcement of the talks came from Macao and was made by Father Francisco Fernandes, an East Timorese priest who has been living in exile since 1976; he will be taking part on the pro-independence side.

In an interview with the Portuguese news agency, LUSA, Fr. Fernandes said that the talks in London were the first of the dialogues which may prove fruitful in finding a solution. The solution may begin with the demilitarisation of East Timor, the release of East Timorese political prisoners, and free access for the press and international agencies to East Timor. Fr. Fernandes will be one of the team of ten people which will be led by Abilio Araujo, former leader of Fretilin who was expelled last August by the Fretilin leadership which is close to José Ramos-Horta.

A pro-integration team composed of the same number of people will be led by Roving Ambassador Francisco Lopes da Cruz.

We are nationalists and will never betray East Timor, said Abilio Araujo. He also said that the Portuguese Government is fully informed about the talks and is taking a neutral and active [?] position.

According to Abilio Araujo, the preparations for the talks have involved Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and the Indonesian Defence Minister [General Edy Sudrajat] but no Indonesians will be taking part.

The only people taking part will be East Timorese, he said.

Indonesia and Portugal have been talking since 1982 but without result. We Timorese have been kept out, although we are the ones who are most directly involved. There are now signs that Indonesia is willing to make concessions by for instance allowing the East Timorese who participate to leave Indonesia. Abilio was not prepared to give the names of the pro-integration people in the talks.

Araujo said he recognises the risk of manipulations by the Indonesian government but "we are very clear in our minds about what we want, which is to create a good climate of understanding. We want dialogue and reconciliation and we cannot continue living with illusions."

According to Araujo, the East Timor Catholic Church, including Bishop Belo, fully supports these talks [!] although Bishop Belo himself will not be taking part.

LONDON TALKS SHROUDED IN SECRECY

TAPOL Report, 14 December 1993

First a caveat: TAPOL has been receiving a whirl of information in the past 24 hours - names, times of arrival and lots more. Lots of people have been phoning to see if we know anything, but we have had to say, 'Not much.' We have put together these reports in the belief that readers of reg.easttimor will want to follow events surrounding the London Talks. We cannot vouchsafe the reliability any of the detailed information we have been putting out but would guess that much or most of it is correct. Anyway, we will keep you posted....

The 'conciliation talks' between East Timorese which are scheduled to start today in London are shrouded in secrecy. Journalists inquiring at the Indonesian embassy have only been told, "We know nothing." An official did say that the second man, Effendi Arizal, went to Heathrow to meet Lopes da Cruz this morning.

The team from Lisbon were due to arrive on a BA flight landing at 11.05, but they were not on the plane, nor on another that arrived from Lisbon a little later. Some journalists now believe they may have sneaked in last night.

One journalist spotted Lopes da Cruz and his group arriving late morning at Heathrow, Terminal 4, and being met by Arizal Effendi of the Indonesian embassy. He tried to follow the entourage on their trip into London, but lost track of them when they sped through some red lights!

According to one journalist, Governor Abilio Soares was among the team arriving from Jakarta.

Further, we have now been told that no priest from the Dili diocese is attending the talks. This places doubts on the information we have about the presence of Fr. Antonio Costa in the team 'from the interior.'

The designation 'Dr.' used in our list of participants should read 'drs,' the title for an ordinary degree.

Why the secrecy?

One might have thought that an event like this should be given a high profile, so why the secrecy? This may be because the Indonesians recognise a risk factor and would prefer to avoid having to publicly explain away a failure. What failures may happen? Possibly, failure to reach any agreement, though one would have thought that enough preparatory groundwork had been done to ensure that this does not happen. Another possibility - that they might agree to ask for concessions that Jakarta will not be able to make. Hence the need to avoid such an embarrassment.

In fact, the event itself is far from being secret and we here can assure readers that there are any number of journalists rushing round London trying to find out where they are having lunch or dinner, where they are staying, where the talks are to be held.

Why in London?

We here have no rational explanation, except that London is as good as any other European capital. Does the British Government know about the talks? Yes, the Foreign Office have told inquirers that they have been told they will take place but have not given or been asked for any logistical support. Commenting on the talks, an FO official said only that they would welcome it if East Timorese could reach agreement.

EAST TIMORESE HOLD SECRET TALKS IN LONDON

By Bob Mantiri, IPS

BRUSSELS, Dec. 14 - Indonesian and Portuguese-based East Timorese are holding reconciliation talks in London, Indonesian diplomats said here today.

It is the second time in the last three months that the two parties have held talks in private. They first met in Madrid in mid-October.

The delegation of the pro-Indonesian East Timorese group is led by former East Timorese Vice-Governor Francisco Lopes da Cruz, Indonesia's roving ambassador.

Cruz has also been an executive member of the Democratic Union Party of East Timor (UDT) - which favored integration

with Indonesia after the Portuguese colonial administrators pulled out from East Timor in 1975.

The ten-man delegation from the Portuguese-based East Timorese group is headed by former Fretilin executive Abilio Araujo.

Two priests from East Timor, Father Francisco Fernandez and Father Rogiero Lobato, are also taking part in the reconciliation talks. Father Lobato is the special representative of the influential Bishop Belo of Dili.

According to Indonesian diplomats, the reconciliation talks, which will last three days, were organized by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, and Army Chief Eddy Sudradjat.

Indonesian diplomats said that Araujo has placed three conditions on reaching a solution to the East Timor problem. He has demanded that East Timor be demilitarized, that all political prisoners be released and that a free press be allowed in the former Portuguese colony.

Lopez Da Cruz, who is one of the advisors of President Suharto, said that Jakarta would be prepared to give limited autonomy to East Timor and has stressed that the Indonesian army has recently reduced its presence on the island.

Da Cruz says there is only one army combat battalion left in remote East Timor and all other troops there are engaged in development projects.

Col. John Lumintang, who is commander of the military district which oversees security in the troubled area, recently said that Jakarta planned to "gradually reduce the number of troops as socio-economic conditions improved."

Indonesian diplomats are reluctant to say whether the ongoing reconciliation talks have been successful. "It is an affair for the East Timorese, we don't want to meddle in their affairs," a senior diplomat said. "We are just creating conditions and a good climate for these talks, which we fully support," he added.

But Brussels-based supporters of Fretilin are skeptical about the talks. They accuse the Jakarta government of "trying to split the East Timorese front abroad."

EC diplomats in Jakarta, however, say that President Suharto is eager to solve the East Timorese problem as soon as possible.

Since the massacre of East Timorese pro-independence demonstrators on Nov. 12 in Dili - when some 180 people were shot dead by Indonesian troops - Indonesia has received continuous criticism from the international community.

Indonesia's five partners in the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) have blamed Jakarta for the grouping's failure of getting an economic cooperation

agreement with the European Community (EC) off the ground – due to the East Timor conflict.

CORRECTIONS! (from TAPOL)

IPS really has a flair for getting things wrong.

'Father' Rogerio Lobato is not a Catholic priest at all. He was Fretilin's minister of defence in 1975 and left East Timor shortly before the invasion. He remained on Fretilin's external committee but spent several years in prison in Angola on corruption charges. To describe him as 'the special representative of the influential Bishop Belo of Dili' is simply ludicrous.

It's interesting to learn - and this is almost certainly true - that the talks were organised by Foreign Minister Alatas and 'army chief' Eddy Sudradjat, except that Edi Sudradjat is not army chief. He is now, and has for months been, Indonesia's Minister of Defence.

TAPOL

TIMORESE MEET IN LONDON (SPONSORED BY JAKARTA)

Publico, 15 December 1993 By Joaquim T. de Negreiros, Translated from Portuguese

In the eyes of the dominating structure of the Resistance abroad, this is nothing but another Indonesian maneuver. For Abilio Araujo, it is an opportunity for dialogue to complement the UN sponsored negotiations - with Jakarta as sponsor.

An informal dinner to be held last night in London signalled the start of the so-called "reconciliation meeting," to be held over the next two days. The meeting will be the forum at which a delegation of Timorese, integrated in the Indonesian politico-administrative machinery, and a heterogeneous group of exiles, not belonging to the structure currently dominating the Resistance abroad, sit at the same table.

The meeting, which has been successfully scheduled and then postponed since last April, and finally set for today and tomorrow, has been strongly condemned by the "troika" of the Diplomatic Front's Coordinating Commission, composed of Ramos-Horta (CNRM), Mari Alkatiri (Fretilin), and João Carrascalão (UDT). They see the initiative as a diversion technique employed by Indonesia to "divert" the Timor issue from its international setting, and involvement of the UN.

An Indonesian diplomatic effort

The determined efforts of Jakarta's diplomacy in the preparation of the meeting, made clear by the activities of the Indonesian Embassy in London, have contributed

towards the meeting being seen in a disfavoured light in the eyes of the main sectors of the Timorese Resistance abroad.

Abilio Araujo, former Fretilin representative in Portugal, who is already in London for the meeting, does not see the meeting in the same way. For Araujo, the meeting is to discuss humanitarian and cultural issues and, by mutual agreement, integration will not be on the agenda. He believes the meeting should be considered a complementary ("lateral") initiative to the negotiations sponsored by the UN Secretary General, which involve the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia.

Abilio Araujo's intention is to make the London meeting the first of a series of meetings, which would be held more frequently than the ministerial level meetings (the next round of which is scheduled for March in Geneva). Everything depends on the outcome of the first experience, which the former Fretilin representative cautiously describes as "preparatory." Araujo's cautiousness is justifiable, given the difficulties there will be in dealing with some of the more sensitive issues.

Negotiation of prisoners

One such issue is that of the release of prisoners, which the exiles will wish to raise in London, and on which Indonesia has made conditional upon the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between Indonesia and Portugal. Portugal recently rejected the viability of opening an Indonesian "desk" (a kind of diplomatic representation in embryonic form) at the Thai or Spanish Embassy in Lisbon. This would have been corresponded by the installation of a Portuguese "desk" at the Dutch Embassy in Jakarta.

MORE ON LONDON TALKS

TAPOL Report, 15 December 1993

The 'reconciliation talks' between East Timorese from inside and outside East Timor were held today at an undisclosed location, about thirty miles from London. The meeting took place in an exclusive hotel in the countryside, well away from any residential centre. The two journalists who went did so on the strict understanding that they would not divulge the name of the hotel or its location to anyone. The arrangement for them to visit the location and interview some of the participants was made by a senior diplomat at the Indonesian embassy, Arizal Effendi who was clearly in charge of everything. [It is likely that it was the qualifications of Effendi as a slick operator, perhaps even a BAIS man, that swung Jakarta's decision in favour of holding the talks in London.]

Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the Indonesian embassy, many of whose staff were present, insist that the event has not been arranged by the Indonesian government.

The hotel was surrounded by plain-clothed Indonesian intelligence agents and security officers, armed with walkie-talkies and keeping unwanted intruders out. When Abilio Araujo was interviewed, he and the journalist were surrounded by about seven Indonesian officials; they were videoed and every word spoken was monitored. Araujo appeared to be very nervous throughout the interview.

We now have the official list of participants, which is as follows:

From Indonesia:

Francisco Xavier Lopes da Cruz and Mrs. da Cruz
Guilherme dos Santos
Armando Soares Mariano
Francisco Xavier do Amaral
Francisco dos Santos Ribeiro
Florentino Sarmento
Tarciso dos Reis Amaral
Maria Aurelia M. Reis Soares
José Piedade
Rui Augusto Gomes
Francisco Kalbuadi

From outside:

Abilio Araujo
Fr. Francisco Fernandes
José Belo
Antonio Araujo
Fr. Constancio Gusmão
Manuel Tilman
Rogerio Lobato
Manuel Jaime Ximenes
Marcos de Orleaos
Rogerio Pereira
Lourencio Lameiras

It is not clear whether there will be a press conference. The participants and their Indonesian sponsors may think it better to end the meeting by issuing a statement and avoid any confrontation with the press.

BISHOP BELO ON THE "CONCILIATION" TALKS IN LONDON

15 December 1993

Interview by: Rui Araujo (RTP-TV) & José Lopez (Portuguese Radio), conducted in Portuguese

Rui Araujo(RA): Bishop Belo, what do you think about the Timorese reconciliation talks in London?

Bishop Belo(BB): What is happening? I have no knowledge of this?

José Lopez(JL): Bishop, we are in London and the meeting began this morning.

BB: I don't know anything about this meeting. I was in Australia and people told me about it. Now the meeting is happening, but I don't know anything about it.

RA: What do you think, in principle, of a meeting between the Timorese resistance outside and pro-integration Timorese?

BB: I don't have any thoughts about it. I know nothing about it.

RA: Bishop, do have any comment about Abilio's statement that you support this kind of meeting?

BB: As I have not heard anything from Abilio I cannot make any comment.

RA: Abilio issued a statement this morning which asserted that you guarantee and support these reconciliation talks between the Timorese resistance and the pro-integrationists.

BB: I can't affirm or reject them and I cannot say whether or not I support them. I have to wait for developments at the UN.

RA: Bishop, I have another question. Have you been contacted by Abilio Araujo or any person from the Indonesian administration about this meeting?

BB: I have not been contacted by anyone. I have not been contacted. No one has contacted me.

RA: What is your reaction to this meeting?

BB: I would say that if Portugal and Indonesia are discussing the issue, under UN auspices, why do other people have to interfere in the middle of this process.

JL: Bishop, two weeks ago I telephoned you at the Portuguese Consulate in Melbourne, after the dinner with the Portuguese Consul. At that time you said that eventually a large meeting between the Timorese could be a positive thing, even before the next round of talks between Portugal and Indonesia.

BB: But now we have to wait for the talks between Portugal and Indonesia.

RA: Are reconciliation talks between the Timorese still possible?

BB: Yes, it is possible. If it is not possible we have to find a way to make it so. But for now we have to wait for the talks between Portugal and Indonesia under UN auspices.

RA: Thank you very much, Bishop Belo.

LONDON TALKS UPDATE

TAPOL Report, 16 December 1993

Shots on Portuguese RTP-TV of the 'reconciliation talks' between East Timorese which took place yesterday at a secret location about outside London somewhere near Cambridge, showed the location surrounded by and swarming with Indonesian security officers (as we described in our report yesterday).

Shots of the opening session of the meeting, taken by RTP journalist, Rui Araujo, the only Portuguese journalist to be given access, show Abilio Araujo who headed the team from outside, the anti-integration side, speaking. He is heard saying that anyone who does not support these talks will find themselves left out of a solution to the question of East Timor. He reiterated his assertion, made on several earlier occasions, that the East Timor Church and Bishop Belo himself, support the talks.

There appears to be some confusion over the agenda. Araujo was quoted earlier as saying that matters such as demilitarisation and the release of political prisoners would be on the agenda. It now appears that the agenda consisted of two points, 'development' and 'justice.'

There are no signs yet of any final communiqué from the meeting.

Bishop Belo denial

Bishop Belo was interviewed yesterday in Dili by phone for Portuguese Radio. He made it clear that he was not in a position to speak freely. Asked whether he supports moves towards reconciliation now taking place at a meeting in Britain, he replied: "What meeting? What reconciliation? I know nothing about any meeting." Pressed by the interviewer who said that Abilio Araujo had said the talks have his support, Bishop Belo said he had not been informed of any talks and had not received any information from anyone about them. He said that of course he supports reconciliation which should include all elements in East Timorese society, but he feels that nothing should take the place of the talks that are going on under the auspices of the United Nations, most recently in New York and earlier in Rome.

ABILIO ARAUJO INTERVIEWED AT TALKS

London, 18 December 1993

The following is an interview of Abilio Araujo made on 15 December 1993 by the BBC World Service during the East Timorese 'reconciliation talks' at an undisclosed location somewhere near Cambridge:

Q: You have long been known as one of the leading Fretilin figures for East Timorese independence. Why have you decided now to join these talks which are being held by Indonesia and which most people involved in Fretilin are boycotting?

A: First of all I would like to say that I took the initiative, I made the invitation to Mr. Lopes da Cruz some months ago and I am very happy that their response was very positive. So this initiative is an initiative taken by myself and fully supported by Mr. Lopes da Cruz. I would like to greet the Indonesian authorities that also helped that this meeting could take place. It is a sign of goodwill that we appreciate very much.

As for the talks I would like to say that everything that is related with reconciliation is always a good thing. That's why everyone should support it. I am sure that sooner or later - and for my part I will do my best - to open, to enlarge the participation of the Timorese outside in this process. And I am sure that one day the people who will come to see our brothers who come from East Timor will be more than today.

Q: The problem is that very few people imagine that Indonesia can offer anything even approaching autonomy for East Timor and if you get anything less than that, it doesn't seem like a major breakthrough. There will still be a big division between Indonesia and the East Timorese and the Portuguese who want independence.

A: I don't say that the Portuguese want independence. I don't say what the others want. I would like to say what we, the East Timorese want. We want life, we want a better life, we want development, we want a good and bright future for our people and for our children. And that's why I believe that the Timorese leaders who are in East Timor, who are playing an important role both in administrative and in political things, have a very important role. And since they are working together with our people, we want to hear from them what is the level of the life in East Timor. And our main concern at this moment is the life, the physical and spiritual life of our people.

Q: Have you abandoned the goal of independence yourself?

A: I myself I used to say that our right of self-determination has been denied for 400 years.

Q: And what about the accusation that some of your colleagues would make that the reason that you have now decided to join these Indonesian-sponsored talks is because you were expelled from the Fretilin Central Committee earlier this year?

A: First of all I must say that I was not expelled. I am president and this is still so. But for this meeting I came in my personal capacity. Because I want that these talks are talks of Timorese, non-party talks, and we come here as old friends, as brothers, to meet each other. And I would like to say again that these talks are an initiative taken by me some months ago and I still don't understand why people continue to say that it is something that is bad. Why?

Q: Are you worried at all about being manipulated by the Indonesian government?

A: I want to say clearly that, first of all, we are in a process of dialogue at all levels. If there is dialogue, why are Timorese forbidden to talk to each other? The destiny of our people, first of all, stays in our hands.

Q: But with Indonesia keeping a very close watch on what you're doing because, after all, this meeting here has involved the help of the Indonesian embassy and a lot of Indonesian staff.

A: I only, I only can thank the support as I did already since the beginning. Without the support, without the understanding of the Indonesian government, we would not come here. And it is a positive aspect. It shows that there is goodwill from the Indonesian government and I want to stress this.

Q: Thanks very much indeed.

BACKGROUND ON TALKS PARTICIPANTS

TAPOL Report, 18 December 1993

Referring to our final official list of participants at the talks, here is some information about the personalities who took part in the 'reconciliation talks' on the Indonesian side:

Xavier Francisco Lopes da Cruz was deputy governor of East Timor in Indonesia's first administration set up in 1976. He was a signatory of the so-called 'Balibo Declaration' (so-called because it was in fact signed in Bali) of 30 November 1975 which asked Indonesia to integrate East Timor.

Lopes da Cruz has often attended international gatherings as a member of Indonesian delegations, 'representing' East Timor. He was for a number of years a member of Suharto's Supreme Advisory Council, until being appointed earlier this year Special Indonesian Ambassador for East Timor affairs.

Xavier do Amaral was the first president of Fretilin who was replaced by Nicolau Lobato in 1977; he was held in custody by the Fretilin forces until he was captured by Indonesian troops. Since then he has lived within the Dading Kalbuadi household, and

was for many years charged with looking after the general's horses. In a lengthy interview in an Indonesian journal some months ago, do Amaral described his present highly controlled life, kept in fairly agreeable physical conditions with a nice house, paid for by some army generals. He also conveyed a sense of pride in his earlier political activities.

Francisco Kalbuadi was adopted soon after the invasion by General Dading Kalbuadi, one of the leading commanders of the invasion. Timorese sources describe him as a 'sinister character' who is deeply disliked by the Timorese because of his corrupt business activities associated with the military and his objectionable lifestyle. Sources suggest that he may be on the team 'to keep an eye on Xavier do Amaral.'

Armindo Mariano Soares was formerly of Apodeti. He is a close associate of Abilio Osorio Soares, the present 'governor' of East Timor. He was district chief of Dili during Mario Carrascalão's term as governor.

Maria Aurelia, also a member of Apodeti, is the daughter of the late Arnaldo Araujo, co-founder of Apodeti and the first Indonesian-appointed governor after the invasion.

ALATAS: EAST TIMORESE SLANDER CAMPAIGN AGAINST INDONESIA

Radio Netherlands, 'Gema Warta.' 21 Dec. 93. Language: Indonesian, abridged.

Radio Netherlands interviewed Foreign Minister Ali Alatas on 20 December, just after last week's Indonesia-sponsored London meeting between groups led by Abilio Araujo and Lopes da Cruz respectively.

Alatas complained that Indonesia often has to experience negative reporting and criticisms from NGOs, such as Amnesty International and others, regarding East Timor. Such reporting is not based on facts, it distorts the truth or presents "half-truths." This is part of a campaign against Indonesia which shows no concern for the truth, Alatas added.

According to Alatas such slander campaigns are led by a small number of people, mainly ex-Fretilin or Fretilin members who lost out in the integration process of East Timor into Indonesia. Furthermore, these people carry out their anti-Indonesia slander campaign under the assistance of Portugal.

The number of slanderers is small, very small in fact, and their names are well known to the Indonesian government. They have been successful in influencing certain NGOs, but they do not reflect world opinion on East Timor, Alatas concluded.

ABILIO ARAUJO CAN GO TO INDONESIA

AFP, 23 December 1993, Dateline: Jakarta. Slightly abridged

Comment: Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, known as Mbak Tutut, Suharto's oldest daughter, has long been known to have business and property interests in East Timor. It was her foundation, Yayasan Tiara, that inveigled young East Timorese to leave for Java for well-paid jobs, only to become low-paid workers in various factories. She is now thought to be the chair of the Indonesian-Portuguese Friendship Association and planning to take an active part in business deals with Portuguese businessmen eager to trade with Indonesia. There are rumours that she visited Lisbon recently.

The Indonesian ambassador, Fannie Habibie, who also figures in this story, is the brother of B.J. Habibie, arms industry supremo, Suharto's right-hand man, with great political clout. It is enlightening to see that such regime cronies are, it seems, to become Abilio Araujo's sponsors when he visits Indonesia which, this story suggests, may soon happen.

Indeed yesterday, there were rumours that Abilio was already in Jakarta, but we refrained from posting anything for lack of verification.

Meanwhile, Jakarta is still silent about the recent talks in the UK, nor does this item make any reference to them.

— TAPOL

FORMER PRO-INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENT HEAD ALLOWED TO RETURN TO INDONESIA

Indonesia will allow entry to the former president of the East Timor pro-independence movement, Abilio Araujo, as long as he refrains from meddling in sovereignty issues, reports said here Thursday.

"We will welcome anyone who wants to return ... on condition he will not question the political status of East Timor, which is a part of Indonesia," the Republika daily quoted Coordinating Minister for Security and Political Affairs, Susilo Sudarman as saying.

The daily said Araujo met on December 20 in London with several Indonesian officials, such as Deputy Chairman of the ruling GOLKAR party, President Suharto's daughter Siti Hardiyanti Rukmana, Ambassador at large, Lopes da Cruz, and ambassador for Britain Fannie Habibie.

Araujo was ousted earlier this year as the president of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) because he was involved in setting up the Indone-

sian-Portuguese Friendship Association this year.

It is also said that Portuguese general Galvão Melo, a member of the European Parliament Indonesian Friendship Association (EPIFA) would visit Indonesia on January 4. [Melo is not a member of EPIFA, not being an MEP. But he was the main speaker at an EPIFA meeting in the European Parliament in Strasbourg last week. - TAPOL]

Correction:

The recent EPIFA meeting in Strasbourg was addressed by Macedo, the Portuguese businessman who heads the Portuguese-Indonesian Friendship Association, not by General Melo.

VOICES OF HOPE ... OR OF OPPRESSION

The Nation (Bangkok), 8 January, By Geoffrey Gunn

Geoffrey Gunn discusses the recent meeting in London of East Timorese leaders and Indonesian officials and questions who are the legitimate representatives of the East Timorese people.

In late December wire agencies reported that East Timorese exile Rogerio Lobato, a former senior member of Fretilin, would visit Indonesia from 4 January with former Portuguese General Galvão de Melo, a member of the revolutionary council which ended the dictatorship in Portugal in May 1974. The visit was "the latest move in Jakarta's effort to mute international attacks on its role in East Timor

How did this extraordinary turn of events eventuate? What is the meaning of this diplomacy outside the ambit of the United Nations? What risks does this private and erstwhile secret diplomacy entail?

Between 14 and 15 December, a meeting occurred in a house outside London between two groups of Timorese. One consisted of pro Indonesian East Timorese along with Indonesian officials while the other comprised self appointed representatives of the East Timorese people in exile.

Styled the "fraternal reunion between Timorese leaders from Indonesia and the diaspora," this meeting can be seen as a diplomatic triumph for the Indonesian side.

Not only had a section of the Timorese in exile been lured into dialogue with their pro-integrationist compatriots, but the Indonesian side had managed to sow discord amongst the overseas Timorese while at the same time conferring legitimacy on "acceptable" as opposed to "unacceptable" leaders of that community.

The matter can be further illustrated by examining the dramatis personae of those involved in the London meeting. Chief frontman for the Indonesian side at London was, not surprisingly, former Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) supremo turned Indonesian collaborator, and currently presidential appointee cum roving ambassador for Indonesia on East Timorese affairs, F.X. Lopes da Cruz.

Having started out his political career in colonial Timor as a representative of the Caetanoist Accao Nacional popular party, Lopes da Cruz did not arrive alone at the London meeting.

Besides top Indonesian diplomats from the London Embassy as well as from Indonesian missions in Spain and France, representatives of Indonesian intelligence, including figures close to presidential confidante and eminence gris Minister for Research and Technology Habibie, were also in attendance.

While Lopes da Cruz spoke long at this meeting of the tragedy of the "grand Timorese family" separated by time and space, of the need for "unity of all for the good of all," it was after all the language of "integrasi," not a formula that envisaged an independent Timor outside of Indonesia.

Besides the exercise in London designed to win over the cream of Timorese society in the diaspora, Lopes da Cruz has also been active on Indonesia's behalf over the past twelve months in an albeit unsuccessful attempt to win over the Vatican to Jakarta's views.

Taken together, this diplomatic push by Indonesia seeks to remove two major obstacles to the legitimization of its rule in East Timor: opposition from the Church and no less, from the most troublesome and least manageable quarter of all, the leadership of the overseas Timorese who have hitherto shown one face and stood for one supreme goal, the liberation of their homeland.

Heading the "reconciliation" group of overseas Timorese was erstwhile senior, or rather expelled, Fretilin leader, Abilio Araujo. Styling himself "Head of Delegation of Leaders of the Diaspora," Araujo described the meeting in an opening speech as "an exciting historical (sic) for our beloved Timor."

The presence in London of Rogerio Lobato, founder of the Fretilin armed forces, or Falantil, and brother of the late Fretilin commander Nicolau, might be taken as a diplomatic coup on the part of Jakarta, but it should be recalled that Jakarta's new "ally" also served a long time in a Luanda prison on the charge of trafficking in diamonds and abusing Angolan diplomatic privileges.

Besides these Portugal-based leaders, the "reunion" also attracted a strong push from Macao led by lawyer Dr. Manuel Tilman, a former Timorese member of the Portuguese parliament (198081) (Independent Social Democratic Party) and self-styled UDT president in Macao. Other members of the so-called "grupo do seis" or group of six from Macao included the highly respected Timorese community leader Father Francisco Fernandez.

No communiqués issued forth from this meeting except the decision taken that this would be the first of a series of talks, the next to be held in an ASEAN country, most probably Malaysia, and with further meetings to be held in other Asian countries.

Given the secret and private nature of the diplomacy one can only speculate as to the quid pro quo offered by the Indonesian side in return for the extraordinary gesture of granting visas to Rogerio Lobato, Tilman and others to visit Indonesia (and East Timor?).

It appears now that notwithstanding obvious divisions between UDT and Fretilin among the overseas Timorese, Jakarta has successfully opened a rift between those who support the so-called "reconciliation" process and those who resist.

This is not surprising as neither Fretilin leadership (José Ramos Horta or Mari Alkatiri (sic)) nor the UDT leadership (João Carrascalão) are in agreement with this diplomacy. Neither has Portugal or the UN lent its endorsement to the Indonesian initiative.

While individual members of the East Timorese leaders' delegation assert that they still claim self-determination to be the objective, that they still regard Xanana Gusmão as the rightful leader of a future independent East Timorese state, that the reconciliation talks are not out of line with the UN sponsored dialogue on East Timor, the affair raises more questions than it answers.

Impatience on the part of the East Timorese with the snail's pace of the UN-initiated talks is understandable, but the rush to embrace the Indonesian government in private diplomacy obviously carries enormous risks.

First, it plays directly into the hands of Indonesian propaganda aimed at splitting the fragile unity of the East Timorese nationalist movement, namely between acceptable leaders (Abilio Araujo) and unacceptable leaders (José Ramos Horta and Mari Alkatiri).

Second, it is a delusion to expect Indonesia to offer the slightest concession on self-determination for East Timor to any single group of East Timorese when Jakarta has shunned the international community and

ignored the numerous UN resolutions on the issue for almost two decades.

Neither would recent outbursts by the Indonesian president against pro-democracy activists in the Indonesian capital offer any hope for the East Timorese self-determination cause in any quarter.

Third, it might be said that by focussing minds on leadership questions, which have always bedevilled the East Timorese freedom cause, Indonesia detracts from the unity of resolve required by the Timorese if ever and whenever the UN pushes Indonesia to honour an internationally acceptable referendum on self-determination.

Finally, by entering into secret diplomacy with Indonesia, the "reconciliation" group threatens to prejudice the UN sponsored dialogue on East Timor.

Pushed to extremes (unless this too is the Indonesian strategy) the splitist tactics pursued by Jakarta in dealing with the Timorese threaten to recreate the devastating conditions of civil war such as transpired in East Timor in 1975.

Clearly, what concerns Jakarta is the creation in Lisbon last August of the all-party Coordinating Committee for the Diplomatic Front whereby the three major elements of the Timorese resistance seek to take a common stand, especially in the UN initiated discussions on East Timor such as at the third round of talks on East Timor held in New York on 17 September 1993.

Those East Timorese leaders behind the push for reconciliation with Jakarta would be well advised to direct their energies towards obliging Indonesia to adhere to the letter and spirit of the 17 September 1993 meeting, notably the stipulation set down by the UN Secretary general that Indonesia facilitate unconditional access to the territory by United Nations, human rights monitors and other interested parties including journalists (respectively, the fourth and sixth points of the statement by the UN Secretary General's spokesman on East Timor.)

Bargaining for visa rights with Indonesia to enter East Timor pending the implementation of these determinants and, indeed, pending the fourth round of UN-sponsored talks on East Timor to be held in Geneva on 6 May is tantamount to trading with the devil and should be condemned as such.

(Geoffrey Gunn is the co-author of a forthcoming book, "A Critical View of Western Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor since 1975.")

DIVISIONS CONCERN TIMORESE LEADERS

Diario de Noticias, 3 February 1994

On 19 December Xanana Gusmão received a letter, in prison, from Azancot Menezes, claiming the chairmanship of the Political Commission of UDT (abolished by the UDT Congress in 1992).

In his reply, excerpts (of the 7 page original) of which are given below, Xanana appeals for unity among Timorese abroad, reaffirms confidence in Ramos Horta and in the CNRM's peace plan, he reiterates support for the UN's continued mediation, and condemns the "reconciliation strategy," led by Abilio Araujo (Fretilin) at the London meeting.

"(...) We, in the fatherland, have had little luck with our leaders on the outside. Whenever we receive news, it concerns the failings within the parties, which so weaken the Timorese capacity to resist. Both Fretilin and UDT play at contradictions, and try to drag us into this "status quo" of Timorese political life. We are amazed at how Timorese abroad are unable to get along. We just cannot understand the mechanism which inclines Timorese intellect towards eternal leadership disputes!

"(...) And if that were not enough, another group is scheming a new strategy: "reconciliation" strategy (...) Our people deeply regret this political infantilism. (...) I think the time has come for Timorese to become reconciled - I do not mean the ridiculous "reconciliation" that took place in the UK. (...) Do you agree with the strategy of Abilio Araujo and his cronies?

"(...) Ramos Horta is my personal representative, and the CNRM's special representative. I am still the main leader of the CNRM. (...) I do not want to be chairman of anything, as I am not ambitious in that way. But now, today, I am claiming the leadership of the fight for myself. (...) Neither I nor my guerrillas (...) will sell even one centimetre of our fatherland. Our fatherland is our life's gift! (...) The Falintil gave up all that a normal life has to offer them, and continue to be prepared to die for the fatherland. And they say "yes" to the CNRM peace plan.

"(...) Our people suffer. How can you save our people? How can you free our people? " (...)

INDONESIA'S PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

INDONESIA DFA ON CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS IN EAST TIMOR

Statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia; Jakarta, 3 December 1993

Comment: This is Indonesia's latest restatement of its position. Most of what it says has been addressed from various sources in previous postings. It seems odd, though not unsurprising, that Indonesia would highlight Portugal's characterization of November 12 in Dili as a 'massacre,' while calling on Portugal to pay attention to "reports from impartial observers." That a massacre took place November 12 1991 is certainly the consensus of most observers. Also noteworthy is Indonesia's insistence that Portugal is bound by the terminology of the 1992 statement from the Human Rights Commission. Especially, since Indonesia chooses to ignore two post-invasion Security Council resolutions, which under the UN Charter are binding on all members. Finally, we can only presume that in para. 2 Indonesia doesn't mention the visit of the Swedish parliamentary delegation, because it disagrees with its harsh conclusions.

— John Miller, ETAN/US

The Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia deeply regrets that despite the understanding achieved during the last meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal in New York on 17 September under the sponsorship of the UN Secretary-General, the Government of Portugal continues to make unsubstantiated charges against Indonesia and to twist facts surrounding the issue of East Timor. Such statements, supported neither by facts nor reports from impartial observers, can only undermine the ongoing dialogue between the two countries which is aimed at bringing about a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor, and call into question Portugal's sincerity in carrying out its commitments under the present dialogue.

A clear proof of bad faith on the part of the Government of Portugal is the deliberate use of the term "massacre" in a Statement by the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to describe the incident of 12 November 1991 in Dili. The Government of Portugal is bound by the 1992 Chairman's Statement of the Commission on Human Rights. The Chairman's Statement specifically em-

ploy the term "incident" which was agreed upon by the parties concerned.

In the interest of truth, the Department of Foreign Affairs would like to cite the following facts to set the record straight on the current situation in East Timor:

1. With regard to the incident of 12 November 1991 in Dili, the Government of Indonesia has made every effort to resolve all outstanding issues related to this tragic event. In line with this, the Government of Indonesia has worked closely with the Secretary-General of the UN and has kept him informed of all steps it has taken. This include undertaking an exhaustive search for all persons who were listed unaccounted for after the incident. In this intensive search, the Government of Indonesia involved a number of national and local government agencies and sought and obtained the assistance of civic and social organizations, community and religious leaders as well as the general public. As a result of these efforts, many of those listed as unaccounted for have been located. A good number of them actually presented themselves to the East Timor authorities after having learned that those earlier found by the authorities were treated well and were allowed to go home.
2. Concerning access to the province of East Timor, the Indonesian Government has made serious efforts to comply with the understanding reached on 17 September 1993. For some time now, the International Committee of the Red Cross and a number of Non-Governmental Organizations have been active in East Timor. Recently, 20 defense attaches based in embassies in Jakarta and a delegation from the European Parliament toured the province. Also recently three prominent Portuguese civic leader, namely Mr. Manuel Joaquim Rodrigues Macedo, Mr. Gaspar Silvio Lopes Santa Rosa, and Mr. José Martins visited East Timor. It should be noted that following their visit, these three gentlemen made a statement that reports circulated in Portugal do not reflect the positive developments that have taken place in East Timor.
3. The Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association (PIFA), was established on 21 October 1993 in O Porto (sic), Portugal to promote mutual understanding between the peoples of Portugal and Indonesia through cultural and economic channels. This organization represents a private initiative of leading Portugal citizens, and is a clear indication that enlightened circles in Portugal recognize that the disinformation campaign being

waged by their Government against Indonesia is doing harm to only to Indonesia but to their own country as well.

4. The East Timor Military Command has been formally disbanded and replaced with a regular military command structure identical to that found in each of Indonesia's other provinces. Of the eight battalions currently stationed in the province, seven are devoted to the implementation of development projects throughout the province. By 1995, all but two of these battalions will have been phased out of East Timor.
5. The Government of Indonesia would also like to reiterate that the people of East Timor have exercised the right to self-determination by choosing in 1976, independence through integration with Indonesia under UN Resolution 1514 (XV) and Principles VI, VIII, and IX of General Assembly Resolution 1541 and the relevant provisions of General Assembly Resolution 2625 (XXV). This act of self-determination has been confirmed three times through he active participation of the people of East Timor in Indonesian national elections. More recently, 35 East Timorese Tribal leaders presented a statement to President Suharto emphasizing their commitment to integration with Indonesia.

The steps taken by Indonesia in the province are in line with the understanding reached during the 17 September 1993 meeting that both the Portuguese and Indonesian Governments would carry out confidence-building measures in order to engender a favorable climate for dialogue between them.

Indonesia is fully committed to cooperating in good faith with the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his efforts to find a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor. In this regard, the Government of Indonesia welcomes the positive result of the last dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under the auspices of the Secretary-General. If these discussions are to be successful, we feel it is imperative that Portugal demonstrate its good faith and commitment to implement the understanding of 17 September 1993. This could only be accomplished if Portugal immediately ceased its efforts to discredit Indonesia through the dissemination of baseless accusations and distortions of facts as well as its support of activities that only serve to hinder the process of development in a province that was neglected during hundreds of years of Portuguese colonization.

PORTUGUESE RESPONSE (A MONTH LATER)

Diario de Noticias, 4 January 1994. By A. Sampaio & P. Ferreirinha, Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Yesterday, the Portuguese Government opted to ignore an Indonesian communiqué, accusing Portugal of acting in "bad faith" with regards Timor, and of efforts to discredit Jakarta.

When contacted by *Diario de Noticias*, Minister Durão Barroso made no comment. The Government clearly prefers to congratulate itself on the release of the seven Timorese, who arrived in Lisbon last week, and to believe that this was a sign of flexibility and opening on the part of the Suharto regime.

But, already this year, Indonesia presented the Portuguese Government with an recriminatory communiqué, issued by the Indonesian Foreign Ministry. The document classified the term "massacre" (used by Portugal to describe the Santa Cruz "incident") as "evidence of bad faith." The communiqué, made public yesterday by the Indonesian Embassy in Berne, points out that Portugal ought to respect the term "incident," adopted in 1992 in a statement issued by the UN Human Rights Commission. The document warns that such terminology jeopardizes the talks that are underway between the two countries, which "aim to find a fair and internationally acceptable settlement to the question of Timor." Jakarta considers it "imperative" that Portugal demonstrate its good faith and readiness to fulfill what was agreed in September 1993. "This will only be achieved if Portugal puts an end to its efforts to discredit Indonesia, its spreading of groundless accusations and distortion of the facts."

The document states that not all Portuguese agree with their Government's position, and refers to the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association as an example of this.

Australia and Timor

Secret Australian Governmental documents made public this week have revealed the extent of that country's involvement, since 1963, in Timor's destiny.

When the Indonesians entered Dili on the morning of 7th December 1975, nothing was done in Canberra. The invasion was expected. The "go ahead" had already been given months before by the Australian Embassy in Jakarta, and even by the Prime Minister Gough Whitlam himself.

The Australians did not want an independent Timor. It was thought that, at that time, Australia's position was just beginning to form: Timor belonged to Indonesia, and in

the eyes of Australia's politicians, that was the reality. Three years later Australia became the first and only country to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over Timor. However, government documents now reveal that Australia's role in Timor's destiny began, not in 1975, but twelve years before, in 1963, when the Australian Government had already considered the inevitability of Timor's annexation. The documents prove that the attitude of Prime Minister Menzies, in 1963, was identical to that of Whitlam in 1975. One of the scenarios studied at the time was for support and finance to be given to Jakarta for the creation of an anti-colonialist group, whose task it would be to destabilise the situation enough to facilitate Indonesia's entry into Timor.

INDONESIA LAUNCHES HUMAN RIGHTS PUBLIC RELATIONS CAMPAIGN

*Agence France Presse, February 14, 1994.
By Pascal Mallet*

Indonesia has launched a public relations campaign in an effort to charm the United Nations Human Rights Commission and avoid further humiliation for its treatment of East Timor.

The exercise comes at an appropriate time with discussion of the human rights situation in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony unilaterally annexed by Jakarta in 1976, scheduled to take place under the UN commission from February 23 to March 9, diplomatic sources said.

Indonesia's claimed sovereignty over East Timor is not recognized by the United Nations, which considers Portugal to hold administrative authority over the territory until a decision can be made on the territory's right to self-determination.

Portugal obtained a resolution from the commission on March 11, 1993 demanding that Indonesia explain alleged human rights violations in the territory.

The resolution also called for an accounting of some 60 people still listed as missing after Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a demonstration in the provincial capital Dili on November 12, 1991.

According to authorities, the shootings left 19 dead, but independent estimates put the toll from what has become known as the "Dili Massacre" at 115.

As part of the current campaign to boost its public image ahead of the UN debate, Indonesia's foreign ministry has invited foreign journalists based here to tour East Timor from February 14-18, but has given no guarantee for free travel within the territory. Since the trial nine months ago of José Alexander "Xanana" Gusmão, the former

head of the East Timorese pro-independence movement FRETILIN, no foreign journalist has been allowed access to the territory.

Gusmão was sentenced to life imprisonment in May last year, but the sentence was commuted to 20 years in jail by President Suharto.

Another gesture showing Jakarta's sensitivity about its international image, was a visit by Indonesian legislators on February 10 to see Gusmão in his Cipinang prison cell.

Just before the visit, the authorities renewed visiting rights for Gusmão after they were suspended at the beginning of January when it was found out that he had clandestinely sent a letter to the Geneva-based International Commission of Jurists requesting the annulment of his trial.

In November last year, military advisors from 12 countries, including the United States and Japan, visited East Timor at the invitation of their Indonesian counterparts.

During the visit, the territory's garrison chief, Colonel Johny Lumintang, confirmed that troop sizes had been scaled down from 10 to eight battalions, signaling a relaxation of Indonesian military presence in the territory as called for by the United Nations following the Dili Massacre.

But the US State Department in its annual report on human rights in the world, published in January, said: "In East Timor, where largely cosmetic changes in the force structure resulted in minimal reductions in troop presence, no significant progress was noted in the search for the about 60 persons still missing from the November 12, 1991 shooting incident in Dili."

A British television team which secretly toured East Timor at the end of last year is due to release its preliminary report in London on February 15 and on the ITV network a week later.

The British report is seen as potentially damning for the Indonesian military authorities, observers here say.

Britain's Guardian newspaper and Australia's Sydney-based Morning Herald published in their Saturday editions interviews with the authors of the upcoming report, in which the Indonesian military is compared to the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

The foreign ministry has reacted to the reports saying they were a publicity victory for FRETILIN and its allies.

DEATH OF A NATION APPROACHES RELEASE; SECOND MASSACRE ALLEGED

TV FILM ON EAST TIMOR NEXT MONTH

From TAPOL, Jan. 14

A film on East Timor, entitled 'Death of a Nation,' made by one of the UK's leading journalist and documentary filmmakers, John Pilger, will be shown on the main independent TV channel, ITV at 10.40 pm on Tuesday 22 February 1994.

Simultaneously with the appearance of the film, the Oxford based monthly, 'New Internationalist' March 1994 issue, which will be on sale from the third week of February, will be devoted to East Timor. John Pilger is the guest editor. The New Internationalist has a world-wide circulation.

Those wishing to inquire about the showing of 'Death of a Nation' in other countries should contact John Pilger at home: 081 673-2848 or at Central Productions: Tel. 071 637-4602, Fax 071 580-7780.

TIMORESE RESPONSE

ABC radio, 9 am news. 12 February 1994

Reader: The East Timorese community in Australia says a new television documentary will prove that the 1991 Dili massacre was part of an ongoing campaign by the Indonesian government. British film maker Max Stahl, and an Australian born journalist John Pilger. "Death of a Nation," is said to contain footage of the aftermath of the killing. The director of the East Timor Relief Association Agio Pereira says the documentary will prove Indonesia wanted to eliminate East Timorese resistance.

AGIO PEREIRA: If you look into the history of East Timor since the invasion until today, so many massacres have taken place. We were lucky that - lucky in a sense that certainly because of the death of more than 200 Timorese and the filming of the event by western journalist that have managed to bring the issue out.

ETRA'S RESPONSE

12 February 1994, ABC radio 12 pm news

READER: The man who showed the world evidence of the slaughter of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, has condemned the Indonesian for doing the same thing in East Timor. In a new film called "Death of a Nation," journalist John Pilger talks to people who claimed there are systematic killings

and torture. He also talked to former diplomats from Australia and Britain who admits the West knew that Indonesia was going to invade the island and they were happy for that to occur. Mr. Pilger says the killings on the province are continuing despite international pressure.

JOHN PILGER: Well, I can't see why the pattern should - the pattern should stop. I mean East Timor is a place where the most extraordinary brutality has taken place for 18 years.

READER: The Sydney-based director of the East Timor Relief Association Agio Pereira says he hopes the documentary will make a change in the Australian government attitude towards Indonesia.

AGIO PEREIRA: We have worked so hard to bring all these truth out, so that the world community can take a stronger stand. If the world community takes a stronger stand, than Australia will follow the train. The history of the occupation of East Timor proves that is a systematic killing, is not an incident as some Ministers in Australia would prefer to call it.

KEATING'S RESPONSE

ABC RADIO NATIONAL, 12 February 1994. 2 pm news The introduction was the same as 12 pm news.

READER: Prime Minister Paul Keating says fresh report of further killings following reports the 1992 Dili massacre will be raised with the Indonesian government by Australia Ambassador at Jakarta. He says the government will seek further information on the claims from the Indonesia Foreign Minister.

PAUL KEATING: Our Ambassador is going to a routine visit with the Indonesian Foreign Minister in the next day or so, so we'll be putting some questions to the Indonesian Government and no doubt we'll get a response.

- TV COVERAGE

SBS (Special Broadcasting Service, Australia) 12 February 1994

READER: Australia's Ambassador in Jakarta today met Indonesia's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas following new allegations of another massacre in East Timor. But Prime Minister Paul Keating has questioned the credibility of one of those involved in the documentary making the new claims. London based Australian journalist John Pilger.

REPORT: Journalist John Pilger says he and film director David Munroe secretly visited East Timor last year and uncovered evidence that a large group of survivors from the massacre at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili

were killed a day later. An East Timorese relief worker who helped translate interviews with witnesses where the film claims were involved in the second massacre, says the victims were taken to hospital by the Indonesian military.

