

DOCUMENTS ON EAST TIMOR MASSACRE FROM PEACENET AND ASSOCIATED NETWORKS

Volume 10: February 8 - 29, 1992

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**U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT
HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT ON
INDONESIA FOR 1991**

February 9, 1992

Indonesia is the fifth most populous country in the world and the largest in Southeast Asia. Since independence, Indonesian leaders have sought to create a

national identity and to accommodate ethnic, religious, linguistic, and geographical diversities, while fostering cohesion, internal security, and development. The Soeharto Government actively promotes allegiance to "Pancasila," five broad, guiding principles of national life: belief in one supreme God, a just and civilized humanity, Indonesian national unity, democracy, and social justice.

President Soeharto and the military wield predominant political power; opposition groups exist but in fact have no real chance to obtain power. Since the mid-1960's, after an abortive coup backed by the Communist Party, retired and active-duty military officers and civilian technocrats have exercised centralized executive authority under President Soeharto's leadership. The partly elected, partly appointed Parliament

(DPR) considers but does not initiate legislation, although it has the constitutional right to do so. The people's consultative assembly (MPR)—consisting of 500 appointed members and the 500 DPR members—meets every 5 years to approve guidelines for government policy and to elect the President and Vice President.

The armed forces (ABRI)—which include the military services and the police—number about 445,000. The army constitutes about half of the armed forces and focuses mainly on internal security. Under a “dual function” concept, many military officers serve in the civilian bureaucracy at all levels and in Parliament. The military continued operations against separatist groups in East Timor and Irian Jaya, although at reduced levels, and intensified operations in the special district of Aceh. Security forces were responsible for numerous human rights abuses, including killings and torture of civilians.

Although Indonesia's mixed economy involves the state in nearly all sectors, government policies are expanding the role and freedom of the private sector. Ongoing deregulation efforts helped the economy to continue its strong expansion in 1990, when Indonesia's inflation-adjusted gross domestic product (GDP) grew between 7.0 and 7.5 percent. Non-oil export growth slowed due to softening prices for Indonesia's major non-oil commodities, but exports of manufactured goods remained strong. The economy's growth was expected to diminish in 1991, but still to maintain a real GDP growth rate of between 5 and 6 percent. Despite substantial increases in real incomes and in the standard of living of most Indonesians in the past 20 years, the country is poor, there is significant unemployment, and wide disparities in wealth exist. Corruption and influence peddling are endemic and distort growth and economic opportunity.

Insurgent sentiment and activity in Aceh led to the deaths of hundreds of civilians, dozens of subversion trials in which the rights of the defendants were limited, and numerous credible reports of torture at the hands of the police and military. Abuses in Irian Jaya also continued, although at a reduced rate from past years. In East Timor, security forces opened fire on November 12 on a demonstration protesting Indonesian rule over East Timor at the Santa Cruz cemetery in the capital of Dili. The demonstration followed a memorial service for a Timorese killed on October 28 during a clash between Timorese for and against integration with Indonesia. Available evidence indicates the violence employed by security forces on November 12 was clearly disproportionate to the situation. Many believe the death toll was far higher than the officially acknowledged number of 19. A national investigatory commission was appointed to examine the incident. The commission issued

an advance report on December 26 (see Section 1.a.).

While the DPR held several well-publicized hearings on freedom of the press and on the restricted civil rights of some of Indonesia's prominent dissidents, the hearings failed to reduce abuses in these areas. The DPR remained subordinate to the executive and the right of citizens to change their government remained significantly restricted. Official and informal discrimination against ethnic Chinese persisted. Indonesian workers were less hesitant about exercising their right to strike, especially to demand compliance with minimum wage standards. The Government continued its generous policy toward Indochinese refugees, allowed foreign parliamentary groups to visit East Timor, and released several long-time political prisoners. It also granted the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) access to prisoners in Aceh and to imprisoned Muslim extremists.

SECTION 1. RESPECT FOR THE INTEGRITY OF THE PERSON

INCLUDING FREEDOM FROM:

a. Political and Other Extrajudicial Killing

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of people have died in the special district of Aceh since mid-1989 as a result of a struggle between separatist rebels and government troops. The casualties, whose numbers have so far been impossible to establish with precision, have included police and army troops as well as rebel forces. A significant number of those killed in 1991, however, appear to have been civilians. During the first 6 months of 1991, dozens of bodies were found along roadsides, in market places, and in rivers. The military and other government leaders have claimed that rebel forces, which are called GPK (Security Disturbing Gangs) by the Government and Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) by their supporters, were responsible for these deaths. However, the ability of the rebel forces to inflict significant civilian casualties was severely limited in 1991 since, by the military's own assessment, most of the armed rebel elements had been eliminated or rendered ineffective. In fact, there are credible reports of a pattern of abuse against the civilian population of Aceh by security forces. Human rights groups have charged the security forces with serious violations of human rights in their anti-insurgency campaign in Aceh, especially during the first half of 1991. These include summary executions of suspected Aceh Merdeka supporters—part of an effort to intimidate or eliminate potential rebel sympathizers—as well as the incitement of villagers to summarily kill suspected guerrillas. Substantiation of individual cases is often lacking, and rebel forces doubtless have caused some civilian deaths, but government forces clearly appear responsible for the majority of these civilian deaths. While some military commanders

have acknowledged privately that excessive force was sometimes employed by their troops, the Government has denied a pattern of abuse, and no charges have been brought against members of the security forces in connection with the civilian deaths.