AGIO PEREIRA: It was then that they continued the massacre, by killing them, by bashing them or giving them poisons, medicine to kill them.

REPORTER: Mr. Pereira says the new claims add weight to the views of mass exiled East Timorese that at least 280 people died in the massacre. The film goes further, saying up to further 400 might have died.

AGIO PEREIRA: And this evidence of course points to one simple truth. That the argument of Gareth Evans that the massacre was an aberration by a section of a military is a total lie.

REPORTER: A timely demonstration in Darwin, where the Prime Minister offered a cautious response to the new allegations.

PRIME MINISTER: I am afraid Mr. Pilger is always, his credibility is always under a cloud. Our Ambassador has got a routine visit with the Indonesian Foreign Minister in the next day or so, so we'll be putting some questions to Indonesian Government and no doubt we'll get a response.

REPORTER: East Timorese groups say they call on United Nations to hold a full inquiry into the massacre.

AGIO PEREIRA: Provided that a proper and thorough investigation is done, then you will uncover a very very bad picture with Governments like the Australian Government and Jakarta would not like to see it at all.

REPORTER: Mr. Pereira's group and others say the pressure is once again on Australia to pursue the truth about the Dili massacre.

The report showed pictures of Darwin's East Timorese community and Australian supporters protesting with crosses during Paul Keating's visit yesterday.

ABC TV COVERAGE - DEATH OF A NATION

ABN 2 (TV) 7 pm (first story), 12 Feb. 1994

READER: Australia is pursuing allegations of further atrocities by Indonesian troops during the Dili massacre. The claims is that is not one but three separate lots of killing. According to a British documentary to be aired later this month, civilians were systematically slaughtered to stop them from talking, some as they lay in hospital beds.

REPORTER: Screening on British independent Television later this month, Death of Nation, reopens wounds which resulted from the 1991 massacre in East Timor's capital - Dili.

"My brothers killed and executed in front of my eyes by the Indonesian military."

The documentary claims that the 1991 killings in Dili didn't stop at the protest. It accuses the Indonesian military of killing witnesses over a three-day period. And includes claims soldiers murdered hospital patients by stabbing them, crushing their heads with rocks and running over them with trucks. The film claims 200,000 people, a third of East Timor's population have been killed since Indonesia took control in 1975. Although produced and narrated by controversial Australian journalist John Pilger.

Excerpts of film:

Pilger - This filming is been done in secret without the approval or knowledge of the Indonesian authorities.

REPORTER: Its drawn from the work of three undercover teams, including new footage from Max Stahl, whose pictures of the 1991 massacre generated international outrage.

AGIO PEREIRA: Even the mothers that lost their sons were frightened to say, yes my son was killed. Because then you are a witness, you are alive, you will disappear. They know they will disappear, because it was not the first massacre, the only difference is that is the first one covered by a TV camera.

REPORTER: The Free East Timor movement says it hopes the film shocks the world into action. Today politicians were reacting cautiously.

OPPOSITION LEADER HEWSON: I haven't seen the detail yet. And I am looking forward to speaking to Andrew Peacock about it. I think the international community would be appalled if that would be true.

PAUL KEATING: Those were the murky period I don't think any of us profess to know the full details. There were still people missing, unaccounted for. But nor can we rely upon the reports that we have.

REPORTER: But those reports have prompted an official response. Australia's Ambassador in Jakarta has today been holding routine talks with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. Paul Keating says he has asked the Ambassador to raise the new allegations at that meeting.

Michael Maher from Jakarta:

Q: Michael, how is the Indonesian Government responded to these latest claims.

MICHAEL: Angela, just a short time ago I spoke to the official spokesman from the

Indonesian Foreign Ministry Mr. Irawan. He strongly rejected the latest allegation that a second or third massacre. Mr. Irawan said they all claims, first made immediate aftermath of November 1991 killings in Dili. He said he wasn't surprised at the allegations have been made now with the United Nations Human Rights Commission is presently seating in Geneva. And because UN sponsored talks between Portugal and Indonesia on East Timor are scheduled to begin in May. Essentially Jakarta regards these latest claims as a bid by the East Timorese resistance to keep the issue of East Timor alive.

READER: As we heard on the report Prime Minister Keating asked our Ambassador in Jakarta to raise the issue with the Indonesians, what came of that?

MICHAEL: The issue was raised by Australia's Ambassador to Indonesian Alan Taylor in a meeting he had with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Jakarta today. Mr. Taylor handed copies of Australian newspaper reports on the allegations to Mr. Alatas but told the Minister that the Australian Government had no evidence which would confirm the story. However, Ambassador told the ABC that the Australian Embassy would be following the matter up with the Indonesian Foreign Ministry.

Channel 10 also covered the story on their 10.30 pm news bulletin.

FORCED BIRTH CONTROL IN EAST TIMOR

Some more information on forced birth control in Indonesian-occupied East Timor. From Maggie Helwig, British Coalition for East Timor, Feb. 15.

In *Death of a Nation*, a documentary by John Pilger due to be released today, Pilger speaks to a British doctor who infiltrated East Timor and visited several clinics. He says, "A large number of people were being given birth control, out of all proportion to other medical efforts going on ... 500 women were receiving Depo Provera shots in one clinic; very little else seemed to be going on in this clinic." He also reports that women were given Depo Provera injections with no explanation that these were contraceptive shots. A (male) Timorese in exile, Abel Guterres, also says that he knows of women who were forced to receive Depo shots or given shots with no explanations.

DILI, THE BLOODY AFTERMATH (STAHL)

Sydney Morning Herald, February 12 1994. By Max Stahl.

Max Stahl, the British film maker whose dramatic footage of the 1991 Dili massacre focused world attention on East Timor, returned to the troubled Indonesian province last year and uncovered damning new evidence on the fate of the survivors.

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital of Dili, opened fire on a 3500 strong crowd of mourners and demonstrators who had marched from the town centre to the Santa Cruz cemetery, 5 km away, to commemorate the death of a young man killed by the military two weeks before.

The exact death toll has never been established.

Initially the Indonesian army put it at 50, but that was later dropped to 19. At the same time witnesses - including a number of Western journalists who were present at the cemetery - spoke of more than 100 deaths and many more injured.

A year later, the Governor of East Timor, Abilio José Osorio Soares, was quoted in *Forum Keadilan* magazine as saying that 200 people were killed that day. "As far as I'm concerned," the Governor opined, "I think even more should have died."

The report of the Indonesian Government's National Investigative Commission, released in December 1991, said the soldiers opened fire to protect themselves against a violent demonstration and killed 50 people.

But just as there has been doubt about the dead, so too is there confusion about the fate of the missing survivors. The same official report listed the number of injured as 'more than 91,' those missing as 90 and number initially detained as 308.

There have been unsubstantiated reports of mass burials and secret mass graves, of 'disappearances' and extra-judicial executions. To date, the numbers of dead, injured and missing have never fully tallied.

But a laboratory technician and a survivor I interviewed in East Timor late last year said Indonesian soldiers, doctors and hospital staff murdered scores of injured survivors at a hospital in Dili.

They claimed that Indonesian soldiers at the hospital crushed the skulls of the wounded with large rocks, ran over them with trucks, stabbed them and administered - with doctors present - poisonous disinfecting chemicals as medicines to 'finish off' scores of wounded demonstrators in the wake of the massacre.

It is not possible to quantify accurately the number who died in the hospital. But

based on the testimony of my witnesses and the difference between official figures and a list jointly compiled by the Catholic Church and a Timorese civilian resistance group of people missing in the aftermath of the cemetery massacre, I believe that between 50 and 200 people may have perished in this manner.

Abilio, now 24 years old, was in his last year of high school when he joined the demonstration of November 12, 1991. He survived the first fusillade by diving behind a tree in the Santa Cruz cemetery.

"After the shooting into the crowd, the soldiers advanced, telling all those not wounded to stand up," he told me. "Those who did were cut down with knives."

Abilio stayed down. "I had no wounds, so they used a gun to beat me head my head and made a hole. They beat me until I fainted - until they thought that I was dead."

He was thrown into Mercedes truck "full of dead bodies." He came to and played dead as the truck arrived at the hospital.

"I was conscious, even though wounded, but I tried to concentrate. Two [soldiers] got out first and asked, 'Anyone still alive come down so we can treat you.'"

"One or two wounded colleagues at the back of the Mercedes got out first, but were stabbed by the Indonesians, so I continued to play dead."

Abilio was then stacked together with the dead bodies in a mortuary about 4 metres by 8 metres, "piled high" with the dead and injured - "up to 100 or more maybe, like a carload of sand."

"I saw two guys come in. One had striped shorts with socks. The one with shorts and socks was holding a rock as big as this - a huge rock, used for building houses. Another fellow was holding medicine in a plastic jar.

"Colleagues that were badly wounded lay there screaming. He just threw that rock on their heads, just once, and if they survived, he threw it again, at their chest.

"It made a loud noise. It sounded like cracking coconuts as they fall from a tree to the ground. So loud! But I pretended to 'sleep' and watched with the corner of my eyes as one threw the rock and the other gave tablets - a big white tablet that has a strong acidic smell. Those who took those tablets ... I never saw them again."

Abilio says he talked his way out, claiming that he was a police informer sent to spy on the demonstrators, but not before he had taken two pills. He vomited them up after they gave him a 'strong burning sensation.'

José, now also 24, was a laboratory technician on duty in the same hospital in November 1991. I interviewed him at a secret location in Dili during my stay there last year. Both he and Abilio have since fled to

Europe, although their families remain behind.

"Mercedes and Indonesian Hino military trucks began arriving loaded with dead and wounded," he said, "Ten trucks in all."

José said there were 'up to 800 men' from three battalions (the military police, the police and a local battalion) surrounding the hospital, ensuring that no one unauthorized could get in or out.

"They just dumped [the wounded] down. Some were frightened and they stood up, so orders were given to run them over. That Hino truck just ran them over.

"But those that did not die... the Indonesians wanted to kill them but did not have the courage. So soldiers came into the laboratory and asked me for some poison that would kill people quickly."

José explained to them that there was only sulfuric acid but that was 'very hot, and it would make the people scream if they injected it.' The Indonesians, he said, 'were worried about that.'

'So they brought over the pills. Even if only slightly wounded, the victims sit down, their breath gets harder and harder, and they die slowly, after about 15 minutes, maximum.'

José estimated the total number of dead and dying at about 300. Many had obviously died of injuries sustained in the cemetery.

"After they were killed, they [the Indonesians] took their shoes off, their clothes, their hats and other things, separated them into groups of 10, wrapped them into a white sheet and took them to a dump."

Throughout this orgy of killing and abuse of the wounded, two doctors, whom José named, were in attendance in the hospital supervising proceedings, says José.

José smuggled several of the lethal "pills" out of the hospital and I took them to London where they were analyzed at the Metropolitan Police's forensic science laboratories. They consisted of 600 mg of paraformaldehyde, an extremely powerful and potentially lethal disinfecting fumigant, in common use in hospitals.

"I would never give it to a patient in any circumstances," says neurobiologist Dr. Harold Hillman, a London-based member of Amnesty International's medical advisory group. If swallowed, says Dr. Jonathan Caplan, a British doctor with experience of investigating poisons, such a pill would be 'dramatically poisonous, and the symptoms [as described by José and Abilio] are appropriate to what you'd expect."

Its effects include burning of the throat and stomach, dizziness, lethargy, ataxia (staggering, José described those "even slightly wounded, immediately sitting down") and lapsing into a coma. The body

would become extremely acid and respond by hyperventilating (the hard breathing José described). Death would be by 'circulatory collapse' - a form of heart attack.

A large dose, say 28 grams or more, would normally be fatal, but not normally the 5 or 6 pills (a total of 3 grams) José observed. However, it is clear that people already weak and in a state of shock from loss of blood would be far more vulnerable.

These pills were regarded in the hospital as "lethal poison," says nurse Joaquim Gusmão, 57, who worked in the same hospital for three years between the late 1970s and early 1980s before moving to Portugal where he now lives.

In 1993, the UN Commission on Human Rights voted to condemn Indonesia for its failure to complete a thorough investigation into the November 12 incident. The commission says that Indonesia had never satisfactorily explained what happened to the 207 'missing' demonstrators included in a list submitted in late 1992 to the Commission's Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances.

This is part of a larger list of 273 names of dead or missing feared dead, compiled from information provided by the Catholic Church and researchers of the main Timorese civil resistance movement, the Timorese Clandestine Front.

By late last year, replies concerning only 22 of the listed people were received from Indonesia and only 8 of those were deemed relevant by the working group.

When I returned secretly to East Timor late last year, I sought to corroborate the testimony of my two witnesses.

I took the case of one man on this UN list - a schoolteacher from a town not far from the capital. His name is Tomas, and he appears on both the UN and Indonesian lists of 'disappeared persons.'

Tomas came and sat next to me inside the Santa Cruz cemetery as the Indonesians closed the ring around the demonstrators after the shooting on November 12. I filmed him there, cowering behind a headstone, nursing a leg wound. The police told his relatives they had no record of his arrest. Yet I last saw and filmed him when the cemetery was completely surrounded and the shooting had ceased. The Indonesian soldiers and police were methodically closing the ring to arrest all those inside.

Even if there had been the slightest chance to escape, Tomas could not have taken it. He had just one wound - in the leg. He had stopped to bind it with a handkerchief. He could barely hop and the cemetery was enclosed by a 2 metre wall. He was reportedly seen again in the hospital where all the wounded were taken. After that he was never seen again.

His family, I was told by close friends, had been warned not to speak about his disappearance. I was told they, like all families with relatives among those killed at Santa Cruz, were being persecuted and threatened.

STAHL IN THE SUNDAY TIMES ON TIMOR

The London Sunday Times of today, 13 February 1994, carries a half-page spread of an article by British cameraman Max Stahl, entitled "Indonesians fed 'death pills' to the wounded."

The contents are much the same as in Stahl's article that appeared yesterday in both the Sydney Morning Herald and the Melbourne Age.

THE WEST'S DIRTY WINK (PILGER)

By: John Pilger. The Guardian, 12 February 1994

Ghost gum trees rose out of the tall grass; then without notice this changed to a forest of dead, petrified shapes and black needles through which skeins of fine white sand drifted like mist. Such extraordinary landscape reminded me of parts of central Vietnam, where the Americans dropped ladders of bombs and huge quantities of chemical defoliants, poisoning the soil and food chain and radically altering the environment. In East Timor this is known as the "dead earth."

It is an area whose former inhabitants are either dead or "relocated." You come upon these places on the plateaux and in the ravines of the Matabian mountains, in the east of the island, where the Indonesian pilots in their low-flying US and British fighter aircraft have had a bonanza. "They made the rocks turn white," said a man who lived there and survived. On the rim of these places, which lie like patches of scar tissue all over the body of East Timor, are the crosses.

These are great black crosses etched against the sky and crosses on peaks, crosses in tiers on the hillsides, crosses beside the roads. In East Timor they litter the earth and crowd the eye. Walk into the scrub and they are there, always, it seems, on the edge, a riverbank, an escarpment.

The inscriptions on some are normal: those of generations departed in proper time and sequence. But look at the dates of these normal ones, and you see that they are prior to 1975, when proper time and sequence ended. Then look at the dates on most of them, and they reveal the extinction of whole families, wiped out in the space of a year, a month, a day. "RIP. Mendonca,

Crismina, 7.6.77.....Mendonca, Filismina, 7.6.77.....Mendonca, Adalino, 7.6.77.....Mendonca, Alisa, 7.6.77.....Mendonca, Rosa, 7.6.77.....Mendonca, Anita, 7.6.77.....”

I had with me a hand-drawn map showing the site of a mass grave where some of those murdered in the 1991 massacre of 250 people in Dili, the capital, had been dumped; I had no idea that much of the country was a mass grave, marked by paths end abruptly, and fields inexplicably bulldozed and earth inexplicably covered with tarmac; and by the legions of crosses that march all the way from Tata Mai Lau, the highest peak, 10,000 feet above sea level, down to Lake Tacitulu where a Calvary line of crosses looks across to where the Pope said Mass in 1989 in full view of a crescent of hard salt sand beneath which lie, say local people, countless human remains.

What has happened in East Timor is one of the world's great secrets. "Does anyone know where East Timor is?" asked Alan Clark, the former Defence Minister, on Channel 4 not long ago. When I repeated this to him recently, he said, "I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another." It was a typically blunt Clark riposte, which itself was instructive, for it allowed a glimpse of how the unthinkable was normalised: how decisions taken at great remove in distance and culture had unseen and devastating effects on whole nations of people, albeit foreigners.

East Timor, half an island 300 miles north of Australia, was colonised by Portugal 450 years ago. The Portuguese partly Latinised and insulated the territory from the upheavals of the western half of Timor, which was part of the Dutch East Indies that became Indonesia in 1949. In 1974, the old Salazarist order in Lisbon was swept aside by the "Carnation Revolution" and Europe's last great empire began to disintegrate virtually over night. With the Portuguese preoccupied by events at home, the Indonesian military dictatorship of General Suharto invaded East Timor in 1975, and have illegally and brutally occupied it ever since. The result: some 200,000 Timorese dead, or a third of the population.

Few places on the planet may seem more remote than East Timor. Yet none has been as defiled and abused by murderous forces and as abandoned by the "international community," whose leaders are complicit in one of the great unrecognised crimes of the 20th century. I write that carefully: not even Pol Pot succeeded in killing, proportionately, as many Cambodians as the Indonesian generals have killed East Timorese.

Britain's role is also little-known. As the minister responsible for "defence procure-

ment" under Margaret Thatcher and John Major, Alan Clark approved a sale of ground attack aircraft to Indonesia, valued at more than \$500 million. At the time he told Parliament, "We do not allow the export of arms and equipment likely to be used for oppressive purposes against civilians." When I asked him how this worked, he explained that it applied to "police-type equipment [such as] riot guns, CS gas and anti-personnel stuff," but that "once you get into military equipment, you're into a different category of decision."

I said, "Hawk low-flying aircraft are very effective at policing people on the ground." He replied, "No, they're not....aircraft are used in the context of a civil war. Now depending on which side you support in the civil war, you tend to regard the other people as being oppressed or repressed."

"But," I said, "East Timor isn't a civil war. This is an illegal occupation, which the British Government acknowledges to be an illegal occupation."

"I'm not into that. I don't know anything about that."

"Well you were the minister."

"Yeah, but I'm not interested in illegal occupations or anything like that.....I mean you call it illegal..."

"No, the United Nations does."

I said ministers had often talked about receiving guarantees from the Indonesians that the Hawks would not be used in East Timor.

"Well, I never asked for a guarantee. That must have been some thing that the Foreign Office did.....a guarantee is worthless from any government as far as I'm concerned."

When Jonathan Aitken, who today has Alan Clark's job at the Ministry of Defence, was asked in Parliament: "How many dead or tortured East Timorese are acceptable to the Government in exchange for a defence contract with Indonesia?" he replied, "That is a ridiculous question." But of course it was not.

Eyewitnesses have now described in detail Hawk aircraft attacking civilian areas. José Gusmão, presently exiled in Australia, said, "I watched a Hawk attack on a village in the mountains. It used its machine guns and dropped incendiary bombs. The Hawk is quite different from the American planes; it has a particular nose. You can tell it anywhere."

Other eyewitnesses, who cannot be identified, spoke about the distinctive noise made by the Hawks, and of people being trapped in rockfalls and bombardment.

"I first saw the Hawks in 1984," said José Amorim. "They were standing at the airport at Baucau, where they are based. They are a small aircraft, not at all like the OV-10 Bronco and the Skyhawk from the

US. They are perfect for moving in and out of mountains. They have a terrible sound when they are coming into bomb, like a voice wailing. We immediately go to the caves, into the deepest ones, because their bombs are so powerful. They fly in low...and attack civilians, because the people hiding in the mountains are civilians. Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos. Most people in East Timor know about the British Hawks. Why doesn't the British Government send a fact-finding mission and ask the people?"

The British connection with the horrors of East Timor is a scandal arguably as great, if not greater, than any - including the Scott Inquiry - currently appearing on the front pages. Shortly before the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, on November 12, 1991, Douglas Hurd urged the EC to "cut aid to countries that violate human rights." Shortly after the massacre the British Government increased its aid to the Suharto regime to 81 million, a rise of 250 per cent. The Minister for Overseas Aid, Baroness Chalker, claimed in Parliament that this was "helping the poor in Indonesia." In fact, a large proportion of all British aid to Indonesia is made up of Aid for Trade Provisions (ATP); and much of this is the supply of weapons: British Aerospace, maker of the Hawk aircraft, is among the British weapons companies helping Indonesia's poor. (In January last year, the Armed Services Minister, Archie Hamilton, claimed that the sale of Hawks was "providing jobs." British Aerospace has since laid off 4,000 workers.)

The British war industry has provided a vital prop for the Suharto dictatorship since 1978, when Foreign Secretary David Owen dismissed estimates of East Timorese dead as "exaggerated" and sold the Indonesian generals eight Hawk aircraft. Britain has since sold, or agreed to sell, a further 40 Hawks. These are in addition to Wasp helicopters, Sea Wolf and Rapier SAM missiles, Tribal class frigates, battlefield communication systems, seabed mine disposal equipment, Saladin, Saracen and Fernet armoured vehicles, a fully-equipped Institute of Technology for the Indonesian army and training for Indonesian officers in Britain. In 1992, Margaret Thatcher received an Indonesian award for "helping technology." She said, "I am proud to be one of you."

James Dunn, the former Australian consul in East Timor and adviser to the Australian parliament, has made a study of census statistics since the Indonesians invaded. "Before the invasion," he told me, "East Timor had a population of 688,000, which was growing at just on 2 per cent per annum. Assuming it didn't grow any faster, the population today ought to be 980,000 or

more, almost a million people. If you look at the recent Indonesian census, the Timorese population is probably 650,000. That means its actually less than it was 18 years ago. I don't think there is any case in post-World War Two history where such a decline of population has occurred in these circumstances. It's incredible; worse than Cambodia and Ethiopia."

Where are all these missing Timorese? The estimate of 200,000 was first made in 1983 by the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor. A report last month by an Australian parliamentary committee referred to "at least" 200,000 deaths.

How they died has been Indonesia's and its allies' great secret. Western intelligence has documented the unfolding of the genocide since the first Indonesian paratroopers landed in the capital, Dili, on December 7, 1975 - less than two months after two Australian television crews were murdered by the Indonesian military, leaving just one foreign reporter, Roger East, to witness the invasion. He became the sixth journalist to die there, shot through the head with his hands tied behind his back, his body thrown into the sea.

As a result, in the age of television, few images and reported words have reached the outside world. There was just one radio voice at the time of the invasion, picked up in Darwin, Australia, 300 miles to the south, rising and falling in the static. "The soldiers are killing indiscriminately," it said. "Women and children are being shot in the streets. We are all going to be killed. I repeat, we are all going to be killed.... This is an appeal for international help. This is an SOS. We appeal to the Australian people. Please help us..."

No help came. According to the historian John Taylor, people were subjected to "systematic killing, gratuitous violence and primitive plunder." The Bishop of Dili, Costa Lopez, said, "The soldiers who landed started killing everyone they could find. There were many dead bodies in the street - all we could see were the soldiers killing, killing, killing."

At 2 pm on December 9, 59 men were brought to the wharf and shot one by one, with the crowd ordered to count. The victims were forced to stand on the edge of the pier facing the sea, so that as they were shot their bodies fell into the water. Earlier in the day, women and children had been executed in a similar way. An eyewitness reported, "The Indonesians tore the crying children from their mothers and passed them back to the crowd. The women were shot one by one, with the onlookers being ordered by the Indonesians to count."

As in Pol Pot's Cambodia, the first to die were often minorities. The Chinese popula-

tion was singled out. An eyewitness described how he and others were ordered to "tie the bodies [of the Chinese] to iron poles, attach bricks and throw the bodies in the sea." On the north-west coast, the Chinese population was decimated. The killing of whole families appeared at first to be systematic, then arbitrary. Soldiers were described swinging infants in the air and smashing their heads on rocks, with an officer explaining, "When you clean the field, don't you kill all the snakes, the small and large alike?" "Indonesian troops," wrote John Taylor, "had been given orders to crush all opposition ruthlessly, and were told they were fighting communists in the cause of Jihad [holy war]."

Western governments knew in advance details of virtually every move made by Indonesia. The CIA and other US agencies intercepted Indonesia's military and intelligence communications at a top secret base run by the Australian Defence Signals Directorate (DSD) near Darwin. The information gathered was shared under treaty arrangements with MI6. Moreover, leaked diplomatic cables from Jakarta, notably those sent in 1975 by the Australian Ambassador Richard Woolcott, showed the extent of Western complicity in the Suharto regime's plans to take over the Portuguese colony.

Four months before the invasion, Ambassador Woolcott cabled his government that General Benny Murdani, who led the invasion, had "assured" him that when Indonesia decided to launch a full-scale invasion, Australia would be told in advance.

In a remarkable cable sent to Canberra in August 1975, Woolcott argued Indonesia's case and how Australian public opinion might be "assisted." He proposed that "[we] leave events to take their course...and act in a way which would be designed to minimise the public impact in Australia and show private understanding to Indonesia of their problems." He added, "We do not want to become apologists for Indonesia. I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stand but that is what national interest and foreign policy is all about..."

There was not a word of concern for the interests or the fate of the East Timorese, who were, it was apparent, expendable.

Sir John Archibald Ford, the British Ambassador, recommended to the Foreign Office that it was in Britain's interests that Indonesia should "absorb the territory as soon and as unobtrusively as possible." The US Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, having recently watched US power and his own ambitions humiliated in the "fall" of Saigon, indicated to Jakarta that the US would not object to the invasion. Kissinger and President Ford arrived in Jakarta on

December 5, 1975, on a visit which a State Department official described to reporters as "the big wink." Two days later, as Air Force One climbed out of Indonesian airspace, the bloodbath in East Timor began.

On his return to Washington, Kissinger sought to justify continuing to supply them by making the victim the aggressor. At a meeting with senior State Department officials, he asked, "Can't we construe [East Timor as] a communist government in the middle of Indonesia as self defence?"

Told that this would not work, Kissinger gave orders that he wanted arms shipments "stopped quietly," but secretly "started again" the following month. In fact, as the killing increased, US arms shipments doubled. According to the Centre for Defence Information in Washington, had it not been for the supply of Western arms to Indonesia, the East Timorese resistance movement, Fretilin, might have beaten off the Indonesians.

Five days after the invasion, the UN General Assembly passed a resolution that "strongly deplore[d]" Indonesia's aggression and called on it to withdraw its troops "without delay." The governments of the US, Britain, Australia, Germany and France abstained. Japan, the biggest investor in Indonesia, voted against the resolution. Ten days later, as Western intelligence agencies informed their governments of the scale of the massacres, the Western powers reluctantly supported a Security Council Resolution that unanimously called on "all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor."

The Secretary-General, Kurt Waldheim, dispatched an envoy to East Timor, who was so restricted by the Indonesian military that his visit was worthless. The Portuguese offered the UN a warship in which to take the envoy to a Fretilin-held part of the island. "The Indonesians," signalled the CIA, "are considering whether to sink this vessel..."

This was enough to frighten away the UN. In striking contrast to action taken against Iraq in 1991, neither the Secretary-General nor the Western powers uttered a word in condemnation of Indonesia for failing to comply with a Security Council resolution, and for violating almost every human rights provision in the UN Charter.

On the contrary, in a secret cable to Kissinger on January 23, 1976, the Ambassador to the UN, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, boasted about the "considerable progress" he had made in blocking UN action on East Timor. Later, Moynihan wrote, "The Department of State desired that the UN prove utterly ineffective. This task was given to me and I carried it forward with no inconsiderable success."

Since 1949, when Indonesia won its independence from the Dutch, its "potential" as an "investor's paradise" has been an article of faith in the West. "With its 100 million people, and its 300-mile arc of islands," declared Richard Nixon, "Indonesia contains the region's richest hoard of natural resources [and is] the biggest prize in South East Asia." Indeed, in the seabed off Timor lies one of the world's great oil and gas fields.

In the bloody events that brought Suharto and the generals to power in the mid-Sixties, estimates of the number of killed range from 300,000 to almost a million, most of them landless peasants accused of being members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). The then US Secretary of State, Dean Rusk, said that America was prepared to back a "major military campaign against the PKI." This was passed on to the generals by the US ambassador in Jakarta who told them that Washington "is sympathetic with, and admiring of, what the army is doing." In 1990 a former US official in Jakarta disclosed that he had spent two years drawing up a "hit list" for the generals. The bloodshed of Suharto's coup almost 30 years ago was a precursor of the genocide in East Timor.

Thereafter, events proceeded with an unshakeable, terrible logic. In 1974, after Portugal decided to leave its colony, the prime minister of Australia, Gough Whitlam, met Suharto and told him that East Timor was "economically unviable" to be independent and should become part of Indonesia.

As the fate of the Timorese was being decided by others, the Portuguese literally stepped aside, retreating to nearby Atauro Island, the aptly name "Isle of Goats." The infant independence movement was left to decolonise itself and to defend the nation against one of the largest military powers in Asia.

Almost a year after the invasion, Gough Whitlam's successor, Malcolm Fraser, flew to Jakarta. He said his government now "acknowledged the merger," but "only for purely humanitarian reasons." Fraser was accompanied by the managing director of BHP, Australia's biggest corporation. BHP had recently acquired a controlling share in the Woodside-Burmah company, which had been drilling for oil on and offshore East Timor - a country recently dismissed as "economically unviable."

Other Western governments vied with each other to "sympathise with Indonesia's problems" by selling Jakarta arms - which, not surprisingly, were used in East Timor. When Foreign Secretary David Owen signed the first deal with Indonesia for Hawk aircraft, he said that not only were the estimates of the killings "exaggerated," but that

"the scale of the fighting.....has been greatly reduced."

The opposite was true. The genocide was then at its height. Eyewitnesses to the onslaughts in East Timor spoke of scenes reminiscent of Dante's *Inferno*. "After September [1978]," wrote a priest, "the war intensified. Military aircraft were in action all day long. Hundreds of human beings die daily, their bodies left as food for the vultures. If bullets don't kill us, we die from epidemic disease; villages are being completely destroyed."

With film director David Munro, cameraman Max Stahl and aid worker Ben Richards (the last two are pseudonyms), I filmed secretly in East Timor shortly before Christmas. By remaining most of the time in the mountains, David Munro and I avoided the main military routes. At first, people seemed absent; but they were there. From the highest crest the road plunged into a ravine that led us to a river bed, then deserted us. The four-wheel drive forded the river and heaved out on the other side, where a boy sat motionless and mute, his eyes following us.

Behind him was a village, overlooked by the now familiar rows of whitewashed slabs and black crosses. We were probably the first outsiders the people here had seen for a very long time. The diffident expressions, long cultivated for the Indonesians, changed to astonishment.

The village straddled the road, laid out like a military barracks with a parade ground and a police post at the higher end. The militia were trusted Timorese. The remoteness might have explained this; the Indonesians remain terrified of the guerrillas of Fretilin, the nationalist resistance still fighting on without any help, after 18 years. In the late Seventies and early Eighties, famine claimed many thousands of lives in such camps, as people were denied adequate land on which to grow subsistence crops. Although we saw no starvation, most people were terribly malnourished.

After we had turned south, we saw other camps where many of the faces were Javanese: the product of a "transmigration programme" aimed at unravelling the fabric of Timorese life and culture, and reducing the indigenous population.

A curious militarism seemed to invade all life. Traffic stopped for marching school-girls, jogging teachers and anthem-singing postmen ("Tanah Airku: My Fatherland Indonesia"). Signs announced the "correct" way to live each day "in the spirit of Moral Training." In an Orwellian affront to the Timorese, one sign told them, "Freedom is the right of all nations," quoting Indonesia's own declaration of independence.

"It is the Indonesian civilisation we are bringing [to East Timor]," said the Indonesian military commander in 1982. "And it is not easy to civilise backward people." Timorese occupy few jobs other than as drivers, waitresses, broom-pushers and, of course, officials in the puppet administration. The teaching of the Timorese language is banned. "Before the invasion we lived a typical island life, very peaceful," said Abel. "People were always very hospitable to foreigners. The Portuguese mostly left us alone. It is difficult to describe the change since then, the darkness over us. Of 15 in my immediate family only three are left: myself, my mother and a brother who was shot and crippled. Up until 1985 or 1986, most of our people were concentrated in what they called central control areas; we lived in concentration camps for a long, long time. Only in the last three or four years have some of us been allowed to return home, but we can be moved again at any time. Indonesians use local people to spy on the others. People usually know who the spies are and they learn to deal with it. Certain things are not to be said widely even within the family.

"You see, we have got to pretend that everything is okay. That is part of finding a way to survive for the next day. But a human body and mind have limitations and can only take so much. Once it boils over, people just come out and protest and say things which mean they will find themselves dead the next day. I suppose you can compare us to animals. When animals are put in a cage they always try to escape. In human beings it's much worse. I mean, we the people in East Timor call it the biggest prison island in the world. You must understand that. For us who live here, it's hell."

Was it Primo Levi who said that the worst moment in the Nazi death camps was the recurring fear that people would not believe him, when he told them what had happened, that they would turn away, shaking their heads? This "radical gap" between victim and listener, as psychiatrists call it, may well be suffered en masse by the East Timorese, especially the exiled communities. "Who knows about our country?" they ask constantly. "Who can imagine what has happened to us?"

In 1989, Bishop Carlos Belo, head of the Catholic Church in East Timor, appealed directly to the world in a letter to the then UN Secretary-General, Perez de Cuellar. "We are dying as a people and as a nation," he wrote. He received no reply.

Today there are probably no more than 400 guerrillas under arms, yet they ensure that four Indonesian battalions do nothing but pursue them. Moreover, they are capable of multiplying themselves within a few

days, for they are the focus of a clandestine resistance that reaches into every district and has actually grown in strength over the years. In this way they of course continue to deny the fact of "integration" with Indonesia.

Domingos is 40 and has been in the jungle since 1983. "My wife was tortured and burnt with cigarettes," he said, "She was also raped many times. In September this year [1993], the Indonesians sent the population of her village to find us. My wife came to me and said 'I don't want to see your face because I have been suffering too much....' At first I thought she was rejecting me, but it was the opposite; she was asking me to fight on, to stay out of the village and not be captured and never to surrender. She said to me, 'You get yourself killed and I shall grieve for you, but I don't want to see you in their hands. I'll never accept you giving up!' I looked at her, and she was sad. I asked her if we could live together after the war, and she said softly, 'Yes, we can.' She then walked away."

Domingos and his wife came from a village now known by the Timorese as the "village of the widows." During the summer of 1983, almost 300 people were massacred here. Their names appear on an extraordinary list compiled in Portuguese by the church. In a meticulous script, handwritten in Portuguese, everything is recorded: the name, age of each of the murdered, as well as the date and place of death, and the Indonesian battalion responsible.

Every time I pick up this list, I find it strangely compelling and difficult to put down, as if each death is fresh on the page. Like the ubiquitous crosses, it records the Calvary of whole families, and bears witness to genocide....Feliciano Gomes, aged 50, Jacob Gomes, aged 50, Antonio Gomes, aged 37, Marcelino Gomes, aged 29, João Gomes, aged 33, Miguel Gomes, aged 51, Domingos Gomes, aged 30.....Domingos Gomes, aged 2..."shot."

So far I have counted 40 families, including many children: Kai and Olo Bosi, aged 6 and 4..."shot" ...Marito Soares, aged one year..."shot"...Cacildo Dos Anjos, aged 2..."shot." There are babies as young as three months. At the end of each page, a priest has imprinted his name with a rubber stamp, which he asks "not to be used in the interests of personal security." In handwriting and with a typewriter whose ribbon had seen better days, he introduced the list with an eloquent, angry appeal to the world.

"To the commercial governors," he wrote, "Timor's petroleum smells better than Timorese blood and tears. So who will be the one to take the truth to the international community? Sometimes the press and even the international leaders give the im-

pression that it is not human rights, justice and truth that are paramount in international relations, but the power behind a crime that has the privilege and power of decision. It is evident that the invading government would never have committed such a crime, if it had not received favourable guarantees from governments that should have a more mature sense of international responsibility. Governments must now urgently consider our case!"

We drove into Dili in the early afternoon. It was too quiet: not the quiet of a town asleep in the sun but of a place where something cataclysmic has happened and which is not immediately evident. Fine white colonial buildings face a waterfront lined with trees and a promenade with ancient stone benches. The beauty of this seems uninterrupted. From the lighthouse, past Timor's oldest church, the Motael, to the long-arched facade of the governor's offices and the four ancient cannon, the sea shines all the way to Atauro island, where the Portuguese administration fled in 1975. Then, just beyond a marble statue of the Virgin Mary, the eye collides with rusting landing craft strewn along the beach. They have been left as a reminder of the day Indonesian marines came ashore and killed the first people they saw: women and children running down the beach, offering them food and water, as frightened people do.

Moving east, we reached Baucau in darkness. Baucau is a former Portuguese resort that once claimed a certain melancholy style and where holiday flights used to arrive from Australia. ("Come and get a whiff of the Mediterranean," says an old Trans-Australia Airways brochure.) Today, the airport is an Indonesian air force base and Baucau a military "company town," surrounded by barracks. On the seaford stands the Hotel Flamboyant. We climbed the long staircase in darkness and called out. A Timorese man emerged from the shadows limping and coughing terribly. "What do you want?" he asked. "A room?" I said. He turned and struggled along a deserted colonnade and flung open two doors. There was no water, a fan that turned now and then, a mattress coated with fungus and a window without glass. He left us with our echoes. The Hotel Flamboyant was, until recently, a torture centre.

"My father was tortured several times," said Mario. "He refused to join the new administration. They took him to the police headquarters, then sent for me and my sisters and brothers to see him being tortured. They said to us that if we followed our father's example, this is what would happen to us. They beat him with iron bars at first, then they did something to him that you learn in karate. They put their hands on his

stomach and manipulated his organs and intestines. Indonesian soldiers are trained in these methods. They did this to him in four sessions."

Back in Dili, an old man approached me in the hotel courtyard, asking me in a whisper to contact his family in exile in Australia. I walked away at first, then turned back and drew him into a passageway. "All my children are in Darwin," he said, "I sent them out. It cost a lot in bribes. Now I long to see them." I asked him if he had ever tried to leave. He shook his head and ran his finger across his throat. "Will you take a letter for me?" he asked. "Post it anywhere but here. They open everything. I have not had a letter for eight years." I agreed to collect the letter that evening.

The massacre of mostly young people who marched peacefully to the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991, remains like a presence in Dili. They had set out to place flowers on the grave of a student, Sebastião Gomes, who had been shot dead at the church two weeks earlier. When they reached the cemetery, they themselves were shot down by waiting troops, or they were stabbed or battered to death.

What was different about this massacre was that foreigners were present, including the very brave British cameraman, Max Stahl, who hid his videotape among the gravestones and has been back to East Timor to film with us. In our documentary, *Death of a Nation*, we will show that a second, unreported massacre took place, that day and the following day.

The Australian foreign affairs minister, Gareth Evans, described the 1991 massacre as "an aberration." There is remarkable film of Evans and his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, toasting each other in champagne flying over the Timor Gap oilfields, having just signed a treaty to exploit East Timor's oil and gas. When asked about the moral basis of the treaty, he replied, "What I can say is simply that the world is a pretty unfair place." Within two months of the Dili massacre, 11 contracts were issued under the Timor Gap Treaty.

According to Roger Clark, a world authority on international law at Rutgers University in the US, the Timor Gap Treaty also has a simple analogy in law. "It is acquiring stuff from a thief," he said. "If you acquire stolen property from someone who stole it, you're a receiver. The fact is that [the Indonesians] have neither historical, nor legal, nor moral claim to East Timor and its resources."

Hours before I left East Timor, I met the old man who wanted me to post a letter. After all the years of separation, he said, with tears in his eyes, he had not been able to compose his thoughts and put them on

paper in time for my departure. Instead he gave me a telephone number in Darwin for Isabella, his eldest daughter. I telephoned the number when I got to Bangkok. A recorded voice said it had been disconnected.

None of these terrible events had a vision of those who fought and died to free Indonesia from European colonial oppression. Their struggle for independence from the Dutch produced great popular movements for democracy and social justice. For 14 years Indonesia had one of the freest parliamentary democracies in the world. Today many Indonesians understand this and are silent out of necessity. But for how long? The slaughter in East Timor is unworthy of such a nation.

As to the future, the US has, as ever, pivotal power. A proposed Congressional action to ban arms sales represents a perceptible change in American outlook and understanding. In 1993 the UN Human Rights Commission called on Indonesia to allow international experts on torture, executions and disappearances to investigate freely in East Timor. This month the UN Commission will summon Indonesia into its dock. There are fragments of hope, which public opinion, directed at Jakarta's sponsors and arms suppliers, can transform into real action. By all accounts, Timorese resistance should have been wiped out years ago; but it lives on. Recent opposition has come most vociferously from the young generation, raised during Indonesian rule. It is the young who keep alive the nationalism minted in the early Seventies and its union with a spiritual, traditional love of country and kinship. It is they who bury the flags and maps and draw the subtle graffiti of a sleeping face resembling the tranquil figure in Matisse's *The Dream*, reminding the Indonesians that, whatever they do, they must one day reckon with a Timorese re-awakening.

When Amelia Gusmão, wife of the resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, was forced into exile, young people materialised along her route to the airport and stood in tribute to her, then slipped away. The enduring heroism of the people of East Timor, who continue to resist the invaders even as the crosses multiply on the hillsides, is a vivid reminder of the fallibility of brute power and the cynicism of others.

LETTERS TO THE GUARDIAN

Tuesday February 16/94

The excellent article by John Pilger (Weekend Guardian, February 12) spotlighting the genocide of the East Timorese, invaded by the Indonesians in 1975 and subject since then to an appalling catalogue of torture, brutality, and butchery, is enough to

make any sane person wonder what the hell we are doing supplying a dictator like General Suharto with arms to massacre the people of East Timor.

Comments by Alan Clark – the minister responsible for defence procurement at the time – who approved the sale of 500 million GBP of ground attack aircraft, reveal the real moral stance of the government when he said: "I'm not interested in illegal occupations or anything like that," and "I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreigners is doing to another."

Having the blood of some of the 200,000 murdered East Timorese on its hands does not seem to bother the Government, which has increased its aid to Suharto by 250 per cent in the last couple of years. "Back to basics" does not come much more basic than back to machiavellian politics.

David Badman Street, Somerset

John Pilger has lost none of his skill in this long overdue exposure of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the 200,000 deaths that have followed.

Britain still sells arms to Indonesia, and intends to sell more Hawk aircraft, planes reported as being used against East Timorese villages. Our MPs must stop this sale.

This Malaysian deal for arms deal is not unique. British aid to Indonesia has increased despite Douglas Hurd's insistence on cutting aid to countries that violate human rights. Is this because we sell Indonesia Hawks and other military equipment?

East Timor reveals the hypocrisy of the West in crushing Iraq for invading Kuwait while tolerating the genocide of the East Timorese people over 19 years. Is this because Indonesia will be sharing the large oil reserves off the East Timorese coast with the West?

Ken Cole, Preston

Your front page (February 12) reports the appointment of a new BAe chief and elsewhere refers us to John Pilger's report on the secret slaughter in East Timor.

BAe manufactures Hawk aircraft. Hawks have a vital role in turning much of the country into a mass grave. "Most people in East Timor know about the British Hawks," says the article. Most people in Britain still don't.

(Dr.) Margaret Johnston Bolton, Lancs.

WOUNDED VICTIMS OF TIMOR CARNAGE MURDERED IN MILITARY HOSPITAL

A SECOND MASSACRE IN DILI

*SMH, February 14, page 1 - extracts only.
By Stephen Hutcheon, foreign editor.*

Scores of injured East Timorese who survived the 1991 Dili massacre were brought to a nearby military hospital and murdered by Indonesian troops and hospital staff, according to evidence gathered by a British film maker.

Mr. Max Stahl, whose dramatic footage of the 1991 incident helped generate an international outcry, slipped back into the former Portuguese colony late last year to research the massacre and its immediate aftermath for a British TV documentary. That documentary, 'Death of a Nation,' will screen on British ITV channel on February 22. The 78 minute program is narrated by the expatriate Australian journalist and author John Pilger.

Part of the documentary will feature interviews conducted by Mr. Stahl during the 3 months he spent in East Timor last year with two witnesses to the events that took place at the Wira Husada hospital on Nov. 12, 1991.

....
Mr. Stahl estimates that between 50 and 200 people may have died both outside the cemetery and at the hospital subsequent to the initial killings. Just as the exact death toll has never been established, so too the fate of the missing and their number are still unresolved. In late 1992, an arm of the UN Commission on Human Rights submitted a list of 207 demonstrators who could not be accounted for in the wake of the massacre, asking for information on their whereabouts. It has yet to receive a satisfactory response.

In March 1993, the commission voted to condemn Indonesia for its failure to complete a thorough investigation into the November 12 incident.

Last July even the Indonesia military's own investigating committee could turn up only two people of the 66 it found were still missing in the wake of the massacre.

Mr. Stahl, an experienced journalist, won an Amnesty International Press Award in 1992 for his film 'In Cold Blood' which screened on Britain's Yorkshire Television in 1991. His expose of life in East Timor under Indonesian rule culminated with excerpts from the footage he shot on the day of the massacre.

EAST TIMOR REVISITED

The Sydney Morning Herald, Editorial 14 February 1994

On Saturday, the Herald published an article by British film-maker Max Stahl in which he reported what are alleged to be witness accounts of a second wave of killings of unarmed East Timorese in Dili on November 12, 1991. This, time, it is said, survivors of the original massacre were involved. One of Mr. Stahl's sources says he saw Indonesian soldiers stabbing to death wounded demonstrators taken from the cemetery as well as mortuary officials finishing off others by crushing their skulls and administering poison. A second source, a hospital laboratory assistant, said he saw Indonesian soldiers driving trucks over wounded East Timorese and poisoning others. Indonesian officials deny the claims and maintain that this is just another case of pro-independence sympathisers trying to stir up trouble. But things are unlikely to stop there.

Mr. Stahl's report does not provide conclusive evidence of a second massacre. This is not to suggest that it is wrong, only to admit that it lacks the expert and exhaustive verification necessary to substantiate a claim of this kind. But it does raise - or rather raises again - nagging questions about the Dili massacre and its aftermath that no-one seems able to satisfactorily answer. The United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights has been waiting since late 1992 for an explanation of the whereabouts of 207 demonstrators missing since November 12, 1991. The Catholic Church in East Timor believes that there are more like 270 people still unaccounted for. Even the Indonesian authorities admit that there are more than 60 people still missing in the wake of the incident. Well, where are they?

Perhaps they fled overseas. But it is hard to imagine even 60 people doing that under the noses of the Indonesian military and if they did why haven't they since identified themselves to allay the concern of their family and friends? Perhaps they fled to the mountains and joined the guerrillas. But the Indonesian military insists that the insurgency has all but flickered out and it can't have things both ways. Perhaps the missing have gone into hiding within East Timor itself. But what would they be hiding from after more than two years and, in a place the size of East Timor, why haven't the local authorities been able to track them down by now?

That seems to narrow it down to two explanations: either the missing are being kept in isolated detention or they're dead. And it is in this context that Mr. Stahl's report

can't be ignored. Of course, as Mr. Keating said that the weekend, "this is was a very murky period" and it is unlikely that anybody knows the full details. (To that extent, Canberra's low-key response to these allegations - Australia's ambassador to Indonesia was instructed to raise them in a routine meeting with Indonesia's Foreign Minister - is an appropriate one for now.) But surely the fact that nobody knows the full details is precisely the point.

Only a full accounting of the Dili massacre will permit the whole truth to be known. And only then will it be possible to put this terrible tragedy to rest. To its credit, Jakarta has permitted envoys of the UN Secretary-General to visit East Timor. But it has balked at any comprehensive outside investigation. Meanwhile, most East Timorese are fearful of talking to foreigners in the presence of Indonesian authorities and suspicious of co-operating in local inquiries. While these remain the only options, mystery will continue to shroud the events of November 12, 1991.

JAKARTA DENIES DILI EXECUTIONS

The Sydney Morning Herald, 14 February 1994. By Lindsay Murdoch.

Singapore, Sunday: Indonesia has strongly denied allegations of a second round of killings in Dili after the 1991 massacre of anti-Jakarta demonstrators, saying they are the invention of the East Timor resistance group, Fretilin.

However, the Government is worried that the allegations, made by the British film-maker Max Stahl, will damage efforts this year to negotiate an international settlement of the East Timor conflict.

Officials of Indonesia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs believe the release of a documentary on the alleged accounts of East Timorese survivors is timed to cause maximum embarrassment to Jakarta ahead of the United Nations Human Rights Commission in Geneva, which starts next week.

The director of information at Indonesia's Foreign Ministry, Mr. Irawan Abidin, yesterday dismissed Mr. Stahl's allegations that scores of captured demonstrators were stabbed, poisoned or crushed at an Indonesian military hospital, saying in a statement released in Jakarta: "It never happened."

Mr. Irawan said the same claims were made in the days after the massacre outside Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, 1991. He said they would serve only to damage Fretilin's credibility.

"The allegations will not contribute to any solution to the problem to any solution to the problem of East Timor, especially at

a time when Indonesia and Portugal have been having meetings to try to solve the problem," Mr. Irawan said.

Mr. Stahl's accounts of people who said they survived the hospital killings were published in the Herald yesterday and are to be detailed in a television documentary to be aired in Britain on February 22.

The documentary, called *Death of a Nation*, will be narrated by the Australian journalist John Pilger. Both Mr. Stahl and Mr. Pilger visited East Timor last year despite restrictions on visits by foreign journalists. The documentary accuses Jakarta of genocide against the East Timorese since Indonesian troops invaded in 1975.

It is expected to be shown at the UN Human Rights Commission, which will discuss Indonesia's record on human rights.

The allegations come as Jakarta has been co-operating with increased efforts aimed at finding an internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor issue. The United Nations still regards Portugal, which occupied the territory for 400 years, as the administering power.

An official Indonesian inquiry found that at least 30 people were killed in Dili when Indonesian troops opened fire on demonstrators.

INDONESIA SAYS EAST TIMOR MASSACRE REPORT IS FALSE

Reuter, February 15. slightly abridged

(Jakarta) Indonesia on Tuesday blasted as false a report published in Australia alleging as many as 200 survivors of the 1991 Dili massacre in East Timor were later killed by Indonesian troops.

"That report was sensational and unreasonable, so I think not much attention will be paid to it," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters.

Charges of more deaths in the former Portuguese colony are raised in a documentary produced in Australia.

The documentary, titled "Death of a Nation" alleges between 50 and 200 injured East Timorese from the Dili massacre were brought to a nearby military hospital and brutally murdered by Indonesian troops and hospital staff.

"It is totally untrue that ... there was a second massacre," Alatas said.

Indonesia said 50 people died after soldiers fired on a crowd, which they said was becoming too unruly.

Unofficial sources have said that as many as 180 people were killed.

The documentary, details of which were reported in Australian newspapers over the weekend, was produced secretly by Austra-

lian expatriate journalist John Pilger and British filmmaker Max Stahl for Britain's ITN television network.

"I think that if we see the person and see his reputation, we will know what kind of film it is," Alatas said referring to Pilger. "It may repeat and merge other things that have no relevance (about East Timor)" Alatas said.

In Sydney, Prime Minister Paul Keating on Saturday said Australia's ambassador to Indonesia would raise the allegations of further East Timor deaths with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas during a routine meeting.

"We'll be putting some questions to the Indonesian government and no doubt get a response," Keating said.

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid (ACFOA) on Monday said in Sydney that Australia should press for a UN inquiry during the current session of the UN Commission on Human Rights in Geneva to investigate the allegations.

The Commission is scheduled to discuss the human rights situation in East Timor between February 23 and March 9.

ECONOMIC AND LABOR ISSUES

INFID'S PERCEPTION OF THE GENERALIZED SYSTEM OF PREFERENCES

Press Release in Jakarta, August 16, 1993

After closely monitoring community reaction to United States' plan to withdraw from the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) and the Indonesian government's plan to anticipate this withdrawal by forming a special team to lobby the American government, INFID (International NGO Forum on Indonesian Development) is of the following opinion:

The condition of workers in Indonesia is still less than satisfactory not only to work forces, but also to NGOs, the mass media, and the intellectual community in Indonesia. The number of worker strikes and demonstrations has increased over recent years, as revealed by the mass media and investigation conducted in several sectors.

In specific, labor conditions which are attracting the most negative attention are: workers' wages and insurance coverage which are quite low, the involvement / interference of security forces in labor disputes, the difficulty of workers to openly gather for meetings, and the severe limitations placed on workers to form unions. These

conditions occurred simultaneously with the opening up of the Indonesian economy.

Concern for laborers and worker conditions is widespread among Indonesians and is based on the following factors, among others:

1. Workers of Indonesian citizenship are strategic to Indonesia's industrialization process and have the right to a decent standard of living in accordance with the Indonesian constitution.
2. The freedom to meet and organize is guaranteed in the Indonesian constitution. The right to organize provides a forum in which to voice the concerns of one's economic class. Therefore, the right of workers to hold a forum which is owned and controlled by the workers themselves will make labor conflicts easier to manage and more transparent. Another result of allowing for forums will be the development of healthier conflict resolution mechanisms which will help avoid the occurrence of violence which will invariably arise in the future if existing labor conditions persist.
3. A logical consequence of Indonesia's involvement in the global political and economic arena is the requirement to follow and respect internationally recognized norms, including standards of human rights, international standards for workers and others.
4. INFID views the issues surrounding the Generalized System of Preferences as follows: the improvement of labor conditions, wages, and insurance, and the freedom of workers to meet and organize themselves without the interference of security apparatus in resolving labor disputes are urgently required actions that the government needs to take as these are constitutional rights granted to every Indonesian citizen. The pressure to withdraw from the GSP is evidence that as Indonesia becomes more involved in international arenas, the more pressure of this type it will receive, if not this year, then next year. Therefore, this is not an excuse to refuse or postpone actions to improve workers' conditions in Indonesia by hiding behind the narrow banner of nationalism – for example, Indonesia not wanting to submit to pressure from America. As stated above, workers' rights are guaranteed by the constitution. It is also not acceptable to resolve this problem by forming a diplomatic team, which is bound to bring new consequences of its own. Economic losses in the form of import taxes on Indonesian products can be avoided if such a team were successful; however, at an interna-

tional level, this would be taking a gamble on Indonesia's reputation for handling labor conditions. What is required in Indonesia, to assure others as well as ourselves, are concrete actions.

This case is also of critical importance to show that Indonesia is not only concerned about this issue because of the outside pressure. We must fully recognize that with or without the GSP facility, improvements of the social and economic conditions of workers must take place as the respect of the human rights of laborers is mandated under our constitution. Furthermore, American business interests operating in Indonesia, whether directly or indirectly through trade partners, must initiate actions which respect the human rights of workers, in general, and improve worker conditions, in specific; among others improve workers' wages – without burdening production costs in Indonesia – ensure workers' freedom to express their opinions, and resolve labor disputes directly with the workers in a fair and transparent process for all sides.

*Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara, SH, LL.M
Ir. Agustinus Rumansara, MA, Chairperson
Indonesian Steering Committee
INFID Secretary-Jakarta*

THE INDONESIA TEST

Editorial, New York Times, Jan 15, 1994.

Can the United States use the threat of trade penalties to get authoritarian governments to treat their own people with more respect? Indonesia presents an important test case.

The Clinton Administration must decide by next month if Jakarta has relaxed its repressive labor policies enough to warrant renewal of a special U.S. trade preference that allows \$650 million worth of Indonesian goods to enter the United States duty-free.

Congress decided in 1984 that the preference, meant to help developing countries, should be withheld from those that fail to maintain minimum international standards of labor and union freedom. Since then, several countries have seen their privileges temporarily suspended.

But under Presidents Reagan and Bush, the penalty was very sparingly applied. By taking on Indonesia, a large regional power and part of the dynamic East Asian growth region, the Clinton Administration intentionally signalled a new course.

Already the threat of penalties has had good effect. Over the past few months Indonesian has announced a series of steps expanding labor union rights and raising minimum wages for some of its poorest workers. No one seriously believes these

steps would have been taken now were it not for the Clinton initiative.

But are these advances enough to justify renewal? Indonesian labor activists still face severe repression, including harsh prison sentences, military intervention in strikes and restrictive rules on union democracy and jurisdiction.

The Administration will make its decision based on what Treasury Secretary Bentsen reports after a two-day visit to Indonesia that begins tomorrow. The right criterion should not be whether Indonesia has eliminated all remaining abuses, but whether Bentsen believes it is now committed to continued reform and liberalization.

BENTSEN ARRIVES IN JAKARTA

UPI, Jan. 16

JAKARTA – U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen arrived in Jakarta Sunday for a two-day visit to discuss strengthening economic relations and encouraging U.S. investment and trade in Indonesia.

Bentsen, arriving from Moscow where he was traveling with U.S. President Bill Clinton, scheduled the trip to Indonesia to “recognize the importance of the U.S.-Indonesia bilateral economic relationship,” said a press statement released by the U.S. embassy in Jakarta.

Bentsen’s visit was expected to build on the goodwill established between Clinton and President Suharto during their meetings at the G-7 summit in Tokyo and Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation gathering in Seattle.

Indonesia will host an informal meeting of APEC leaders in November.

Bentsen, the first member of Clinton’s cabinet to visit Indonesia, also was expected to discuss prospects for U.S. investment in Indonesia as well as improvements in trade opportunities for U.S. goods under the General Agreement Trade and Tariffs.

Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said recently that U.S.-Indonesia ties are “basically good” and “quite solid.” But, he concedes there have been ups and downs in the relationship.

“Right now we have some problems with the perceptions of a group of members of Congress, both senators and congressmen on the questions of East Timor, human rights, democratization of democracy,” Alatas said.

But he expressed hopes their doubts would not seriously affect relations between the two countries.

Washington recently cancelled its \$1.5 million on Military Education and Training to Indonesia over human rights conditions in the former Portuguese colony of East

Timor. For the same reason, the U.S. rejected last August Jordan’s request for authorization to sell four used U.S.-made F-5E jet fighters to Indonesia.

Indonesia also faces the loss of trade privileges for goods entering the U.S. market.

Washington has accused Indonesia of failing to provide internationally-recognized labor rights and has threatened to revoke trade benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences unless Jakarta improves its record by February.

Alatas said Indonesia has tried to improve “our system, policy and our government regulations in the field of labor.”

During his two-day stay, Bentsen will pay a courtesy call on Suharto and meet with several high-level government officials, including Finance Minister Marie Muhammad and Central Bank Governor Sudradjat Djiwandono.

At the conclusion of his visit in Indonesia, Bentsen heads to Thailand and China.

BENTSEN CALLS INDONESIA TO FURTHER IMPROVE HUMAN RIGHTS

UPI, 17 January

JAKARTA (UPI) – U.S. Treasury Secretary Lloyd Bentsen called on the Indonesian government Monday to improve its human rights conditions, including its treatment of workers.

Bentsen said he raised that issue during his meeting with Indonesia’s Finance Minister Mar’ie Muhammad and President Suharto and a discussion with Indonesia Economists Association.

“President (Bill) Clinton came to office with a strong commitment to promoting democracy and human rights,” Bentsen said. “I know that some read this commitment with apprehension. We not trying to argue that our way is the only way, just that democracy and market economies produce what people want.”

Washington has accused Indonesia of failing to provide internationally recognized labor rights and threatened to revoke its trade benefits under the Generalized System of Preferences unless Jakarta improve its labor record.

Bentsen said a decision would be made on Feb. 15.

The treasury secretary, the first member of Clinton’s cabinet to visit Jakarta, said at news conference that, despite the human rights issue in Indonesia, he is optimistic that President Clinton will attend the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation leaders informal meeting scheduled in November.

“Progress has been made on human rights and workers relationships,” he said. “(And) We expect more will be done.”

Indonesia last week revoked a controversial decree allowing the military to effectively break up industrial disputes. Jakarta also raised the minimum daily wage for workers in the capital city and industrial areas.

At the meeting with the Indonesia Economists Association, Bentsen noted the growing importance of the Asia-Pacific region to U.S. businesses.

“The success of nations such as Indonesia is critical to the United States,” he said. “Exports are increasingly important to our economic well-being.”

Bentsen also said he had invited APEC finance ministers to meet informally in Hawaii March 18-19 to discuss development in Asia-Pacific nations and the opening or markets and investment in the region.

PARLIAMENTARIANS MEET BOUTROS-GHALI

PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR EAST TIMOR MEET WITH UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

Press release issued by P.E.T. 3 Feb. 1994.

Parliamentarians from four countries met with United Nations Secretary General Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Thursday, February 3rd at 11:30 am at UN headquarters in New York to discuss the question of East Timor.

Members of the PET delegation were: Lord Avebury (House of Lords, UK), Founder and Chair, Parliamentarians for East Timor, and chair of the all-party Parliamentary Human Rights Group.

Hon. John Dardis, Senator (Progressive Democrat, Ireland), Party Chairperson

Hon. Ingela Martensson, MP (Liberal Party, Sweden). Ms. Martensson visited East Timor as part of a Swedish parliamentary delegation in September 1993, the first foreign politicians allowed into the territory since 1991.

Hon. John Langmore, (Labour Party, Australia), Member, Foreign Affairs Committee

A message of support was also received from the Japanese Diet Members Forum on East Timor.

In a memo to the Secretary General, the delegation called for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the holding of a referendum on self-determination for East Timor under strict international supervision. Pend-

ing the holding of the referendum, the parliamentarians urged the Secretary General to open an office in East Timor to oversee its demilitarization, provide humanitarian aid, and monitor human rights. The Parliamentarians' memo also asked the Secretary General to urge Indonesia to comply with the terms of the 1993 resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission. Compliance with the resolution would be "the most important confidence-building measure needed." The resolution called on Indonesia to allow visits by two UN Special Rapporteurs and two UN Working Groups which investigate torture, extra-judicial execution, disappearances and arbitrary detention; free access to the territory by human rights organizations; and the release of political prisoners.

The Parliamentarians also asked the Secretary General to set up a UN commission to study of the events leading to Indonesia's invasion and annexation of the territory.

The Secretary General told the MPs that the Portuguese and Indonesians had agreed to avoid discussion on the substantive issue of self-determination. There was also no likelihood that East Timorese representatives could be involved in the discussions being held under Resolution 37/30, which were confined to the states only. He said that for the foreseeable future, the concentration had to be on confidence building measures such as the release of political prisoners and the reduction of Indonesian troops in the territory. He said that some improvement in the human rights situation was perceived.

Mrs. Ingela Martensson who was in East Timor in September, 1993 told the Secretary General that Bishop Belo had said that there was no improvement and she herself had been unable to interview East Timorese freely. She said that even representatives of the aid agencies were unwilling to speak to the delegation about the political situation.

The Secretary General said that the ideal solution to Xanana Gusmão's detention is to release him altogether. The Secretary General had just received word that visitors would be granted access to him. He was not sure whether this included the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) or the legal representative Xanana Gusmão had said he had wished to appoint. (In a letter to the International Commission of Jurists, dated December 1, 1993, Xanana Gusmão explained that he had been coerced into accepting Mr. Sudjono, a person associated with the army's strategic intelligence agency as his legal representative at the trial, but he now wished to appoint someone nominated by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) as his counsel.)

In answer to the suggestion that a White Paper be commissioned by the UN on the events of 1975-76, the Secretary General said he would consider this but cautioned that it might be seen as confrontational.

Right at the end of his remarks, the Secretary General concluded that he did not think the possibilities under Resolution 37/30 had been exhausted.

This was the second meeting between PET and a UN Secretary General. On March 21, 1991, delegation of six members of parliament from Australia, Canada, Britain, the Netherlands, Japan and Portugal met with Boutros-Ghali's predecessor, Javier Perez de Cellar.

The 1994 meeting with the Secretary General came at the end of visits by his two special envoys on East Timor to Portugal, Indonesia East Timor and Australia. The envoys met with representatives from the governments of Indonesia and Portugal, and East Timorese leaders, including Xanana Gusmão, the imprisoned leader of the East Timorese resistance. The special envoys' mission will help the Secretary General prepare for the next meeting between the Foreign Ministers of Indonesia and Portugal scheduled for May. Since December 1992, the Secretary General has hosted three such meetings between Indonesia and Portugal on the future of the territory.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975. The invasion left over 200,000 dead, a third of the pre-invasion population. The United Nations Security Council and General Assembly have condemned the invasion. The UN does not formally recognize Indonesia's annexation of the territory and still considers Portugal the administering power.

PARLIAMENTARIANS MEMORANDUM TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

ON THE QUESTION OF EAST TIMOR

**A Memorandum submitted to the UN
Secretary-General On behalf of the
Delegation of Parliamentarians for East
Timor**

February 3, 1994

Introduction

On the occasion of a meeting with your predecessor, Sr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, on March 25, 1991, PET referred to the cardinal principle of the United Nations, that territory cannot be acquired by force. It was pointed out that recent events in the Gulf, where the international community had taken firm action against an aggressor, had focused attention on past acts of aggression that had not been dealt with firmly at the

time. The hope was expressed that the rule of international law, which had been enforced at a high cost in human lives and destruction of the environment in Kuwait, would be applied equally to all other instances of the kind, including particularly East Timor.

Your predecessor confirmed that all the Resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly which had been passed in the years following the Anschluss of 1975 remained in force, including Security Council Resolution 384 of December 22, 1975, which called on the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor without delay, and Security Council Resolution 389 of April 22, 1976, which urged member states to cooperate with the United Nations in facilitating the decolonisation of the territory.

The core issue of self-determination Since the breakdown of the arrangements for a visit to the territory by Portuguese Parliamentarians in November 1991, and the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991 in which an estimated 275 peaceful demonstrators were murdered by Indonesian troops, there have been three meetings of the foreign ministers of Portugal and Indonesia under your auspices. No progress has been made in addressing the issues of principle dealt with in the Resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

The Indonesian Government have stuck to their position that the annexation of the territory was validated by the vote of the 'Regional Popular Assembly' of May 31, 1976, and that the process complied with the requirements of General Assembly Resolution 1541 of 1960. They claim that the members of this Assembly were chosen on the principle of one man one vote in the capital, Dili, and elsewhere they were appointed 'in accordance with the tradition and identity of the people of East Timor.' There is no evidence that any elections were held even in Dili. According to many Timorese who were there at the time, all the 37 members of the 'People's Assembly' were hand-picked by the occupying forces.

The conditions for a free and fair election in Dili did not exist since many of those who would have been eligible to vote had fled into the countryside, and the town was under military occupation.

The talks between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia, held under your auspices in December 1992, April 1993 and September 1993, have failed to address the question of self-determination. Your report on the question of East Timor to the 1993 UN General Assembly on September 20, only days after the third Indonesian-Portuguese talks, stated that it was proving difficult

“to make progress on the core issue owing to the wide difference in the positions of the two sides.”

though you added that you were

“moderately encouraged by the substance and tone of the discussions held on September 17, 1993..”

PET note that all sides had realised the need for confidence-building measures to pave the way for discussion of the core issues. We propose that

1. The Governments of Portugal and Indonesia, and Representatives of the people of East Timor, be invited to submit by the end of March details of confidence-building measures they consider feasible, so that agreement may be sought on as many of these measures as possible before the next meeting of Foreign Ministers, and
2. The Governments of Indonesia and Portugal be invited to agree that the substantive question of self-determination be considered at the next meeting of Foreign Ministers scheduled for May 6, 1994.

Implementation of the Secretary-General's mandate under 37/30

PET note with satisfaction that in January 1994, that you instructed a team of Secretariat officials led by Director of Political Affairs, Mr. Francesc Vendrell to visit Lisbon, Jakarta, East Timor and Australia to work out an initiative that will pave the way towards solving the core issue of self-determination. PET welcome the fact that in Lisbon, Jakarta, East Timor and Australia, the mission held meetings with East Timorese groups to hear their views. In particular, PET were delighted to know that the mission held a private consultation with jailed East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, in Cipinang Prison, Jakarta. Your mission signals for the first time a move by the UN to consult East Timorese opinion, as required by Resolution 37/30.

UN initiatives in East Timor: The East Timorese people have suffered from war and foreign occupation for nearly two decades. It is high time for the UN to take concrete initiatives to bring an end to their suffering in the short-term in a way that will lay the basis for resolving the core issue of self-determination. Now that your office has initiated informal consultations with East Timorese people, PET feel that the time has come for specific moves to pave the way for a formal act to assess the views of the people regarding their future. PET suggest the following:

1. Indonesia's version of the circumstances of the military invasion of East Timor in December 1975, and the events which followed, leading to the supposed acces-

sion of the territory to Indonesia in June 1976 have never been subjected to formal international scrutiny. It is suggested that the UN commission a study of those events by a panel of independent experts, and publish a White Paper setting out their findings.

2. The Secretary-General should formally propose, to all the parties concerned, the withdrawal of the Indonesian armed forces from the territory, and the holding of a referendum under strict international supervision, in accordance with the Resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. He should also propose the establishment of a temporary administration in the territory, to ensure that the registration of electors is conducted properly and that freedom of expression and of assembly is observed during the period leading up to the referendum.
3. Pending moves to deal with the core issue of self-determination, it is proposed that the UN establish a permanent presence in East Timor under the direct supervision of the Secretary-General's office, for the following purposes:
 - a) to oversee the demilitarisation of the territory and the removal of all heavy weapons and military equipment;
 - b) to enable the UN specialised agencies to take care of the humanitarian needs of the people;
 - c) to monitor the human rights situation in cooperation with the East Timorese church and independent Indonesian human rights NGOs such as the Legal Aid Institute;
 - d) to restore to the people of East Timor freedom of assembly, freedom of association and freedom of expression.

It is recognised that the Indonesian Government would not take to these ideas immediately, but over the 18 years since the invasion, the absence of any sign of determination to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter and of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples has been a serious hindrance to progress.

The human rights situation A free and fair assessment of the views of the East Timorese people can take place until human rights abuses have ended and until all East Timorese now in jail, particularly resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, are unconditionally released.

The human rights situation continues to deteriorate and Indonesia has done nothing to comply with the UN Human Rights

Commission's resolution adopted by a large majority in March 1993:

- Not only have civilians not indicted for violent activities not been released, but more have been arrested and held without charge or trial for non-violent activities. The numbers of political detainees has increased.
- No military personnel have yet been charged with responsibility and appropriately punished for the Santa Cruz massacre. While military personnel charged with 'disobeying orders' got off with trivial sentences, eight East Timorese involved in the peaceful Santa Cruz demonstration in Dili and two involved in the peaceful demonstration a week later in Jakarta are serving harsh sentences.
- There has been no attempt by the Indonesian authorities to account for the hundreds of dead and missing in the Santa Cruz massacre and to return the bodies to the families of the dead;
- In its March 1993 resolution, the UN Human Rights Commission urged Indonesia to invite the Special UN Rapporteurs on Torture and on extrajudicial, summary or arbitrary executions and the UN Working Groups on Arbitrary Detention and on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor. There has been no progress at all in implementing this decision.
- The trial and sentencing of East Timorese resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, has been condemned as unfair by the International Commission of Jurists, and they called for the trial to be annulled. In Jakarta, the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute is seeking to redress the injustices perpetrated during the trial. In a letter to the ICJ last November, Xanana Gusmão made it clear that he was not free to appoint the defence lawyers he wanted, that the lawyer he was forced to appoint collaborated throughout the trial with the military authorities, and that the application for presidential clemency was made without his consent and against his stated principle not to accept any verdict of an Indonesian court.
- Despite the promise made by Indonesia at the bilateral talks under your auspices last December to allow greater access to humanitarian and human rights organisations, access to the territory has not improved. Australian parliamentarians were denied permission to visit. Permission to visit East Timor requested by other parliamentarians such as those from the UK and Finland has not yet been granted. (A letter to the Indonesian Ambassador in the UK from the Parliamentary Human

Rights Group requesting permission for two or three MPs to go to East Timor was acknowledged, but a definite reply is still awaited). Visits by a Swedish parliamentary mission and a team of US congressional aides resulted in mass arrests and mistreatment of East Timorese youths.

- Reports of human rights violations in East Timor continue to be received. Bishop Belo has identified many problems in this regard and exposed the fact that tight security measures have made it impossible for East Timorese to express their views publicly when foreign missions visit the territory; for instance when the team of congressional assistants visited Dili in September 1993.

It is recommended that the Secretary-General:

- i. make it clear to the Indonesian authorities that their compliance with the terms of the 1993 resolution of the UN Human Rights Commission represents the most important confidence-building measure needed, as an expression of their goodwill and recognition of the wishes of the international community. In particular, the Indonesian authorities should be persuaded to allow the two Special Rapporteurs and the two UN Working Groups referred to in the resolution to carry out investigations as required under the terms of the resolution.
- ii. impress upon the Indonesian authorities the need to allow free and unfettered access to the territory for parliamentarians, for journalists as well as for human rights organisations, in particular Amnesty International and Asia Watch.
- iii. urge the Indonesian authorities to release unconditionally all East Timorese political prisoners, whether tried or not.
- iv. press for the annulment of the manifestly unfair trial of resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, and to secure his release so that he can play his rightful part in consultations to reach a solution to the question of East Timor.

**UN PRESS RELEASE ON PET
PRESS CONFERENCE**

Press release distributed by the United Nations Department of Public Information. Caveats theirs.

*FOR INFORMATION OF UNITED
NATIONS SECRETARIAT ONLY, Not for
Distribution or Dissemination*

3 February 1994

PRESS CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR

The current mission of the Secretary-General to East Timor and the capitals of Portugal, Indonesia and Australia, which was led by Francesc Vendrell, Director of East Asian and Pacific Division in the Department of Political Affairs, was taking place at what might be "a very crucial moment in the affairs of East Timor," said Lord Avebury, chairperson of the Parliamentarians for East Timor and Member of the British House of Lords.

Lord Avebury, along with other members of the parliamentarians for East Timor, met with correspondents at Headquarters this afternoon at a press conference sponsored by the Mission of Sao Tome and Principe. That country is coordinator of the group of five Portuguese-speaking African Countries (Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe). The Parliamentarians had just completed a morning meeting with the Secretary-General during which they had submitted to him a memorandum on the question of East Timor.

In the memorandum, the parliamentarians call for the holding of a referendum on self-determination for East Timor. Lord Avebury stated that the issue of self-determination had been stressed in the meeting with the Secretary-General in the hope that it could be part of the next round of meetings between the Foreign Ministers of Portugal and Indonesia which is to be held in Geneva on 6 May. He added that the Vendrell mission would have an important effect on the next round of discussion. A report on that mission was due in the near future.

The delegation, Lord Avebury went on to say, did recognize that there were a number of confidence-building measures that could help towards an ultimate political solution. Those measures included such things as the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and the opening of a United Nations office in East Timor to monitor human rights and demilitarization. The delegation considered Indonesian compliance with the terms of the 1993 resolution on East Timor of the Human Rights Commission to be the most important confidence-building measure. That resolution called on Indonesia to allow visits by the Special Rapporteurs and Working Groups of the Commission on Human Rights to investigate torture, extrajudicial killings, disappearances and arbitrary detentions. The resolution also called for free access by human rights organizations to East Timor and the release of political prisoners in East Timor.

The Secretary-General believed that the talks so far with the two Foreign Ministers had been positive, Lord Avebury said. The Secretary-General felt that there was political will to reach at least partial solutions.

The Ministers, so far, had agreed to avoid discussion on self-determination because no common ground had been reached on that issue. The Secretary-General had also said that the people of East Timor had not been included in the discussions being held under General Assembly resolution 37/30, because those were intended to be discussions between States. That resolution called on the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly involved to explore avenues for achieving a comprehensive solution.

Lord Avebury pointed out that the language of the Assembly resolution had called for consultation with all the parties concerned. The Secretary-General had assured the delegation that consultations with the people of East Timor, outside of the framework of the formal process, had been conducted.

The Secretary-General had also told the delegation, Lord Avebury continued, that there had been some improvement in the human rights situation in East Timor. Lord Avebury referred to the visit to East Timor by Ingela Martensson, a member of a Swedish delegation who were the first foreign politicians allowed in the territory since 1991. He said that a group from the United Kingdom had requested permission to visit, but had not received a reply as yet. The Secretary-General did inform the delegation that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) had been granted access to the imprisoned East Timorese resistance leader, José Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmão. Ideally, the Indonesians should agree to release Mr. Gusmão, but the granting of access was a positive step, Lord Avebury said. The Secretary-General had also stressed that it was necessary to proceed carefully in discussions, because there were elements in Indonesia that were opposed to any and all concessions.

Ms. Martensson, who was a Member of the Swedish Parliament, said that the Swedish delegation, which had not met any initial resistance to its request to visit East Timor, was forced to travel under very tight security and control. Thus, they were unable to have unrestricted access to the average citizens of East Timor. They could not gain a clear picture of the human rights situation. She expressed astonishment over the Secretary-General's assessment of an improved human rights situation, when her own observation had been to the contrary. Her delegations' contacts with Bishop Belo, as well as with civil rights lawyers in Jakarta, had revealed that the situation for the East Timorese people had not improved. The Bishop had said that the people of East Timor were "in a prison."

The third member of the Parliamentary delegation, John Dardis, Senator from Ireland, said the meeting with the Secretary-General was "a positive sign in itself." He mentioned that Ireland was pursuing the issue of East Timor through the European Union. The Union had supported the ICRC's access to Mr. Gusmão and had obviously achieved progress in that area. He expressed the wish that the issue of self-determination would be higher on the agenda of the Geneva meetings, but he understood the sensitivities involved.

Lord Avebury added that the delegation had suggested to the Secretary-General that a white paper be published giving an objective version of the events of 1975 and 1976 which he said involved Indonesian military intervention in East Timor, the holding of a subsequent vote to create an assembly, and eventually "the annexation of East Timor." The Indonesian version of those events claimed that the intervention was requested by the citizens of East Timor and the election was held under legitimate circumstances, he said. The Secretary-General had said that he would take the suggestion of a white paper under consideration. Mr. Boutros-Ghali had cautioned, however, that if such a white paper were critical of the Indonesian view, it might create a confrontational situation and jeopardize the discussion process under resolution 37/30.

Lord Avebury said that the Secretary-General had not been able to respond to a number of specific elements in the Parliamentarians memorandum, as he had not had time to study its contents.

In response to a question about other delegations visiting East Timor, Lord Avebury said that to his knowledge the Swedish delegation was the only such group.

Responding to a question on other cases of Indonesian aggression brought before the United Nations, he said that there had certainly been a history of Indonesian expansionism since the formation of that State. The question of East Timor should be viewed in that context. Mr. Dardis reiterated that resolution 37/30 limited the issue to a dispute between two Member States.

Asked about the possible release of Xanana Gusmão, Lord Avebury replied that while the ideal situation would be Mr. Gusmão's release, the next best thing was to gain free access to him. He noted that Mr. Gusmão had recently dismissed his appointed legal representation and asked for his choice of legal counsel. The new legal representative should be allowed the same free access to him as the ICRC.

When asked about the amount of freedom granted Mr. Vendrell on his visit, Lord Avebury said Mr. Vendrell's report was due on 8 February and would, perhaps, supply that

information. The Secretary-General had given no indication of the amount of access granted to Mr. Vendrell.

A correspondent inquired about contacts the delegation might have with people of East Timor. Lord Avebury said they had contacts with a group of East Timorese refugees in Lisbon and their information had been valuable. A tape and a detailed letter from Xanana Gusmão had been smuggled out and transcripts of both would be made available. They dealt particularly with the situation of Mr. Gusmão's legal representation. The Secretary-General had not yet been made aware of those documents, but the United Nations would receive copies.

Responding to a question about the report of the Personal Envoy of the Secretary-General to Indonesia and East Timor, Amos Wako, on his visit of February 1993, Lord Avebury said the report had, of course, not been made public. The Parliamentarians had called for the release of that report. The world was entitled to know what Mr. Wako had discovered, regardless of how critical it might be of Indonesia.

Commenting on a meeting of East Timorese in London, he said that any such meeting was welcome. The problem was that all East Timorese could not take part in such a meeting. However, the participation of many Indonesians in such discussions was a very positive sign. All the parties concerned must be allowed to make their views known.

LAWMAKERS ASK INDONESIA TO PULL TROOPS OUT OF EAST TIMOR

UPI, 3 Feb. 94

UNITED NATIONS (UPI) – Legislators from four countries asked U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali Thursday to call for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony located at the eastern end of Indonesia.

East Timor has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975. U.N. human rights organizations have claimed that since then, up to 200,000 inhabitants of the island have died from famine and fighting related to the Indonesian occupation.

The lawmakers from Britain, Ireland, Sweden and Australia met with Boutros-Ghali at U.N. headquarters in New York to press for the withdrawal of Indonesian troops and for the organization of a referendum under "strict international supervision."

Britain's Lord Avebury said that the U.N. leader told the group there is a political will to reach a "common ground" on the

resolution of the crisis stemming from East Timorese opposition to the Indonesian occupation.

In a memorandum handed to Boutros-Ghali, the delegation called for a referendum on self-determination for the former Portuguese colony and asked him to urge Indonesia to comply with a 1993 U.N. human rights resolution, which called for investigation of rights abuses.

Boutros-Ghali is scheduled to mediate another round of talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers in May.

The delegation said it disagreed with a U.N. assessment that human rights have improved in East Timor.

"It is not our perception," said Ingela Martensson, a member of Sweden's Liberal Party.

Martensson, who visited East Timor last September, said the Roman Catholic Church on the island believed the human rights situation has deteriorated.

VOICE OF AMERICA: EAST TIMOR APPEAL

03-Feb.-94. By Elaine Johanson, Dateline United Nations

Intro: a delegation of parliamentarians has called on the United Nations to put more pressure on Indonesia on the question of East Timor - a former Portuguese colony that Jakarta invaded in 1975 and forcibly annexed the next year. In a meeting with Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali Thursday, representatives from Britain, Ireland, Sweden and Australia said the East Timorese should be allowed to hold a referendum to decide their own future. V-O-A's correspondent Elaine Johanson reports:

Johanson: Anticipating another meeting between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal in Geneva May sixth - the Parliamentarians for East Timor say it is imperative that these high-level talks start focusing on self-determination. But apparently Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali was not enthusiastic about the idea.

Senator John Dardis of Ireland says Mr. Boutros-Ghali - who is the interlocutor in the talks - feels it would be premature at this point to push the issue of a referendum because it could de-rail the political discussions:

"We would very much like that the question of self-determination would be farther up the agenda than it is. But we realize the sensitivities involved and the Secretary-General did make a very strong case to us that it was a

step-by-step process and that it was important not to rush things.”

The point is that Indonesia is not even close to conceding sovereignty over East Timor.

The parliamentarians admit the best they can hope for on the agenda of the may meeting is confidence-building measures, specifically on human rights. They asked for unrestricted visits by human rights groups and parliamentary delegations. They also want Indonesia to release unconditionally all East Timorese political prisoners to create a more favorable climate for negotiations. The most prominent among them is Xanana Gusmão - a resistance leader who has become a lightning rod for international protests and appeals.

Indonesia's human rights record came into bold relief in 1991, when the Indonesian army opened fire on a crowd at a cemetery in the Timorese capital, Dili.

The question of East Timor has been on the U-N's agenda since 1975. The U-N has refused to recognize Indonesia's annexation and still considers Portugal the administering authority.

But human rights groups are not optimistic about the international community's commitment to East Timor. They point to Indonesia's position as an oil-rich nation and a leading member of the non-aligned.

UN MISSION'S TRAVELS

NEW UN INITIATIVE EXPECTED SOON

TAPOL report, 10 January 1994

According to Reuter from Lisbon Sunday, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durão Barossa, told the Lisbon newspaper, *Publico*, that a new UN initiative on East Timor is expected soon.

Meanwhile, according to TAPOL's own sources, a UN mission composed of senior officials from New York will be arriving in Lisbon this week and will hold meetings with Portuguese officials on Friday. The mission will then proceed to Jakarta for further consultations and visit East Timor for an unspecified period of time. TAPOL understands that the initiative mentioned in Mr. Barossa's interview relates to this series of UN visits.

Mr. Barossa gave a wide-ranging interview on a number of international developments; he made a number of comments about the question of East Timor. He made no mention of Friday's meeting but said that a UN initiative was being taken in advance of the May 1994 meeting between the Por-

tuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers under UN auspices.

We hope that a full translation of Mr. Barossa's important interview will be posted on the conference shortly

MANUEL MACEDO RECEIVED BY U.N. SPECIAL ENVOY

Publico, 15 Jan. 1994. By A. Leite & J. T. de Negreiros Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) Boutros Ghali's envoy took everyone by surprise by receiving the man who Durão Barroso described as someone "bribed" by Jakarta. The meeting, held in utmost secrecy, took place early yesterday evening. And there are more surprises in store: on Monday, it will be Galvão de Melo's turn to meet with Vendrell.

The surprise meeting between UN Secretary General's envoy, Francesc Vendrell, and the Chairman of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, Manuel Macedo, lasted for about half an hour. The meeting, which was kept secret until the last moment, was not on the envoy's official schedule for the visit.

"The day before yesterday (Wednesday) I expressed interest in having a meeting," Manuel Macedo told *Publico*, adding that "in spite of the meeting not being on the agenda, UN officials in Lisbon made themselves available for it."

Contacted by *Publico*, the UN Information Centre Press Officer in Lisbon, José Manuel Calafate, started by stating that he had no "details" on the matter, although he did not deny there had been contacts. By the end of the afternoon he was more explicit, and confirmed that Francesc Vendrell would, in fact, be meeting with Manuel Macedo, but that it was not yet clear whether the meeting would take place at the UN offices in Lisbon, or somewhere else. It was night by the time Vendrell and Macedo met.

"This meeting proves that the UN is far more interested in resolving the situation (in Timor) than the Portuguese Government," said Macedo straight after the meeting. He was pleased by the "very considerate" way in which he had been received by Boutros Ghali's envoy. According to Macedo, Vendrell showed interest in the Association's activities, and was "surprised" to learn that its Chairman had not been received by the Foreign Minister and the President of the Republic.

Next Monday, Francesc Vendrell will be meeting General Galvão de Melo, currently in Timor on Jakarta's invitation, as leader of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association.

While Manuel Macedo got a green light for the meeting with Vendrell, Minister Durão Barroso described the Association as the product of Indonesian "bribery." Macedo had already reacted with a communiqué in which he refers to the Minister's statement as "repugnant because unfounded, rash and gratuitous."

Timorese at the Table

Francesc Vendrell's other contacts in Lisbon - more predictable than last night's meeting - have doubtless convinced him that the Timorese have not given up the quest for their own place at the table set for negotiations, currently underway, with the UN Secretary General's mediation.

This hope is shared by the different tendencies within the Timorese resistance. The problem is that each of the two tendencies heard by Vendrell in Portugal favours a different form of representation.

Yesterday, Abilio Araujo talked in Lisbon about the possibility of the Timorese reinforcing their presence in the process by way of two delegations, one made up of exiles, and the other consisting of Timorese now integrated in the Indonesian administrative set up. It should be remembered that Abilio Araujo is the "father" of the Ware "reconciliation" meeting, that brought Timorese from both "sides" face to face. It is these two sides that he would now like to see involved in the negotiations.

This is not a new idea. It was suggested straight after the unblocking of the diplomatic dialogue between Lisbon and Jakarta, when the then Foreign Minister, Deus Pinheiro, and Ali Alatas met for the first time for an exploratory meeting to deal with this very problem - the form which future negotiations should take. At that time, it was even suggested that the two Timorese delegations could be "associated" with the Portuguese and Indonesian delegations.

The format finally adopted, however, left the Timorese on the sidelines, and only gave them the chance to have lateral contact with the three protagonists: Durão Barroso (who substituted Deus Pinheiro at the head of the Portuguese Foreign Ministry), Ali Alatas, and Boutros Ghali.

Before hearing the advocates of the "double" delegation, Vendrell will be hearing the views of Timorese who oppose any approach towards Jakarta, (repudiating initiatives such as Ware), and uphold that only the resistance should be represented at the talks.

The matter is sure to be brought up again in Jakarta, where Vendrell is headed for this morning, and in Dili, the following stop on his journey. Yesterday, Boutros Ghali's envoy was received by Mario Soares, and had a working lunch at the Foreign Ministry

with Durão Barroso. He returned to the UN offices in Lisbon late in the afternoon for a meeting with representatives from the Maubere People's Rights Commission, and the organisation Peace is Possible in East Timor. His meeting with Manuel Macedo was the last, in Vendrell's pass through Lisbon.

See "Collaborators in Portugal" section for more on this subject.

JOLLIFFE ON U.N. MISSION

Radio Netherlands broadcast the following report in Indonesian on 17 January 1994. Translation.

The question of East Timor can only be solved in a way that is acceptable to the people of East Timor, said Francesc Vendrell, envoy of the UN Secretary General, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, in Lisbon before leaving Saturday for Jakarta. Vendrell met Portuguese government officials and various East Timorese groups in Portugal. Vendrell plans to meet Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and ambassador Lopes da Cruz in Jakarta and hopes also to meet the leader of the East Timorese resistance, Xanana Gusmão, who is in Cipinang Prison. Here is our report of his visit to Portugal by Jill Jolliffe:

Francesc Vendrell, Director for Asia-Pacific at the UN [actually, he is Director for Political Affairs, TAPOL] hopes for some practical improvements in the human rights situation in East Timor and for an improvement in the trust between Indonesia and Portugal, as a step towards resolving the East Timor question. Progress is being sought through dialogue under the auspices of the UN Secretary General, in the search for a settlement that is acceptable to the people of East Timor, said Vendrell. He added however that the way forward is still long.

Vendrell has been mandated by the UN Secretary General to assess the opinions of Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor, in preparation for the next round of talks between Portugal and Indonesia in Geneva on May 6.

While in Lisbon Vendrell met Manuel Macedo, leader of the Portugal-Indonesia Friendship Association, an organisation that has been sponsored by Jakarta. Portuguese government officials refuse to meet Macedo because they regard him as being in the pay of the Indonesian government and an ally of (retired) General Carlos Galvão de Melo who is at present on a visit to Indonesia and East Timor. Vendrell had a meeting with Macedo which the Lisbon daily described as "shameful."

Vendrell has said that he is ready to meeting anyone who wants to discuss East Timor. Besides meeting the Portuguese president and foreign minister, as well as members of the Parliamentary Commission for East Timor affairs, Vendrell also met the resistance group, CNRM, including UDT and Fretilin leaders. Speaking for Fretilin Luis Cardoso [actually, Cardoso is the CNRM representative in Lisbon, and is not Fretilin, TAPOL] said he was extremely happy about his meeting with Vendrell. There can be no solution outside the UN, he said; he proposed that representatives of the CNRM should be involved in the consultations between Indonesia and Portugal. This need not necessarily be at the next round but thereafter, according to Cardoso. Zacharias da Costa, representing the UDT also praised the UN for having consultations with East Timorese representatives.

The consultations have reached a very difficult stage and need to be pushed forward, said Zacharias. By contrast with Abilio Araujo, I regard the UN role as something very positive, said the UDT representative. Abilio is former Fretilin leader who met pro-integration groups at recent talks in London sponsored by Indonesia.

Before the visit to Lisbon by Vendrell, Abilio Araujo speaking to the news agency, LUSA, accused the UN for being responsible for the situation in East Timor because, since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, the UN has ignored requests for peace troops to be sent. Araujo has since admitted that he said to Vendrell that consultations about a resolution of the East Timor question can only be undertaken by the UN. The people of East Timor want an honourable solution and an end to the war, Araujo said.

However, most East Timorese in Portugal doubt whether the Jakarta government is prepared to make any concession, as Araujo claims. The decision to allow the seven East Timorese who asked for asylum to leave Indonesia was taken as a result of an international campaign, not because of the consultations between Lopes da Cruz and Araujo in London.

Meanwhile, sources in Lisbon say that the Indonesian government plans to release several East Timorese prisoners, including Xanana Gusmão. These sources say that the Indonesian government is holding talks with the Guinea Bissau government with a view to releasing Xanana Gusmão as a "refugee" to the former Portuguese country in West Africa.

UN ENVOY IN EAST TIMOR TALKS

The Age, by Jill Jolliffe. 17 Jan. 1994

(Lisbon) A special representative of the UN Secretary-General is bound for Indonesia and East Timor after two days meeting Portuguese officials and East Timorese community representatives.

Reliable sources in Lisbon say Jakarta is planning to release some long-term East Timorese prisoners, and to free imprisoned guerilla leader Xanana Gusmão, under terms of exile being negotiated with the West African government of Guinea-Bissau.

Mr. Francesc Vendrell has been sent by Dr. Boutros-Ghali to consult Portuguese, Indonesian, and East Timorese opinion in preparation for the next round of talks between the Portuguese and Indonesian foreign ministers in Geneva in May over East Timor, the former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

He left Lisbon amid controversy after meeting Mr. Manuel Macedo, president of the Indonesian-created Portuguese Indonesian Friendship Association. The meeting was described as shameful by one newspaper, but a UN source said the meeting occurred only because Mr. Vendrell had agreed to meet everyone who wanted to speak with him about East Timor. Mr. Macedo is considered a paid apologist of Indonesian policy.

Mr. Vendrell earlier met members of the East Timorese National Council, including officials of the Fretilin and UDT parties and a dissident group of East Timorese involved in controversial Indonesian-sponsored negotiations. He also met President Mario Soares, the Foreign Minister, José Durão Barroso, and a parliamentary commission on East Timor.