In East Timor, where a shift from security operations to civic action projects by the armed forces had brought about a gradual reduction in human rights abuses, the situation deteriorated sharply beginning in October. On October 28, shortly after a proposed visit by Portuguese parliamentarians was canceled, a clash between youths for and against integration with Indonesia resulted in the deaths of two youths, one from each faction. After a memorial service for the anti-integration youth on November 12 in Dili, a procession formed to go to the cemetery where he had been buried. Some demonstrators carried flags of the Fretilin guerrilla group and chanted anti-Indonesia slogans. During the course of the march to the cemetery an army major was stabbed. After the procession reached the cemetery, security forces opened fire on the crowd, killing and wounding scores of civilians. There is no evidence that the use of such deadly force was justified. In addition, the acknowledged 19 killed were buried in unmarked graves and, for 12 days after the incident, the army denied the ICRC access to the military hospital to which the dead and wounded had been taken.

Within a week, President Soeharto appointed senior government officials to a national commission to investigate the incident, the first such commission in Indonesian history. The commission spent more than 2 weeks investigating in East Timor. In a preliminary report presented on December 26, the commission concluded that “about” 50 had been killed and acknowledged some eyewitness reports that the total was over 100. The commission said that more than the previous official figure of 91 were wounded. The report went on to state that “the acts of a number of armed forces members exceeded the bounds of appropriateness,” and called for legal measures to be taken against all those suspected of violating Indonesian law.

Two days after the issuance of the report, President Soeharto ordered that the military commanders in East Timor and the larger region which includes East Timor be relieved. He also ordered the Army Chief of Staff to form an “honorary council” to investigate how security forces handled the incident.

In Irian Jaya, a leader of the banned Free Papua Organization (OPM), Malkianus Salosa, was found dead in the jungle 3 weeks after allegedly escaping from a military prison. Salosa was convicted in March of involvement in a 1988 attack on transmigrants in Irian Jaya and sentenced to life in prison. Salosa was buried on the spot by the military, allegedly with his family's ap-

proval. There reportedly was no autopsy or independent observation of the body.

b. Disappearance

Security forces periodically took persons for interrogation, usually without notification to families, resulting in at least their temporary disappearance. This was especially true in Aceh, where people would sometimes disappear for months after being taken into police custody.

c. Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment

The use of torture to extract information from criminal suspects or witnesses is prohibited under the Indonesia Criminal Procedures Code (KUHAP). Nonetheless, credible reports of torture and mistreatment, including rape, of criminal suspects, detainees, and prisoners were frequent. This was especially true in Aceh, where there were numerous credible reports of systematic torture of suspected rebel sympathizers while in military or police custody.

Police often resort to physical abuse, even in minor incidents, and prison conditions in Indonesia tend to be harsh. Pretrial maltreatment to obtain confessions is reportedly common. The practice in Medan of "shooting to wound" criminal suspects allegedly attempting to escape capture, and efforts by police in Jakarta to cope with increasingly brutal crimes raised concerns about excessive use of force against suspects. In August, for example, credible press reports indicate that 17 suspects were shot by police in metropolitan Jakarta, 8 of whom died from their wounds. Nine other criminal suspects were reportedly killed by mobs who caught the suspects in the act of committing a crime.

Officials have publicly acknowledged and condemned police brutality and harsh prison conditions and occasionally instigate disciplinary action, including transfer, dismissal, trial, and sentencing to prison terms. However, there were no known instances in 1991 of officials being punished for mistreatment of political prisoners or detainees.

d. Arbitrary Arrest, Detention, or Exile

While the KUHAP contains protections against arbitrary arrest and detention and specifies the right of prisoners to legal counsel and notification of family, these safeguards are often disregarded in practice. Detainees in cases of alleged subversion may be held up to a year without charges. Security agencies detain and arrest persons, including students and intellectuals, to intimidate them and inhibit activities judged undesirable. Legal mechanisms for redress of such actions are inadequate. The number of persons detained without trial is unknown, but in the Special District of Aceh the Government during the year released more than 600 people who had been held without

trial for periods of up to several months on suspicion of subversive activity or knowledge thereof, and up to 100 more were believed to still be in custody at year's end. People were detained in East Timor for days or weeks and subsequently released without charges. Application of a 1987 presidential decree on remission of prison terms leaves uncertain the status of some prisoners, including several reportedly still in jail despite apparent expiration of their sentences. Two convicted members of the banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI) were released in July, several years after their sentences were supposed to have expired.