He is expected to talk in Jakarta with Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, pro-Indonesian Timorese leaders Mr. Francisco Lopes da Cruz, and visit Mr. Gusmão. In Timor, he is expected to meet Carlos Belo and political and military leaders.

Before leaving, Mr. Vendrell said he hoped for practical improvements in human rights in East Timor and increasing confidence-building measures between Portugal and Indonesia as a step towards a lasting solution. "The way forward is through dialogue under the auspices the UN Secretary-General to solve the issue of the East Timorese people," he said, but added "there is still a long way to go."

After his principal meeting with the East Timorese community, Mr. Luis Cardoso, the representative of Fretilin, said: "We stressed that there can be no solution outside the UN framework."

Matebian News correction:

Mr. Luis Cardoso is not representative of Fretilin as reported above; he is the representative of CNRM in Portugal.

UN OFFICIALS TO SEE GUSMÃO

The Age, 18 January 1994

(AFP) Two senior United Nations officials will visit the jailed East Timor independence movement leader Xanana Gusmão in his Jakarta prison, sources close to the delegation said in Jakarta today. Visits to Gusmão, who began a 20-year sentence in 1993, were suspended on 9 January after a letter he wrote seeing a new trial was smuggled out from Jakarta's Cipinang prison. Gusmão, who lead the armed wing of the Fretilin pro-independence group, was jailed for plotting against the state and illegal possession of firearms.

UN OFFICIALS MEET XANANA GUSMÃO

AP, 24 January 1994. Abridged

Unless we have missed something, there has been no report of the UN officials visiting East Timor which, we understand should have been part of the trip. Alatas' angry tirade against Bishop Belo for calling for a referendum may have been made in the context of a UN visit to Dili where the officials would certainly have wanted to meet Belo. But did it ever take place? – TAPOL

(Dili) Two UN officials visited East Timor rebel leader, Xanana Gusmão Monday. Francesc Vendrell, Director of the UN Department of Political Affairs, said he was sure that Gusmão was in good physical and mental condition and that he would report on the meeting to the UN Secretary-General. "I am satisfied with my visit because he talked with me freely," Vendrell said.

The UN officials have met with officials, including Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and were to leave Tuesday for Australia

UPI, January 24

JAKARTA – Two U.N. officials Monday visited jailed East Timor independence leader Xanana Gusmão, whose loss of visitation rights earlier this month sparked protests from human rights groups.

"I am satisfied with my visit, because Gusmão talked with me freely," said U.N. official Francesc Vendrell.

Vendrell declined to elaborate. "I will report all information from my meeting to U.N. Secretary-General" Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

He said Gusmão was in good physical and mental condition.

Vendrell was accompanied by U.N. official Tamrat Samuel.

The U.N. officials are in Indonesia to collect information on the disputed Indonesian province of East Timor in a preparation for another round of U.N.-sponsored talks between Indonesia and Portugal, scheduled for May 6 in New York.

Gusmão's independence movement was formed after Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the island after it gained independence from Portugal. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian authority over the island province.

In the third round of talks in September, Jakarta and Lisbon reached an agreement for the first time on a number of confidence-building measures.

Visits to Gusmão, serving a 20-year jail term in Jakarta's Cipinang prison, were suspended early this month in retaliation for a letter he smuggled out of prison to the International Commission of Jurists.

See Xanana Gusmão section for more on these discussions.

FRANCESC VENDRELL OF THE UN VISITS INDONESIA

Radio Netherlands, 25 January 1994. Translated from Indonesian

Two special envoys of the UN Secretary-General, Francesc Vendrell and Tamrat Samuel, are deeply concerned about the human rights situation in East Timor and about the circumstances of the East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão who is now imprisoned in Cipinang Prison. The two diplomats left Indonesia Tuesday for Australia after visiting Portugal, Indonesia and East Timor for two weeks. Indonesian human rights activists Adnan Buyung Nasution and Haji Princen acknowledged that East Timor's right to self-determination is an integral part of the human rights question.

This is our report from Hilversum:

The day before their departure from Jakarta, two envoys of the UN Secretary-General were able to meet Xanana Gusmão, as well as meeting several human rights activists, Adnan Buyung Nasution, Frans H. Winarta and Hendardi from the LBH and Haji Princen from the LPHAM. The envoys said that they found Xanana Gusmão in a good state of health.

Vendrell and Samuel are known to be making every effort to collect as objectively as possible all the necessary information in preparation for the talks between Indonesia and Portugal in Geneva on 6 May. In Portu-

gal, government and East Timorese circles were very positive about the Vendrell mission which is taking place in implementation of the mandate of the UN Secretary-General.

Vendrell is one of the most experienced UN diplomats on the question of East Timor. Under the former Secretary-General, Peres de Cuellar, he was reportedly pushed aside because he was critical of the Jakarta government.

On his visit to Jakarta, the Indonesian authorities gave him a cool reception. There was a striking contrast between the extensive media coverage given to the visit to Indonesia of the pro-Indonesian retired Portuguese general, Melo, and the lack of media coverage of the Vendrell visit.

Vendrell was taken aback when LBH activists asked him about a 'Kompas' report quoting him as praising development in East Timor. The UN diplomat said this was untrue and he would be writing to protest to the newspaper which is regarded as the best Indonesian newspaper. There was hardly any reporting at all of Vendrell's brief meeting with Major-General Theo Syafei [Udayana regional military commander] who is about to be transferred to a post at armed forces headquarters. Nor was there any reporting about Vendrell's meeting with Bishop Belo. While Bishop Belo recently denounced the Portuguese general, Melo, he welcomed the Vendrell visit to East Timor.

Haji Princen recently had a long discussion with Bishop Belo; he told Vendrell about the plans of the LPHAM and the LBH to open a branch in Dili.

In Vendrell's opinion, the human rights situation in East Timor needs to be continually monitored. In this connection, the Indonesian human rights activists acknowledge that East Timor's right to self-determination, in the form of a referendum, is an integral part of the human rights situation. But we need to find ways of presenting this so as to avoid being accused of 'treachery,' said Princen, who was called a traitor by Vice-President Try Sutrisno after he returned home from a visit to Portugal last year.

Princen said that Vendrell also spoke about the possibility of implementing an 'act of free choice' or referendum. According to Hendardi, the political opening up of East Timor is essential before a referendum can be held.

Besides the human rights situation in general, Vendrell devoted special attention to the fate of Xanana Gusmão, in particular the role that the LBH can play to secure justice for the jailed East Timorese leader.

The LBH has invited the National Commission on Human Rights which has been set up by the government to visit Xanana

Gusmão together with LBH lawyers. The human rights activists also said that even though Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is bound to implement Jakarta's foreign policy, he can be regarded as the best of our diplomatic representatives. Some sources believe that the deadlock reached over East Timor is the result of the hardline policy of certain military circles and it seems that Vendrell understands this very well.

Princen regards Vendrell as being very genuine. He spent more time asking questions than making comments.

Based on the results of this UN mission, it seems certain that there will need to be positive progress on the human rights front and case of Xanana Gusmão before a referendum can take place, and before more concrete discussions take place at the negotiating table about resolving the question of East Timor

UN ENVOYS SEEK GREATER HUMAN RIGHTS MONITORING IN EAST TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 26 January 1994. Abridged

Two United Nations envoys fresh from a visit to East Timor, have proposed that the Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI) open an office in the former Portuguese colony to help monitor the human rights situation there.

YLBHI officials said the proposal came during a meeting on Monday with Francesc Vendrell and Tamrat Samuel, special envoys of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali assigned to prepare for the next meeting between Indonesia and Portugal to resolve the East Timor question. The foundation was represented at the meeting by Adnan Buyung Nasution, Hendardi, Princen and Franz [Winarta].

"The two envoys proposed that YLBHI open an office in East Timor to provide legal counselling and to help monitor the human rights in the territory," said Franz H. Winarta, the foundation's executive secretary.

Winarta said the meeting on Monday discussed the human rights situation in Indonesia in general.

The UN envoys also queried about the fate of convicted East Timor rebel leader, José Alexandre 'Xanana' Gusmão and whether YLBHI had succeeded in meeting his request for legal representative.

YLBHI executives last week met members of the National Commission on Human Rights asking that they jointly visit 'Xanana' to discuss his request for a trial by an international court, after alleging irregularities by the Indonesian court.

In East Timor, the envoys met with Governor Abilio Soares, chief of the East Timor legislature, Antonio Freitas Parada, chief of the local military command, Colonel Lumintang, a number of tribal leaders, the Dili Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo and other public figures.

The majority of the East Timor leaders expressed the hope that the United Nations would be able to bring the talks between Indonesia and Portugal to a conclusion satisfactory to all parties, according to José Gaspar Piedade, chairman of the East Timor chapter of the National Youth Committee.

José proposed that the UN sponsor a visit to the territory by a Portuguese delegation and by East Timorese living in exile, to give them a first-hand look at the situation in East Timor more than 17 years after its integration with Indonesia.

UN ENVOY SEEKS TALKS

Canberra Times, 27 January 1994

MELBOURNE: A special envoy of United Nations Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali arrived in Australia yesterday for talks with East Timorese exiles as part of UN efforts to resolve the East Timor dispute.

Senior UN representative Francesc Vendrell had a three hour meeting in Sydney yesterday with representatives of the East Timorese independence movement, movement spokesman José Ramos Horta said.

Mr. Vendrell head of the UN's Asia section, arrived in Australia after ten days in Indonesia and East Timor, where he met government officials and jailed Timorese resistance leaders.

Australia is the third stop in a tour that began in Portugal.

His trip stems from a meeting between the Indonesian and Portuguese foreign ministers last September, at which they agreed to implement "confidence-building measures," aimed at speeding efforts between the two countries to resolve their dispute about East Timor.

It prepares for the next meeting between the foreign ministers of the two countries in Geneva on May 6.

The talks have been taking place under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General since 1982, aimed at finding an internationally acceptable solution to the question of the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed the following year.

Mr. Ramos-Horta, spokesman for the East Timorese Council of National Resistance, declined to give specific details of yesterday's meeting.

"All my colleagues and I are satisfied with the initiative of the UN Secretary-General in sending this envoy to Indonesia and East Timor and to Australia, specifically to meet us," he said.

He said Mr. Vendrell head "sounded out our views on confidence-building measures.....to create a climate conducive to a settlement."

Mr. Ramos-Horta said it was up to Indonesia, not Portugal or the Timorese, to create a climate of confidence by pulling its troops out of East Timor, releasing political prisoners and "stopping the torture and the arrests."

JUDGMENT WITHHELD: UN ENVOY TO JAKARTA MEETS TIMORESE IN AUSTRALIA

Diario de Noticias (DN), 28 January 1994. By Antonio Sampaio, Translated from Portuguese.

(Sydney) The UN envoy to Jakarta, Francesc Vendrell, was in Australia to meet Timorese representatives. He gave assurances that Xanana is in good health, and said the UN is going to present some of its own ideas for settling the conflict.

Francesc Vendrell, Boutros Ghali's envoy to a round of consultations involving Portugal, Indonesia, and the Timorese Resistance, was cautious in his approach when interviewed by the *Diario de Noticias (DN)*:
DN: How did the meeting go with Timorese leaders in Australia?

Francesc Vendrell (FV): It went like all the others I have had since New York. They have been very positive. I have had the opportunity of listening to the opinions of the Timorese community, both in Australia and in Portugal, and I want to hear still more.

DN: Has everyone been cooperative?

FV: Portugal and Indonesia cooperated fully in the preparations for my visit. I was able to contact whoever I wished. The meetings have been fruitful, and a lot has been achieved. This has really been a preparatory mission for the May meeting, so as to help the Secretary General come up with some ideas to present both parties.

DN: You made a point of visiting Xanana Gusmão.

FV: I was with Xanana Gusmão in his cell. All I can tell you is that he is in good physical and mental condition. Obviously, I cannot reveal what we discussed during our meeting, as I must report on that to the Secretary General. I am satisfied with the contacts I made with people from Portugal, and naturally, with having been able to talk with whomever I wished.

DN: Who were you in touch with in East Timor?

FV: With the local authorities, the Governor, and the Military Commander, and with various Timorese. I spoke at length with Mnsgr. Bishop Ximenes Belo. I met several missionaries, and also Ma'Huno and Ma'Hodo.

DN: We know Xanana is imprisoned, but there is confusion about Ma'Huno and Ma'Hodo. What is their current situation?

FV: I cannot comment on their conditions, but I can assure you that they are in good physical shape.

DN: But are they imprisoned or not?

FV: Let's say they are both living under restricted conditions.

DN: Under house arrest?

FV: I can only say that they spend some time on military bases in Dili.

DN: Some analysts suggest that little progress has been made in previous meetings.

FV: I disagree. If we look at the last meeting, in New York, we can see that there were three or four things, which might appear of little consequence, but which are in fact important. It was agreed, for example, that there would be greater access to Timor for humanitarian organisations - my visit was an example of that. It was also agreed that the Secretary General would continue to monitor the situation in Timor and maintain contact with the Timorese. These are all steps forward.

DN: Indonesia has always said "no" to contacts with the Timorese. A favourite argument is that the Timorese have already taken a decision on their future.

FV: In the contacts maintained during the 1980s, the Timorese were never consulted. For that reason too, this opportunity shows that progress has already been made.

DN: But access to Timor for NGOs has not been unrestricted - Indonesia prohibited the ICRC from visiting Xanana.

FV: I am not aware of the details of Indonesia's decision regarding the ICRC. I thought that visits, in general, would not be allowed, but I did not know that the Red Cross was included.

DN: Have you decided what you will tell the Secretary General?

FV: I have a lot of ideas about what I will report to him. I think we ought to concentrate on finding solutions which help the Timorese people.

OTHER U.N. ACTIVITIES

UN BID TO SETTLE EAST TIMOR ROW

The Australian, 11 Jan. 1994. By Reuters

LISBON: Portugal said yesterday that the United Nations Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, would launch initiatives soon to try to solve its dispute with Indonesia over East Timor, but it saw no early solution.

"There is a total divergence between the two governments-Portugal and Jakarta," Portugal's Foreign Minister, Mr. José Manuel Durão Barroso, told the Lisbon daily *Publico*.

"I only see a possible solution in the long term and through a policy of small steps."

The former colony was invaded by Indonesian in 1975 and annexed a year later, leading to a rupture of relations with Portugal.

Indonesia as been widely criticised for human rights abuses in the territory of 750,000 people, where a dwindling band of pro-independence guerrillas still opposes Indonesian rule. The UN still does not recognise Indonesian rule of East Timor, but the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal have been meeting twice a year under UN auspices since 1992 for exploratory talks.

Mr. Durão Barroso said he was skeptical about the prospects for his next meeting with the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, in Geneva in May.

"I think it is always prudent to maintain a certain skepticism, while being constructive. We are still some way away from this meeting and there will be some initiatives by the secretary-general of the United Nations before then," he said.

Mr. Durão Barroso did not say what sort of initiatives Dr. Boutros-Ghali might take.

HORTA: BAR INDONESIA FROM UN SECURITY COUNCIL

The Australian, 22 January 1994. By Helen Signy and agencies

Indonesia should not be allowed to sit on the United Nations Security Council until a solutions was found in East Timor, the co-chairman of East Timor's resistance movement, Mr. José Ramos Horta, said yesterday.

Mr. Horta, who is visiting Sydney, said Indonesia's recent statements about the jailed rebel leader Xanana Gusmão were

another indication of its lack of respect of human rights.

The Indonesian Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said earlier this week that Indonesia had no intention on freeing Xanana into exile, and that Xanana had himself to blame for having his visiting rights revoked earlier this month.

Mr. Alatas said Xanana has sent a copy of a letter to the Geneva-based International commissions of jurists to a Portuguese newspaper last month. In it, Xanana asked the commission to annul his trial.

"This comments by Mr. Alatas only reinforces the universal perception that Indonesia doesn't respect human rights and fundamental freedoms.....," Mr. Horta said yesterday.

"It is not in Indonesia's interests because Mr. Alatas has made it a top priority this year for Indonesia to win a seat in the security council.

"There is no way they can win a seat on the Security council unless they try and find a solution in East Timor," he said.

Indonesia's armed forces have name a new commander for a Military district incorporating East Timor, the official Antara news agency said yesterday.

Major General Theo Syafei, who assumed the Udayana command after the massacre in East Timor in November 1991, is being replaced by Brigadier General Adang Ruchiata.

UN DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE MEETS

Abridged from United Nations Press Release, 15 February 1994

SECRETARY-GENERAL, IN MESSAGE TO DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE, SAYS CONDITIONS MUST BE ESTABLISHED FOR FREE CHOICE IN NON-SELF GOVERNING TERRITORIES

Renagi Renagi Lohia, of Papua New Guinea, Re-elected Committee Chairman

While the inalienable right of colonized peoples to freely choose their destiny was now universally recognized, there was still a need to establish in Non-Self-Governing Territories the political, economic and social conditions that would promote the exercise of that free choice, the Special Committee on decolonization was told this afternoon as it began its 1994 session....

Also this afternoon, the Special Committee re-elected Renagi Renagi Lohia of Papua New Guinea as its Chairman, for a third term. In his statement, Mr. Lohia said that the Special Committee was hopeful that it would be in a position to usher in the mil-

lennium with a clean slate and the absence of any colonial territories on its list....

The Special Committee also elected Fernando Ramirez de Estenoz Barciela (Cuba) as one of its Vice-Chairman. The following officers were also re-elected: Andrew G. Bangali (Sierra Leone) as Vice-Chairman; Farouk Al-Attar (Syria) as Rapporteur; and M. Amor Ardhaoui (Tunisia) as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Small Territories, Petitions, Information and Assistance.

Speaking on the question of East Timor, one of the items on the Special Committee's agenda were representatives of Indonesia and Portugal....

The Special Committee comprises the 24 member States: Afghanistan, Bulgaria, Chile, China, Congo, Cote d'Ivoire, Cuba, Ethiopia, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Fiji, Grenada, India, Indonesia, Iran, Iraq, Mali, Papua New Guinea, Russian Federation, Sierra Leone, Syria, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, United Republic of Tanzania and Venezuela....

Statements

REZLAN ISHAR JENIE (Indonesia) said that his delegation regretted the inclusion of the so-called question of East Timor on the agenda of the Special Committee for 1994. The people of East Timor had exercised their legitimate right to self-determination and had achieved independence through integration with Indonesia on 17 July 1976. That decision of the East Timorese people had been taken in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and relevant United Nations resolutions.

During the decolonization process, the United Nations had been kept fully informed of the situation in East Timor, he went on. East Timorians (sic) had participated in national and provincial elections, and if the question was the promotion and protection of political aspirations and the socio-economic well-being of the East Timorese people, the answer was to support the decision of the East Timorese people to enjoy the freedom and economic and social prosperity available to them as the twenty-seventh province of Indonesia.

JOSÉ CAETANO DA COSTA PEREIRA (Portugal) said that his country could not see how Indonesia could say that the question of East Timor had no place on the agenda of the Special Committee, especially since that question was included in the agenda of both the General Assembly and the Special Political Committee, and the Security Council remained seized of that situation even today. The United Nations and the international community

had never recognized the decolonization process of East Timor as being completed.

He stated that Portugal had no claims whatsoever over the territory of East Timor, but continued as administering Power for the Non-Self-Governing Territory of East Timor to defend the rights of the East Timorese people, in whom Portugal has maintained a moral and historical interest. Portugal was actively engaged in ongoing talks regarding East Timor, and was open to the expression and fulfillment of the desires of the people of East Timor.

Articles relating to the Geneva meeting of the U.N. Human Rights Commission are in East Timor Documents volume 27, for completeness.

EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

REVIEW OF AUSTRALIAN MEDIA COMMENTARY ON EAST TIMOR

ASIA PACIFIC NEWS COMMENTARY.

No.1. November 1993. East Timor A Selective Review of Australian Electronic Media and Press Opinion. Written and Compiled by Jefferson Lee.

Postal Address: PO Box 703, Leichardt NSW 2040.

Annual Subscriptions: \$30/\$20.

Issue: The Keating Visit to Jakarta: October 1993. Survey Area: The Canberra Times Columnists 24.10.93 - 2.11.93.

1. Richard Begbie, 'Mabo, East Timor, and a glance at the American tourist syndrome,' Canberra Times, Sunday 24.10.93, p.8 (opinion column).

Begbie's column preceded Keating's arrival in Jakarta. It did not address it directly. This column was the only one of those under review that was openly sympathetic to the East Timorese cause. He begins rather limply by referring to an earlier column where he raised the 'vexed and infinitely sad situation in East Timor.' Surely the issue is clear-cut by now? Begbie here is either pandering to the middle class readership of the Sunday edition of the nation's capital daily or stylistically he doesn't want to lead into his article too heavily? We shall see.

He then argues that 'cynics have observed that in matters of human rights Australia's moral stance and diplomatic courage increase with the distance of the issue from our shores.' He suggests the Federal Government's stand on the Mabo issue 'takes

some of the sting from that barb' as he sees the Mabo process shows a Government and 'disparate parties' committed to 'real reconciliation.' He commends the Federal Government here arguing that the 'giant questions of prior rights, justice, the recognition of genocide and crippling racism' are more important than the republic debate and issues of 'self-image and national pride.'

Clearly a debate could be mounted here as to whether the Federal Government's response to Mabo was motivated by such noble sentiments. However the real reason Begbie raises the issue at all is to make the comparison between how at a time when Aboriginal issues 'so stirred the national conscience' we have 'wimped out' on East Timor where 'occupation, repression and genocide have unfolded with barely a squeak from the same party and Government that has laboured long and honourably over Mabo and related issues.'

Begbie identifies part of the problem as apathy generated through the television news media where the '60 second news grab' on East Timor will be 'driven from thought a moment later by the next story.' He argues the result is we become complacent as 'the sense remains that we've covered, or dealt with, or given a hearing to, the subject at hand.' Television becomes the 'democratic medium' through which we 'expiate our guilt' via a 'fair hearing' as 'armchair tourist' television watchers. Hence Begbie argues that if there is a 'conspiracy of silence' on the Timor issue it is one 'we all share' as we turn off the television 'with a vague sense of having 'got across' subjects like this one (i.e. Timor).' Again one gets the feeling Begbie is pandering to his complacent Sunday readers? But he is also indirectly addressing the issue of the role of the media in suppressing the East Timor issue in Australia. Clearly, as a participant in many of the recent rallies on East Timor in Sydney, I can say the absence of reports from most media institutions indicates the 'conspiracy of silence' is more related to censorious, sensationalist and politically compliant media than it is to the issue of some unquantifiable viewer stupor induced by over-exposure to the tragedy of world events. Admittedly, if anything, the media construction of world news does exacerbate the problem by presenting international news in a disempowering and desensitising format.

But Begbie redeems himself by claiming the 'anaesthetising' mass media demonstrates the value of 'the stirrer,' 'the dissident,' 'the eccentric voice of conscience.' Here he identifies the late Patellio Finau, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Tonga who spoke out about the muted Irish anger over East Timor directed at Keating when he

visited Ireland. Finau said 'I am happy to see... that the politicians in Ireland showed their unhappiness towards your Prime Minister... And I'm glad that the American's are... not selling arms to Indonesia until human rights violations in East Timor are fixed up.' Begbie notes Finau's death and salutes 'it (was) nice to know that you stood with downtrodden neighbours in their struggle for self determination before it was too late.'

Begbie also lists Bishop Tutu as another supporter of the Timorese cause. He notes that in all the press euphoria about a peace deal being struck in South Africa to end Apartheid prior to Tutu's visit to Australia there was barely a mention of Agio Pereira's speech on behalf of Xanana Gusmão at the Canberra Pen meeting. Thus Begbie put a question to Tutu on East Timor at the National Press Club address to which Tutu responded. 'Wherever there should be injustice done, then we have no option, those of us who are Christians, but to say we stand with those who have legitimate aspirations, those who are the downtrodden.'

2. Peter Cole-Adams, (Political Editor travelling with the PM in Jakarta), Keating has 'convivial' Suharto meet,' Canberra Times, Tuesday, 27.10.93, p.3, (news report).

Cole-Adams reports Keating received a 'warm welcome' in Jakarta for his 'position on human rights' where Keating described his meeting with Suharto as 'convivial.' Alatas reiterated that if 'developed countries cannot resist the urge to tell developing countries how they should be and what they should do, then do it in a balanced way... Sit down quietly and talk earnestly...' Keating argued what he had said in the US was that 'one deals with a country on the basis of the totality of the relationship.' On East Timor, 'We have made clear our position on these human rights issues, but we are not a mono-dimensional government.'

While Keating has a point here - Australia would not wish to be judged solely in the international arena on its woeful record on black deaths in custody or treatment of Cambodian 'boat people,' nevertheless, Keating's Government is virtually 'mono-dimensional' on the East Timor aspect of bilateral Indonesian relations. Firstly, we are the only Western country to fully deny East Timor any sovereign rights to exist as a separate entity from Indonesia. Secondly, at all crucial international forums, such as the UN Human Rights Commission we go out of our way to side with the Jakarta elite and against the East Timorese. On the rare occasion that Australia is embarrassed enough to support a collective vote for East Timor (1993) our delegates go into 'damage con-

trol' and attempt to water down any international pro-East Timor action by immediately making qualifying statements of disassociation. Thirdly we have a 'mono dimensional' obsession that all that matters in our bilateral relationship is trade and defence cooperation. If Cole-Adams addressed any of these issues to Keating they were not reported.

3. Gerard Noonan, 'PM has deft touch in links with Indonesia,' Canberra Times, Thursday, 28.10.93, p.15, (features)

Noonan here was profiling the success of Keating's CHOGRM trip to Cyprus and where the Jakarta visit fitted in. He argued it was 'probably (Keating's) best week as Prime Minister' as domestic things like Mabo, the Budget, the \$8 pay rise, all fell into place. The Jakarta visit occurred on the heels of Golkar leadership election and the loosening of Indonesia's foreign investment guidelines which positioned Keating well to discuss APEC and Australian investment. Noonan argued 'Keating himself appears to have a soft spot for Indonesia, and the Indonesians appear to be responding in kind.' Hence 'Keating scoffs at those within the Labor Party who want him to take a tougher line on Indonesia over human rights abuses.'

Noonan informs how the Keating Government 'politely but firmly rejected overtures from the US unions for Australia to push for stronger trade union rights conventions in the GATT negotiations - a more aimed at countries like Indonesia.' This follows the visits of the congressional delegation and a separate one from the Clinton Administration's Office of Trade Representative to Jakarta to determine whether 'Most Favoured Nation' status should remain in the light of abuses against trade union rights. Noonan suggests Keating's silence here is in order to push his APEC initiative where the Indonesian payback has been to 'not rock the boat' and allow APEC 'enthusiasts' like Keating's to 'have their head while gently warning they don't want ASEAN to be swamped.' Hence Noonan agrees it is Keating's 'pragmatic conservatism' that determines his response to 'Indonesia's bloody handling of the East Timor issue.' Adjoining this article is a cartoon of two chimpanzees - Suharto and Keating - scratching each other's backs.

4. No source, 'Indonesia IR concern, ACTU expresses doubts about workers rights,' Canberra Times, Friday, 29.10.93, p.12. (news item)

"Sydney: The President of the ACTU, Martin Ferguson, said yesterday that there were serious doubts about whether or not Indonesian workers experienced basic democratic rights... He also supported US queries about human rights issues in Indone-

sia...' (as) US President Clinton (will) pursue these in Indonesia next month.

'The ACTU leader said his visit to Indonesia would not conflict with statements made by PM Keating, that human rights abuses in Indonesia should not be the sole focus of International attention... 'I think the PM was right to raise the question of a constructive approach...but we're obliged as a country to campaign for human rights and trade union rights.'

Ferguson's apparent concern for Indonesian trade union rights should be viewed in the light of the most recent AKSI Newsletter which exposed the way that visits to Jakarta by ACTU officials have been used by the Suharto regime to bolster the government-run tame-cat official trade union movement. It complements the way that Ferguson and other ACTU leaders conspired to keep the issues of East Timor and Bougainville off the agenda at the recent ACTU Congress in Sydney.

5. Ian Warden, 'PM's Chamberlainesque trip to Indonesia under fire,' Canberra Times, Friday, 29.10.93, p.8 (regular column: 'capital letter').

Here columnist Ian Warden attacks Ted Mack's parliamentary statement on Keating in Indonesia wherein Mack refers to him as 'coming dangerously close to being the Chamberlain of Asia.' Warden argued, 'Visiting Jakarta in recent days, Keating, with pressing matters of economics to discuss with our hulking neighbour, seems to have taken pain not to nag, nag, nag his hosts about human rights matters. This is an approach consistent with his policy that 'one deals with a country on the totality of its relationship,' a principle that seems to mean that one should no more dismiss a nation for having a flaw than one would condemn a friend with lots of good qualities just because he or she engages, in his or her own time and consenting adults in private, in a perversion one does not approve of.'

Warden thus wrongly ascribes the undoubted 'good qualities' of the Indonesia people to Suharto and the Indonesian Government. He suggests a principled stand on the genocide of East Timor is 'dismissing a nation' rather than what it really is - a legitimate attempt to isolate the repressive butchers of Dili in the eyes of the world. He reveals his own appeaser role with the description of Indonesia as 'hulking' which suggests they are perhaps too big for little Australia to criticise? He side-steps why we should 'nag, nag, nag' Suharto & Co - namely their intransigence in failing to allow self-determination to East Timor. As a print media apologist for Keating, Warden himself appears 'Chamberlainesque' here. For to suggest the slaughter of tens of thousands of

Timorese is a mere 'flaw,' and then to draw upon a metaphor to claim that criticisms of that 'flaw' is the same thing as unfounded and illogical prejudice against homosexuals (i.e. so as to imply that it is not a 'flaw' at all), suggests strongly that Warden feels the slaughter in East Timor is no cause for concern. For the logic of his persecuted homosexual analogy could well be - we criticise Indonesia for something they either can't help, hurts no-one or is none of our business (i.e. some of Warden's implied reasons why we shouldn't condemn a homosexual person for their 'perversion'). But the reality of Timor is the exact opposite - the Indonesian occupation does hurt people (Timorese), the Indonesian Generals can do something about it (pull out their soldiers) and it is Australia's business to help the Timorese (historical debt/human rights reasons).

Warden goes on to bemoan that 'Mr. Mack is unable to share in Mr. Keating's charitable attitude to Indonesia.' This is because Mack correctly accused Indonesia of being 'a military dictatorship... with consistently the worst human-rights record in the world.' Warden disagreed. His next sentence accuses Mack of giving parliament 'a kind of catalogue with body counts that contained the sort of figures one normally associated only with discussions of astronomy and of distanced in space, of atrocities the Indonesians had inflicted on various people of our region.' Warden clearly believes the statistics of the death toll used by Mack to tell the story of East Timor, and presumably West Papua and Aceh, are extremely exaggerated, to the point of fanciful. But Warden does not even reveal to his readers what those figures are (Are they too embarrassing to Indonesia and Keating?) Nor does he offer any evidence to refute the accuracy of Ted Mack's figures.

Warden attempts to cover himself for doing all this 'dirty work' on behalf of the Indonesian Embassy in his final paragraph with 'straight' reporting which, when read in the context of the column, was nothing but cheap sarcasm at worst or covering his own tracks at best. He concluded 'Mr. Mack thought it was Neville Chamberlainesque of Mr. Keating to talk to Indonesia's 'ruling clique' as though they were jolly decent chaps when the world knew that they were brutes.' Why does Warden put 'ruling clique' in inverted commas here? Solely to distinguish these words as coming from Mack? No. More likely to suggest that Mack is using inappropriate hackneyed clichés. Clearly, from the tone of the construction of this sentence, Warden would rather the reader believes that Suharto & Co are 'jolly decent chaps' as opposed to 'brutes.' Shame, Warden, Shame. This former left-wing satirist, who began his writing

career attacking conservative politicians, fascist radio commentators and crusty right-wing academics in the student press, now seems to have joined the toadies with an early honorary retirement into the Woolcott School of Appeasement. Shame, Warden, Shame!

6. Peter Cole-Adams, 'In ruthless mode, Keating prepares for Australia's most ambitious diplomatic manoeuvre,' *Canberra Times*, 30.10.93, p.15 (column).

Adams explored Keating's trade diplomacy around APEC and GATT. He argued Keating was selling APEC to the ASEAN leaders in 'principal to principal' meetings using the argument that 'drawing the US and Japan into a more formalised and effective trading partnership, far from increasing their ability to dominate smaller countries, will impose constraints upon them, reducing their ability to impose their will through unilateral action or to destabilise the markets through bilateral deals.'

'More controversially, he has repeated the view that developed nations should approach human rights issues, not by publicly hectoring countries like Indonesia, Malaysia and China, let alone imposing sanctions on them, but by seeking to influence them within the 'totality' of a wider, mutually beneficial relationship.'

'He argues that such an approach, far from representing a retreat from human rights, represents a more effective way of pursuing them. He may be right, but the East Timorese will be unimpressed. They have their dead to count.'

7. Malcolm Booker, 'A foe we cannot afford to have,' *Canberra Times*, Tuesday, 2.11.93, p.9 (weekly opinion column by retired diplomat).

The heading on Booker's latest article says it all. The Keating-Suharto collaboration is 'good news' because Indonesia is 'one enemy that Australia cannot in any circumstances afford,' and, as a friend, 'it can greatly enhance our security and economic prosperity.' Booker then takes the Defence Department line and argues the breakdown of the bipolar superpower model of international relations has created new uncertainties in the Asia-Pacific where Australian security can now only be assured if Indonesia served as a 'protective barrier' to our north. He argues the recent book by DFAT/Senator Evans, *Co-operating for Peace*, correctly pointed out 'in the next Pacific War there will be no US forces to rescue Australia,' even under an expanded UN system. Instead, 'our fate will depend on what friends, or enemies, we have acquired in our own region.' Clearly the option of a neutral Australia or one that is independent of military alliances or inward-

looking and self-sufficient in defence orientation doesn't enter the Booker vocabulary. Allied with the Indonesian Junta we can ward off the imaginary bogeyman.

Booker predicates his remarks on an optimistic assessment of the 'growing maturity of the Indonesian political system' where Suharto is encouraging the military to withdraw from the dominant role and to allow more civilian involvement in Government. He cites the election of Harmoko as Golkar head and the rehabilitation of General Nasution, a long time advocate of this strategy, who recently said the military should 'respect and not harass civilians' and not interfere in everyday politics. Not a word here of the endemic nepotism, corruption or recent military offensive on Timor. Have the Generals really changed their spots Malcolm?

Booker argued not just 'security' but our 'economic future' was also dependent on our near neighbours like Indonesia. He disagreed with Keating's APEC strategy which, by attempting to construct a 'European Community' in the Asia-Pacific, was 'putting all our eggs in a particular basket.' Thus he maintained, the Keating argument that this would 'lessen the dominance of the US (in the region)' seems 'disapproved by experience in the EC.' Booker suggests that the US are using Keating's Asian diplomacy to draw ASEAN unwillingly into a Pacific trading bloc should GATT fail. Booker points out the ASEAN bloc have different interest than those of the US. Booker stops short of saying the obvious - that Keating is a classic 'stalking horse' for the multinational corporations in Australia and acts on behalf of their interests and not those of the struggling Australian farmers, workers and small business communities.

Booker ends with the non-argument about cleaning up our own backyard over Aborigines first. He ignores the support that the Aboriginal community have offered the East Timorese diaspora in Australia. He attempts to clobber the East Timor solidarity movement with the sins of the Federal and State Governments and their racist police forces and gaolers. He allows Keating to avoid a principled stand on Timor with the lame excuse it would be hypocritical. (Compare with Begbie). He forgets that ignoring the plight of the Timorese only adds to the hypocrisy of lip-service to Aboriginal rights. It certainly doesn't cancel it out as though it never existed. Thus we find Booker arguing that Keating was right in 'down-playing human rights in his discussions with Indonesian leaders' simply because Australian 'politicians, judges and churchmen' denied Aboriginal rights for 'more than 200 years.' Booker can't have it both ways. If Keating is one such person

then Booker should be advocating his removal from Prime Ministership. If, on the other hand, Keating has his hands tied by the sins of his forefathers, Keating should be setting the example of raising the East Timor issue with Suharto in the same spirit as he does the Aboriginal issue in Australia - as a brave act of cleansing the past wrongs. Booker's logic is akin to saying Keating and Suharto should both come together with smelly underpants and then pretend that there is no odour in the room.

But it is Booker's choice of words that gives the game away. He argues it is 'absurd' for Australia to 'lecture' Indonesia on human rights. Just like Wardens' 'nag, nag, nag' jibe. Booker's semantics dress up Australian complicity in genocide with language that purports to be anti-colonialist. He mimics the anti-colonial rhetoric indulged in by the contemporary Asian dictators as they hit back at the criticisms of Australian human rights activists with a distorted view of the post-war decolonisation period. For example, I was recently involved in a personal argument with a member of the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra during a conference break where he tried to deny that Australian students and workers ever assisted the anti-Dutch Indonesian independence movement. The Sydney Wharfies wonderful documentary film has put the lie to that one many times in the past.

Booker is also uncertain as to where he stands personally. He argues, 'Some find it sad to contemplate the suffering of the East Timorese, they should be outraged at the sight of the bodies of Aboriginal youths lying on floors of police cells.' Why 'some'? Should not everyone be outraged at the violations of human rights in Timor. Why 'sad to contemplate'? Clearly Booker implies the most we should do here is mount a passive, inward-looking response, one that doesn't involve anger and action.' By comparison he advocates 'outrage' at Aboriginal deaths in custody, especially as they are 'youths' 'lying on the floors of police cells.' These are active words, identifying a specific injustice in emotive language. Of course, Booker is right in saying that Aboriginal deaths should be our first priority. But this sentence construction suggests his real aim is to take the heat off Indonesia. The evidence is clear. It is 'they,' (i.e. the East Timorese solidarity activists in Australia), who should be directing their attention to the Aboriginal issue. Not only is Booker absolving the real perpetrators of Black deaths in custody - the police, politicians, the system of (in)justice in Australia - from immediate responsibility, but he is indirectly targeting those most likely to be in sympathy with the victimised as hypocritical for having concerns elsewhere.

Booker concludes with 'The Malaysian PM Mahathir, has rightly said there should be an 'Australia Watch' and 'America Watch' as well as an 'Asia watch.' Human rights should begin at home. All very true Mr. Booker, but as the saying goes, it shouldn't end there. What 'the clean up your own back yard' argument used here ignores is that the source of oppression is usually similar or the same - what the Australian Aboriginals and East Timorese have in common is that they both suffer as a result of the failure of Governments to respect the rights of indigenous people - with land rights, sovereignty and human dignity being key issues in common. Both peoples are exploited and repressed on behalf of trans-national mining corporations whose only concern is to rip off the resources without compensation. Mr. Booker's attack on the East Timor solidarity groups, because of the parallel existence of the Aboriginal question, is akin to blaming the powerless and the victim for the problem. He should be telling Keating and Suharto to 'clean up their own back yards' and not those who are brave enough to speak out against oppression.

CONCLUSION.

Clearly what this brief survey shows is that the national capital daily newspaper The Canberra Times is, on the whole, hostile to the cause of East Timor independence. There is an almost total acceptance of the Keating 'push to Asia' strategy which involves a capitulation to the demands of the Jakarta elite, all in the interests of 'friendly relations.' Of course such a conclusion can only be regarded as a preliminary one. A broader study would have to investigate the overall news coverage devoted to the East Timor issue over a longer time span. It would also have to encompass discussions of letters-to-the-editor (published and unpublished), the use of headings on articles, the placement of article and the editorials of the paper.

Nevertheless, of the five journalists surveyed here (in seven articles), only one, Richard Begbie could honestly be described as sympathetic to the East Timor cause. Even Begbie is at pains to find excuses for the Keating Government inaction while at the same time depicting the general public as apathetic in a way that probably underscores the widespread public support of East Timor. He also side steps the blatant censorship of the electronic media, preferring to concentrate on the same issue of television news construction and format. Again, no mention of the black-out imposed on the world's media by the Suharto regime inside Indonesia and East Timor.

Looking beyond Begbie's view the picture only deteriorates. Cole-Adams and Noonan report Keating in Jakarta in predictable form - accepting the trade agenda as the core issue and Timor the peripheral. Cole-Adams is honest enough to admit this failing with '(the Timorese) have their dead to count.' Noonan sees Keating as 'pragmatic conservatism' rather than what he is - complicit in genocide. Warden's view is just plain lamentable. Hiding behind his own hyperbole he viciously attacks Ted Mack's principled stand on the diplomacy of trade to undermine the East Timor cause. Blame the victim, blame the activist, never the murderers or their collaborators. Like Warden, he feigns a token gesture of concern for the Timorese. But the diplomat's cover is already blown.

(Author's Note: The comments in this newsletter are the personal views of the author and should not necessarily be ascribed as representing any others who wish to circulate them in other publications..

COMMENT FROM HAROLD CROUCH, ANU:

Jefferson Lee's survey of Canberra Times' columnists writing about East Timor condemns one of them - Ian Warden - as 'just plain lamentable' and 'a print media apologist for Keating.' In fairness to Warden, it needs to be pointed out that he is not a foreign affairs commentator but a political satirist (and, in my view, a very sharp one). One of the risks of political satire, as Jefferson Lee's survey illustrates, is that readers sometimes take it literally.

LETTER TO SUHARTO AT DARWIN DEMONSTRATION

From Andrew McNaughton, Dec. 13.

The following letter was left at the Indonesian consulate in Darwin after the demonstration marking the 18th anniversary of the invasion. The letter was left outside rather than being presented to the staff because of the refusal of consulate staff to receive any East Timorese. About forty people attended a smallish but very emotional demonstration at which a number of people spoke of their personal losses of family and friends. The demo ended with the symbolic burning of the Indonesian flag in response to the refusal to meet Timorese by the consulate staff.

Dear President Suharto,

We approach you in this way and on this day, the 18th anniversary of your unfortunate invasion of East Timor, in a spirit of hope that we can achieve a constructive dialogue towards resolving the horrendous

problems this invasion and occupation has brought.

The invasion and occupation are and always were illegal and immoral. This has been repeatedly confirmed by the UN. though many countries and world leaders are only now prepared to apply pressure to resolve this matter.

We believe that now you and many fair-minded politicians and citizens wish to get rid of the "sharp stone in the shoe" which East Timor has become to Indonesia. We feel that this could be done if you would be willing to ask the military to withdraw.

A possible starting point is the Peace Plan put forward by C.N.R.M. (the National Council of Maubere Resistance) and we urge you to consider this immediately. Timorese people and their supporters in many parts of the world would be willing to assist in the resolution of this long-standing problem.

You have the prestigious and powerful position of occupying senior roles within the Non-Aligned Movement and APEC and as you head towards formal retirement from international politics we believe that you are uniquely able to use your experience and statesmanship to bring about a solution in East Timor.

The alternative is that the issue will not be resolved and will only fester and continue to be a blight on the Indonesian nation. The only people benefiting from the current situation are members of the army hierarchy who grow fat on the spoils of that already poor country.

As exiled East Timorese and Australian supporters we tell you that we and many others will never give up the struggle for a true act of self-determination by the Maubere people of East Timor. We feel that it is very much in Indonesia's interests to resolve this so that economic progress in the region is not jeopardised and the respect of the international community is maintained.

We urge you to use your position as a statesman and act with courage to resolve this ongoing conflict. Today, 18 years after the original invasion, you maintain control in East Timor by the presence of your troops but you have not won the hearts and minds of the East Timorese people. We urge you most strongly to use your authority to allow a referendum to be held to resolve this matter.

Signed by a number of East Timorese and
Australians.

CHALLENGE TO TIMOR GAP PACT TO GO AHEAD

Jakarta Post/Reuter, December 10.

Canberra (Reuter): Australia's High Court yesterday approved a court challenge to the 1989 Timor Gap treaty established to exploit suspected massive oil reserves lying under the sea between Australia and Indonesia.

The case is being brought against the Australian government by Timorese exiles living in Australia.

It challenges Canberra's right to sign the treaty with Jakarta, whose rule over East Timor is not internationally recognized.

A court spokeswoman said a date for the hearing had been set for August 1994 and was expected to take three days. Legal experts say a successful challenge could mean Australia having to compensate oil companies that have signed the treaty to explore the region between north-western Australia and East Timor.

"It is illegal for both Australia and Indonesia to enter into a treaty to exploit the resources of the Timor Gap when under international law neither country has sovereignty over the area," said a spokeswoman for National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), an umbrella Timorese rebel group.

The former Portuguese colony of East Timor was integrated into Indonesia in 1976.

TIMOR GAP LEGISLATION CHALLENGE FILED IN AUSTRALIA COURTS

From CNRM, December 14

CNRM's José Ramos Horta, José Gusmão and Abel Guterres, have challenged the legality of the Australian Parliament's Legislation to implement the Timor Gap agreement signed between Australia and Indonesia in 1989.

A first hearing took place on December 9, and the first full bench High Court hearing has been set for June.

CNRM faces significant legal costs to carry out this initiative.

We therefore appeal to all those who wish to assist with this further arena of the struggle for justice for East Timor, to make donations towards these costs.

Your donations can be made by cheque payable to CNRM, mailed to GPO Box 1174, Darwin NT Australia 0801. Please mark donations 'Legal Challenge.'

The Australian Broadcasting Corporation Radio and Radio Australia have reported as follows on 10 December 1993:

The High Court is expected to set a date today for its hearing of the first part of a challenge to the Timor Gap Treaty.

Lorraine Davis reports Darwin man José Gusmão and two others are challenging the validity of the legislation which set up the Gap's Zone of cooperation.

The Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia was signed four years ago. It settled sea-bed boundaries between the two countries and set up three zones for exploiting sea-bed oil and gas resources, including the joint zone of co-operation. To implement the treaty, the two countries passed supporting legislation in their national parliaments... and it is this legislation the East Timorese are challenging. Today it is expected the Chief Justice of the High Court will be presented with a set of agreed facts, and four questions to be determined by the full bench.

A second ABC report the same day stated:

The Chief Justice of the High Court has asked lawyers for three East Timorese and the Commonwealth to prepare and lodge submissions by June.

The East Timorese, including José Gusmão from Darwin, are challenging the Federal legislation which enacted the Timor Gap Treaty between Australia and Indonesia.

At a hearing in Melbourne today, the Chief Justice was presented with a set of agreed facts, and four questions to be determined by the High Court.

A member of the East Timorese legal team says the Chief Justice ordered both parties to prepare and lodge written submissions on the four questions, before they'd be referred to the full bench.

EAST TIMOR LEADER DEFENDS GAP ACCORD

UPI, Dec. 16

JAKARTA – The Chairman of the Provincial House of East Timor, Antonio Freitas Parada, Thursday defending the Timor Gap Accord between Indonesia and Australia and questioned the legitimacy of the pact's critics.

"For Indonesia, the issue of integration has been over, so it can develop any economic cooperation including the one concerning the Timor Gap," Parada said.

He was reacting to a recent Australian court ruling allowing East Timorese natives in Australia to challenge the country's signing of the accord.

The Timor Gap Accord was signed between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali

Alatas and his Australian counterpart, Gareth Evans, in December 1989. It divides the seabed between East Timor and Australia into three zones for the exploration of oil and gas, with the largest area to be jointly administered by both nations.

At the time of the signing, Alatas said the pact represented "de jure" recognition on the integration of East Timor into Indonesia.

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was annexed by Indonesia in 1976 following a civil war between pro-independence and pro-Indonesian forces. The United Nations still recognizes Portugal as the administering power of the territory.

"The citizenships of those filing the complaint should be examined. If they are Australian citizens, then they have no rights to complain," Parada said.

He said even refugees who want to return to East Timor have no right to complain, since the accord was signed on their behalf.

BISHOP BELO SEEKS A CONCRETE SOLUTION

ABC Radio National, Australia (Religion Report), 17 Dec. 1993

The following interview with Bishop Belo is transcribed by the Matebian News team.

Presenter: The East Timorese Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo has just left Australia after his first visit here. His aim was to establish relations between the Dili diocese and the Australian Catholic Church and to raise funds for a seminary in East Timor. He was also here to commemorate the anniversary of the Dili massacre of November 1991. Bishop visit coincided with Cardinal Clancy criticism of the Australian Government over its position on human rights abuses in East Timor. Anthony Balmain spoke with Bishop Belo after a mass he delivered to the Timorese community in Liverpool, Sydney. He prepared this report.

Belo: Yes the freedom, and the respect for human rights and let the people walk freely to ricefields, to the coffee fields and let them be Timorese.

Anthony Balmain: Bishop Belo speaking at his residence in Dili the capital of East Timor just before the Dili massacre in 1991. When Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975 only a quarter of the population were catholic. Today, 90% of the approximate 800,000 people living in East Timor practice Catholicism. Despite funding difficulties and a shortage of clergy Bishop Belo says Timorese are increasingly turning to Catholicism.

Bishop Belo: The number of Catholics are increasing, there are 674,000 but there are 72

priests. So there is this necessity, urgent necessity to build a new seminary to form more candidates for the priesthood.

AB: Why do you think it is that so many people are Catholic in East Timor?

BB: It is normal you know, the Timorese people is of naturally religious, this is a kind of identity of the people, so they are Timorese, they are catholic.

AB: In Indonesia the Pancasila are five strong State ideology says that all Indonesian must follow one of the five major religions. The Catholic Church was virtually the only shelter during the war against Indonesia from 1975 to 1983, when some 200,000 people have said to have died. So it is hardly surprising that so many Timorese are now catholic. In Australia last month Cardinal Clancy called for a stronger stand on human rights abuses in East Timor by the Australian Government - a move which Bishop Belo firmly supports particularly considering tens of thousands of Timorese died in the Second World War supporting several hundred Australian marines against the Japanese.

BB: It is time the Australian Church do something, because during the 2nd World War many Timorese died for the Australian people. So now it is time to pay, to show the solidarity. I think that the intervention of his Eminence the Cardinal - it is OK up to date. It is important.

AB: Just after the massacre in East Timor there were rumours circulating that you have been intimidated by Indonesian armed forces.

BB: Not only after 12 November, many times.

AB: So what sort of intimidation did you receive from Indonesian armed forces?

BB: Many many many oppression, family abroad they have difficulties to get permission to stay for long time. This is what kind of oppression - from the church.

AB: Amnesty International and East Timor representatives claim that arrests and torture are still part of daily life. In 1991 Bishop Belo told he had received death threats after he wrote a letter to the United Nations calling for referendum on self-determination. This time he confirmed that he is seeking a concrete solution in negotiation between the UN the Secretary General, Indonesia and Portugal on the future of East Timor.

Presenter: A mass commemorating the Dili massacre of 1991 at the Motael church in Dili two days after the massacre. That was Anthony Balmain for the religion report.

RESPOND TO RICHARD WOOLCOTT

ETIS call from Australia, Dec. 20.

Warmest greetings to those people suffering under the Suharto Military Regime in East Timor and in other islands known as 'Indonesia.'

We would like to draw your attention to an article published in the Australian national magazine, *The Bulletin* (Dec. 14) written by Richard Woolcott (Australia's ambassador to Indonesia in 1975). R. Woolcott often writes for the magazine as well as for *The Australian* newspaper.

As ambassador he was highly instrumental in shaping Australia's disgraceful policy on East Timor which has remained unchanged since 1975. This policy is in direct contrast to Australia's supposed commitment to universal human rights as espoused in the UN declaration. Although Woolcott has and continues to consistently 'rationalise' Jakarta's inhumane suppression of people, while denigrating human rights supporters, he now seems intent on washing his hands of any direct involvement in the Timor tragedy and of absolving himself of any blame for the deaths of innocent men, women and children.

1975 August - The Australian Ambassador to Indonesia, Richard Woolcott sends a cable to the Department of Foreign Affairs in Canberra, stating "the department might well have an interest in closing the present gap in the agreed sea-border and this could be much more readily negotiated with Indonesia than with Portugal or and independent Portuguese Timor. I know I am recommending a pragmatic rather than a principled stand, but that is what national interest and foreign policy is all about." "Although we know it is not true, the formal position of the Indonesian government is still that there is no Indonesian military intervention in East Timor."

(source: Walsh, JR and Munster, G.J. Documents on Australia Defence and Foreign Policy, 1968-1975 (Banned 1980).)

In this article he makes several attempts, some less subtle than others, to 're-write' history.

In the beginning of the article, he refers to the military invasion and subsequent mass murder of East Timorese civilians as 'the Indonesian landing.' In his flawed article, he raises the well-worn argument of the differences in culture (between Indonesia and Australia) and the need to be sensitive to the Indonesian Government's perception of reality. Unfortunately, he doesn't see the need to be aware of anything else, least of all the rights of the East Timorese people. It is strongly recommended that those concerned

about following Australia's shameful role in East Timor read the article and respond to the magazine;

The Bulletin, GPO Box 3957, SYDNEY, NSW, 2001

AUSTRALIA. Ph (02) 282 8200 Fax (02) 267 4359

We urge the Indonesian government (current chair of NAM to immediately) withdraw its troops from East Timor as a sign of reconciliation and in line with the final declaration of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1979 which expressed the NAM's purpose was to ensure "the national independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of non-aligned countries in their struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism and all forms of foreign aggression, occupation and domination.

From, E.T.I.S. - East Timor International Solidarity.

THE ANACHRONISM THAT REFUSED TO BE

The Age, 1 January 1994. By David Jenkins

Australia which until 1961 was opposed to Indonesia gaining control of Dutch West New Guinea, decided early in 1963 that it could live with an Indonesia takeover of Portuguese East Timor, a development it saw as "inevitable," the 1963 Cabinet papers reveal.

Anticipating an Indonesian move against East Timor, the Menzies Government develop a policy which was marginally tougher on the question of self-determination than that endorsed by the Whitlam Government at the time of Indonesian invasion 12 years later.

The Government agreed, in a decision kept secret at the time, that there might be advantages in East Timor becoming part of Indonesia, subject to referendum to ascertain the wishes of the East Timorese people.

The Whitlam Government, which became to office a decade later, likewise saw East Timor becoming a part of Indonesia, subject to proviso that there should be an "internationally acceptable" act of self-determination, which was not necessarily the same as a genuine referendum.

Neither in 1963, nor in 1975, does Canberra seem to have given much thought to the possibility that many East Timorese might not wish to become part of Indonesia, a major shortcoming in our policy as it transpired.

East Timorese resisted bitterly when the Indonesian army invaded the territory in 1975. according to Indonesian and foreign military sources, 1,500 Indonesian troops were killed and perhaps 5,000-6,000 were wounded in the struggle to gain control of

the territory in the five years to 1980, the period of heaviest fighting.

During that period, demographers estimate, as many as 100,000 to 200,000 East Timorese died, many from starvation, out of a population of about 688,000.

At a meeting in Canberra on February 5, 1963, the Menzies Cabinet registered its opinion that Indonesia would eventually move against Portuguese East Timor. there was, Cabinet felt, "no practicable alternative to eventual Indonesian sovereignty" over Portuguese East Timor.

It would not be acceptable to Australia or the West of Indonesia to proceed against Portuguese East Timor with arms and this had to be brought home to Jakarta, Cabinet decided.

"But otherwise the course which it seemed best to follow is for Australia to bring such quiet pressure as it can upon Portugal to cede peacefully and in addition to explore ways by which the international community might bring pressure on Portugal," Cabinet decided.

When representatives of Britain, the United States, Australia, New Zealand met in Washington a week later, the Minister of External Affairs, Sir Garfield Barwick, later told Cabinet, "all delegations appeared to agree on the inevitability of Indonesian moves against the territory and they made plain their belief that their governments would take no military measures in support of the Portuguese."

At this meeting, the British and Americans expressed the opinion that Australia was in the best position to attempt to influence the Portuguese towards a policy of improving conditions in East Timor with an eventual move in the direction of self-determination.

The British and the Americans said they appreciated the efforts Australia had already made in this regard. But because of their treaty difficulties with the Portuguese they expected Australia "to take the main role in influencing the Portuguese to adopt a more realistic attitude."

Australia, it is clear, saw no future in that approach. The Portuguese were stubborn and inflexible. our policy was evolving. During World War II and for some years thereafter, Barwick, noted in a background paper of February 21, 1963, it was Australian policy to regard Portuguese Timor as being of strategic importance to Australia.

"In consequence," he said, "it was felt desirable to keep a friendly Portuguese administration in control of the island."

More recently, he went on, Australian policy had been influenced by two others factors, First, a new defence assessment that whether controlled by Portugal or Indonesia,

Portuguese Timor had "no military importance to Australia."

Second, Australia's public advocacy of the principle of self-determination, which had let us to "a direct criticism of Portuguese colonial theory in the United Nations."

The Prime Minister, he said, had written to the Portuguese Prime Minister, Dr. Salazar, pointing out that the Australian Government was concerned that "in the absence of any intention of allowing the Timorese people to express a choice as to the international relationships and status which they desire there will arise a serious threat to the peace of the territory."

Barwick went on to note that Portuguese Timor was an "anachronism" and "not capable of political independence."

As a result, Indonesia sought to incorporate East Timor "by genuinely peaceful means and providing that this was in the accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the Timorese," Australia would have little choice but to acquiesce.

If there was a contradiction in Australia's policy of accepting the idea of an Indonesian takeover of East Timor but wanting the Timorese to have a say in their future, it did not come to the fore. During the 1960s and early 1970s, East Timor was largely ignored by outsiders.

That raises an obvious question. Why, if an Indonesian takeover was envisaged as early as 1963, was it another 12 years before the territory fell to Jakarta? There were no serious military impediments in Indonesia's way.

According to Mr. James Dunn, Australia consul in Dili between 1962 and 1964 and the author of an important book on the territory, "East Timor survived, in a funny sort of a way, through default because Jakarta wanted to demonstrate that it was not expansionist."

Sukarno had more important fish to fry, including West New Guinea and Malaysia. His successor, Suharto, was anxious to promote a responsible image internationally, largely because this was in keeping with the temperament, but partly, too, because he could not afford to alienate foreign donors and investors.

Only when the Portuguese empire crumbled did Suharto move, taking an inordinate time about it in the view of his fellow generals.

The subsequent act of self-determination, a unanimous show of approval for Indonesia from a chamber of deputies hand-picked by Indonesians, was by no stretch of the imagination, "internationally acceptable." It has yet to be recognised by the United Nations.

MAN FLEES TORTURE IN EAST TIMOR, SEEKS ASYLUM IN AUSTRALIA

The Canberra Times, 12 January 1994

DARWIN: An East Timorese man who has just fled his homeland to seek refugee status in Australia has alleged that he was repeatedly tortured by Indonesian authorities.

Vicente Floriano Dias Ximenes, 38, also said that the pro-independence movement in East Timor was stronger than ever.

In Darwin, Mr. Ximenes said that in late November last year he had disguised himself in Indonesian military uniform to cross the border into West Timor by car, and then bribed his way on to an Indonesian navy ship. He said that he had travelled from Surabaya to Jakarta by train, before flying to Darwin.

Mr. Ximenes said that he had fled his homeland because he had feared he was about to be arrested and tortured again. His home in the East Timor capital, Dili, had been visited by Indonesian soldiers, and an Indonesian informer were looking for a man named Vicente.

He arrived in Darwin on December 23 on a tourist visa, and is in the process of applying for refugee status. His wife remains in East Timor.

Mr. Ximenes, a businessman, said that he had been involved in a "clandestine" resistance organisation but had not had direct contact with the armed guerrilla forces opposing the Indonesian occupation. He said that he had been imprisoned from February until August last year after Indonesian forces found documents at his house which were signed by the resistance leader Xanana Gusmão, who is now in jail.

"I was tortured with electric shocks on three separate occasions," Mr. Ximenes said. "Electric cables were attached to my big toe and my thumb. They put rubber thongs in my mouth to stop me shouting. I passed out from the electric shocks."

Mr. Ximenes said that during interrogation, he had also been beaten on his head and body with pieces of wood. A major in the Indonesian army had been in charge of the sessions, along with three other officers.

He said that the Indonesians officers had wanted to extract accusations from him against an outspoken former governor of East Timor, Mario Carrascalão.

He said that Mr. Carrascalão was particularly hated by the Indonesian officers because of his role in helping to force an inquiry into the 1991 Dili massacre.

Mr. Ximenes said he had eventually succumbed to the torture and had signed a prepared statement containing allegations that

Mr. Carrascalão was an active supporter of the resistance group, Fretilin.

Mr. Ximenes said that the resistance movement in East Timor was "very strong" with almost 500 armed guerrillas continuing to defy Indonesian forces in the jungles of the former Portuguese colony.

He said that many Indonesians soldiers supported the independence struggle.

"Sometimes they dig a hole and leave ammunition and food for the resistance fighters," he said.

Mr. Ximenes said, "As long as the Indonesian military force operates in East Timor, the violation of human rights will never finish."

A spokesman for the Indonesian embassy in Canberra declined to comment on the case.

XIMENES: ALATAS LIES

West Australian, Sat Jan 22 1994

DARWIN: An East Timorese asylum seeker who says he was tortured by Indonesian authorities yesterday rejected statements by Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas that his claims were ridiculous.

Vicente Floriano Dias Ximenes, 38, arrived in Darwin on December 23 and alleged that he was repeatedly tortured with electric shocks by Indonesian soldiers in a Dili prison last year.

He has applied for refugee status in Australia.

In earlier reports, he said he had escaped East Timor by crossing the border into West Timor in a car dressed in an Indonesian army uniform.

He said he then bribed his way on board an Indonesian naval ship and eventually flew to Darwin via Singapore.

In Jakarta yesterday, Mr. Alatas said a small group of East Timorese exiles, journalists and activists were trying to discredit Indonesia.

He said he had laughed at the reports of Mr. Ximenes' claims.

"We don't even know this guy," he said.

"Here was someone who claimed he was tortured, then he got an Indonesian army uniform, joined a navy ship... and now he has reached Australia. What a ridiculous story."

Mr. Ximenes said yesterday his story was true and that Mr. Alatas was not fully aware of events in East Timor.

"Mr. Alatas is a liar. He's a liar about East Timor problems," he said. "They know me."

A 1993 report by human rights group Asia Watch had Mr. Ximenes on a list of "untried detainees as of March 1993."

The report said the list was provided by the Indonesian forces.

Mr. Ximenes also has a document which, he said, was given to him by the Indonesian forces at the time he was released from prison in Dili last year.

In a translation of the document by the Immigration Department, a Col. M. Simbolon is said to have stated that Mr. Ximenes provided reports on East Timor to East Timorese people in Australia.

"The concerned (Mr. Ximenes) has expressed his regret and has stated that he will not repeat his actions again," the document said.

"If at any time in the future it becomes apparent that the concerned is still involved in the activities of the Klandestin, or any other illegal activities, he will be sentenced."

An Australian Foreign Affairs' spokesman said Canberra was relaxed about Mr. Alatas' comments and would not become involved in the row as the statements were not aimed at an Australian.

ALATAS SAYS DISSIDENT'S ALLEGATIONS OF TORTURE RIDICULOUS

INDONESIA LASHES OUT AT MEDIA

By Margo Kinston and AAP. The Canberra Times, 22 January 94

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has lashed out at the Australian media for reporting the alleged torture of an East Timorese dissident now seeking refugee status here, claiming the man's story was "ridiculous" and that the Government had never hear of him.

The claim came despite the naming of the man, Vicente F.D. Ximenes, 38, as an "untried detainee" as of March last year by the reputable human-rights agency Asia Watch, on the basis of a list provided by the Indonesian military. Mr. Ximenes hit back, saying in Darwin yesterday, "Mr. Alatas is a liar. He never knows what happens in East Timor. He's a liar about East Timor problems."

The Canberra Times carried and Australian Associated Press report on January 12 that Mr. Ximenes, a businessman who came to Darwin on a tourist visa in December and applied for refugee status, had claimed he had fled East Timor in November by disguising himself in an Indonesian army uniform and bribing his way on to a navy ship. He said that he had feared being arrested and tortured again, by beatings and electric shocks, after the army had found a document in his house signed by now jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmão.

Mr. Alatas told a press conference in Jakarta on Thursday that the Australian media persisted in reporting wild claims against his country's human-rights record as part of a

plot to discredit Indonesia internationally, and he cited the Canberra Times's report.

"There's still all kinds of news that grabs the headlines. The latest one in Australia - I was so amused. Here was someone who claimed he was tortured, then he donned Indonesian army uniform, joined a navy ship, fled to Singapore or to outside, and now he has reached Australia and he is telling the story about him being tortured."

"What a ridiculous story. We don't even know this guy and I strongly doubt this whole story. In a small society like East Timor, do you really think that a total stranger can don an army uniform, and join the naval ship and not be asked, 'On what business are you? Where are your travelling papers?'" Mr. Alatas said.

"Come on, this is ridiculous. Yet, screaming headlines in the Australian press right now. My ambassador gives me the fax and says, 'What do I think?.' I say 'Laugh or snort or whatever.' Come on, I mean this is ridiculous, if that kind of thing can still find credence."

Mr. Alatas said that the claims were designed to embarrass Indonesia in the lead-up to a meeting of the United Nations human-rights commission later this month.

Despite the direct intervention of Indonesia in a refugee application in Australia, the Federal Government said that it was "relaxed" about the Alatas comments.

A spokeswoman for Foreign Affairs Minister Gareth Evans said that Mr. Alatas "seems to have been referring to one article in one newspaper.

"In recent times, the Australian media's awareness, understanding and coverage of Indonesia has increased quite dramatically. It wouldn't be fair to judge the whole Australian media coverage on the basis of one article in one newspaper," she said.

Mr. Ximenes said yesterday, "My story is true. "they (the Indonesian military) know me."

He produced a document translated by the Australian Immigration Department headed "Military command report...Dharma intelligence task unit." It states that Colonel Simbolon certified that Mr. Ximenes had been "thoroughly investigated" and it had been proved that he had given only to help the resistance and had reported on East Timor to East Timorese people in Australia.

Mr. Ximenes said yesterday that the car he had travelled in was not stopped at the border between East and West Timor because he had been in an Indonesian army uniform, and that he had paid \$A178 in bribes to board the navy ship.

THE INDONESIAN CONNECTION (WITH KEATING)

The Sydney Morning Herald, 22 January 1994. By Lindsay Murdoch

Evidence given to a parliamentary inquiry last year revealed that anti-Indonesian sentiments in Australia are widespread.

They simmer just below the surface, the inquiry heard, but are quickly aroused by incidents such as the killing of anti-Jakarta protesters in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

One witness before the Joint Standing Committee on Foreign Affairs and Trade referred to the "widespread suspicion and even hostility...generally based on sheer ignorance and the longstanding fear...of a threat from the north."

On any informed assessment, the likelihood of the hordes to our north pouring across into Australia are negligible.

The ignorance of many Australians about the vast and complex society of 184 million people on our doorstep is understandable, given that probably no other two neighboring countries have as different cultures, languages, legal systems, religious, populations and economies.

Given these differences, tolerance has not always been shown in the way on side has treated the other. But as sure as one can be about these things, the two-way relationship is getting stronger.

Indonesia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ali Alatas, was asked the other day whether there was anything sinister in the frequent visits to Indonesia of Australian politicians. His reply was blunt. "Do not look for conspiracies where they do not exist," he said.

The most remarkable aspect of relations between Jakarta and Canberra is the rapport between the Prime Minister, Mr. Keating, and Indonesia's President, Mr. Suharto.

Although they come from vastly different backgrounds, Mr. Keating has turned out to be something of a hit with Mr. Soeharto, a publicity-shy authoritarian leader who has ruled the country since 1967.

Pak Harto, as the President is known, is said to have enjoyed viewing a tape of Mr. Keating's none-too-subtle put-downs of the Opposition in the Australian Parliament.

Mr. Suharto likes the way Mr. Keating is leading Australia's thrust into Asia. He likes the way Mr. Keating told the United States last year that it should not push Indonesia too far on human rights.

The Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, was moved last year to say that he genuinely believed that the relationship was now so good and soundly based that nothing

would throw it back to the situation of tension that existed in the early 1980s.

There is a lot at stake for Australia in the way it manages its relations with Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim nation and an increasingly important country on the world stage.

Mr. Suharto is chairman of the 108-member Non-Aligned Movement. By the middle of next century, Indonesia is likely to be one of the world's most significant economies.

Bilateral trade between Indonesia and Australia expanded by 14 per cent during 1992-93 to more than \$3 billion. Australian firms have invested about \$2 billion in the country - about 2.3 per cent of the total approved non-oil/gas investment in Indonesia. There will be continue to be irritants and misunderstandings in the relationship: views differ on issues such as human rights and it seems there will always be problems with illegal fishing in Australian waters.

Australian businessmen are often frustrated by differences in cultural, social and business practices in Indonesia.

But according to Australian trade experts, Indonesians are keen to work with Australia, partly because of the perception of Australia as a unthreatening balance to the economic powerhouses of the northern hemisphere.

Few nations are as diverse as Indonesia, which has 350 distinct ethnic groups, almost every one with its own language. It stretches 5,200 kilometres across 13,600 islands. With 87 per cent of the population Muslim, it has more Muslims than all of the Arab world.

Mr. Suharto has just launched a second 25-year plan for development, which diplomats and analysts say is optimistic but achievable. It projects growth at an average rate of 7 per cent.

Mr. Suharto's target is for Indonesia's per capita income to quadruple to about \$3,000 at 1989-1990 constant prices. In 23 year's time, he wants the average Indonesian to live to the age of 70, an increase of eight years on the present life expectancy. He wants the infant mortality rate to be 26 deaths per 1,000 births, reduced from 145 per 1,000 now.

The Sate philosophy and structure is strictly based on Pancasila, meaning "five principles": belief in God; just and civilized humanity;; unity of the country; democracy; and social justice.

Indonesia is the world's fourth most populous nation after China, India and the United States.

EAST TIMOR: THE PROBLEM PERSISTS

Sydney Morning Herald, 27 January 1994. Editorial

According to a spokesman for the East Timorese resistance, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, the United Nations, "is no longer only listening" to Indonesia and Portugal over East Timor but is sounding out ideas for a settlement now as well. Obviously it is in the interests of Mr. Ramos-Horta and his colleagues to encourage that view. And yet there is no reason to deny it. Two envoys of the UN Secretary-General, Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, have spent the past week in Indonesia talking to officials, visiting imprisoned rebel leader Xanana Gusmão, and making first-hand observations in the troubled province of East Timor itself. That's a far cry from the UN role implied by Dr. Boutros-Ghali when he offered to mediate "informal consultations" between Indonesia and Portugal in September 1992. The UN appears to have abandoned a fairly passive role on East Timor for a modestly active one.

That can only add to Indonesia's frustrations over East Timor. More than two years after the Dili massacre focused international attention on Indonesia's presence in East Timor, the issue shows no signs of disappearing again. Last year, the US cut military aid to Indonesia over its record in East Timor. This month, the US Senate Foreign Relations Committee considered barring all arms sales until Indonesia complies with UN resolutions on self-determination for the East Timorese. Next month, East Timor will again be raised at the Geneva-based Human Rights Commission. And it is a rare high-ranking meeting between Indonesian and other officials these days where the subject of East Timor doesn't arise - if only in a perfunctory fashion.

Last week, Indonesia's Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, implied that this kind of ongoing interest in East Timor arose from misperceptions created by Indonesia's foreign detractors. Certainly exaggerated charges have been made against the behaviour of Indonesian authorities in East Timor. But many more matter-of-fact ones have also been made and they can't be so easily dismissed. Moreover when Indonesia agreed to resume talks with Portugal over East Timor it went on record as viewing the purpose of the talks as a "search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the question of East Timor." Those talks have got nowhere, Indonesia shares at least half the blame.

In its own eyes, Jakarta has made significant concessions on East Timor. It punished

(admittedly lightly) some of its own troops over the Dili massacre. When Xanana was caught, he was brought to public trial and then had a life sentence reduced to 20 years in prison. Jakarta has permitted fact-finding missions - such as the one by the UN Secretary-General's two envoys - to visit East Timor. But perhaps most importantly as Indonesians would see it, Jakarta has begun to develop East Timor after centuries of neglect under Lisbon's colonial rule.

The reluctance of the East Timorese to express their gratitude, however, is perfectly understandable. Nobody has asked them if they want to be integrated into Indonesia. And nobody in Jakarta seems to care if the cost of development in East Timor is the annihilation of a distinctive East Timorese culture. Under those circumstances resistance to Indonesia's presence in East Timor is not about to go away. Either Indonesian officials will have to get used to all the outside pressure over East Timor or they will have to get more serious about the search for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution.

HUMAN RIGHTS NOT MARGINAL PROCESS

The Australian, Tue, Feb. 1, 1994. Letter from James Dunn

Comments from ETRA: the following article was published in the section "letters to the Editor." It was a reply to an article written by Greg Sheridan under the title "When our vision of Indonesia loses sight of the truth," published by The Australian, on page 9, section "OPINION," on the 25th of January, 1994.

Copies of this article can be sent to you on request.

(Sydney) Some of the "truths" Greg Sheridan referred to in his article (The Australian, 25/1) about the Australian relationship are at best questionable.

I was taken aback by his disparaging remarks about the references in the recent Parliamentary Committee's report to human rights issues involving Indonesia.

He ridicules the report's reference to the loss of "at least 200,000 lives" as the result of Indonesia's forced integration to the territory. Mr. Sheridan dismisses the parliamentary report's treatment of issues like human rights and East Timor as "muddled" and "foolish."

It seems to me that it is he who is muddled and ill-informed, from his comments on the loss of 200,000 lives. Of course no one really knows the exact figure but, speaking as one who spent some time in East Timor,

the figure could in fact be as much as 200,000.

Prior to Indonesia's military assault Timor's population was 688,000 and growing at 2 per cent a year. It follows that it should now be nearly one million. In the circumstances, the fact that the Timorese population is today still around 650,000 people is a staggering indictment of the impact of integration, disclosing, as it does, a catastrophic loss of population.

We are forced to judge the Suharto regime by such actions, as well as by its achievements in economic development and political stability.

The implementation of international human rights, which Asians themselves have endorsed, as having universal application, is not a marginal process, to be left to the snail-like pace of change permitted by authoritarian regimes in countries like Indonesia.

To put it plainly, until the governments of such countries free up their societies, by allowing the evolution of democratisation - now accepted as a universal phenomenon - it will simply not be possible for Australians to form the kind of informal neighbourly relations envisaged as part of our new relationship with Asia.

Moreover, the fashioning of effective regional co-operation arrangements in relation to our mutual security and environmental interests is dependent, to a significant extent, on a regional consensus on the humanitarian standards and principles formally endorsed by the majority of the world community, including many Third World countries.

It is only then that the gap that persists between Australia and Indonesia can be bridged. In this context the Timor case is a testing issue.

Until there is a more just settlement of this outrageous act of annexation, a settlement that an increasing number of concerned Indonesians would favour, the Australian vision of Indonesia will remain essentially tarnished.

Looking ahead to our future relations with the region and back to the support the Timorese gave us in WW II, we have an obligation to support a negotiated settlement that takes into account the aspirations of the Timorese as well as our sensitive relationship with Jakarta. It is encouraging, therefore, that our parliamentarians should continue to address such matters.

James Dunn
(Former Consul in East Timor,
Moruya, NSW)

“PONTIUS KEATING AND JUDAS EVANS WASH THEIR HANDS WHILE TIMOR IS CRUCIFIED...”

Press Release from Australians for a Free East Timor, 2 Feb.

We thank Sen. Christabel Chamarette (Mary Magdalene?) for extracting a contemptible statement on East Timor from Gareth Evans clarifying the Australian Government's do nothing stance on the vexed issue of the lack of human rights of our immediate neighbour East Timor.

This comes the day after a pompous statement by PM Keating threatening everlasting damnation for the remote country of North Korea, in line with our usual approach to get seriously involved with small countries a long way away, but to ignore human rights abuses on our doorstep.

While North Korea is not at present accepting UN demands for access to its nuclear installations, Indonesia has been in breach for 18 years of both Security Council and General Assembly Resolutions requiring it to get out of East Timor.

What moral right have Pontius Keating and Judas Evans got to demand Kim Il Sung's head but not President Suharto's?

The East Timor Peace Plan outlined by the East Timor National Council of Resistance (CNRM), the unquestioned pre eminent resistance authority, has been widely acknowledged as a reasonable basis for negotiating a settlement.

Envoys of the UN Sec Gen have just been to Jakarta where they saw Xanana Gusmão and to Australia meeting all resistance groups including CNRM co-chairman José Ramos Horta, and giving hope that at last the UN is to get serious.

So far the Indonesians have blatantly ignored implementing positions on East Timor agreed at the so far farcical Indonesia-Portugal talks under the auspices of the UN Sec Gen.

Such matters will be further exposed at the UN Human Rights Commission hearings in Geneva starting 23rd Feb., only a day after the world wide release of the new John Pilger/Max Stahl film "Death of a Nation," which Indonesia is not looking forward to.

Apart from the Hypocrisy of not actively seeking a legal and just resolution to the East Timor horror (300,000 dead so far, or 40% of the population), Keating and Evans are also Recalcitrant in refusing any funds to allow East Timorese Australians at least to take part in the various UN negotiations and other meetings.

When will you cease washing your hands and help, Mr. Keating?

“EVIDENCE ACCUMULATES AGAINST INDONESIAN BRUTALITY EAST TIMOR”

Press Release from Australians for Free East Timor, Feb. 5 94

East Timorese refugee Vicente Ximenes has arrived in Darwin, having escaped from Timor after being tortured and harassed.

While Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas resorted to trying to ridicule his story, to sycophantic chuckles from the pliant local media, Vicente further explained on the ABC 7.30 Report how he bribed his way out as follows:

“The corruption made by Indonesia affects Generals to a soldier. A soldier must seek a living, the important thing for them is money... they've got no ideology”

The corruption in Indonesia comes from the top, with President Suharto and all his family and cronies and top generals being the biggest thieves. For example in a widely not reported Press Release last year I highlighted that Suharto's favourite Minister Habibie is a Billionaire, with many European castles, and who pushes for the development of high tech industries such as these ridiculous Atomic Reactors so that he can extract huge bribes, without which a project or Company is not authorised to proceed.

Ferdinand Marcos learned too late you can't take it with you.

This corruption has bastardised the Indonesian nation, with huge disparity in wealth, plus a rampant military which has attacked Malaysia, forced the takeover and now genocide of West Papua, and the military takeover rape and genocide of East Timor, and is the real power in Government - but its a great friend of successive Australian Governments. Why? And what's in it for them?

However the fight in East Timor is not yet over, and Indonesians should not be surprised given their own experience in the late 1940's, see later.

Vicente Ximenes called for International Red Cross and bodies such as Amnesty International to have access to East Timorese prisoners, indeed we would say to prisoners throughout Indonesia. It is amazing that such access has declined in the 2 years since the Dili Massacre and the world attention that at last brought. But this is explained by the fact that the real rulers on the ground are the unrepresentative swill that are the brutal military, and there is no big pressure from Australian leaders.

Vicente Ximenes came here on a Visa and seeks asylum. He has some severe medical needs, but there are no procedures in place it appears for access to the medical system.

This is ridiculous, even if only for our own blatant self interest.

We need to guard against the possible introduction of infectious disease for example, or to avoid later high cost community problems as a result of unresolved psychoses due to torture. AFFET calls for an urgent revision of government policy on this matter.

* * * * *

On the same 7.30 Report two other East Timor refugees nervously recounted some of their torture and abuse experiences as follows, but also expanded from the raw material. Beri Seree was arrested along with her sister, father, brother and husband, and was interrogated. The military used to go to the women's gaol and say they were going to do interrogations but it was often just an excuse to go in to "see the women" (read raped, often gang-raped). (One old Timorese man was forced to have sex with a young girl in front of the Indonesians). The memories of this time still haunt Beri Seree.

Sahe was subjected to daily tortures, including electric shocks and cigarette burning. Once he was kicked to the point he was badly injured and thought he would die, and begged for medical assistance. He was sneeringly told he was a prisoner and could not expect any. In fact in his 3 years in gaol he knows of no visits from Red Cross, nor any medical assistance. Two friends died in gaol with him from malnutrition and torture.

Conditions were very cramped and unhygienic. The ration was a handful of rice a day. One torture was to force him and others into a tank of sewage, where they might be held for days, and "lizards" (actually small crocodiles) are put into the tank, with jaws unbound if the "correct answers" are not provided.

Every Thursday night from 12-1 the military took people away from the prison, and these "disappear" (read murdered) - among them Sahe's cousin. The memories of those 3 years in gaol still haunt Sahe.

* * * * *

The excellent ABC TV program "Ride the Tiger" continued last night, part 2 having some great bits relevant to the above.

The old farm man who fought against the Dutch after WW2 was asked why he joined the struggle for independence. His answers were as follows:

So we could be free

For the people

Not just for ourselves

We wanted freedom, you see

For the people, not just ourselves

Everyone wanted freedom

So we all fought together

We weren't fighting for our own sakes.

HEART AND SOUL?

It was for the people
FREEDOM OR DEATH?

Yes, we were ready to die for the people
Heart and soul!

I ask, is it so hard for Indonesians, and Australian Governments, to understand that these sentiments also fuel East Timorese, West Papuans, and I guess Freedom Fighters most places?!

Amongst the many remarks of the old intellectual freedom fighter were the following:

We were fighting for 3.5 years ... how are you able to sustain for one year in the mountains without supplies, money, nothing, just yourself and your gun ... only how to fight ...even beaten by tanks and planes ... still they are not surrendering ... its a kind of tenacity.

(Ask Xanana Gusmão now in gaol in Jakarta, he lasted 16 years like that, other heroes continue to this minute in East Timor).

(In 1949 with victory against the Dutch) ... I felt so free, I felt so emotionally involved, involvement so deep and profound - and it doesn't seem to exist any more. A revolution in the classical sense is starting now, but that moment was just the creation of the National State, that's all. I mean, how to get our own Republic of Indonesia?

What has been lost since 1945? Everything's been lost, even the dream's been lost. Seemingly we have to fight again to get our dream realised maybe. How does it feel? BAD, SAD.

You lose an atmosphere

You lose an emotion

You lose a world of freedom and integrity, you see.

The explanation for how this dream of freedom for the people has been corrupted and shattered in Indonesia was also supplied in the program by General Nasution, founding military commander, and instigator of the limited "dual function" role. "Sukarno would like to do more, but after Suharto was President he used military officers in political and economic positions ... no longer middle of the road."

Thanks ABC Australia for that which we do get from you. In the USA, from the time of President Ford and Henry Kissinger leaving Jakarta on 6/12/75 or the massive invasion of 7/12/75, until the Dili Massacre of 12/11/91, East Timor was not mentioned by USA's ABC, the NBC and CBS evening news shows, while to now Nightline and the McNeil-Lehrer shows have never mentioned it.

But the struggle continues. There are more Indonesian soldiers than Timorese civilians in many parts of East Timor, and the gross abuses continue. For example last month at Ossu the red Berets arrested boys

from the Mission and beat and tortured them.

We need to redouble our efforts to FREE EAST TIMOR.

Rob Wesley-Smith

KEATING URGED TO ACT AT UNHRC

From East Timorese in Darwin, Feb. 12, 1994

EAST TIMOR & DARWIN

PM Keating must act on Indonesian recalcitrant contempt for UN Commission on Human Rights East Timor resolutions.

A representative of Darwin East Timorese and Australian supporters today handed a letter to PM Keating during his Darwin visit, while a large group of demonstrators protested Australia's ongoing duplicity at the Commission on Human Rights meetings in Geneva.

The Commission is currently holding its yearly meeting.

Indonesia has been severely criticised at past meetings for the human rights situation in East Timor. In 1992 in order to avoid a strongly critical resolution, Indonesia bound itself to improve human rights. Indonesian failure to honour its commitments led to the passage of a highly critical resolution in 1993. Indonesia has totally ignored the resolution, and the human rights situation in East Timor has further deteriorated in the last year.

The letter reminds the PM that Australia was forced to vote for the resolution in 1993, despite its consistent previous efforts to protect Indonesia. It urges the PM to change the zeal of Australian diplomats to assist their Indonesian colleagues - or even more, to do the job of defending the scandalous Indonesian human rights record in East Timor on Indonesia's behalf - evident at past Commission on Human Rights meetings.

(summary of letter deleted)

MEMBERS OF THE EAST
TIMORESE COMMUNITY
and AUSTRALIANS FOR A FREE EAST
TIMOR

ph/fx: 275478, 811176, 832113; GPO
Box 2155 DARWIN
11 February 1994

The Hon. Paul Keating MHR
Prime Minister of Australia

Dear Prime Minister,

We welcome you to Darwin, the closest Australian location to one of the most cruel and protracted military conflicts in the Southeast Asian region. This is a conflict which, despite the international attention it has attracted as a prominent example of the

most gross human rights violations in our times, has been ignored by successive Australian governments, including your own. This has done little for the international standing of our country.

We draw your personal attention this time to Australian ongoing duplicity at the Commission on Human Rights, which is currently holding its annual meeting in Geneva.

Rather than supporting this important institution's role of upholding respect for human rights as a way to ensure a more just international order, Australia has consistently sided with one of the main and most repugnant violators: the military dictatorship of Indonesia.

The zeal of Australian diplomats, to assist their Indonesian colleagues - or even more, to do the job of defending the horrific Indonesian human rights record in East Timor on Indonesia's behalf - at past Commission on Human Rights meetings, has been shamefully obvious to many.

However, despite Australian collaboration, Indonesia has been severely criticised at past meetings. In 1992 in order to avoid a strongly critical resolution, Indonesia bound itself to improve the human rights situation in East Timor. Indonesian failure to honour its commitments led to the passage of a highly critical resolution in 1993, which Australia in the end was forced to vote for. Indonesia has totally ignored the resolution. The human rights situation in East Timor has further deteriorated in the last year.

In the light of this ongoing display of Indonesian recalcitrant contempt for international norms and its offensive derision of members of the international community - including Australia - we urge your government to strongly condemn continuing Indonesian human rights violations against the people of East Timor, and to actively seek a further resolution to this effect at this year's Commission on Human Rights meeting.

Furthermore, we urge the Australian government to seek a genuine solution to this tragic conflict in our neighbourhood. The peace plan presented by the East Timorese Resistance outlines such a possibility, and has been well received at the level of the United Nations, the US Congress and others. We urge Australia to also support this initiative, and promote its broader acceptance.

Our positive contribution to the resolution of the tragic East Timor issue would be a sign of our nation's genuine, rather than opportunistic, involvement with the Southeast Asian community. By encouraging Indonesia to allow a truly just and internationally acceptable solution to the East Timor problem, Australian diplomacy could genuinely contribute to regional harmony

and well-being. It would also bring Australia into line with current international thinking on the issue.

On behalf of members of Darwin's East Timorese community and its Australian supporters, we very much hope to initiate a continuing dialogue with you on this matter. Sincerely,

Tony Jefferies, Australians for a Free
East Timor
José and Fatima Gusmão,
on behalf of East Timorese community
members

DARWIN WOMEN MEET ANITA KEATING

On February 11th a group of East Timorese women and Australian supporters were able to meet Anita Keating, the wife of the Australian Prime Minister, in Darwin and hand her a copy of Michelle Turner's "TELLING" (stories of East Timor from 1942 to the present) and the following letter. Mrs. Keating assured us she would read the book on the flight back to Canberra.

Box 2155
Darwin NT 0801
ph/fax 275478
11 February 1994

Mrs. Anita Keating

Dear Mrs. Keating,

Welcome to Darwin, Australia's gateway to Asia and to its closest neighbour East Timor.

Mrs. Keating, we are a group of East Timorese and Australian women, who wish to call your attention to the suffering of the East Timorese people, in particular the East Timorese women, as a result of the terror perpetrated by the Indonesian army since its invasion of East Timor on 7 December 1975.

For the last 18 years the East Timorese have been subject to the brutal rule of the Indonesian military, a regime famous for its gross violations of the human rights of its people.

Consequently, East Timorese mothers and daughters have endured atrocious and unjust violations of human dignity, deprivation of freedom and the most basic human rights.

Contraceptive methods imposed by the Indonesian government during the 1980s were aimed to sterilise women through use of, what is in other countries, the illegal drug Depo Provera. This was aimed at reducing the East Timorese population. This policy was introduced by a government responsible for the decimation of one third of the population of East Timor, which in 1975 amounted to 700.000 people.

Since the invasion, rape, torture, starvation, imprisonment and death have been carried out by the Indonesian army upon a defenceless population composed mostly of women and children. Meanwhile their husbands, brothers and sons face death or indiscriminate arrest and are kept indefinitely in unhealthy prisons without charges.

Dear Mrs. Keating, in addition to suffering from the above, we are forced to witness the complicity of Australian governments in this crime against humanity. Since 1975, successive governments of this nation, including the present one, led by your husband, have turned blind eyes to the dramatic plight of their closest neighbours, the East Timorese people.

As women, we appeal to you Mrs. Keating in this International Year of the Family, to increase your concern towards the plight of the families of East Timor.

Sincerely

On behalf of East Timorese women in
Darwin:

Ines Casimiro, Veronica Maia, Nini Lopes
Supporters: Judy Conway, Debbie
Sewell, Alana Eldridge

EVENTS IN EUROPE

RECENT ARMS SALES TO INDONESIA

From Arms Transfers News, Produced bi-weekly by Farndon House Information Trust, Unit 53, Listerhills Science Park, Campus Road, Bradford, BD7 1HR U.K. +44 274 738388; Fax: +44 274 738230 E-mail: FHIT@gn.apc.org

JAKARTA TOLD TO REACT WISELY TO SWEDISH ARMS SALES PLAN

Kyodo News Service, November 18, 1993

Abdurrahman Wahid, the head of Indonesia's largest socio-religious organization, said the government should react cautiously to the Swedish proposal to halt arms sales to Indonesia. The government should attempt to improve the country's foreign policy performance. He said that East Timor was viewed as a disputed territory by the international community.

3 IMPORTED WARSHIPS ARRIVE IN INDONESIA FROM GERMANY

Kyodo News Service, November 23, 1993

Two corvettes and a tank landing ship arrived in Indonesia from Germany. Twelve of the 39 craft bought from Germany have now been delivered. The first 9 to be delivered are undergoing renovation at the PT PAL shipyard in Surabaya, East Java.

INDONESIA - JAKARTA GO-AHEAD FOR MORE HAWK AIRCRAFT

Financial Times (UK), December 7, 1993

The Indonesian government has informed senior air force officials that they may begin discussions regarding the purchase of 16 Hawk aircraft from British Aerospace. At present, the air force is equipped with approximately 80 combat aircraft.

BAE IN TALKS TO SELL 16 AIRCRAFT TO INDONESIA

Financial Times (UK), December 8, 1993

British Aerospace (BAe) may sell 16 Hawk aircraft to Indonesia following a government approval of negotiations on the purchase. On 25 November BAe announced an agreement with Indonesia to explore further cooperation on production of turbo-prop planes and cars.

TAPOL PROTESTS AT EPIFA REPORT

On 13 December 1994, TAPOL wrote to the President of the European Parliament to protest about a visit by European Parliamentarians to Indonesia, based on the report produced by the delegation's chairman, Janssen va Raay:

To the President of the European Parliament
Egon Klepsch,
97-113, rue Belliard
B-1040 Bruxelles, Belgium

13 December 1993

Dear Mr. Klepsch,

I am writing to express my dismay about a report I recently received. The document, labelled confidential, is a report by James Janssen van Raay on the EPIFA visit to Indonesia. As you know EPIFA is the European Parliament Indonesian Friendship Association and its aims are clearly reflected in the name.

As expressed in the European Parliament on many occasions, human rights violations in the Indonesian archipelago are still very much on the agenda. The Parliament has adopted several resolutions on East Timor and the Parliament's Human Rights Subcommittee conducted a hearing on human rights abuses in East Timor. Against this background we might have expected a more serious preparation for EPIFA's visit to Indonesia.

I see from the report that the MEPs from EPIFA only met top-ranking Indonesian officials and representatives of business. By contrast with previous visits by MEPs to the region, they appear to have made no attempts to meet representatives of Indonesian non-governmental organisations, in

particular in the field of human rights and the environment.

Mr. Janssen van Raay's views on the East Timor issue are publicly known and conform with the official views of the Indonesian government. We also know that, to this day, the international community has not recognised Indonesia's annexation of East Timor. His more than cordial relations with the Indonesian authorities are also well-known. For the record, I would say that it is my understanding that Mr. Janssen van Raay's views do not reflect the views of the majority of MEPs. Although I strongly disapprove of Mr. van Raay's views on East Timor, the complaints I wish to raise here are not about East Timor.

There are two disturbing sections of the visit which I feel can only be accounted for by poor preparations for the visit.

On page 4, the report mentions a visit to East Kalimantan where the MEPs were guests of the companies PT Kalhold Utama, a plywood and glue factory, and PT Kiani Hutani Lestari (wrongly spelled by Mr. Janssen van Raay). These companies are part of the Kalimantan Group owned by the timber tycoon Bob Hassan, one of the very few privileged businessmen in Indonesia who can drop in on President Suharto unannounced. In October, a few weeks before the EPIFA visit, a logging company of the Kalimantan Group bulldozed at least half of the Bentian forest. Bentian is the name of an indigenous tribe, one of the many Dayak tribes living in Kalimantan. They are shifting cultivators and are one of the very few tribes on this globe who cultivate rattan. Their forest is full of tropical fruit trees and the Bentian have been cultivating this forest for at least 150 years. The cultivated rattan estates, fruit trees and ancestral burial grounds have been destroyed on the pretext that the forest is not productive. It is highly likely that the plywood the EPIFA MEPs saw in PT Kalhold Utama was plundered from the Bentian forest. It is not difficult to imagine what the Dayak people feel about MEPs allowing themselves to be hosted by companies that have devastated their livelihoods.

It is important to note in 1993, the year designated by the UN as the year of the indigenous peoples, that the Dayak people are pre-eminent for their management of sustainable forestry, in stark contrast with the practices of timber conglomerates like the Kalimantan Group.

Another disturbing thing on page 4 is Mr. Janssen van Raay's comments on transmigration. This widely criticised programme is at the moment being revived by the Indonesian government and one of its aims is to resettle the many indigenous peoples onto permanent sites. Anthropologists, ethno-

botanists, forestry and agricultural experts will confirm that the permanent resettlement of shifting cultivators or forest gatherers is likely to lead to ethnocide or even genocide.

My second complaint concerns page 3 which reports a visit to the office of ITCI, the International Timber Cooperation of Indonesia. ITCI is fully owned by the Indonesian army and possesses a huge forest concession of 470,000 ha. Realising the dominating role of the military in Indonesian daily life, I would have expected the MEPs to have shown some hesitation at being hosted by an army company. Although the mission leader was probably aware of this, it is very likely that the majority of MEPs on the mission were not aware of it. But as seasoned politicians, they cannot use ignorance of the facts as a valid excuse; they should surely have been more circumspect about the programme and the companies who had agreed to host them.

Mr. Janssen van Raay's report gives a very disappointing account of a visit by distinguished members of the European Parliament. I do not know whether other members of the mission have written their own reports or whether Mr. van Raay's report represents the mission as a whole. Until I know whether they view their visit to Indonesia in a different light, I can only conclude that the other EPIFA members were ill-informed, ill-prepared and naive.

Finally, may I ask whether the European Parliament has a Code of Conduct about missions undertaken by its members, in particular to ensure that such missions meet a wide-ranging selection of groups and organisation. If so, I would be grateful to receive a copy. I would also like to know whether my organisation, TAPOL, as an NGO with extensive contacts in Indonesia, can make its views known to members of your Parliament. In particular, is there a forum at the Parliament where we would be able to present our information to MEPs, so as to rectify the one-sided and very damaging picture given in Mr. van Raay's report?

Relationships with countries like Indonesia should be seen in their entirety, and should encompass human rights. Although not written under the aegis of the European Parliament, the EPIFA is a blemish to the fine tradition of the European Parliament.

Sincere greetings,

Liem Soei Liong, EDITOR

cc Members of the EPIFA delegation,
Members of the Intergroup for East
Timor, SOS Timor, CMP and other
NGOs

THREE MP'S ATTEND SWEDISH SEMINAR

From Tommy Pollak, Dec. 19

On the Fourth of December 1993 the (Swedish) East Timor Committee organised a seminar. The subject was the role of the church in East Timor. Invited speakers were José Antonio Amorim Dias, representative of the CNRM in Europe, and Steve Alston from the CAFOD in England. Also invited were the members of the Swedish parliament which visited East Timor in September. Of these Hans Goran Franck, Social Democrat, and Ingbritt Irhammar, Center Party, participated as well as Karl Goran Svartberg also a parliamentarian for the Social Democrats.

Approximately 30 attendants listened to the speakers, deeply moved when José Amorim gave an account for the brutal killing of his father by the Indonesian occupants. Steve Alston informed about the very special conditions for international aid to the Timorese church. Ingbritt Irhammar and Hans Goran Franck reported about their findings and about the new export ban for band wagons.

The audience to an active part and the questions and answers parts were long and interesting.

A video produced by the Swedish journalist Ragnar Hedlund, who accompanied the Swedish MPs to East Timor in September, was also shown. The seminar closed with the serving of Timorese food.

More information can be obtained from Jan-Erik Forsberg - East Timor Committee

Box 70341, S-107 23 STOCKHOLM
Ph/fax:+46-8-648-3193 jeforsberg@nordnet.se

24-HOUR IRISH XMAS FAST FOR EAST TIMOR

Irish Times, 23 December 1993. Slightly abridged

Two members of the East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign will fast for 24 hours on Christmas Day to highlight the plight of Timorese families who have been moved from their homes to resettlement camps. During the fast, the campaign members will demonstrate for several hours outside the British Embassy to protest against its role as the largest supplier of arms to Indonesia.

DUTCH POLITICIANS TO MEET SUHARTO

By Bob Mantiri

BRUSSELS, Jan 7 (IPS) - A high level Dutch parliamentary delegation will arrive in Jakarta Saturday to discuss East Timor and human rights issues with President Suharto and Indonesian MPs, the speaker of the Dutch parliament said here Friday.

Speaker Wim Deetman will lead the delegation, which also consists of the leaders of the Netherlands' main political parties. For many of the Dutch politicians it will be their first visit to Indonesia.

As well as visiting Jakarta the Dutch political leaders will also make a trip to the Indonesian province of Kalimantan, formerly East Borneo.

A visit to East Timor, which was requested by the Dutch delegation, was rejected by the Indonesian government, a diplomatic source said.

The visit was originally planned two years ago, but it had to be postponed after Indonesian troops in November 1991 killed hundred of East Timorese who were demonstrating for an independent East Timor.

The Dutch government protested against the violations of human rights, but Indonesia then severed development aid contacts with the Netherlands and sent all Dutch development aid workers home.

But relations in political and economic field have recovered in the meantime. "It is has grown and become much more mature," Deetman said.

"In that light it must be possible to discuss East Timor and human rights in an open and frank manner. We expect that our Indonesian colleagues will raise these matters," Deetman said.

But he stressed that other issues like economic cooperation in the field of culture and education will be part of the talks.

"But above all, the purpose of our visit is to deepen and widen our contacts with our counterparts in the Indonesian parliament," Deetman added.

He said that the visit would be followed up by an official visit of Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers and foreign minister Pieter Kooijmans. It also expected that Queen Beatrix would make a visit in the near future to Indonesia after several invitations from President Suharto.

An official of the Dutch government's information office said the Queen has been reluctant to visit Indonesia as long as the human rights and East Timor issues are still stirring emotional debate in the Dutch Parliament.

See "Events in Indonesia" section for Adnan Buyung's refusal to meet with the delegation when it arrived.

GERMAN WAR EQUIPMENT TO INDONESIA

SDP UNSATISFIED WITH GOVERNMENT EXPLANATIONS

Publico, 8 January 1994. By Maria E. Pedrosa. Translated from Portuguese

(Bonn) Yesterday, Social Democrat deputy Klaus Kuber, the SDP's spokesperson on human rights in Asia, said that the German Foreign Ministry's replies to a series of questions from 50 SDP parliamentarians about the supply of 39 ships from the former German Democratic Republic's navy to Indonesia, were hypocritical and sparse.

The questions centered on the costs of supplying the ships, the ships' war equipment, and the violation of human rights in East Timor.

Totally unsatisfied with the governments' explanations, the SD deputy told *Publico* that he will follow-up the enquiries. It will certainly not be difficult to continue the parliamentary initiatives, bearing in mind that the government's dubious clarifications about the use to which the ships will be put - coastline protection, to combat piracy - have been overshadowed by other revelations, such as the DPA news agency's report in November that the supply of German ships to Indonesia included five thousand tons of ammunition, spare parts for five years, and credit of over 390 million Marks for purchase of materials.

The sale of the ships to Jakarta violates commitments undertaken both internally and externally. Internally, it goes against the policy, recently outlined by the respective minister, on development aid. This policy prohibits countries which receive German credits to use the latter for the purchase of arms. Externally, the sale of the ships to Jakarta goes against an OEU resolution, passed unanimously in June 1993, which expressly forbids the sale of arms to Indonesia.

The Bonn Government alleges that the transaction precedes the OEU resolution. But, on being questioned by the SDP about fulfilling that commitment in the future, the government response was that it would "think about it."

With regards guarantees, and preventative measures, should Jakarta ever use the ships for reasons other than coastline protection - the object of another of the SDP's questions - Bonn would only say that it was in no doubt about the Suharto Government's "contractual honesty."

NOBEL PEACE PRIZE NOMINATIONS

From Jan-Erik Forsberg, Swedish East Timor Committee, Jan 22.

Nominations for 1994 Nobel Peace Prize should be submitted to the

Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament before 31 January 1994. This information was given to the Swedish East Timor Committee by staff at the office of MP Mr. Franck, in the Swedish Parliament.

The address to the Nobel Committee is:

Det norske Stortings Nobelkomitee (Nobel Committee of the Norwegian Parliament) Drammensveien 19, 0255 OSLO 2, Norway

Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo was nominated for the 1994 Peace Prize, on the 6 October 1993, by the three Swedish parliamentarians who visited East Timor in September.

FINLAND TO SELL MORTARS TO INDONESIA

TAPOL Report, 6 February 1994

The Finnish government decided on 20 January to grant permission to Vammas, a fully state-owned munitions company, to export sixty mortar units to Indonesia. The decision came shortly after the Finnish Minister of Forestry, Martti Pura, returned from a five-day visit to Indonesia during which negotiations were held on Finnish participation in several major pulp-and-paper projects which are in preparation in Riau and elsewhere.

Contacts in Finland believe that the decision to export mortar units to Indonesia may have been a condition from the Indonesian side, a 'sweetener,' to safeguard Finnish business prospects in the ever-burgeoning pulp-and-paper industry in Indonesia.

Under Finnish law, weapons may not be exported to areas of conflicts or countries where serious human rights violations occur.

The pressure on Finland to supply weaponry as a condition for obtaining lucrative contracts for Finnish suppliers of heavy equipment for pulp-and-paper plants and for Finnish consultancy firms, is a sign of Jakarta's determination to diversify its weapons suppliers, now that some western countries have shown an interest in cutting arms exports to Indonesia or making them conditional on human rights conduct, particularly on the situation in East Timor.

Today, Sunday, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, faxed the following protest to the Finnish Minister of Defence Elizabeth Rehn and Minister of Foreign Affairs Heikki Haavisto:

Dear Minister,

TAPOL has learnt with dismay of your government's decision last month to grant a licence to the state-owned company, VAMMAS, to export sixty mortar units to Indonesia.

In the knowledge that Finnish law prohibits the export of war material to areas of conflict or to countries where serious human rights violations occur, we would ask you to acknowledge that this export is in breach of your country's formal obligation with regard to arms exports. As you surely know, both these criteria make Indonesia ineligible for the supply of weaponry from Finland. An 18-year long conflict continues in East Timor which is under illegal Indonesian occupation, in defiance of two UN Security Council and eight General Assembly resolutions. Human rights violations continue unabated in East Timor, as well as in many parts of Indonesia.

TAPOL takes particular exception to this deal, in the knowledge that your government refused to grant asylum to three young East Timorese who entered your Jakarta embassy last year, seeking refuge. This incident and the information that these young East Timorese presented to your ambassador enabled your government to be better informed than most governments about the human rights situation in East Timor.

TAPOL protested at the time at your government's refusal to grant asylum to these East Timorese. Now we must protest again, at your decision to allow the export of war material to Indonesia.

We appeal to you, as a matter of urgency, to reconsider the decision and halt any further export of war material to Indonesia.

Yours sincerely,

For those wishing to protest to the Finnish government about this deal, here are the fax numbers you will need:

Minister of Defence: +358 0 653254
Minister of Foreign Affairs: +358 0 629840

Finnish News Agency: +358 0 69581335
Major Finnish daily, Helsingin Sanomat;
Attention, Pekka Hakala: +358 0 60287

EURO MP'S ANGRY WITH PORTUGAL

Diario de Noticias, 14 February 1994. By Fernanda Gabriel

(Strasbourg) The Euro MPs who are members of the Timor Intergroup are angry with Foreign Affairs Minister, José Manuel Durão Barroso. They need 70,000,000 Escudos to organise an interparliamentary conference on East Timor in Brussels, but the Minister is only prepared to allow them 10,000,000.

This was announced at the conclusion of an Intergroup meeting, by Euro MP Rui Amaral (PSD). It was decided that, under the circumstances, it would be better to cancel the conference.

Included in the budget for the conference, which was sent to the Minister on 1 December last year, were the costs for Australian and Japanese MPs to travel to Brussels.

The meeting ought to be held in late June, and would last for a day and a half. About 120 parliamentarians from 30 European countries (4 per country), about 40 from the rest of the world, as well as 30 Euro MPs would be taking part in it.

According to the budget for the conference, the travel and accommodation expenses alone would cost over 30,000,000 Escudos, without counting the costs of publicity, publications, translations and secretarial back-up.

"FOUR MONTHS FOR EAST TIMOR" CAMPAIGN IN FRANCE

TURNING ON THE SPOTLIGHT

from Agir Pour Timor, Feb. 94

Are we coming to the end of the silence which for many years has surrounded the situation of the Timorese people? During the next four months, many important organisations will be taking part in a campaign of information and solidarity.

Peuples Solidaires, which is an initiative of Agir Pour Timor, France-Libertes/ Fondation Danielle Mitterand, the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH), La Cimade, Justice and Peace, the General Confederation of Workers (CGT), the Federation Syndicale Unitaire)) education workers, the National Union of Secondary School Teachers (SNES)FSU, and the Coordination of Portuguese Associations in France (CCPF), have all, at the time we go to press, announced their participation. Many other human rights, solidarity, union and other organisations are following the preparation of the campaign with interest and will decide about their participation in the coming days.

From March to June, many informational events will take place, almost all over France. The campaign is intended to be open and to allow each participating group to address its constituency and new audiences, with whatever actions they feel are most appropriate, and choosing whatever objectives seem to them to correspond best with the Timorese people's need for solidarity.

We are sending out an urgent appeal to all the readers of this bulletin asking them to take an active part in this campaign. We can send you more detailed information on the

resources available for organising local initiatives. We need you all! Help break the silence.

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

HUNGER STRIKER IN PLANES PROTEST

Western Daily Press (UK), Dec. 8, 1993

Peace campaigner Hugh Dowson vowed last night to continue his hunger strike despite feeling weak and cold.

Mr. Dowson, aged 45, from Bath, is camping outside the Rolls Royce base in Filton, Bristol, in protest at British Aerospace plans to supply Indonesia with Hawk aircraft.

Mr. Dowson, who plans to starve himself for 100 hours, claims the aeroplanes will be converted into Ground Attack aircraft, equipped with missiles.

And he says they will be used to kill thousands of people on the island of East Timor, 300 miles North West of Australia.

He said: "I felt like packing it in when I woke up with my feet sticking out of the tent and it was raining. But I am still hoping to make it until Thursday."

Mr. Dowson claims that 200,000 people have been killed on the island of East Timor since Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony 18 years ago.

He is campaigning for a referendum to be held for the population of East Timor to decide if they want Indonesian control. And he wants the British Government to stop supplying aeroplanes to the Indonesian President Suharto.

A spokesman for Rolls Royce, which supplies the Hawk engines to British Aerospace, said: "British Aerospace has sold Hawk air craft to Indonesia since the early 1980s. We have only ever sold our products to countries approved by the British Government."

CALL TO ACTION AGAINST BRITISH AEROSPACE

2 Jan 94

British Aerospace (BAe) manufacture Hawk aircraft which Indonesia uses to commit genocide in East Timor.

HELP STOP FURTHER BAE DEALS TO INDONESIA

Join the Day of Protest against British Aerospace in particular, and the arms trade in general.

British Aerospace (BAe) make military aircraft, including the Hawk. BAe have sold

24 Hawks to Indonesia. Indonesia invaded East Timor nearly 20 years ago and, in this short time period, have murdered a third of East Timor's original population. Experts believe that British Aerospace are now planning to sell 144 more Hawks to Indonesia. Such a deal may spell the end for the East Timorese people. Such a deal must be stopped.

There will be a day of nonviolent direct action (NVDA), vigils and leafletting at a North West British Aerospace factory, sometime in the early Spring. There will be a planning and training day for this action on Saturday 15th January at Longsight Library, Manchester. The doors will open at 10 am for drinks and the fun will start at 10:30 am. The day will involve education on the issues, training for NVDA and planning for the action itself. (People are encouraged to organise planned nonviolent protests at other BAe sites.)

"We are dying as a people and as a nation."
Bishop Belo, Apostolic Administrator of Dili, 1989

"You have to leave your conscience at the door."

Don Maclen, then Director of Public Affairs, BAe

For more details contact Michael (061-860 4469), Tricia (061-881 7460) or Chris (071-275 9150). Also see overleaf for more info on East Timor and BAe.

If you'd like to get involved with the action, come along to the planning and training day at Longsight Library, Manchester, on Saturday 15th January.

Mail bane@vtx.ma.man.ac.uk for more information.

Introduction to the issues

Indonesia

In Indonesia, the situation is very grim. Protests against the authoritarian government are met with arrest, maltreatment, subversion trials and extra-judicial executions. Millions of former political prisoners have been denied their civil and political rights. But don't expect to hear much, if anything, about any of this because there's no such thing as a free press. In 1965, General Suharto seized power in a bloody coup with about a million people murdered in his drive to annihilate the mass-based left wing movement. It's not as if the killings ended then. They're still continuing today both in Indonesia and West Papua, Aceh and East Timor.

East Timor

Timor is a small island, 300 miles north-west of Australia (see map). East Timor was invaded on December 7th 1975 by Indonesia, just two weeks after independence from Portugal. The invasion itself has twice

been condemned by the UN Security Council. Since the invasion about 200,000 East Timorese people have been killed without proper reason. This is about a third of the original population. There have been 10 UN resolutions, adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council, which have called for Indonesia to withdraw. However, Indonesia continues daily to increase the blood on its hands. For example, in November 1991, Indonesian troops opened fire on peaceful demonstrators at a cemetery in Dili killing over 270 people and wounding hundreds more. A further 350 people "disappeared." Demonstrators were mercilessly gunned down, in full view of Western journalists, at the end of a funeral commemoration for an activist killed 2 weeks earlier. Film footage of this horrific act was smuggled out. Much of the film was too shocking to be shown on TV, but a short clip was broadcast around the world. This was the first time that the public had heard about East Timor and the enormity of the human suffering there.

Hawk Deals to Indonesia

On June 10th 1993, Indonesia signed a 500m contract with British Aerospace for 24 Hawk aircraft and associated equipment and training. It is widely believed that Indonesia intends to purchase no fewer than 144 Hawks to equip 6 squadrons with 24 warplanes each. This would cost Indonesia well over \$1.5 billion. According to the military magazine "Jane's Defence Weekly" (9/1/93) each squadron will be supplied with 2-seat trainers and single-seat Hawks to provide reconnaissance and close cover for troops. With so many military operations already underway throughout Indonesia and East Timor, the role of aerial reconnaissance is crucial and additional Hawks would effectively increase Indonesia's illegal military hold over its occupied territories.

British Aerospace

British Aerospace (BAe) is Europe's largest weapons manufacturer, and is the third largest in the world. Apart from fighter and bomber aircraft, BAe also produce bombs, land-based military vehicles, mines and the occasional civil aircraft. The company is not particularly bothered to whom they sell (and about 3/4 of their sales are exports). For example, BAe's subsidiary Royal Ordnance were happy to accept a 50m contract by the Kuwaiti government to clear battle areas and oil wells of explosives whilst BAe-built planes had dropped Royal Ordnance explosives on Kuwait and Iraq just 2 months earlier. And, of course, the Gulf War was good news for BAe with their shares increasing by 100m within just 2 days of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. British Aerospace, just like all the other arms deal-

ers, don't just sit around waiting for customers to come along and buy death off the shelves. No, the arms companies dream up new deadlier weapons and then go out and persuade armed forces all across the world that they need these new toys to stay ahead. The recent Scott Inquiry heard how British Aerospace had lobbied to supply Hawks to Iraq. Indeed a senior BAe manager, whilst on secondment to the MoD, went to the Baghdad arms fair despite a veto by the Foreign Office.

Contacts for More Information

For more information on East Timor contact:

TAPOL who campaign against human rights abuses in Indonesia. 111 Northwood Road, Thornton Heath, Surrey CR7 8HW. Tel: 081-771 2904

British Coalition for East Timor who raise funds for the victims of the war and also campaign for the withdrawal of Indonesian forces from East Timor. PO Box 2349, London E1 3HX. Tel: 071-639 4700.

The Irish East Timor Solidarity Campaign who work throughout Ireland on the East Timor issue. 210 Le Fanu Road, Ballyfermot, Dublin.

For more information about British Aerospace write to the British Aerospace Campaign, 18 Chesolm Road, Stoke Newington, London N16 0DR.

UK-RI RELATIONS UNDER SCRUTINY

From TAPOL, Jan. 29

Comment: A major row has broken out about the British government's funding of a dam project in Malaysia which has been exposed as a 'sweetener' for arms sales to Malaysia. The dam project itself has also been strongly condemned as a 'bad buy' by a former senior official at the Overseas Development Administration.

The row has led to considerable media and parliamentary interest in aid going to other countries with whom the UK has recently concluded major arms deals, in particular Indonesia. The following is an example of the items appearing in the past few days in the British press.

The issue is now under the scrutiny of the Foreign Affairs Select Committee of the House of Commons.

AID AGREED BEFORE 500M JET ORDER

The Independent, 29 January 1994. By: Chris Blackhurst

Britain agreed to provide state aid to Indonesia shortly before clinching a 500m military aircraft order.

In his Budget last year, Norman Lamont, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced extra export credits for Indonesia. This was because an impending 500m order for Hawk jet fighters from British Aerospace threatened to eat up the Export Credit Guarantee Department's allocation for the Far Eastern country.

Then, in April last year, Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary, visited Indonesia and agreed to make a preferential loan of 65m for a power station. Barely two months later, the Hawk contract was signed.

The deal has since attracted criticism because of the Indonesian government's bombing of rebels in East Timor. Indonesia's civil rights record has also been attacked.

Last month, after a visit from Air Chief Marshall Sir Michael Graydon, chief of Britain's air staff, Indonesia said it wanted to buy a further 16 Hawks. Earlier this month, Kenneth Clarke, the Chancellor, also visited Indonesia as part of a Far East trade mission.

The World Development Movement, a Third World pressure group, yesterday claimed Indonesia was another example, after Malaysia, of Britain using state aid as a "sweetener" to win arms orders.

Ben Jackson, of WDM, said: "The Government says it uses aid to tackle poverty and promote good government. But when arms deals are in the air, these commitments go by the board."

The Foreign Office denied Indonesia had received aid in return for arms. A spokesman said the 65m was not aid as such - it was not a gift but a loan, "albeit at lower than commercial rates."

Further evidence emerged today linking aid to the Pergau dam project in Malaysia to arms sales. Rais Yatin, the country's former foreign minister, claimed that payments of 234m from Britain were "undeniably linked" to weapons purchases and military construction contracts.

Mr. Yatin's comments, made to journalists in Malaysia, were the first confirmation from anyone close to the Malaysian government that the British money was given as a "sweetener" for arms deals.

Mr. Yatin also described Pergau as a "gross irregularity" - a view that echoed the

remarks of Sir Tim Lankester, former permanent secretary to the Overseas Development Administration, to MPs last week when he condemned the project as "an abuse" of the aid system.

Jack Cunningham, the shadow Foreign Secretary, said that Mr. Yatin's intervention illustrated the need for a "rigorous inquiry" into Pergau. The Independent has revealed the dam was related to the building of a secret special forces base in Malaysia and that Stephan Kock, an intelligence advisor who also played a part in the Iraq "Super-gun" affair, was involved. Mr. Cunningham said: "Quite clearly, ministers have been concealing the real nature and content of their dealings with Parliament for some considerable time."

The Prime Minister attempted to play down Mr. Yatin's remarks. Replying to a letter from Sir David Steel, the Liberal Democrat foreign affairs spokesman, John Major said Mr. Yatin "left office in 1987, well before the agreement was reached on the Memorandum of Understanding on defence sales" between the two countries.

EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

PORTUGAL REJECTS "EMBASSY" IN JAKARTA

Expresso, 10 December 1993, Translated from Portuguese

(Lisbon) An EC diplomatic source has revealed that the Portuguese Government rejected a proposal, made by the UN Secretary General, that Portugal and Indonesia temporarily install diplomats in "friendly" embassies. The proposal was for two Indonesian diplomats to work from the Thai Embassy in Lisbon, while two Portuguese diplomats would be based at the Dutch mission in Jakarta. The idea was proposed last September by Boutros Ghali during the last round of talks on East Timor. Ali Alatas is reported to have accepted the proposal immediately, while Durão Barroso rejected the idea out of hand, on account of the "lack of conditions to make the proposal practicable"

PORTUGUESE PRESIDENT CALLS FOR FULL ACCOUNTING OF DILI MASSACRE

Agence France Presse, January 7, 1994

(Lisbon) President Mario Soares said Friday he would write to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to demand

that Indonesia provide a full account of the East Timorese who disappeared during an army massacre in the former Portuguese colony.

Speaking after a meeting with the president, the spokesman for a group of seven East Timorese students granted asylum here said Soares had agreed to appeal to the UN chief to get a full list of those who disappeared after the massacre by Indonesian troops in the capital of East Timor on November 12, 1991.

Indonesian troops fired on a crowd in a cemetery in the city, killing by official accounts 50 people although some 90 others are believed to have disappeared.

The seven students arrived in Lisbon last week after being allowed to leave Indonesia six months after they requested political asylum at the Finnish and Swedish embassies in Jakarta.

Several of them were seriously wounded in the Dili massacre but later recovered and made their way to Jakarta.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 before declaring it a province a year later. The UN has never recognised Jakarta's rule over the former colony.

DURÃO BARROSO INTERVIEWED

Publico, 9 January 1994. By T. de Sousa, J. T. de Negreiros, R. Vaz. Translated from Portuguese

Interview with the Portuguese Foreign Minister

Timor - only in the long-term

Q.- You have said that, sometimes, government are forced to go against their respective public opinions. Could Timor become one of these cases in time?

A.- I do not see how it could. In fact, I think it is once of those cases in which there is great national consensus, involving widely varying sectors of the public. And there has been a great deal of consensus in the actions taken by the President of the Republic and the Government. I cannot see, at the moment, any reason for such a forecast.

Q.- However, the view that Portugal ought to be more flexible in its position on self-determination, and ought to concentrate its efforts on ensuring respect for human rights, is gaining a lot of support among various sectors.

A.- I believe that there are two levels, and that the fight on one level ought not to jeopardize our objectives on the other. There is a basic problem - which has to do with the right to self-determination and with the territory's statute - and there is also the

general problem of human rights. We have to develop our action on two fronts. For example, the release of these seven Timorese was, in itself, a good thing. We ought to value this, but we should not build up the idea that our fight is limited to human rights issues.

What has happened is this. Because we have achieved some important results (whether at the UN Human Rights Commission, or the focus on the negotiating process), this has led to greater discussion of the subject, and has naturally led to some dissenting voices being heard. I see no problem in this. In a democracy, there are no tabu subjects.

Q.- The achievements you have referred to, are all to be found on one front - the human rights front. Why is it that we seem to be stuck on the fundamental question?

A.- There is a total and absolute difference in the opinion of the two governments - the Portuguese and Indonesian. For this reason I have been extremely careful not to give public opinion any illusions about a quick settlement. I can only see one possible solution, in the long-term and by way of a one step at a time policy.

Q.- Doesn't the release of the seven young men signify a change in Jakarta's policy?

A.- I do not believe it represents any fundamental change. It is a positive sign which I welcome, while being cautious about the limits of such a gesture.

Q.- Are you still skeptical about the next meeting in Geneva?

A.- Yes. I think it is always wise to be a little skeptical, though constructive. The meeting, in May, is still quite far off, and there are going to be some initiatives taken by the UN Secretary General before then.

Q.- In Rome, it was decided that the two countries would attempt confidence-building measures. Were these releases given by Jakarta as an example of a measure of confidence? Did the Portuguese Government acknowledge the releases as such? Is Portugal now going to give something in return?

A.- Our recognition of Jakarta's act as a gesture of good will has already been an excellent gesture on our part. In fact, the issue was brought up at the meeting I had last September with Minister Alatas. I challenged him to give positive signs, and suggested the release of these seven Timorese as being one possible area. He asked me what assurances could he have that, if they were released, such a gesture would not be used as a pretext for yet another anti-Indonesia campaign. I said that, if that was his concern, I would certainly guarantee that

we would take it as a positive signal on his part.

But the fact of the matter is that the situation in this process is not, shall we say, symmetrical. The difficulty is in creating conditions of trust in the territory itself. The effort has to be made - above all, if not exclusively - by Indonesia.

(TIMORESE STUDENTS) TOGETHER FOR TIMOR

Publico, 8 February 1994. Abridged

As yet, they have neither statutes, nor money, but their valuable link to the Maubere Resistance National Council (CNRM) gives the actions, announced yesterday in Oporto in support of the Timorese cause, credibility. By next October they ought to have transformed the present student solidarity movement into a legal organisation called the Together for Timor Association (AJPT), in time for one of their first objectives: the concentration in Oporto of national initiatives to mark the third anniversary of the Dili massacre.

Yesterday, Antonio Nova Araujo and Timorese university student Lurdes Bessa, both members of the founding commission of the AJPT, announced the four objectives designed for this year: to draw up and make public the Association's statutes; preparation of a budget to enable financial support to be sought from organisations and/or companies; to spread "as much information as possible," with the help of the CNRM, through the Portuguese media and foreign press correspondents; to set up the Association's "commission of honour."

(...)

DA CRUZ: PORTUGAL CHANGES MAY MAKE EAST TIMOR SETTLEMENT EASIER

Jakarta Post, February 10

(Jakarta) Portugal's powerful Social Democratic Party is reported to be seeking to change that nation's constitution to place jurisdiction for territorial affairs, which would include the East Timor question, completely within the hands of the executive.

F.X. Lopez da Cruz, Indonesian ambassador at large in charge of East Timorese affairs, said the plan has raised hope in Jakarta that the dispute between the two countries over East Timor can be resolved soon.

Lopez said he obtained the information about the Social Democratic Party's plan yesterday from the Portuguese-Indonesia

Friendship Association, which reported that Portuguese Prime Minister Dr. Cavaco da Silva disclosed the plan in an interview with Portugal's independent TV Channel 4 on Monday.

Da Silva reportedly said that the party plans to urge the parliament to drop East Timor and Macao from the constitution and put territorial affairs under the government's authority.

Article 293, paragraphs 1 and 2 on self-determination in the Portuguese constitution now states that overseas "territories" like East Timor and Macao are under the authority of the government, the president and the parliament.

Lopez said if the parliament complies with the Social Democratic Party, East Timor talks will become a lot less complicated with only the government to deal with.

"The Portuguese government will have more elbow room to seek a comprehensive solution to the East Timor question," said the former East Timor deputy governor and member of the Supreme Advisory Council.

He added that one factor that has always delayed the solution of the East Timor issue is that the Portuguese government, president and parliament have conflicting views.

Lopez said he has increasingly seen signs of Lisbon's softening stance on East Timor; the Social Democratic Party's plan is one of those.

Some journalists have called him from Lisbon, asking for his comment on the possible restoration of ties between Indonesia and Portugal severed in the wake of the civil war in East Timor that led to the territory's integration with Indonesia in 1976.

TIMORESE REFUGEES STOPOVER IN LISBON ON ROUTE TO AUSTRALIA

Jornal de Noticias, 15-16 Feb. Abridged

44 Timorese refugees, between the ages of 1 and 72, arrived in Lisbon on 15 February from Macau. For most of them, Lisbon is merely a stopover on their way to Australia.

Although Timorese refugees in Macau, who wish to settle with their families in Australia, are only seven hours away from that country, since 1991 the Australian authorities insist that they must first travel for over 14 hours to Lisbon, stay in Portugal while their applications are dealt with, and then travel at least another 20 hours back to Australia. The Canberra Government will only accept residency applications which are processed through Lisbon.

According to Father Francisco Fernandes, expelled from East Timor in September

1976, and living in Macau since 1989, many refugees choose Australia because they have relatives there and as it is near East Timor. He says there are many more Timorese who want to leave East Timor, but they have to wait their turn, as Macau cannot cope with so many. Since April 1993 alone, over 200 Timorese refugees arrived in Macau, awaiting repatriation to Lisbon.

At Lisbon airport, some of the few refugees who could speak Portuguese referred to what had prompted them to leave their homeland:

"We fled because there is no freedom in Timor, but we hope to go back one day, when our country becomes independent," said 39-year-old mother of six, Luisa Tjim. She went on to explain that she speaks very little Portuguese because the Indonesians do not allow Timorese to learn the language.

"People cannot live in a country where there is no liberty," said 26-year-old José Antonio, who also intends to return home when East Timor becomes independent.

"I was waiting 8 months in Macau to come to Portugal," said Elisabete Oliveira. She has no family in Portugal, but hopes to "study and work" until she can "go back to Timor," "when the situation there changes."

Filipe will also be staying in Portugal. He is one of the many young Timorese who was arrested and imprisoned (for a month in 1992) and beaten by the Indonesians. He said that "there are many young students in Indonesian jails," including his own brother.

Among those waiting to receive the new arrivals was Manuel Soares, a former customs official in Dili, where he was born and lived until escaping to Portugal in 1987. He left East Timor because of the repression, widespread since Indonesia's occupation in 1975. "As a customs official, it would have been easy for me to get rich there," he revealed, but went on to say that it would not have compensated the lack of freedom, and the surveillance to which the people are subjected.

"All correspondence gets there, even though the delays are incredible. However, before being delivered, all letters are read by the Indonesians." To sidestep this censorship (which is possible because "the Indonesian authorities order 16 or 17-year-olds to translate all the letters"), the Timorese have created a system of codes, so messages may be sent without the Indonesians realising. "Nobody likes that regime," says Manuel Soares, adding, like all the others, that he will only return to his country "when Indonesia leaves."

Comment from Lorne Rider:

I had been informed with some disgust that the reason this detour was necessary was not (only?) because of Australian re-

quirements, but because the Portuguese colonial administration itself, presumably with direction from Lisbon, has been refusing to grant Portuguese passports to Timorese refugees in Macau itself. That is, Portugal is requiring the East Timorese to go to Lisbon to have the paper work processed. Of course Australia may have additional regulations. In any case, I'd suggest that CDPM clarify this, and if it is true, some pressure might be put to bear on the Portuguese government.

EVENTS IN CANADA

CANADA GRANTS EAST TIMOR Rp 250M

Jakarta Post, 7 December 1993

(Jakarta) The Canadian embassy will provide a grant of Rp 250m (US\$120,000) in support of community and village development projects in East Timor.

Canada's ambassador, Lawrence T. Dickenson said the fund provided by the Canadian Fund for Local Initiatives will be used to support a wide range of initiatives in the province (sic) with special attention being given to women's issues and poverty alleviation.

The fund will also be used for agricultural training in Fuiloro, Lospalos.

This year the embassy will fund small-scale projects in Indonesia worth about Rp 1.6 billion (\$750,000), half of which is allocated for activities in East Timor.

ETAN/CANADA UPDATE #29

January 10, 1994 From the East Timor Alert Network/Canada. Abridged.

Canada moves an inch

Canada will be refocusing its aid program in Indonesian-occupied East Timor to address concerns that the existing program is not helping the people. Following extensive consultations with overseas leaders in the East Timorese pro-independence movement CNRM, East Timor's Catholic Bishop, and members of the East Timor Alert Network, the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) has started the ball rolling on several projects that circumvent government-controlled channels.

CIDA has been one of the top donors in East Timor in recent years, and has a history of ignoring the charge that its "aid" programs there actually serve to legitimize Indonesian military rule over East Timor, which is not recognized by the United Nations or the government of Canada. As recently as the spring of 1993, a CIDA docu-

ment on aid to East Timor took a tone that dismissed the criticisms, levelled by church and human rights organizations.

CIDA has now decided to go part of the way towards changing that. After hearing the resistance view that only aid programs funnelled through the Catholic Church should be approved, and after meeting East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo in Ottawa, CIDA agreed to fund a project sponsored by the church. It also approved a grant to the Legal Aid Institute of Indonesia, the only independent human rights group in the country that is able to function legally. A legal aid centre will be set up in Dili, the capital of East Timor, thereby providing an invaluable monitoring of the human rights situation.

Existing aid projects continue, but CIDA has indicated its willingness to continue consulting the East Timor Alert Network on the appropriateness of its aid program.

Sources also say that \$30 million in aid projects to Indonesia suspended to protest the massacre of more than 250 Timorese civilians in 1991 can be considered to be cancelled for good.

Meanwhile, an official in the Department of Foreign Affairs has responded to the demand that Canada announce an embargo on weapons sales to Indonesia. In a letter to ETAN/Ottawa, Marius Grinius, head of the Asia Pacific South Relations Division, wrote that "Canada has adopted a very stringent policy.... At the moment, every contract involving the sale to Indonesia of equipment which could conceivably be used against its population is subjected to close scrutiny and invariably refused.... We share your concern that Canadian equipment or parts could eventually find their way to Indonesia and are active in multilateral fora in promoting the adoption of stricter measures by the US and others to ensure that Canada's policy on arms sales is not circumvented in this way."

Grinius added that Canada has urged Indonesia to release jailed resistance leader Xanana Gusmão and grant free access to East Timor for international humanitarian organizations.

The government's moves in 1993 are small steps towards reversing Canada's history of support for its "friend," Indonesian president Suharto. They are evidence that the years of lobbying and the letters of hundreds of Canadians are beginning to pay off. ETAN urges our supporters to write to the new minister of foreign affairs, Andre Ouellet, and his junior minister for Asia Pacific affairs, Raymond Chan (and please send a copy to Parliamentarians for East Timor c/o David Kilgour MP. All can be written postage free at House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6.)

The government should be thanked for the measures it has already taken, but urged to do more. Specifically, Canada should announce a formal embargo on the sale of weapons to the Indonesian armed forces and encourage other countries to make similar declarations; ensure that all aid going to East Timor actually helps by channelling all aid through the Church, International Committee of the Red Cross, or Legal Aid Institute; and consider linking trade with Indonesia to respect for human rights as it has done with aid.

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto PO Box 562, Station P,

Toronto, Canada, M5S 2T1 Phone/fax 1-416-531-5850, Email etantor@web.apc.org

CANADA'S AID / MORALITY DILEMMA

Mixing money and morality can be frustrating

The Financial Post, January 21, 1994, By Andrew Cohen

JAKARTA - In a world where national sovereignty is no longer a licence to abuse human rights, foreign aid is a weapon. When authoritarian regimes turn nasty, they can now expect democracies to respond by linking economic assistance.

The ends are honorable. But mixing money and morality can be frustrating and often fruitless, as Canada learned recently when it tried to use its aid program to make Indonesia a little more liberal.

Our exercise in persuasion began on Nov. 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops opened fire on peaceful demonstrators in Dili, the capital of East Timor. They killed as many as 200 people.

Canada condemned the massacre. A month later, having reviewed its aid program, it suspended three proposed projects that provide "direct assistance to the government of Indonesia." Before restoring aid, Ottawa said it wanted to see if Indonesia punished those responsible and made general progress on human rights.

In reality, only one of those projects was likely to be approved. Indonesia still received around \$ 45 million in aid from Canada in 1991-1992, and a little less in 1992-1993. The suspension was symbolic.

But even this mild penalty illustrated Ottawa's dilemma: how to punish a notorious regime without sacrificing an aid program trying to advance women, encourage sustainable development and forge commercial links? Or, more pointedly, how to support political freedom while fostering economic development?

Other countries - Britain, France, Japan and the United States - refused to suspend

aid. At its annual meeting in Paris in July 1992, the consortium of donors actually increased assistance to Indonesia to over US\$ 4.5 billion.

Canada, for its part, refused to participate in the meeting. Its silence was to make a point to the Indonesians, now growing impatient with the world's favorite boy scout seemingly meddling in their internal affairs.

As Foreign Minister Ali Alatas recalls today, Indonesia was considering unilaterally cancelling Canada's aid program, which would have soured relations with a leading trading partner in Southeast Asia. After all, Indonesia had thrown out the Dutch and their \$ 100-million a year in assistance when they were fed up listening to lectures on human rights.

Why didn't they do the same to Canada? Alatas says Canada had no colonial legacy and meant well, implying that made it easier to tolerate, as one suffers silently a cantankerous old aunt.

His response shoed a shrewd understanding of the politics of aid in Canada. Before Dili, Brian Mulroney had pushed for a stronger international response to human rights at the Commonwealth and la francophonie summits. Having nailed its colors to the mast, the government had to deal firmly with Indonesia, particularly as opposition critics and human rights activists began clamoring for ending all aid.

That pressure was probably the reason Ottawa refused to lift the suspension in Paris in 1992, whatever its reservations about the influence wielded by a country contributing 1% of Indonesia's total international assistance. Indeed, Canada was isolated as other donors found other ways to express their displeasure. Even the Dutch were asking to restore their program.

By late 1992, a year after the massacre, Canada was quietly reassuring the Indonesians it wasn't suspending all new projects, as the Indonesians thought; rather, it was planning to commit new money. "If we hadn't," says one Canadian diplomat here, "we would have been marginalized."

Last June, at the donors meeting in Paris, Canada returned to the table. It said it remained concerned about human rights but noted Indonesia had established a human rights commission, allowed monitoring by international bodies and permitted a lively debate. Amnesty International called this window-dressing.

Late last year, Ottawa announced it would fund new aid projects. Curiously, though, it maintained the freeze on those three suspended projects. To lift it, says the diplomat, would constitute "a vote of confidence" in Indonesian democracy which these new projects apparently did not.

What this contretemps has proven is unclear. Canada has salved its conscience and registered its protest, although it has learned the problems of fighting for human rights alone. Indonesia has become a little more open but remains resolved to liberalize at its own pace, with or without Canada's help.

The lesson seems to be in dealing with tough regimes without international solidarity, economic aid is a dubious instrument of political influence.

INTERNATIONAL WEEK - SEMINAR ON ET IN CALGARY

International Week at the University of Calgary, sponsored by the Students' Union, The University of Calgary; the Student Resource Centre, International Centre, Divisional of International Development, and many campus clubs and organizations, will be held from February 7 till 12, 1994.

On Wednesday 9th, there will be a seminar:

"Indonesian Presence in East Timor" (12:00 - 1:00 pm, MacEwan Student Centre, Room 276); After showing a video - Cold Blood : The Massacre of East Timor, Paul Salim will discuss Canadian foreign policy towards Indonesia and East Timor.

This seminar is sponsored by East Timor Alert Network in Calgary.

EAST TIMOR RECOGNIZED AT THE (MODEL) U.N.

From: ETAN-Windsor/Essex County, January 30, 1994. Author: Jason Amyot

The University of Windsor's Model United Nations was held January 29th and 30th, and for the second year in a row East Timor was granted full nation-state status. Last year in an attempt to gain recognition for East Timor, Shawn Hupka decided to participate in the annual event. "I expected to receive observer state status, the status that the P.L.O. was assigned that year. Member status allowed me to participate at a level that would not have been possible otherwise." Although Hupka was not dissatisfied with the decision, he was careful to continuously remind the other participants that East Timor was not a free nation. "I used the podium to discuss the relevant agenda items while also relating them to the injustices the U.N. failed to alleviate in East Timor."

The agenda of the 1993 forum included a discussion about Cyprus, the Civil War in the former Yugoslavia, and Haiti. Hupka, aware that East Timor's foreign policy is limited to the pursuit of independence, tackled the issues from the perspective of humanitarianism. "All of my resolutions and

most of my amendments failed because many delegates voted with the United States, whose policies were unacceptable to East Timor."

The 1994 agenda included debates about the situation in Somalia, U.N. Security Council reform, and international nuclear waste disposal. Once Again Hupka formed his own policies with the probable intentions of East Timor in mind. "The resolution on {UNSC} reform" <drafted by Hupka, but submitted through the delegate from the Czech Republic> "was very disappointing for me, because it was very radical and failed because of a tie." The resolution called for the abolishment of the veto while also making decisions of the Security Council binding with a 2/3 majority. "My speech about how the reformed {UNSC} would have meant sparing the lives of almost 250,000 people was followed by silence from the General Assembly. I believe many delegates were unaware of East Timor or its relationship to the UN." The final vote was 9 for and 9 against with an unusually high 10 abstentions.

The greatest irony of both events was Hupka receiving "Rookie of the Year" in 1993 and "Best Overall Delegate" in 1994; both awards were designed to go to the delegate(s) who best reflected the foreign policy of the nation they represented. "Although they were aware that East Timor has no elaborate foreign policy beyond self-liberation, they felt I remained true to the probable intentions of East Timor. I hope that I did."

P.S. The prize for Best Delegate in 1994 was a Pocket Atlas by Bartholomew. The Map of Indonesia does not have a political division between West and East Timor. Hupka plans to write the publisher.

EVENTS IN JAPAN

JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS WRITE BOUTROS-GHALI

*Translation supplied by Free East Timor
Japan Coalition*

Secretariat of the Diet Members Forum
on East Timor
Room No.639 Members Building No. 1,
House of Representatives 2-2-1 Nagata-cho,
Chiyoda-ku
Tokyo, 100 Japan
December 10, 1993

Dear Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali,

We are members of the Japanese National Diet who have been involved in the issue of

East Timor. We are very glad to know that you will come to Japan on December 20 and sincerely welcome your visit. It is our hope that your visit to Japan will provide an opportunity for the Japanese people to become enlightened on many difficult issues facing international society today. Knowing of your dedicated efforts to achieve a peaceful and just solution to the East Timor issue, we take the occasion of your upcoming visit to present to you a proposal.

As you are aware, East Timor is the one remaining territory in Asia where decolonization has yet to be carried out and as such remains on the agenda of the Fourth Committee of the United Nations General Assembly. In East Timor itself, where the people have yet to exercise their right to self-determination. Indonesian military rule casts a dark shadow over the lives of the people, depriving them not only of their civil and political rights, but of their economic, social and cultural rights as well.

At the same time, it is important to recall the fact that Japan has enjoyed extremely close political and economic ties with Indonesia. We are convinced that Japan is uniquely positioned to contribute to a solution to the East Timor issue and have called on the Government on a number of occasions to come forward with that contribution. Therefore we would like to ask you to use to the full your visit to Japan to express your concern about and commitment to the East Timor issue in meetings with the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister and other officials, as well as in your statements to the media.

As you know, a new administration has come to power in Japan, and we are seeing signs of change. Japan does not now, and has never in the past, recognized Indonesia's integration of East Timor. The Government's policy with respect to the sovereignty issue is one of deferring to the negotiations taking place under the United Nations Secretary-General's auspices. Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials have stated with regard to the issue of self-determination that Japan will act in accordance with your initiatives. Recently Prime Minister Hosokawa made clear his "support for United Nations negotiations" on the occasion of the state visit of Portuguese President Soares in October.

It is our hope that with your encouragement the Japanese Government will begin a more active level of support for your endeavors by using its cordial diplomatic ties with Indonesia to urge greater progress in the negotiations taking place.

We are very encouraged by the breakthrough that was achieved in the negotiations under your auspices on September 17. Could not the Japanese Government, we

wonder, begin to involve itself in a positive way by, for instance, encouraging the Indonesian Government to allow greater access to East Timor? As it happens, there are Japanese Catholic groups which are presently seeking to establish, in collaboration with the local people, long-term humanitarian projects in East Timor. These organizations have already obtained NGO funding from Posts and Communications and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, funding which is being used to support school and church projects in East Timor. At this stage the issue of access is indeed an important one, and we ourselves applied to the Indonesian Foreign Ministry in June of 1991 for permission to visit East Timor. Unfortunately our request was not accepted at the time. But now we are seeking the possibility of trying again next year.

You may also be encouraged to know that there are grass roots groups in Japan deeply concerned about the situation in East Timor, and at the invitation of these organizations four East Timorese recently visited Japan and spoke at public meetings in sixty places throughout the country.

Finally, if your schedule allows, we would be very grateful for the opportunity to meet with you during your stay in Japan to discuss what is being done in Japan, or could be done in the future, to work for progress on this extremely pressing issue.

With every good wish for your continued good health, we are

Respectfully,
Tomiko Okazaki

JAPANESE CITIZENS GROUP PETITIONS JAKARTA-BOUND GOVERNMENT TEAM

"LINK FOREIGN AID WITH HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR!"

*Press Release from Free East Timor Japan
Coalition, 4 Feb. 1994*

*The following petition from the Free East
Timor Japan Coalition was submitted to
MATSUNAGA Nobuo, the head of an eco-
nomic cooperation survey team due to ar-
rive in Indonesia on February 6. The Coali-
tion is composed of eleven citizens groups in
Japan campaigning for a just solution to the
East Timor issue.*

To Survey Team Chief MATSUNAGA
Nobuo:

We are citizens deeply concerned with the human rights situation in Indonesian-occupied East Timor. It has come to our attention that a team is being sent to Indonesia from February 6 to 13 to conduct a general economic cooperation survey. We

submit the present petition in the hope that serious consideration will be given by the government to the human rights situation in East Timor and Indonesia.

Basic Principles

In its ODA Charter, the Japanese Government affirmed that in the execution of its official development aid program sufficient attention would be paid to the promotion of democratization, basic human rights and guarantees of freedom in the recipient countries.

You yourself, representing the Japanese Government at the United Nations World Conference on Human Rights last year in Vienna, made very clear statements with regard to the following points:

Firstly, that although there are some countries which contend that human rights are an internal affair, expressing concern over, and calling for improvement with regard to involuntary detention, disappearances, torture and the like in whatever country these may occur does not constitute interference in the domestic affairs of that country.

Secondly, that basic freedoms and human rights must not be sacrificed to development. Basic freedoms and human rights must be respected by all countries, regardless of the cultural, political or economic system or of the stage of development the country may be in. Indeed, respect for human rights facilitates development. Thus Japan's development assistance must contribute to the advancement of the rights of the individual.

With regard to the East Timor issue, the Japanese Government does not take a position on the sovereignty issue, but is following the negotiations between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the UN Secretary General. However the fact that it does not make a judgment on the sovereignty issue does not mean that Japan has to refrain from actively engaging Indonesia with regard to human rights issues.

The Human Rights Situation in East Timor

In the light of recent information, we would like to call your attention in particular to the following:

1. Indonesian authorities temporarily suspended visits by the International Red Cross to Xanana Gusmão, the East Timor resistance movement leader who is serving a 20 year prison term for illegal possession of weapons and insurrection (Reuter, Jan. 8). The action was taken because a letter he sent a letter to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) at the end of last year angered authorities.

2. In his letter to the International Commission of Jurists, Xanana Gusmão stated that his Indonesian lawyer had not acted in accord with his wishes in his defence and that he wanted a retrial (Reuter Jan. 9).
3. The Indonesian authorities are reported to be planning to transfer Xanana Gusmão to Nusakanbangan Prison, located on an island off the southern coast of Central Java (Reuter, Feb. 1).
4. Nuku Sulaeman (29), a staff member of an Indonesian human rights organization, Yayasan Pijar, is on trial on charges of insulting the president because of a sticker he distributed at a demonstration. The sticker made reference to the Santa Cruz massacre, when Indonesian troops indiscriminately shot at East Timorese youth in November 1991 (AFP, Jan. 15).
5. A human rights report recently issued by the U.S. State Department states that human rights violations are continuing in Indonesia and blames the most serious violations on the military. The report further concludes that there has been no meaningful progress in accounting for 60 persons missing since the Santa Cruz massacre whom the Indonesian Government promised to try to locate (Reuter, February 2).

Our Requests

We therefore submit the following requests to the economic cooperation survey team:

1. We ask that in your discussions with officials in Indonesia you affirm the thinking of the Japanese government with respect to development and human rights as contained in your statement to the World Conference on Human Rights: that development is not something that can take precedence over human rights, and that regardless of the stage of development, due consideration must be given to fundamental human rights, in this case, particularly political and civil rights and the rights of the individual.
2. We ask that you convey in no uncertain terms that the human rights situation in Indonesia and East Timor will be taken into consideration in the administration of Japan's official development assistance.
3. We ask that you inquire about the results of the investigation into the whereabouts of those missing from the Santa Cruz massacre. Although the Japanese Government stated at one point its approval of the steps taken by the Indonesian Government after the massacre, the latter has yet to reveal the names of those killed or their actual number, nor have the

bereaved families received any compensation. And although Indonesia promised to search for the missing, no progress at all has been made. We hope that you will base your judgments on results, and not be misled by empty promises by the Indonesian Government.

4. We ask that you call for humanitarian treatment of Xanana Gusmão in keeping with international norms.
5. President Suharto said in January that there would be no problem for foreigners to visit East Timor to ascertain whether or not human rights problems still existed (Jiji, Jan. 9). We would like you to reconfirm this point.
6. The Indonesian Government has announced that it is reducing troop strength in East Timor and that the remaining troops are participating in development projects. We would like you to find out if, in the case of this East Timor-style "development" involving the participation of soldiers, development aid leads in any way to supporting the presence in East Timor of the military. Please investigate whether development projects are used to pay soldiers, whether development projects can be viewed (from the point of view of the military) as being even partially military in nature (for example, maintaining law and order), and whether this military participation occurs in the case of any development projects funded by Japan.
7. We ask that the report on the results of your survey, as well as the content of your discussions, be made public.

Signed by KIJIMA Masamichi on behalf of the Free East Timor Japan Coalition.
Mr. Kijima is the coordinator of the Tokyo East Timor Assn.

Groups Affiliated in the Free East Timor Japan Coalition in:

Sapporo, Sendai, Tokyo, Nagoya, Osaka, Okayama, Zentsuji, Kure, Shimonoseki, Oita, and the Catholic Justice and Peace Council. For further information, contact the Tokyo East Timor Association, tel.

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EVENTS IN THE UNITED STATES

CALIFORNIA ECUMENICAL COUNCIL SUPPORTS TIMOR

The following resolution on East Timor was adopted by the Northern California Ecumenical Council at their annual meeting on November 18, 1993, in San Francisco, California. The Northern California Ecumenical Council is comprised of 14 different Protestant and Orthodox denominations.

— Anne Treseder, ETAN/San Francisco

RESOLUTION ON EAST TIMOR

WHEREAS Indonesian armed forces invaded and seized the former Portuguese colony of East Timor on December 7, 1975; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor have resulted in the death of approximately 200,000 Timorese (one-third of the population) according to Amnesty International estimates, making it the worst slaughter relative to population since the Holocaust; and

WHEREAS the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have never recognized the Indonesian purported annexation of East Timor and have passed numerous resolutions calling for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor; and

WHEREAS the government of Indonesia refuses to honor these United Nations resolutions, and continues to illegally occupy East Timor and to commit gross violations of human rights there; and

WHEREAS the Indonesian government has displaced Timorese families from their ancestral homes and has moved over 100,000 Indonesians into East Timor in an attempt to dilute the Timorese population and culture; and

WHEREAS many Timorese are now incarcerated in Indonesian prisons for engaging in peaceful protest against the Indonesian occupation of their country; and

WHEREAS in October 1992, the United States Congress eliminated military training (IMET) aid to the Indonesian government in response to its actions in East Timor; and

WHEREAS in March 1993, the United States government reversed its previous position and supported a strong resolution passed by the United Nations Human Rights Commission criticizing Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor; and

WHEREAS the United States government continues to sell weapons to the government of Indonesia despite its illegal and brutal occupation of East Timor; and

WHEREAS the United States government is not yet working to implement the United Nations resolutions calling for withdrawal of the Indonesian military from East Timor and for self-determination for the people of East Timor; and

RECOGNIZING our moral and religious duty to respond to acts of inhumanity and genocide and to rescue a people, a nation, and a culture from annihilation;

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that the Northern California Ecumenical Council calls on President Bill Clinton and the U.S. Congress to take immediate administrative and legislative steps to halt all United States military aid, economic aid, and weapons sales (both commercial and government-to-government) to Indonesia until the Indonesian government:

1. Ends all forms of inhumane treatment in East Timor, including torture, extra-judicial execution, and arbitrary arrest and imprisonment;
2. Permits unrestricted access to East Timor by international human rights organizations such as Amnesty International and Asia Watch; and
3. Complies with United Nations Security Council resolutions 384 and 389, withdraws its armed forces from East Timor, and allows a United Nations supervised plebiscite in East Timor to facilitate a process of genuine decolonization and self-determination; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Board Secretary be instructed to immediately send copies of this resolution to the President of the United States, to the two U.S. Senators from California, to each Member of Congress from Northern California, and to the appropriate editors of the major newspapers; and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Northern California Ecumenical Council urges church leaders and congregations in Northern California to communicate the above concerns to the President and to their U.S. Senators and Members of Congress; to educate themselves about East Timor; and to work on behalf of East Timor within their own communities.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Northern California Ecumenical Council send this resolution to the Southern Asia Office of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA asking that human rights and Justice for East Timor be promoted in their member churches.

Adopted at the Annual Meeting of the Northern California Ecumenical Council, November 18, 1993, San Francisco, CA.

TIMORESE MARTYR REMEMBERED IN SAN FRANCISCO

By Anne Treseder, Journal Portugues-California, Dec. 16, 1993

Bay Area high school students marched to the Indonesian consulate in San Francisco last weekend to honor the memory of Domingos Segurado, one of 271 Timorese killed by Indonesian soldiers at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor, on November 12, 1991.

The students, members of the human rights group Amnesty International, were accompanied by parents, friends, and other human rights campaigners as they participated in a Human Rights Day Consulate Walk-A-Thon on Saturday, December 11. The group, numbering approximately 130, marched to eight different consulates in San Francisco during a four-hour walk.

Domingos Segurado, who was 28 years old when he was killed, had been the sole surviving member of his family. His parents and brothers had all been killed by the Indonesian army, which has occupied East Timor illegally since 1975. He was a teacher at the Portuguese school in Dili, the capital of East Timor, and had been active in the widespread non-violent resistance to Indonesian rule. A reporter who met him several months before he died described him as "an extremely gentle man."

In a moving speech at the door of the Indonesian consulate, a student representative remembered Segurado and the many other victims of Indonesian human rights abuses, both in East Timor and within Indonesia. He asked that the people responsible for these abuses be brought to justice. He vowed that Domingos Segurado would not die in vain.

Amnesty International has more than one million members and supporters in 150 countries throughout the world. It works to free prisoners of conscience, to ensure fair and prompt trials, and to end all torture. It is currently campaigning against "disappearances" and extra-judicial executions, such as the Indonesian army's execution of Domingos Segurado. Amnesty International has long been active in the effort to end human rights abuses in East Timor. The organization was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977 for its work on behalf of worldwide human rights.

Speech delivered by Amnesty International high school student in front of Indonesian Consulate, San Francisco, California, December 11, 1993, as part of Human Rights Day Consulate Walk-A-Thon:

We stand here today in front of the Consulate of Indonesia in memory of Domingos Segurado. Domingos was one of more than 200 people massacred on November 12, 1991 at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili in the occupied territory of East Timor.

That day, Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful march for independence. Some people were shot while attempting to flee the area, others were beaten and stabbed.

Let us take a few moments to remember who Domingos was.

He was born in Ossu, a small town in East Timor.

He studied the Indonesian language at school and was trained as a teacher.

He was the sole surviving member of his family. His parents and brothers had all been killed by the Indonesian army.

He was described by a reporter as an extremely gentle man. He was working with the young people in East Timor, teaching them nonviolent means of speaking out.

He was only 28 years old when he died.

What is happening in Indonesia? Why is the Indonesian government killing its own citizens?

The human rights abuses in Indonesia read like a house of horrors:

There are at least 300 political prisoners serving lengthy sentences after unfair trials.

In the province of Aceh, an estimated 2,000 civilians, women and children included, have been unlawfully killed, sometimes in public executions.

Hundreds, possibly thousands of villagers have been arbitrarily arrested.

Torture and ill-treatment of prisoners, peaceful demonstrators and criminal suspects continue to occur on a daily basis.

And the death penalty is officially carried out on many Indonesian citizens.

But these are just statistics. Let us remember the names and faces of individuals:

Syafulah, a man from the Aceh province, was held for at least five months at the Police Mobile Brigade headquarters in Medan. Witnesses have said he was stripped naked and kicked and beaten. He was then "disappeared."

Another man from the city of Pontianak was arrested in March 1992. He died in police custody three days later. The police said he had died of natural causes but an eyewitness said that three police officers had beaten him. Relatives pointed to cuts and bruises on his corpse.

As Amnesty International members, we call upon the Indonesian Government to put an end to these human rights abuses.

We call on them to permit unhindered monitoring of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor by the United Nations and by Amnesty International.

And we call on them to adhere to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

On Human Rights Day, we remember all those who have died at the hands of the Indonesian government.

But today we remember, especially, the life of 28 year old Domingos Segurado.

We light a candle for him
so that he will be remembered for
his non-violent deeds
so that he will not be forgotten
so that he will not have died in
vain.

Thank you.

CALL TO ACTION: EAST TIMOR BETRAYED AGAIN

By Phil Lawson, United Methodist Review (USA), Cal-Nevada Perspectives. January 14, 1994, Page 2.

Indonesia's slaughter of 200,000 East Timorese has been in defiance of world opinion.

Eighteen years ago, on Dec. 7, Indonesian military forces invaded the country of East Timor. Over the years, the Indonesian military have caused the death of one-third of East Timor's inhabitants.

Only in 1992 did the U.S. Congress effectively protest that invasion, as it cut off military training (IMET) funding to Indonesia. The action of Congress made me feel that our national conscience is stirring.

Last month, however, I was distressed to discover that this small victory was as fragile as East Timor itself. On December 6, the Washington, DC-based Project on Demilitarization and Democracy (PDD) revealed that Indonesian officers are still being trained at the U.S. Army Infantry School at Ft. Benning, Georgia, and at other sites, despite the Congressional ban. The Indonesian government is now simply allowed to purchase the training that it had received for free in previous years. This is truly outrageous.

In a June 30, 1993 letter to Secretary of State Warren Christopher, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell and Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee Chairman Patrick Leahy had warned the State Department that any proposal to allow Indonesia to purchase U.S. military training "would be directly contrary to the intent of Congress." Nonetheless, both the Pentagon and the Indonesian Em-

bassy have confirmed that the intended cut-off of Indonesian training never occurred, according to PDD director Caleb Rossiter.

Speaking in an interview last month, Rossiter disputed arguments that U.S. training of the army occupying East Timor will somehow improve the lot of the Timorese living under that occupation. "We've learned through bitter experience that we don't professionalize a repressive military by training it," he said. "We simply make it stronger." He expressed the hope that Congress will act on this issue when it reconvenes early this year.

So once again we are painfully reminded that the rescue of a people is accomplished through persistent pressure on Congress, day-to-day monitoring of Administration officials, and relentless follow-up.

The Indonesian military still occupy East Timor today, and Amnesty International reports that the terror has not subsided. The Timorese, who are powerless in world politics, still wait for the world community to hear their cries and come to their aid. They are Christians, so they rely on their faith in God to sustain them. They trust that God will not forsake them or let their country die.

We, who are also Christians, know that God works through God's people, and I believe we can take heart in the knowledge that religious communities across the country are beginning to mobilize to rescue East Timor from its long nightmare.

We as United Methodists of the California-Nevada Annual Conference share the concern. Our bishop Melvin Talbert pleaded the case of the East Timorese in his pastoral message ("East Timor: For I Was A Stranger," [CN/UMR, Aug. 27, 1993].)

In a resolution passed by the California-Nevada Annual Conference last summer, we called for an end to all U.S. aid and arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia respects human rights and allows self-determination in East Timor. More recently, a similar resolution on East Timor was passed by the Northern California Ecumenical Council. The resolutions passed by both bodies made reference to – and took inspiration from – this forthright action by the U.S. Congress.

The resolutions that we passed have been ignored. The good intentions of our Senators and Congresspeople have been betrayed, and tiny East Timor, helpless as always in the swirl of world politics, has been betrayed yet again.

It is time for us to turn our outrage into letters, phone calls, and personal visits to the offices of our elected representatives. We must insist that our country not aid and abet the occupiers of East Timor. Let us be the conscience of America that knocks and knocks, and will not go away. Let our devo-

tion to Timor grow ever more strong and enduring.

Our U.S. Senators can be contacted by phone at 202/224-3121. Members of the House can be reached at 202/225-3121.

U.S. Senators may be written c/o U.S. Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510. (Members of Congress may be written c/o U.S. House of Representatives, Washington, D.C. 20510.)

The White House Comment Line is 202/456-1111. The White House Switchboard is 202/456-1414. (President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hilary Clinton may be written c/o The White House, 1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, D.C. 20500.)

For more information about UMC outreach on East Timor, please contact East Timor Religious Outreach, c/o First St. John's UMC, 1600 Clay Street, San Francisco, CA 94109, 415/474-6219.

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U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT 1993 HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON INDONESIA

February 1, 1994

Despite a surface adherence to democratic forms, the Indonesian political system remains strongly authoritarian. President Suharto, now in his sixth 5-year term, dominates the Government. The President, a small group of advisors, and the military dominate the political, economic, and social life of this heavily populated and disparate nation. The Government requires allegiance to a state ideology, known as "Pancasila," which includes belief in a supreme God, a just and civilized humanity, national unity, democracy, and social justice.

The military justifies its role in political and social issues, including an automatic unelected presence in national and local parliaments, through a "dual function" concept giving it special civic rights and responsibilities in addition to its defense and security roles. The armed forces, including 165,000 police, total about 445,000 and regard their primary role as maintaining internal security. They act quickly to suppress what they regard as threats to security, whether separatist movements, criminal acts, or alleged subversive activity. The validity of this "security approach," which often leads to human rights abuses, was again the subject of open debate in 1993. Security forces continued operations against

separatist groups in Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor. The police also continued to use excessive force in apprehending suspected criminals.

In contrast to its restrictive political system, Indonesia has an increasingly deregulated and dynamic economy which has produced significant material gains for a wide segment of Indonesian society. Indonesia nevertheless remains a poor country. Agriculture and extractive industries, especially oil and gas, remained important sectors of the economy. But a broad and expanding manufacturing sector accounted for a growing percentage of exports. Gross domestic product growth for 1993 was expected to be 6.5 percent, and inflation appeared under control. Corruption and influence peddling are endemic and continued to distort the economy.

Although progress was made in a number of human rights areas, serious abuses continued. In East Timor, where largely cosmetic changes in the force structure resulted in minimal reductions in troop presence, no significant progress was noted in the search for the about 60 persons still missing from the November 12, 1991, shooting incident in Dili. Extrajudicial arrests and detention, torture of those in custody, and excessively violent techniques for dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued in many areas of Indonesia. Legal safeguards against arbitrary arrest and detention are frequently ignored. The armed forces continued to be responsible for the most serious human rights abuses. The current military leadership in several specific instances showed a greater willingness to admit misconduct publicly and take action against offenders, although such steps continued to be relatively rare. The judiciary remained largely shackled by the executive branch and military, although progress was made in the area of judicial review. Widespread corruption in the legal system continued to be a serious problem.

The year 1993 saw a bolder and more assertive press, which suffered less official censorship and which was less willing to submit itself to self-censorship; a liberalized public dialog on human rights; the selection late in the year of members for a National Human Rights Commission, although its autonomy remains in question; and a sharp reduction in the number of Indonesians forbidden from traveling abroad. Fewer Indonesians were tried under the harsh and arbitrary ant subversion law, and several long-term convicted subversives were released. The Government maintained its open and humane policies toward Indochinese refugees.

RESPECT FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

SECTION 1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON, INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing

Political or extrajudicial killings occur most often in areas where separatist movements are active and when law enforcement is involved. Punishments for security force members who commit extrajudicial killings seldom correspond to the crimes committed. All police and military personnel tried for killing or mistreating prisoners, or for any other criminal activity, are tried by military courts; the sentences, when imposed, are rarely heavy.

Security forces often employ harsh measures against separatist movements (especially in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh), including extrajudicial killings of civilians. In 1993, however, while occasional clashes were reported between separatist groups and security forces in these areas, confirmed killings of civilians by government or vigilante forces continued to be far lower than in the recent past. The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) judged the situation in Irian Jaya improved to the point where it no longer needed an office in Jayapura and could cover that province adequately from Jakarta. The ICRC is, however, seeking to open an office in Aceh because it judges the situation there serious enough to warrant a constant presence in the province. While accepting responsibility for the military shooting of civilians in Dili, East Timor, on November 12, 1991, the Government made little progress in accounting for those missing in the incident (see Section 1.b.). The Government has not officially acknowledged or accounted for thousands of civilians killed during military operations against separatist guerrillas in Aceh during 1989-91.

The armed forces made several public pledges in 1993 to reduce by stages the number of troops in East Timor, a move expected to reduce tensions and the incidence of human rights abuses. The first pullout of two battalions was to take place in October, although by early December the status of this pullout was not clear. In April the Special Operational Military Command for East Timor was disbanded and replaced with a command structure similar to that in the other 26 provinces. The composition of troops was reportedly changed to emphasize civic action over combat missions, although civic action troops also carry weapons and conduct patrols. Despite these changes, most sources in East Timor contin-

ued to report an oppressive military presence throughout the province.

In law enforcement, excessive force is sometimes employed in apprehending suspects or coping with alleged criminals. In Jakarta, for example, police continued to employ deadly force against suspects who reportedly were fleeing or resisting arrest, killing 13 in January 1993 alone. Human rights monitors estimated between 60 and 70 people had been shot by police in the capital by the end of the year, although exact statistics were not available. In the province of North Sumatra, a policy of shooting criminal subjects in the legs, sometimes repeatedly, continued. Press accounts indicate that through early December police in North Sumatra had shot 74 suspects, 8 fatally, who were allegedly resisting arrest. Human rights groups protested that the methods used are unjustifiably harsh and violate due process. Police have generally asserted that those killed were dangerous criminals, and have denied a repetition of the officially sponsored "mysterious killings" of the mid-1980's directed against criminal elements. In a few instances, official action was initiated against police for using excessive force. Press accounts indicate that five policemen were detained in June in North Sumatra in connection with the death of Syamsul Bahri, who was shot earlier that month while allegedly resisting arrest.

A military court in Medan began hearing testimony in August against a policeman who went to a house where a dispute was under way and shot a suspect in the head when he tried to surrender. The policeman was charged with murder. Authorities declined to reveal the disposition of this case.

Four members of a religious sect were shot dead and a dozen others wounded by police in late July in West Java. The police began shooting after members of the sect attacked two policemen with farm implements, killing one and wounding the other. The policemen were attacked after they approached the sect's compound seeking to arrest two members for a previous assault. The sect and its leader, who was killed in the attack, had rejected contacts with the outside world. Various religious leaders condemned the attack as excessively violent and urged security forces to exercise greater restraint. Several of the sect's survivors were tried and convicted on assault charges and received sentences of between 3 and 12 months.

Four persons, including a 55-year-old woman and a teenage boy, died in September when security forces opened fire on a demonstration in Madura, East Java. The demonstrators were villagers protesting the construction of a dam, who had raised their concerns over the project without success at

several meetings with local officials a few days before. Security forces initially reported the crowd, which numbered some 500, had acted in a threatening manner and continued to advance on them, despite several warning shots fired by the troops. Human rights groups decried the use of what they called excessive force and conducted their own investigation, which found no evidence of warning shots and placed the demonstrators at a considerably greater distance from security forces. Armed Forces Commander Feisal Tanjung in mid-October publicly acknowledged a breakdown in military discipline had occurred. He relieved the commanders of the police and army units involved, and remanded the two dozen military and police personnel involved to Armed Forces headquarters for possible further disciplinary action. No criminal proceedings had been initiated against them by year's end.

A 24-year-old labor activist, Marsinah, was murdered in May in East Java shortly after leading a labor action at the factory where she worked. Nine civilian employees of the company were arrested in October in connection with her murder, and trials were begun in November. At least one Army officer was also arrested and a second relieved of his post, although the status of their cases was unclear in early December. Testimony and press stories alleged collusion existed between company officials and security forces in Marsinah's abduction and murder. Security forces often intrude in labor matters and intimidate labor activists (see Section 6).

b. Disappearance

In general, politically motivated abductions are not common in Indonesia. Security forces in areas with active guerrilla insurgencies often hold suspects for long periods without formal charges, but these cases usually end with official acknowledgment of detention (see Section 1.d.). The Government vigorously prosecuted a case against an official of the Democratic Party of Indonesia, (PDI), the smallest of the three allowed political groupings, who was accused of kidnapping members of a rival party faction in 1991. The trial, however, was widely regarded as an effort to undermine the PDI leadership, and the accused party official was subsequently acquitted. A labor activist was abducted and killed in East Java after leading a strike at the watch factory where she worked (see Section 1.a.).

Government efforts to account for the missing and dead from the November 12, 1991, military shooting of civilians in Dili, East Timor, remained inadequate. In April military officials in East Timor turned over to a representative of Asia Watch a list of

66 names of people they believed were still missing from the incident. Since then, various officials have claimed that a handful of these people have been located alive, having hidden from authorities since the incident. In a related case, authorities claimed that two of four Timorese who sought asylum in the Swedish Embassy in Jakarta in June were among the missing from the Dili incident, although the names of the two Timorese were not on the military's list. Government spokesmen broadly implied that their failure to locate those missing was primarily due to the success of those persons in evading detection. Many knowledgeable observers, however, continued to believe that most of the missing are dead and that the military knows where their bodies are.

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

Torture is against the law in Indonesia. In practice, while the situation has improved in recent years, torture and other forms of mistreatment remain widespread, and legal protections are both inadequate and widely ignored. The Criminal Procedures Code (KUHAP) provides that statements from witnesses or suspects must be elicited without pressure of any kind, and establishes pretrial procedures to give suspects or their families the right to challenge the legality of an arrest or detention. The Indonesian Criminal Code (KUHP) makes it a crime punishable by up to 4 years in prison for any official to use violence or force to elicit a confession.

Nonetheless, torture continues, with the highest incidence occurring in cases which are judged to affect national security such as those involving areas of separatist activity. According to the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, methods of torture include electrocution; slashing with razor blades and knives (including inside of the mouth); beating on the head, shins, and torso with fists, batons, iron bars, bottles, rocks, and lengths of electric cable; sexual molestation and rape; kicking with heavy military boots; burning with lighted cigarettes; threats and deliberate wounding with firearms; immersion for long periods in fetid water; isolation and sleep deprivation. Use of torture is particularly frequent in Aceh. Reliable reports suggest that a majority of Acehese still held in 1993 in connection with the Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) movement had undergone some form of torture at some time during their incarceration. An Acehese parliamentarian convicted of subversion in July, Haji Usman Mohammed Ali, claimed during his trial he was beaten during his interrogation and forced to sign statements incriminating himself. Several of the witnesses called to testify in the trial of East

Timor separatist leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao were also reliably reported to have been mistreated while in custody.

Police often resort to physical abuses even in minor incidents, and prison conditions are harsh, with violence among prisoners and mistreatment of inmates by guards reportedly common. However, the incidence of mistreatment by prison officials drops sharply once a prisoner has been transferred from police or military custody into the civilian prison system, and prison conditions generally have improved in recent years. Officials have publicly condemned police brutality and harsh prison conditions and occasionally instigate disciplinary action, including transfer, dismissal, and trials leading to prison, but such actions are an exception to the rule of general impunity.

Political prisoners are usually mixed with the general prison population, although in the Cipinang prison in Jakarta high-profile political prisoners are held together in a segregated area. In 1993 the ICRC and several foreign parliamentary delegations were allowed to visit prisoners in Cipinang in Jakarta and described the facility as Spartan but adequate. The ICRC was also granted access to other prisons in Java, Sumatra, East Timor, Aceh, and other provinces, although it suspended prison visits in Aceh and East Timor at various times when it felt authorities were violating agreed-upon terms for the visits. These disagreements were all eventually settled, and the visits resumed.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

The Criminal Procedures Code contains protections against arbitrary arrest and detention which are routinely violated in practice. The code specifies the right of prisoners to notify their families. Warrants must be produced during an arrest except under specified conditions, such as when a suspect is caught in the act of committing a crime. Warrants are issued by police investigators to assist in their investigations or if sufficient evidence exists that a crime has been committed. Despite these requirements, arrests are often made without warrants, such as in the Marsinah murder case in which several suspects were held for 18 days without warrants or notification of their families.

Defendants are presumed innocent and may be granted bail. They or their families may also challenge the legality of their arrest and detention in a pretrial hearing and are entitled to sue for compensation if wrongfully detained. The code also contains specific limits on periods of pretrial detention and specifies when the courts must get involved to approve extensions, usually after 60 days.

In areas where there are active guerrilla movements such as East Timor and Aceh, people are routinely detained without warrants, charges, or court proceedings. Bail is rarely granted, especially in political cases. The authorities frequently interfere with access to defense counsel. Extensions of periods of detention are routinely approved. Pretrial proceedings are rarely initiated. In addition, suspects charged under the 1963 Antisubversion Law are subject to special procedures outside the Criminal Procedures Code which allow, for example, the Attorney General on his own authority to hold a suspect up to a year before trial. This 1-year period is renewable without limit. Special laws on corruption, economic crimes, and narcotics are similarly exempt from the code's protections. The Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security (BAKORSTANAS) operates outside the code and has wide discretion to detain and interrogate persons thought to threaten national security.

National estimates on the number of arbitrary arrests or detentions without trial are not available. In Aceh 73 people accused of being members of Aceh Merdeka were released without charges or trials in 1993 after periods of detention that sometimes exceeded 2 years. Added to those released in 1991 and 1992, some 906 persons had been held, often incommunicado and without knowing the charges against them, in connection with the 1989-91 Aceh insurgency. Many of those released were required to report back to the authorities at regular intervals. Some 100 Acehnese were believed to be awaiting trial at year's end.

In East Timor military authorities continued the practice of detaining people without charges for short periods and then requiring them to report daily or weekly to police after their release. There were credible reports of scores of people being detained without charges at various times during the year for enforced "civics training" in areas outside the capital of Dili. This particularly occurred during the visits of high profile guests, such as the April visit to East Timor of the U.N. Secretary General's Special Envoy, Amos Wako, and the August-September visits of two U.S. Congressional staff delegations. Two former leaders of the armed East Timor resistance, Jose "Mauhuhu" da Costa and Antonio Gomes "Mauhunu" da Costa, remained under tight military control in 1993 although charges had not been formally filed against either man. Mauhuhu was arrested in January 1992 and Mauhunu in April 1993. They were in East Timor in August-September 1993 making speeches on the merits of integration with Indonesia. Despite public announcements that they had been granted an "amnesty"

and were therefore "free," they were required to spend each night at the home of military officers.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

The judiciary is subordinate to the executive and the military, and procedural protections, including those against coerced confessions, are inadequate to ensure a fair trial in many cases. A quadripartite judiciary of general, religious, military, and administrative courts exists below the Supreme Court. The right of appeal from district court to high court to Supreme Court exists in all four systems of justice. The Supreme Court, with a current backlog variously estimated at 13,000 to 17,000 cases, does not consider factual aspects of a case, only the lower courts' application of law. Initial judgments are rarely reversed in the appeals process, although sentences are sometimes increased or reduced. A three-judge panel conducts trials at the district court level, poses questions, hears evidence, decides guilt or innocence, and assesses punishment.

Defendants have the right to confront witnesses. An exception is allowed in cases where distance or expense is deemed excessive for transporting witnesses to court, in which case sworn affidavits may be introduced. In cases tried under the 1963 Antisubversion Law, trials in absentia are permitted, and an Acehnese accused of separatist activities, Dharma Bakti, was condemned to death in absentia April 6.

The use in trials of forced confessions and limitations on the presentation of defense evidence is common. The defense in the subversion trial of Haji Usman Mohammed Ali, for example, claimed that witnesses it tried to call were too afraid of retribution by the authorities to testify on his behalf. The defense attorneys in the case of two students tried in Semarang, Central Java, noted that while the prosecution called 15 witnesses, a defense motion to call 8 was rejected by the judges, who said they had the right to be selective in who could testify. One defense witness was eventually allowed. Defendants do not have the right to remain silent and in several cases in 1993 were compelled to testify in their own trials.

The Criminal Procedures Code gives defendants the right to an attorney from the moment of their arrest through the investigation and trial. In capital cases and those involving a prison sentence of 15 years or more, a lawyer must be appointed. In cases involving potential sentences of 5 years or more, a lawyer must be appointed if the accused desires an attorney but is indigent. Destitute defendants can obtain private legal help, such as that provided by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH). In practice, however, defendants are often persuaded not to hire an

attorney, or access to an attorney of their choice is impeded. East Timor separatist leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao, for example, stated in his final defense statement that his efforts to engage an attorney from LBH were thwarted by authorities, who "forced" him to hire an attorney known to the police. In the trial of Haji Usman Mohammed Ali, the defendant did not meet his Legal Aid Institute attorney until the day his trial began.

The judiciary is not independent. The Supreme Court does not have the right of judicial review over laws passed by Parliament. Although the Supreme Court has since 1985 had the power to review ministerial decrees and regulations, the court has not yet used this power. Chief Justice Purwoto Gandasubrata in early 1993 laid out procedures under which limited judicial review cases could be brought to the court, a move that was hailed as a significant step toward greater judicial independence. While judges receive guidance from the Supreme Court on legal matters, they are civil servants employed by the executive branch which controls their assignments, pay, and promotion. They are subject to considerable pressure from military and other governmental authorities. Such control often determines the outcome of a case. The Chief Judge of the State Administrative Court in Medan, for example, issued a restraining order in January 1993 against the military commander in Medan after the commander intervened in the leadership struggle of the Batak Protestant Church (HKBP) (see Section 2.c.). The commander publicly criticized the judge, whose home was vandalized shortly after he handed down his decision. A few days later the judge was suddenly told he had been assigned to attend a 2-week legal workshop far from Medan. While he was gone, his deputy took over the case and vacated the restraining order.

Corruption permeates the Indonesian legal system. In civil and criminal cases, the payment of bribes can influence prosecution, conviction, and sentencing. Public unrest concerning the implementation of a new traffic law with stiffer fines was partly driven by fears that police, many of whom are poorly paid, would be even more aggressive in demanding bribes from motorists. Various public officials have campaigned against corruption by police and judicial officials, but public respect for the legal system remained low.

The 1963 Antisubversion Law, which carries a maximum penalty of death, remained a focus of legal concerns in 1993, although the number of cases prosecuted under the law dropped sharply. The law makes it a crime to engage in acts that could distort, undermine, or deviate from the state

ideology or broad outlines of state policy, or which could disseminate feelings of hostility or arouse hostility, disturbances, or anxiety among the population. It has been attacked as excessively vague and harsh, and inappropriate to Indonesia's current level of stability and development. While the law continued to be defended by public officials such as the Attorney General, the Government showed greater discretion in its application. For example, Fretilin leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao was charged under felony statutes of the criminal code rather than under the Antisubversion Law. Sentences in several of at least eight subversion trials held in 1993—six of them in connection with Aceh Merdeka—were far lighter than in the past.

The most prominent political trial of 1993 was that of East Timor resistance leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao, who was charged under felony statutes with attacking the Indonesian State, leading a rebellion, and illegal possession of firearms for his role in leading the armed East Timorese resistance. Authorities allowed access to his trial in Dili by a wide range of observers, including diplomatic missions, foreign and Indonesian journalists, and foreign human rights organizations such as the International Commission of Jurists and Asia Watch. Although Gusmao may not have freely chosen his defense attorney (see above), he was represented by an able group of lawyers who conducted a vigorous defense and had frequent access to their client. Nonetheless, the trial's conduct appeared to violate several provisions of the Criminal Procedures Code and to many observers did not meet international standards for a fair trial. For example, many of the witnesses who testified against him were themselves in custody, and their testimony was either hearsay or possibly coerced. Gusmao was prevented from reading aloud his own defense statement on the grounds it was irrelevant to the charges against him, even though the Criminal Procedures Code places no such limits on the contents of a defendant's final statement. Access to the trial by outside observers was briefly restricted toward its end when Gusmao became less cooperative. Gusmao was found guilty and sentenced to life in prison. He subsequently asked for and was granted Presidential clemency, which reduced his sentence to 20 years. On August 12, he was transferred at his request from Dili, East Timor. At year's end he was in Cipinang prison in Jakarta.

The Government does not make available statistics on the number of people currently serving subversion sentences or sentences under the felony hate-sowing or sedition laws. Informed estimates of the number of people serving sentences for subversion in

1993, including members of the banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI), Muslim extremists, and those convicted of subversion in Irian Jaya, Aceh, and East Timor were about 300. Scores, and possibly hundreds, more were believed to be serving sentences under felony hate-sowing or sedition laws. At least some of these persons advocated or employed violence, but many are political prisoners who were convicted for attempting to exercise such universally recognized human rights as freedom of speech or association or who were convicted in manifestly unfair trials. Several persons convicted of subversion were granted early releases in August and September, including Islamic preacher A.M. Fatwa, who was convicted and sentenced to 18 years in 1985 for allegedly instigating the 1984 riot in Tanjung Priok.

f. Arbitrary Interference with Privacy, Family, Home, or Correspondence

Judicial warrants for searches are required except for cases involving suspected subversion, economic crimes, and corruption. However, forced or surreptitious entry by security agencies occurs regularly. Security agencies intimidate by conducting surveillance of persons and residences and selectively monitoring local and international telephone calls without legal restraint. Government security officials monitor the movements and activities of former members of the PKI and its front organizations, especially persons the Government believes were involved in the abortive 1965 Communist-backed coup. The Government stated in late 1990 that this latter group then totaled 1,410,333 people. These persons and their relatives sometimes are subject to surveillance, required check-ins, periodic indoctrination, and restrictions on travel outside their city of residence. Their legally required identification cards carry the initials "e.t." which stand for "ex-tapol," or former political prisoner, which readily identifies them to prospective employers or government officials. For the first time, various groups in 1993 made public pleas to end these official and unofficial restrictions on former political prisoners.

SECTION 2. RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES, INCLUDING:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

A significant increase in the amount and quality of public debate on sensitive issues occurred in 1993. Think tanks, newspapers, and academic institutions mounted seminars on a wide range of previously taboo topics such as human rights and democracy. The printed media in particular published factual stories and editorials reflecting a wide range of opinions, many of them critical of the

Government. These improvements in the print media, including the nation's 273 daily newspapers which are largely privately owned, came despite continued government controls over publishing permits, the amount of advertising permitted, and the number of pages allowed in newspapers. While the practice of telephoning editors to caution against publishing certain stories continued—the so-called telephone culture—its incidence was sharply lower. Self-censorship, however, continued to be a publicly acknowledged brake on free expression. Military authorities continued in some cases to issue orders to local journalists on what they could print. Journalists in East Timor, for example, were instructed in March not to report details of an outburst in favor of East Timorese independence by a witness in the trial of resistance leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao. Also in March, Medan newspapers were told they needed prior military approval to report on developments in the Batak Protestant Church leadership struggle (see Section 2.c.).

While public dialog was generally more open, the Government still imposed excessive restrictions on free speech. For example, in contrast to a generally more permissive attitude toward public demonstrations, police reacted harshly in breaking up a peaceful demonstration on December 14 at the Parliament, arresting 21 people and injuring more than a dozen in the process. The 21 were charged with hate sowing and insulting the President and were still in custody at year's end. Two students arrested prior to the June 1992 parliamentary elections for criticizing the election process and advocating the casting of blank ballots or staying away from the polls were brought to trial in Semarang on charges of insulting and sowing hatred against the Government (see Section 1.e.). The distribution of a September edition of the *Far Eastern Economic Review* that carried a story about the trial was delayed nearly 2 weeks. The students were found guilty in November and sentenced to 4 months in prison.

Human rights monitor Adnan Buyung Nasution was blocked by university authorities from addressing a seminar in early December at the University of Indonesia, as was the outspoken poet W.S. Rendra. A prominent Muslim intellectual, Arief Budiman, was barred from appearing in June at a conference on the disabled in Surakarta, Central Java, and a well-known poet, Emha Ainun Najib, was banned by authorities from performing in the same city in May, ostensibly because they posed threats to security.

The electronic media remained far more cautious than the printed media. The Government operates the nationwide television

network, which in Jakarta and Surabaya includes a second channel. Private and educational television companies broadcasting in Jakarta and Surabaya continued to expand to other areas. Some 586 private radio broadcasting companies exist in Indonesia in addition to the Government's national radio network. New regulations were promulgated in 1993 that will allow private radio stations greater latitude in producing their own news programs.

Foreign television and radio broadcasts are readily accessible to those who can afford the technology, and satellite dishes have sprouted all over the archipelago. No efforts are made to restrict access to this programming.

The Government closely regulates access to Indonesia, particularly to certain areas of the country, by visiting and resident foreign correspondents, and occasionally reminds the latter of its prerogative to deny requests for visa extensions. Foreign journalists, for example, were unable to get permission to visit East Timor prior to the February start of the trial of resistance leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao, and several requests were denied after the trial ended in May. The importation of foreign publications and video tapes, which must be reviewed by government censors, requires a permit. Importers sometimes avoid foreign materials critical of the Government or dealing with topics considered sensitive, such as human rights. Foreign publications are normally available, although several issues were delayed or embargoed in 1993 when they carried sensitive stories, especially those dealing with the business activities of the President's family.

While academic freedom is provided for in law, constraints exist on the activities of scholars. They sometimes refrain from producing materials that they believe might provoke government displeasure. Publishers are sometimes unwilling to accept manuscripts dealing with controversial issues, although a number of books on controversial topics were published in 1993, such as human rights activist Adnan Buyung Nasution's revisionist look at Indonesia's early experiment with representative democracy. The Attorney General banned at least seven books in 1993, most dealing with religious topics.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

Freedom of assembly and association are recognized by the Constitution. Nonetheless, significant controls are placed on citizens who attempt to exercise this freedom. All organizations must have government permission to hold regional and national meetings. Local jurisdictions often require

prior approval for smaller gatherings as well. While obtaining such approval is fairly automatic, the authorities occasionally withhold permission. The Government did not permit the Indonesian Workers Welfare Union (SBSI) to hold its July 29 annual congress (see Section 6.a.). On August 12, Surabaya police refused a permit for the Surabaya Arts Council to open an art exhibit and poetry reading celebrating the life and memory of a murdered labor activist (see Section 1.a.). Student gatherings have often been the target of disapprovals, and political activity at universities, while no longer formally banned, remained tightly controlled.

The 1985 Social Organizations Law (ORMAS) requires all organizations, including recognized religions and associations, to adhere to the Government's official ideology of Pancasila. This provision, which limits political activity, is widely understood as being designed to inhibit activities of groups which seek to make Indonesia an Islamic state. The law empowers the Government to disband any organization it believes to be acting against Pancasila and requires prior government approval for any organization's acceptance of funds from foreign donors, hindering the work of many local humanitarian organizations.

c. Freedom of Religion

The Constitution provides for religious freedom and belief in one supreme God. The Government recognizes Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism, and permits practice of the mystical, traditional beliefs of "Aliran Kepercayaan." Although the population is overwhelmingly Muslim, the practice and teachings of the other recognized faiths are generally respected. Various restrictions on certain types of religious activity exist.

According to official statistics, nearly 400 "misleading religious cults" are banned, including Jehovah's Witnesses and Baha'i. West Java authorities banned an Islamic sect in late July after a violent confrontation with police that left five dead (see Section 1.a.). Because the first tenet of Pancasila is belief in a supreme being, atheism is forbidden. The legal requirement to adhere to Pancasila extends to all religious and secular organizations. The Government strongly opposes Muslim groups which advocate establishing an Islamic state or acknowledging only Islamic law.

In December 1992, the Northern Sumatra regional military commander intervened in an internal leadership dispute within the Huria Kristen Batak Protestan (HKBP), Indonesia's largest Protestant church. Citing the failure of church members to agree on a new bishop at a church conference the month before and the possibility that the

church dispute could affect public order, the military commander named an interim bishop to replace the incumbent, whose 5-year term was due to end in February 1993. Although the Government stated the military became involved only after a request from the church's Central Leadership Council, past criticism of the Government by the former bishop may have been a factor. The military intervention sparked demonstrations in several cities, and some 150 church members were detained in January. On several occasions security forces assisted supporters of the new leadership to take control of church buildings by force. Tensions reached a peak in May when some 70 people were detained in Tebing Tinggi, North Sumatra, following outbreaks of violence between church members. Most were released, but trials were expected for the dozen or so still in custody.

There is no legal bar to conversion between faiths, and conversions occur. However, proselytizing by the recognized religions or in areas heavily dominated by one recognized religion or another is considered potentially disruptive and is discouraged. Foreign missionary activities are relatively unimpeded, although in East Timor and occasionally elsewhere missionaries have experienced difficulties in renewing residence permits on unspecified "security grounds." Laws and decrees from the 1970's limit the number of years foreign missionaries can spend in Indonesia, with some extensions granted in remote areas like Irian Jaya. Foreign missionary work is subject to the funding stipulations of the ORMAS Law (see Section 2.b.).

Indonesians practicing the recognized religions maintain active links with coreligionists inside and outside Indonesia and travel abroad for religious gatherings. The Government organizes the annual hajj pilgrimage, and more than 100,000 Indonesians made it in 1993.

d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Through the early part of 1993 the Government drastically reduced the number of people barred either from entering or departing Indonesia. From a publicly announced figure of 8,897 "blacklisted" people in January, the total fell to a few hundred by August. Several prominent human rights figures, including Haji J.C. Princen, Adnan Buyung Nasution, and General Abdul Haris Nasution were permitted to travel abroad, and military spokesmen said no one was banned any longer from foreign travel for political reasons. Seven East Timorese who had unsuccessfully sought asylum at two Western embassies in June were allowed to

leave the country under ICRC auspices in late December. At the same time the authorities banned foreign travel by some 300 Indonesians who had defaulted on loans to state banks. A 1992 law designed to regularize travel restrictions appeared responsible for the overall reduction in the number of blacklisted persons, although not all its provisions were implemented, especially the requirement to notify banned travelers in writing and review existing cases every 6 months.

Restrictions exist on movement by Indonesian and foreign citizens to and within parts of Indonesia. Permits to seek work in a new location are required in certain areas, primarily to control further population movement to crowded cities. Special permits are required to visit certain parts of Irian Jaya. Security checks affecting transportation and travel to and within East Timor occurred sporadically in 1993, and curfews in connection with military operations were occasionally imposed. Former political detainees, including those associated with the abortive 1965 coup, must notify authorities of their movements and may not change their place of residence without official permission (see Section 1.f.).

Indonesia continued its generous attitude toward Indochinese asylum seekers in 1993 and continued to carry out its responsibilities under the Comprehensive Plan of Action. It has granted first asylum to over 145,000 Indochinese asylum seekers since 1975 and continued to operate a refugee facility on Galang Island. Screening of all asylum seekers was completed in September, and plans were being made to repatriate some 8,000 asylum seekers and resettle some 2,000 refugees. The Government stressed that these movements must be handled humanely and in cooperation with international organizations such as the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). Indonesia also continued its cooperation with the UNHCR and the ICRC regarding the return of residents of Irian Jaya who had fled to Papua New Guinea during separatist violence in the eastern portion of the province. Acehnese who fled to Malaysia during the height of separatist violence in 1990-91 continued to return to Aceh. Others continued to seek asylum in Malaysia, including a group who entered the UNHCR compound in Kuala Lumpur in 1992 claiming their lives would be threatened if they returned to Indonesia.

SECTION 3. RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

Citizens do not have the ability to change their government through democratic means. Under the Constitution, the highest authority of the state is the 1,000-member People's Consultative Assembly (MPR). It meets quinquennially to elect the President and Vice President and set the broad outlines of state policy. Half of its members come from the national Parliament, 80 percent of whose members are elected. The other half are appointed, giving the Government control of the MPR and selection of the President. In March the MPR elected Suharto to his sixth uncontested 5-year term as President. While in theory, the President is subordinate to the Assembly, in fact, he and a small group of active duty and retired military officers and civilian officials exercise governmental authority.

The military, under a "dual function" doctrine, is assigned a role in both security and sociopolitical affairs. Members of the military are allotted 20 percent of the seats in national, provincial, and district parliaments, and occupy numerous key positions in the administration. The other 80 percent of national and local parliamentary seats are filled through elections held every 5 years. All adult citizens are eligible to vote, except active duty members of the armed forces, convicted criminals serving prison sentences, and some 36,000 former PKI members. Voters choose by secret ballot between the three government-approved political organizations, which field candidate lists in each electoral district. Those lists must be screened by the Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security (BAKORSTANAS) (see Section 1.d.), which determines whether candidates were involved in the abortive 1965 Communist coup or pose other broadly defined security risks. Critics charge these screenings are unconstitutional, since there is no way to appeal the results, and note that they can be used to eliminate critics of the Government from Parliament.

Strict rules establish the length of the political campaign, access to electronic media, schedules for public appearances, and the political symbols that can be used. GOLKAR, a government-sponsored organization of diverse functional groups, won 68 percent of the seats in the 1992 elections. Two small political parties, the United Development Party and the Democratic Party of Indonesia (PDI), split the remaining vote. By law all three political organizations must embrace Pancasila, and none is considered an opposition party. The leaders of all these

organizations are approved, if not chosen, by the Government, and their activities are closely scrutinized and often guided by government authorities. The Government disrupted the July national congress of the PDI in Medan and refused to ratify its reelection of Soerjadi as general chairman, helping instead to form an alternate "caretaker" council to elect a general chairman. In December the Government finally succumbed to popular pressure within the PDI and allowed Megawati Sukarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's first president, to become the PDI's top officer.

GOLKAR maintains close institutional links with the armed forces and KORPRI, the nonunion association to which all civil servants automatically belong. Civil servants may join any of the political parties with official permission, but most are members of GOLKAR. Former members of the PKI and some other banned parties may not run for office or be active politically. The 500 members of the national Parliament (DPR) consider bills presented to them by government departments and agencies but do not draft laws on their own, although they have the constitutional right to do so. The DPR makes technical and occasionally substantive alterations to bills it reviews. It remains clearly subordinate to the executive branch.

SECTION 4. GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NONGOVERNMENTAL INVESTIGATION OF ALLEGED VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Government generally ignores calls by domestic human rights groups and activists for investigations of alleged human rights incidents, although the armed forces did conduct its own review of the September Madura incident which resulted in disciplinary action against four officers. While various domestic organizations and persons interested in human rights operate energetically, some human rights monitors face government harassment such as frequent visits by police or agents from military intelligence, interrogations at police stations, or cancellations of private meetings (see Section 2.b.). The Government considers outside investigations of alleged human rights violations to be interference in its internal affairs and emphasizes its belief that linking foreign assistance to human rights observance is unacceptable.

Nonetheless, the Government in 1993 showed itself far more receptive to international human rights groups and concerns. It hosted, along with the United Nations, an Asia-Pacific workshop on human rights in January, and allowed a representative of Amnesty International (AI) to attend, the

first time in 15 years that AI was officially allowed to enter Indonesia. A representative of Asia Watch was allowed to visit Jakarta and East Timor during the trial of Jose "Xanana" Gusmao and was given wide access to government and nongovernmental organization (NGO) officials. Three different representatives of the International Commission of Jurists were also allowed to attend Gusmao's trial. The ICRC continued to operate in East Timor, Irian Jaya, and Aceh, and to visit prisoners convicted of participation in the abortive, Communist-backed coup in 1965 as well as convicted Muslim extremists. Although the ICRC experienced problems in conducting prison visits in May in Aceh and in May and June in East Timor, the problems were resolved for the time being.

A special envoy of the U.N. Secretary General, Amos Wako, was allowed to visit Jakarta and East Timor in April, and other U.N. officials attended sessions of Gusmao's trial. Indonesia was a vigorous participant in the June World Conference on Human Rights in Vienna and joined the consensus on the concept of the universality of human rights. Just prior to the conference, the Government announced the formation of a National Human Rights Commission headed by former Supreme Court Chief Justice Ali Said. The names of the other commission members were announced in December. Although skepticism existed about the commission's independence from the Government, and virtually all the private human rights monitors who had been asked to join refused, many of those appointed were viewed by human rights activists as credible spokesmen for human rights and democracy.

SECTION 5. DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE, SEX, RELIGION, DISABILITY, LANGUAGE, OR SOCIAL STATUS

Women

Although President Suharto and other officials periodically affirm that women are equal to and have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities as men under Indonesian law, this is only partly true. Women often find it more difficult to exercise their legal rights. For example, in divorce cases women often bear a heavier evidentiary burden than men, especially in the Islamic-based family court system. Although some Indonesian women enjoy a high degree of economic and social freedom and occupy important mid-level positions in the civil service, educational institutions, labor organizations, the military, the professions, and private business, the overwhelming

number of Indonesian women do not experience such social and economic freedoms.

Although women constitute one-quarter of the civil service, they occupy only a small fraction of the service's top posts. They make up about 40 percent of the overall work force, with the majority in the rural sector. Despite legal guarantees of equal treatment, women seldom receive equal pay for equal work and disproportionately experience illiteracy, poor health, and inadequate nutrition. There is a common belief that women will work for a lower wage, will do work a man would not do, and will not complain. Women are often not given the extra salary that is their due when they are the head of household. Women workers also have complained of being sexually victimized by foremen and factory owners. Although several voluntary, private groups work actively to advance women's legal, economic, social, and political rights and claim some success in gaining official cognizance of women's concerns, traditional attitudes which limit women's aspirations, activities, and status undercut state policy in some areas.

The Indonesian National Police reported 1,341 rape cases for 1991 and 1,356 cases for 1992. However, women's rights activists believe rape is grossly underreported in Indonesia, shame being one of the primary reasons. Some legal experts state that if a woman does not go immediately to the hospital for a physical exam which produces semen or other physical evidence of rape, she will not be able to bring charges. Anecdotal evidence also suggests some women fail to report rape to police out of fear of being molested again by the police themselves.

A common belief, even among women of the upper classes, is that women who walk alone at night will be perceived as "fair game." Many women go to great lengths to avoid being in public alone in the evenings. The danger inherent in returning home alone in the evenings is acknowledged by government regulations requiring employers to provide transportation for women workers who are required, through either overtime work or shift work, to return home at night. However, this regulation is often honored only in the breach, as are provisions granting women maternity and menstrual leave.

The Government has acknowledged the problem of domestic violence in Indonesian society, which some say has been aggravated by recent social changes brought about by rapid urbanization. However, longstanding traditional beliefs that the husband may "teach" or "control" the wife through several means, including violence, also contribute to the problem. The Government provides some counseling, and several private

organizations exist to assist women. Many of these organizations focus mainly on reuniting the family rather than on providing protection to the women involved. There are no battered women's shelters in Indonesia. Many women rely on extended family systems for shelter during cooling-off periods. In general, the problem of violence against women remains poorly documented.

Female genital mutilation, which is widely condemned by health experts as both physically and psychologically dangerous to women's health, is widely practiced in Indonesia. In Java it usually occurs within the first year after birth and is performed either at a hospital or by a local shaman or dukun, especially in rural areas. Usually a small section of the tip of the clitoris is cut. Total removal of the clitoris is not the objective of the practice, although it does occur if ineptly performed.

Children

Indonesia is a signatory of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and was on the organizing committee of the World Summit for Children. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) and NGO's active in child welfare are also active in Indonesia, and UNICEF in particular has praised government efforts to improve the lives of children through poverty alleviation and improvements in primary education, maternity services, and family planning. Law No. 4 of 1979 on children's welfare guarantees certain rights to children and defines the responsibility of the State and parents to nurture and protect them. Implementing regulations have never been developed, however, and the law's provisions have yet to go into effect.

Although child sexual and other physical abuse is known to occur in Indonesia, especially cases of incest between stepfathers and stepdaughters, some experts in child care believe its incidence in Indonesia is relatively low. Laws exist which protect children from indecent activities, prostitution, and incest, although the Government has made no special enforcement efforts in these areas.

Indigenous People

The Government recognizes several indigenous population groups in Indonesia, based largely on criteria relating to isolation. The Government recognizes these groups' rights to participate fully in Indonesian political and social life; considerable efforts, for example, were made to insure that isolated groups participated in the 1992 elections. It is widely believed, however, that the Government's approach is basically paternalistic and designed more to bring these groups into the Indonesian family than to protect traditional ways of life. Where

indigenous groups clash with development schemes, the developers almost always win. Concerns have also been raised about the Government's transmigration programs, which frequently disrupt the social and economic life in the recipient communities when transmigrants are relocated from populous Java to less populated outer islands.

National/Racial/Ethnic Minorities

Indonesians exhibit considerable racial and ethnic tolerance, with the important exception of official and informal discrimination against ethnic Chinese, who comprise about 3 percent of the population. Since 1959 noncitizen ethnic Chinese have been denied the right to run businesses in rural Indonesia. Regulations prohibit the operation of all Chinese schools for ethnic Chinese, formation of exclusively Chinese cultural groups or trade associations, and public display of Chinese characters. Chinese-language publications, with the exception of one officially sanctioned daily newspaper, may neither be imported nor produced domestically. Private instruction in Chinese is discouraged but takes place to a limited extent. State universities have no formal quotas that limit the number of ethnic Chinese. No laws prohibit speaking Chinese, but the Government lays heavy stress on the learning and use of the national language, Bahasa Indonesia. Ethnic Chinese were forbidden in 1993 to celebrate the Chinese new year in temples or public places. Despite these limitations, many people of Chinese ancestry have been successful in business and the professions, and the enforcement of restrictions is often haphazard. Some ethnic Chinese have enjoyed particular government favor. Social and religious groups exist which are, in effect, all Chinese and not proscribed. Chinese is spoken in businesses and by the public at entertainment events.

People with Disabilities

The disabled in Indonesia do not receive special programs or attention, and no national law specifically addresses their status. Virtually no public buildings or public means of transport are designed specifically for access by the handicapped, and the handicapped face considerable discrimination in employment and education. The press, for example, reported in 1993 the case of a university student confined to a wheelchair who was told in the fourth year of a 5-year biology degree that she would not be permitted to complete her course of study because university rules forbade the admission of handicapped students in her department. Public outcry and debate of the issue was significant; she was permitted to obtain her degree, and issues of the handicapped received considerable public discus-

sion. A 1992 traffic law implemented in 1993 notes specifically the right of the handicapped to special transportation services such as specifically designed tools and facilities, special regulations for obtaining drivers' licenses, and appropriate vehicles.

SECTION 6. WORKER RIGHTS

a. The Right of Association

Private sector workers, including those in export processing zones, are free to form worker organizations without prior authorization. However, only a union can bargain on behalf of employees or represent workers in the Department of Manpower's labor courts. Private sector firms without unions are required to issue company regulations covering terms of employment. Workers are supposed to be consulted prior to the issuance of these regulations. Department of Manpower approval is also required for company regulations (see Section 6.b.).

In order to be recognized as a union, a workers' organization must register as a social organization with the Department of Home Affairs under the ORMAS Law (see Section 2.b.) and meet the requirements for recognition by the Department of Manpower, namely: union offices in at least 5 of the country's 27 provinces, branch offices in at least 25 districts, and 100 plant-level units. If, because the industry or type of work is localized, with the result that a union is confined to only a few locations, e.g. mining, the union needs 10,000 members for registration purposes. These requirements were introduced by Ministerial Regulation per-03/men/1993, signed by the Minister of Manpower in February 1993.

While the current recognition requirements are lower than those specified previously, they still constitute a significant barrier to recognition and the right to engage in collective bargaining. In addition, Ministerial Regulation per-03/men/1993 requires that a union be set up "by and for workers" (Article 1.a.). The Ministry of Manpower interprets this clause to deny recognition to groups in which what it considers non-workers, such as lawyers or human rights activists, are involved as organizers.

In September 1993, the Serikat Pekerja Seluruh Indonesia (SPSI, All Indonesian Workers Union), the only recognized union, began a transformation from a unitary (centralized) to a federative (decentralized) structure. As of October 1993, 12 of its 13 industrial sectors were registered as independent unions. This change was made possible by regulations, kep-438/men/1992, signed by the Minister of Manpower in October 1992, and per-03/men/1993 of February 1993. The former removed the requirement that a (plant-level) union be a component of the SPSI while the latter low-

ered the requirements for (nationwide) union recognition. However, to become final, the SPSI's constitution must be altered. This can only be done at a SPSI congress; the next one is scheduled for 1995, or a special congress could be convened before then.

As of September, the SPSI had 11,184 units out of roughly 26,000 organizable work sites. It claims a membership of about 1.9 million dues-paying members, about 2.5 percent of the total work force. However, if agricultural workers and others in categories such as self-employed and family workers who are not normally union members are excluded, the percentage of union members rises to approximately 6 percent.

There is, de facto, a single union system, and it is the Government's stated policy to seek to improve effectiveness of the recognized SPSI unions rather than ease the process for the formation of alternative organizations. The only unions recognized by the Department of Manpower are those which previously constituted the SPSI's industrial sectors. The Minister of Manpower has stated that any unions which form in the future should affiliate with the SPSI federation and that the Government will not recognize any unions outside the federation.

The Government has indicated that it is looking at the possibility of permitting non-union plant-level worker associations to conclude legally binding labor agreements with employers.

Two other labor groups, Setia Kawan (Solidarity), also known as Serikat Buruh Merdeka (SMB, Free Trade Union), and Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI, Indonesian Workers Welfare Union), have been organized but are not registered. In existence for 2 years, Setia Kawan is essentially moribund while the SBSI, created in 1992, continues to attempt to form the necessary number of factory-level units to meet the requirements of the new registration regulation. The SBSI has twice attempted to register with the Department of Home Affairs as a social organization, on October 28, 1992, and August 10, 1993. In the first instance no action was taken on its application, and in the second an official of the Department of Home Affairs refused to accept the SBSI's documentation. Registration under the ORMAS Law is required for all organizations in order to function legally (see Section 2.b.). Although the ORMAS Law does not specify any requirement for approval from other government bodies, a spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs stated his department could not accept the SBSI's registration without a positive recommendation from the Department of Manpower. In line with its policy that only unions organized "by and for workers" can be recognized, the Department

of Manpower has refused to recommend the registration of the SBSI as a social organization under the ORMAS Law on the grounds that its founders were not workers but human rights activists and lawyers. According to the SBSI, only two members of its executive board are lawyers, and the rest are workers. Government officials have said that if the SBSI reconstitutes itself as an NGO, it would be registered under the ORMAS Law. The SBSI, however, has refused to accept this offer.

Until October 1992, when it was replaced by Ministerial Regulation kep-438/men/1992, Minister of Manpower Decision 1109/men/1986 defined the procedures for establishing an SPSI factory unit. This regulation enjoined workers to consult with the employer during the process of setting up an SPSI branch. In practice this often meant obtaining the employer's consent for the establishment of a unit. While this regulation was in effect, there were numerous reports that employers would agree to the organization of SPSI units only if they were allowed to select the units' officials. Employers justified this action under the terms of Ministerial Decision 1109 which also specified the requirements for union officials including "high educational background" and possession of "certain qualities: reliable, highly disciplined...." Employers argued that they were in the best position to know which employees possessed those characteristics. Because of this, many current SPSI factory units are led by individuals selected by employers and who have little credibility with their units' members. The new regulation states that employees must only notify their employer that they wish to form a union and that they may proceed if they do not receive a response from their employer within 2 weeks. Despite this new provision, strikes continue to occur because employers attempt to prevent the formation of union branches. These strikes are invariably successful and the formation of an SPSI unit follows shortly thereafter.

Civil servants are not permitted to join unions and must belong to KORPRI, a non-union association whose central development council is chaired by the Minister of Home Affairs. Teachers must belong to the Teachers' Association (PGRI). While technically classed as a union (its status was changed from association similar to KORPRI in April 1990), PGRI has continued to function more as a welfare organization and does not appear to have engaged in trade union activities. State enterprise employees, defined to include those working in enterprises in which the state has a 5-percent holding or greater, usually are re-

quired to join KORPRI, but a small number of state enterprises have SPSI units.

Unions may draw up their own constitutions and rules and elect their representatives. However, the Government has a great deal of influence over the SPSI and its federated unions. The head of the SPSI is a senior member of GOLKAR, and he and two other senior SPSI officials are members of Parliament representing GOLKAR. With one exception, all members of the executive council are members of GOLKAR. These persons have been given positions in the new federated industrial sector unions. The Minister of Manpower is a member of the SPSI's Consultative Council. Numerous regional officials also are GOLKAR members, sometimes serving in regional legislatures. According to credible reports, the Government interferes in the selection of SPSI officers, especially by placing retired military officers in mid-level SPSI positions. The Government has stated that it intends to cease the practice of placing military officers in union positions and eventually to remove the officials with significant GOLKAR connections.

Under the Criminal Code, police approval is needed for all meetings of five people or more of all organizations outside offices or normal work sites. This provision also applies to union meetings. Permission is routinely given to the SPSI. In October 1992, police and the military halted an SBSI meeting, for which a permit had not been requested, and briefly detained its organizers for questioning. On June 19, police halted a seminar on freedom of association being held in the SBSI's offices while an International Labor Organization (ILO) official was present. In July the police and military prevented the SBSI from holding its first congress because the Government had not granted the union's request for a permit for the meeting. A union may be dissolved if the Government believes it is acting against Pancasila, but there are no laws or regulations specifying procedures for union dissolution. There have been no actual cases of dissolution.

The SPSI maintains international contacts but is not affiliated with any international trade union organizations except the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Trade Union Council. Some elements of the SPSI, now registered as industrial sector unions, maintain links with international trade union secretariats. The SPSI still has its application pending for membership with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

While Pancasila principles call for labor-management differences to be settled by consensus, all organized workers, with the exception of civil servants, have the right to

strike. However, state enterprise employees and teacher rarely exercise this right. Before a strike can occur in the private sector, the law requires intensive mediation by the Department of Manpower and prior notice of the intent to strike. However, no approval is required.

In practice, dispute settlement procedures are not followed fully, and formal notice of the intent to strike is rarely given. The Department of Manpower procedures are time consuming, and decisions are handed down usually only after a prolonged period has elapsed. These processes have little credibility with workers and are mostly ignored. Strikes, therefore, tend to be sudden, the result of longstanding grievances or recognition that legally mandated benefits or rights are not being received. While strike leaders are not arrested for illegal strikes, they often lose their jobs. The number of strikes has continued to increase over the last few years, most of them over failure of companies to pay legally mandated minimum wages or because companies are resisting the formation of a factory-level union. In 1992 there were 112 "illegal" strikes officially recorded by the Department of Manpower, but the actual number most likely was larger.

b. The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively

Collective bargaining is provided for by law, but only recognized trade unions may engage in it. As noted in Section 6.a. above, the Government is considering permitting plant-level workers associations (non-SPSI groups) to conclude legally binding agreements with employers. The Department of Manpower promotes collective bargaining as an instrument of industrial relations in the context of the national ideology, Pancasila. The majority of the collective bargaining agreements between the SPSI and employers are negotiated bilaterally.

Once notified that 25 employees have joined a registered union, an employer is obligated to bargain with it. As a transitional stage to encourage collective bargaining, regulations require that every company with 25 or more employees issue company regulations defining the terms and conditions of employment. Before a company can register or renew its company regulations it must demonstrate that it consulted with the union or, in its absence, a committee consisting of employer and employee representatives. In companies without unions, the Government discourages workers from utilizing outside assistance, such as from NGO's, during consultations with employers over company regulations. The Department of Manpower prefers that workers seek its assistance and believes that the Department's

role is to protect workers. There are credible reports that for some companies consultations are perfunctory at best and usually with management-selected workers. There are also credible reports to the contrary from U.S. companies.

Only about half of the factory-level SPSI units have collective bargaining agreements. The degree to which these agreements are freely negotiated between unions and management without government interference varies. By regulation, negotiations are to be concluded within 30 days. If not, the matter is submitted to the Department of Manpower for mediation and conciliation or arbitration. Most negotiations are concluded within the 30-day period. Agreements are for 2 years and can be extended for 1 more year. According to Indonesian and non-Indonesian NGO's involved in labor issues, the provisions of these agreements rarely go beyond the legal minimum standards established by the Government, and the agreements are often merely presented to worker representatives for signing rather than being negotiated.

Regulations expressly forbid employers from discriminating or harassing employees because of union membership. There are credible reports from union officials, however, of employer retribution against union organizers, and the SPSI claims that some employers discriminate against its members and workers who wish to form SPSI units. A significant number of strikes during the last year were the result of employers' refusals to permit the establishment of SPSI units. In nearly all of these cases, employers consented to the establishment of an SPSI branch following the strike. Some employers reportedly have warned their employees against contact with union organizers from the unrecognized SBSI organization.

Charges of antiunion discrimination are adjudicated by administrative tribunals. However, many union members believe the tribunals generally side with employers. Because of this perceived partiality, many workers reject or avoid the procedure and present their grievances directly to Parliament and other agencies. Administrative decisions in favor of fired workers tend to be monetary awards; workers are rarely reinstated. The provisions of the law make it difficult to fire workers, but the law is often ignored in practice. The ILO Conference report in 1993 regretted that Indonesian legislation was contrary to the requirements of ILO Convention 98 with regard to protection against acts of antiunion discrimination.

Workers may organize without restriction in a private enterprise, even if it is designated vital by the Government. If the state has a partial interest, the enterprise is con-

sidered to be in the public service domain, but this does not always legally limit organizing. There are a number of joint ventures between government and private enterprise which have SPSI units and which bargain collectively.

The military, which includes the police, has been involved in a number of labor disputes. Workers have charged that members of the security forces have attempted to intimidate union organizers and have beaten strike leaders. In June, two officials from the SBSI in Medan were detained by police and physically abused as a result of their attempt to organize a union in a factory. In May a woman union activist in Surabaya was murdered. In addition to several officials and employees of the factory at which she worked, the commander of a local military unit was arrested in connection with the murder, and a second officer was relieved of his post (see Section 1.a.). Members of military intelligence also attended and monitored trade union education seminars run by the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI), even though these programs were approved by the Department of Manpower. The military command in Surabaya also halted an AAFLI-SPSI-Department of Manpower-approved program designed to organize new SPSI units. Police and military in a number of instances have been present in significant numbers during strikes, even when there has been no destruction of property or other violence. Military officials occasionally have been reported present during negotiations between workers and management. Their presence has been described as intimidating by plant-level union officials.

Labor law applies equally in export processing zones.

c. Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor

Forced labor is strictly forbidden and enforcement is generally adequate. The Government, however, is often slow to investigate allegations of forced labor. Press reports and NGO's have alleged that there have been cases of fraudulent recruitment of Timorese workers for employment in Java and forced labor by logging companies in Irian Jaya.

d. Minimum Age for Employment of Children

Child labor continues to be a serious problem in industrial areas. The Government acknowledges that there is a class of children who must work for socioeconomic reasons, and in 1987 the Minister of Manpower issued regulation per-ol/men/1987, "Protection of Children Forced to Work," to regulate this situation. This regulation legalizes the employment of children under the

age of 14 who must work to contribute to the income of their families. It requires parental consent, prohibits dangerous or difficult work, limits work to 4 hours daily, and requires employers to report the number of children working under its provisions. It does not set a minimum age for children in this category, effectively superseding the colonial-era government ordinance of December 17, 1925, on "Measures Limiting Child Labour and Nightwork of Women," which is still the current law governing child labor and sets a minimum age of 12 for employment. The 1987 regulation is not enforced. No employers have been taken to court for violating its restrictions on the nature of employment for children, and no reports are collected from establishments employing children. There are no statistics available to determine whether child labor is a significant factor in export or any other industries.

The Government sometimes refers to Act No. 1 of 1951, which was intended to bring into force certain labor measures, including provisions on child labor which would replace those of the 1925 legislation. However, implementing regulations for the child labor provisions have never been issued. Thus the child labor provisions in the 1951 Act have no validity.

In September the Government announced it would review its child labor regulations with the intention of tightening enforcement of restrictions on child labor. At year's end, the review was not completed, nor had any change in practices been implemented.

e. Acceptable Conditions of Work

In the absence of a national minimum wage, area wage councils working under the supervision of the National Wage Council establish minimum wages for regions. These councils are quadripartite bodies consisting of representatives from labor, management, government, and universities. They also establish a basic-needs figure for each province—a monetary amount considered sufficient to enable a single worker or family to meet the basic-needs of nutrition, clothing, and shelter. While Indonesia has succeeded in dramatically lowering the level of poverty throughout the country, the minimum wage rates have lagged behind the basic needs figures. However, effective January 1, 1994, the minimum wage for most provinces will be raised to the basic-needs figure, with the minimum wage in the remaining areas being adjusted as of April 1, 1994. Labor law and ministerial regulations provide workers with a variety of other benefits, such as social security, and workers in more modern facilities often receive health benefits and free meals.

The law establishes 7-hour workdays and 40-hour workweeks, with one 30-minute rest period for each 4 hours of work. The daily overtime rate is 1 1/2 times the normal hourly rate for the first hour, and twice the hourly rate for additional overtime. Regulations allow employers to deviate from the normal work hours upon request to the Minister of Manpower and with the agreement of the employee. Observance of minimum wage and other laws regulating benefits and labor standards varies from sector to sector and by region. Employer violations of legal requirements are fairly common and often result in strikes and employee protests. The Minister of Manpower continues publicly to urge employers to comply with the law. However, in general, government enforcement and supervision of labor standards are weak.

Both law and regulations provide for minimum standards of industrial health and safety. In the largely Western-operated oil sector, safety and health programs function reasonably well. However, in the country's 100,000 larger registered companies in the non-oil sector, the quality of occupational health and safety programs varies greatly. The enforcement of health and safety standards is severely hampered by the limited number of qualified Department of Manpower inspectors as well as by the low level of employee appreciation for sound health and safety practices. Allegations of corruption on the part of inspectors are not uncommon. Workers are obligated to report hazardous working conditions; and while employers are prevented by law from retaliating against those who do, such retaliation does occur since the law is not effectively enforced.

It is also important to note that government policy has had the direct and intended effect of markedly improving the material condition of the Indonesian labor force both in terms of per capita income and income distribution.

The full text of all the U.S. State Department's human rights country reports for 1993 are now available on the new VOA gopher. If you want to view them or get them emailed to you, use your system's gopher program, typically just typing gopher gopher.voa.gov They are under the miscellaneous documents menu. Be aware they are in 'as is' format, i.e., ASCII files running over 80 characters a line and you will likely have to re-format them with your word processor before reading or posting them elsewhere.

— John MacDougall (apaka-bar@access.digex.net)

U.S. STATE DEP'T RELEASES REPORT ON WORLDWIDE HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES

WASHINGTON (FEB. 1) DPA - The U.S. State Department's annual human rights showed some gains, but more widespread, systematic abuses of human rights in Asian countries.

The report sent to Congress on Tuesday said that China took some positive steps on human rights issues in 1993, including the release of some prominent political prisoners.

But the report also said that Beijing has refused to give a full accounting of the thousands of persons who were picked up when the 1989 democracy movement was forcefully suppressed.

The U.S. summary was critical of the Chinese government for suppressing religious freedom and political rights in Tibet, which is occupied by China.

The report will be the starting point for the judgment to be made by the Clinton administration in May about whether to continue to grant China Most Favoured Nation (MFN) tariff treatment.

The report was more harsh in the assessment of North Korea, which is described as one of the most repressive regimes in the world. The survey cited reports of "sporadic, small-scale civil disturbances in some cities, apparently caused by food shortages."

The U.S. summary says that political opponents, as well as repatriated defectors, were summarily executed by the North Korean government.

Thailand was seen as one of the relatively bright spots in East Asia. The return to democratic government was solidified. Although there were signs of police abusing their powers of arrest, there were also indications that the Thai government was trying to investigate the cases.

In Vietnam, although there continued to be severe restrictions on freedom of speech, press and assembly, there were signs that the Vietnamese populace was more free to engage in entrepreneurial activity, without interference from the government or Communist party.

With some restrictions being eased on travel and contacts with foreigners, the U.S. report said there "appears to be increasing separation between the (Communist) party and the state."

Indonesia was described by the U.S. report as remaining "strongly authoritarian" despite a "surface adherence to democratic reforms."

The Indonesian military continued to play a strong role in the political process, by claiming special civic rights and respon-

sibilities, in addition to its defence and security responsibilities.

The U.S. report said, "Although progress was made in a number of human rights areas, serious abuses continued." There was no progress in the investigation into the killing of about 60 persons in East Timor in November 1991.

The U.S. survey said, "Extrajudicial arrests and detention, torture of those in custody and excessively violent techniques for dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued in many areas of Indonesia."

U.S. REPORT RAPS CHINA, INDONESIA

WASHINGTON, Feb. 2 (IPS) - Two Asian countries that enjoy trading privileges with the United States - China and Indonesia - have come under attack in the U.S. State Department's 1993 human rights report released here Tuesday.

The report said modest human rights progress was achieved by Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, Cambodia, Vietnam and the Philippines, but Beijing and Jakarta still had serious problems.

At a press briefing called to release the annual report Tuesday, U.S. State Department Counselor Tim Wirth said China had taken additional steps so far this year on human rights issues, including the release of some prominent political prisoners.

But he said Beijing's performance still fell short of the "overall significant progress" required by the administration of President Bill Clinton to renew China's preferential trade status when it comes up for review in early June.

The report said Beijing's "overall human rights record fell far short of internationally accepted norms as it continued to repress domestic critics and failed to control abuses by its own security forces." It also noted that "perhaps thousands of political prisoners" remain in detention.

Similar observations were made by the U.S. State Department on the performance of another key Asian trading partner, Indonesia.

It said 1993 saw a "bolder and more assertive press" in Indonesia along with greater public dialogue on human rights, a sharp cut in the number of citizens banned from travelling abroad and fewer prosecutions under an anti-subversion law.

But it said there were still "serious abuses," many of them committed by the military. The report also described the government of President Suharto as "strongly authoritarian ... despite a surface adherence to democratic forms."

"Extrajudicial arrests and detention, torture of those in custody, and excessively

violent techniques for dealing with suspected criminals or perceived troublemakers continued in many areas of Indonesia," said the report.

While it noted that the military leadership showed "greater willingness" than in the past to admit misconduct publicly and take action against offenders, security forces often employed "harsh measures" like summary executions of civilians and against separatist movements in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Unlike China, Indonesia's trade privileges have been linked to its labour policies. Washington has given Jakarta until Feb. 15 to show "advances" in the labour front to ensure its General System of Privileges would not be withdrawn.

Many South-east Asian governments, along with Beijing, have been critical of the linking of Western concerns for human rights to trade and aid, calling it not only meddling in internal affairs but also a new form of neocolonialism.

Indeed, the six members Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Brunei, Singapore, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines - took the lead with China, Vietnam and Iran in voicing out such views during the International Conference on Human Rights in Vienna last June.

ASEAN governments and other countries in South-east Asia got mixed reviews in the U.S. State Department report.

Thailand was cited for its commitment to civil liberties and relaxation of press controls, along with the Philippines where the downward trend in serious abuses of human rights was noted.

But both countries still had serious abuses, said the report. Thailand has problems with summary executions and abuse of criminal suspects, discrimination and violence against women and children, and the persistent widespread use of child labour.

Principal abuses by Filipino security forces include summary killings, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, torture, and harassment of suspected insurgents and their supporters.

The report said a wide range of abuses also derived from illegal activities of the police and military personnel, including "protection rackets, political gangsterism, kidnap-for-ransom syndicates and assistance to illegal loggers."

It said there was "very little observable progress in trying, convicting and appropriately punishing the perpetrators."

The Malaysian government continues to arbitrarily arrest and detain citizens without trial and limits judicial independence and freedom of associations and the press, said the report.

As for Singapore, concerns included the intimidation of the opposition and restrictions on press freedom. The report said the affluent city state retained wide powers to detain people and restrict their travel and freedoms of speech and association.

"There was no evidence of a change in the Government's basic willingness to restrict human rights when it deemed that necessary in the pursuit of its policy goals," it added.

Vietnam also continued violating human rights during 1993, largely by severely curbing freedoms of speech, press, assembly, and association, as well as worker rights and the right of citizens to change their government, said the report.

Hanoi was also scored for its sharp reaction to the attempt of Buddhist activists to assert their independence from the government-sponsored Buddhist church.

But the U.S. State Department also noted the easing of travel restrictions and "increasing separation" between the ruling Communist Party and the State.

Regarding Burma, the report said the expressions of deep concern by the international community over the past three years "have failed thus far to have an appreciable impact on the behaviour" of the Rangoon military junta, which it said was a "serious violator of international human rights norms."

Still, it noted that Rangoon commuted all death sentences handed down since 1990, released 700 political prisoners, and permitted the first-ever meetings between prisoners and foreign visitors as well as family visits to Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi who has been under house arrest for the past five years.

The report added, though, that there was "no marked increase in the level of abuses in 1993, in large measure because (the ruling junta) had already been so successful in intimidating the Burmese people."

The report praised major democratic advances in Taiwan and South Korea during 1993. But it said North Korea "continues to deny its citizens the most fundamental human rights."

The report said, "Individual rights is an alien concept that the state leadership perceives as potentially subversive to the goals of the State and party."

RESOURCES

GEOFFREY GUNN'S BOOK AVAILABLE SOON

The book by Geoffrey C Gunn, *East Timor Calling: A Critical View of Western*

Journalism and Scholarship on East Timor Since 1975 will be published by Journal of Contemporary Asia Publishers in Manila, , available in May 1994.

Peter Wesley-Smith

EAST TIMOR RADIO DOCUMENTARY RECEIVES PRESTIGIOUS AWARD

Excerpt from the DuPont-Columbia Broadcast Journalism Awards ceremony January 27, 1994, Columbia University, New York City. Transcribed from national broadcast on PBS television.

Mike Wallace (MC):

I have been asked by the DuPont-Columbia jury to present the radio award; apparently they were impressed that I was around in the wonderful radio days before television. This year's award goes to WBAI in New York and Pacifica radio for their documentary "Massacre: The Story of East Timor." For nearly two decades this tiny country has been the victim of aggression by nearby Indonesia. WBAI producers Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn went to cover the story of East Timor when a massacre broke out. Their dramatic report recounting their ordeal in the midst of battle was included in a radio documentary. Here, now, is an excerpt:

Allan: When they reached the cemetery, the crowd had swelled to maybe 5,000 people. And we saw marching up along the same route that the Timorese had come, came a long column of Indonesian troops.

Amy: Allan suggested that we walk to the front of the crowd between the soldiers and the Timorese. Because Although we knew that the army had committed many massacres, we hoped that we as foreign journalists could serve as a shield for the Timorese.

Allan: Soldiers marched straight up to us; they never broke their stride. And when they got a few yards past us, within a dozen yards of the Timorese, they raised their rifles to their shoulders all at once, and they opened fire.

[Sounds of shooting and screaming]

The street was covered with bodies, covered with blood, and the soldiers just kept on coming. I could see their limbs being torn, their bodies exploding. The soldiers did not stop. They just kept on shooting until no one was left standing.

Amy: A group of soldiers grabbed my microphone and threw me to the ground, kicking and punching me. At that point Allan threw himself on top of me, protecting me from further injury. The soldiers then

used their rifle butts like baseball bats, beating Allan until they fractured his skull.

Wallace: Accepting this coveted silver baton for WBAI and Pacifica Radio are producers Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn.

Amy Goodman:

I want to thank you very much for this honor, and to thank WBAI Pacifica Radio, which believes that you go to where the silence is, and say something. I also want to thank Paul Ruest and Julie Cohen who participated in this project.

On November 12, 1991, we were in East Timor for the second time, when thousands of Timorese decided to march to protest the occupation of Indonesia, and you heard what happened in the videotape. They marched to the cemetery, Indonesian soldiers marched up and without warning or provocation, they opened fire and gunned them down. They beat us, fractured Allan's skull, and then were deciding whether to execute us. They put the guns to our heads, U.S. M-16's and only when we said "We are from America" did they take them away. We could only think it was because we were from the same country their weapons were from. We were lucky that day, because we were alive. All around us, the Timorese were dead. More than 200 were gunned down that day.

Allan Nairn:

The blood that we saw oozing out to cover that cemetery road is blood that is on the hands of the government of the United States, and also on the hands of the US press.

The 1975 invasion of Timor was approved by President Ford, and as Timorese were herded into death camps for mass execution, the US stepped in to block the United Nations from taking effective action, and kept sending in the fresh weapons which the Indonesian army used to do the job.

The result has been a genocide which has killed 200,000 Timorese civilians – a third of the original population, the largest proportional slaughter since the Nazis.

And what have the US networks done during this US-sponsored genocide? During the 15 year 11 month period, starting from the announcement of the '75 invasion and running up until the massacre we survived, the ABC, NBC, and CBS evening news shows did not run a single story on East Timor. Nightline and McNeil-Lehrer have never mentioned it. And US radio and print, though occasionally mentioning the killings, have inaccurately omitted the US role.

Last fall, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted to restrict the US arms

sales, but Senator Bennett Johnston blocked the amendment from reaching the Senate floor. At this moment, President Clinton is defying the intent of Congress by continuing to train Indonesian troops. And he is shipping fresh M-16s, machine guns, and parts for attack planes – all to support an illegal occupation that defies the UN Security Council.

If you want to understand what the United States is doing, think of this baton as an M-16. [Takes award baton and points it at his head.] It is pointed at the head of an innocent Timorese who has dared to stand up and ask for the end of the occupation. Washington pauses, considers, says "don't forget human rights," and then hands the troops new ammo and says: "go ahead, open fire." Repeat that scenario 200,000 times, and you begin to grasp the enormity of the crime.

Audiotapes of the award-winning documentary can be purchased for \$10 from the East Timor Action Network/US. The producers have placed it in the public domain.

ANTARA KITA AVAILABLE

From John MacDougall, Feb. 1

Antara Kita Nos. 35 (January 1994) and No. 36 (February 1994) have now been sent to email subscribers and will be mailed to print subscribers on Wednesday. One of the world's last true bargains, you can read in these latest issues such feature articles as Laine Berman's "The Family of Girli: The Homeless Children of Yogyakarta" and Martha Belcher's "The Indonesian Environmental Movement: A Directory of NGOs." There are a few little surprises, too, like Athonk's cartoon and the story of the brothers Wesley-Smith. Plus, of course, a very nice sample of citations of recent scholarship on Indonesia.

John MacDougall & Rita Smith Kipp, co-editors

P.S. Don't miss the amazing news about the new directory of Indonesianists. Coming in *Antara Kita* No. 37 (March 1994).

WHAT IS ANTARA KITA?

Antara Kita ("Between Us") is the official bulletin of the Indonesian Studies Committee, the group within the Association for Asian Studies in the U.S. responsible for helping to advance the study of Indonesia. The editors invite all foreign scholars and all Indonesian scholars – whatever their area of specialization – to enter a subscription **now** to *Antara Kita*.

Subscription rates:

A 4-issue **paper** *Antara Kita* subscription sent by first class mail in the U.S. and Canada and by airmail elsewhere costs U.S. - US\$6; Canada - US\$7; Other Western

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You may enter your subscription for as few as 4, or as many as 12 issues, of Antara Kita at this time. Make your checks payable to the **Indonesian Studies Committee** and mail them to: Antara Kita, 7538 Newberry Lane, Lanham-Seabrook, Maryland 20706, USA. All subscriptions must be paid **in advance**. If invoices are required, an additional US\$3 charge will be due. If checks are sent in a negotiable currency other than U.S. dollars, please add the equivalent of US\$3 to your check.

SEASIA_INFO, INDONESIA BRIEFING BOOKS AVAILABLE

From John MacDougall, Feb. 6.

SEASIA-INFO is a read-only list which occasionally forwards news of informational resources on Southeast Asia. If you wish to submit an item to the list, or to sign-off the list, please email the list administrator apakabar@access.digex.net (John A. MacDougall). Thank you.

TEN BRIEFING BOOKS ON CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA – HOW THEY CAN HELP INDIVIDUALS, ORGANIZATIONS, AND LIBRARIES

The January 1994 editions of a set of 10 Briefing Books – loose-leaf compilations from Indonesia Publications' analytic and documentary periodicals on Indonesia – are now available at greatly reduced cost in this period of tight budgets. If the entire set of 10 is purchased, the price is reduced by \$197. This represents a 28% savings.

If only some of the Briefing Books are needed, they may be purchased individually.

In a best effort to fill persisting personal, organizational, and library information gaps on Indonesia, the Briefing Books

- help readers become current quickly on key topics,
- permit an in-depth appreciation of issues,
- supplement news periodicals from Indonesia Publications and other news sources,
- reduce endless phone calls, letters, and email tracking down experts,
- provide hard-to-get, full-text primary source documents,
- provide translations available nowhere else,

- constitute invaluable reference works for any private or institutional library,
- may be used like regular textbooks,
- may be disassembled and re-combined to yield customized textbooks,
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- are available in updated editions every 3 months so readers can always get the latest information.

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The Indonesian Military Elite (109 pp, \$33)

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These prices remain valid through March 31, 1994. All prices in U.S. dollars.

NEW BOOK ON EAST TIMOR

East Timor: Getting Away with Murder, a new book with text and photographs by journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy, foreword by Glenys Kinnock.

Available for GBP 6 (plus GBP 2 postage) from the Coalition for East Timor, Box 2349, London E1 3HX. Free to anyone who makes a standing donation of GBP 15/year or more to the Coalition (contact us for a standing order form).

In the U.S., the book can be ordered for \$10 postpaid from the East Timor Action Network, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602.

Review in Peace News, with photo:

Timorese children enjoy a moment of freedom: from East Timor: getting away with murder?, a new photo-book by journalist Hugh O'Shaughnessy. Don't be put off by the overbearing cover photo of an Indonesian soldier. Most of the book contains portraits of, and stories about, ordinary Timorese people surviving and resisting under the occupation. GBP 6 (plus GBP 1.50 for postage and handling) from the British Coalition for East Timor, PO Box 2349, London E1 3HX.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

ASIA-PACIFIC CONFERENCE ON EAST TIMOR IN MANILA MAY 31 - JUNE 4

Warmest Greetings of Solidarity and Peace!

Something is happening in Manila on May. And we invite you to be part of it. This is bringing home to Asia one of the world's most legitimate people's struggles: the struggle for East Timor Independence.

Since Indonesia forcibly annexed East Timor in 1975, the Timorese struggle has generated support from peoples around the globe especially in the West, but it has yet to galvanize solidarity where it belongs, Asian leaders specially those of ASEAN countries to which Indonesia plays a big brother role to the hilt.

But a legitimate people's issue will always seek its just forum.

Thus international, Asian and Philippine NGOs and people's organizations, together with other international institutions, agencies and solidarity groups long steeped in issues and struggles of human rights, peace and justice will convene an Asia-Pacific Conference on East Timor (APCET) in the Philippines on May 31 to June 4.

The three-day conference will be attended by some 200 international luminaries including friends from Indonesia and East Timor. Three years after the Dili Massacre, the gathering will tackle the legal, political and cultural dimensions of the East Timorese struggle. This will be held at the University of the Philippines, the country's premiere state university. Other related caucuses and meetings are scheduled after the three-day conference.

Come and enrich this gathering of kindred souls and colleagues.

Come and express concrete solidarity with our East Timorese friends.

We hope to see you in May. Meanwhile, we remain in steadfast solidarity.

APCET
Philippine Convenor's Group
#2 Matulungin cor. Malakas Sts.
Diliman
Quezon City, Philippines
Telefax 921-6774

MANDELA CRITICISED ON EAST TIMOR

The following letter from Carmel Budiardjo of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, appeared in the New Statesman and Society on 11 February 1994:

The Editor,

Tom Carver's analysis of the corrupting influence of power on the ANC concentrated on domestic issues. Let me expand the discussion to foreign affairs.

In October 1990, Nelson Mandela visited Indonesia for what was virtually a State Visit. Before he went, the East Timorese resistance movement abroad urged the ANC to persuade him not to go or to talk publicly about Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor. He ignored both requests. He was feted by Indonesia's dictator, Suharto, given a grant of \$10 million and a state medal. East Timor's tormentors went out of their way to display support for the ANC and its leader. Appeals by Aboriginal groups for support during his visit to Australia, immediately after his Jakarta visit were cold-shouldered on the grounds that this would mean 'interference in an internal affair.'

Since then, many calls have been made on the ANC leadership and Nelson Mandela personally to repair the damage of that visit by speaking out against Indonesia for its shameful record in East Timor. After the East Timor resistance leader, Xanana Gusmão, was arrested in November 1992, unlawfully tried and sentenced to life imprisonment, Mandela was asked to support actions calling for Xanana's release.

After months of prevarication, he wrote in June last year to our Irish colleagues who have spearheaded the approach to the ANC. He said: "Please bear in mind that as a liberation movement we have a limited capacity at present to influence the direction taken by any regime. If you can send a message to Xanana Gusmão, tell him to be strong."

Mandela, more than anyone, knows the importance of international solidarity, both for himself and for his movement. Yet the prospect of power has blinded him to the

need to support a movement and its leader suffering under the jackboot of one of the world's most repressive regimes.