The Agency for Coordination of Assistance for the Consolidation of National Security (BAKORSTANAS) operates outside the KUHAP and has wide discretion to detain and interrogate persons thought to threaten national security. Indonesian law does not provide for the right to judicial review of such actions or for the right to protection or legal aid for the detainees. Their cases are rarely if ever publicized.

e. Denial of Fair Public Trial

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 of some 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 most trials, poses questions, hears evidence, decides guilt or innocence, and assesses punishment. The judiciary is not independent. While judges receive guidance from the Supreme Court on legal matters, they are civil servants employed by the executive branch. The Supreme Court cannot annul laws passed by Parliament. Most court sessions are open to the public, and most defendants have access to counsel although such access is sometimes significantly delayed. Destitute defendants can obtain private legal help, such as that provided by the Legal Aid Institute (LBH). Courts also can provide a limited amount of aid for those unable to afford legal assistance, but in practice such aid is limited to defendants facing charges carrying sentences of 5 years or more. The State must ensure legal assistance in capital cases.

Corruption permeates the Indonesian legal system. In civil and criminal cases, the payment of bribes can influence decisions, prosecution, conviction, and sentencing. The use in trials of forced confessions and limitations on the presentation of defense evidence are reportedly common. The Government has occasionally taken action against flagrant offenders, but by and large

these abuses continue unchecked. The Government supports programs to improve legal awareness, training, and research. Conviction is virtually automatic in cases involving Indonesia's broad 1963 antisubversion law. Advocacy or actions in support of secession or creation of an Islamic state, criticism of Pancasila, and smuggling are classified as subversive offenses subject to a maximum penalty of death. Although the Government does not provide data on the number of persons serving subversion sentences, the best informed estimates suggest a total of more than 500. This figure includes persons sentenced for involvement in the 1965 Communist coup attempt, alleged Muslim extremists, and those convicted of subversion in connection with separatist activities in Aceh, East Timor, and Irian Jaya, some of whom advocated or employed violence. In August the Government reduced the sentences of and released four persons convicted of subversion, including three Muslims accused of delivering inflammatory sermons in connection with the Tanjung Priok riots of 1984.

More than 30 subversion trials were conducted in 1991, the majority of them in Sumatra, where more than two dozen people were tried in connection with separatist activities in Aceh. All were found guilty and received sentences of up to 20 years in prison. Although the fact that public trials were held represented an improvement over an earlier situation in which accused Aceh separatists were held without trial, the proceedings were in many cases seriously flawed. There are credible reports that many of the defendants had been tortured to elicit confessions, were arrested without warrants, and were not clearly told the crimes with which they were charged. Some of the defendants were unable to select their defense counsel freely, as guaranteed under KUHAP. The LBH, for example, had received powers of attorney from the families of 13 of the defendants asking for representation but was prevented by the authorities from doing so in all but one case. When other attorneys were found to represent them, they often met their clients on the day of the trial, and therefore had inadequate time to prepare a defense.

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 reportedly occurs regularly. Security agencies intimidate by conducting surveillance of persons and residences, and they are believed to monitor selectively local and international telephone calls without legal restraint. Correspondence generally is not monitored. Government security officials monitor the movements and activities of former members of the

Indonesian Communist Party (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 sometimes their relatives are subject to surveillance, required check-ins, and arbitrary actions by officials, including removal from government employment and threats of removal from such employment.

SECTION 2 . RESPECT FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES

INCLUDING:

a. Freedom of Speech and Press

Significant restrictions on freedom of speech and press exist. Government agencies exercise broad discretionary authority in applying laws concerning the rights of persons, and effective judicial review is lacking. Public statements or publications which criticize the Government or are perceived as critical of Pancasila, top leaders, their families, or particular religious and ethnic groups are often harshly punished. For example, a young Moslem intellectual, M.H. Ainun Nadjib, was banned by authorities in central Java from holding lectures in the province apparently because of comments he made during a public discussion about the effectiveness of a government-run civics course on Pancasila. Earlier in the year, two students were detained and others questioned for their part in distributing a "land for the people" calendar that contained caricatures of President Soeharto, his wife, and other government officials.

The Government operates the nationwide television network. Private television companies broadcasting in Jakarta and Surabaya expanded to other areas, and a private educational channel began operating nationally. Some 537 private radio broadcasting companies exist in Indonesia in addition to the Government's national radio network. Private television and radio stations, which have considerable programming latitude, are subject to official scrutiny and are required to use government-provided news programs. Private radio stations frequently supplement such news programs with their own reports. Foreign television and radio broadcasts are accessible to those who can afford the technology.

The print media are largely privately owned. Officials state that the press is "free" but also "responsible." It is expected to support national development and stability, be educational, and uphold professional standards. The Government limits the number of newspaper licenses, the amount of advertising, and the number of pages, and exercises strong control over the press through its control of publishing permits, known by their Indonesian acronym, SIUPP.

The power of the Government to revoke a newspaper's SIUPP was the topic of a parliamentary hearing in June. Editors who testified protested that the Minister of Information has revoked SIUPP's in the past without giving the offending publications an adequate chance to defend themselves. They also protested punishing an entire organization for the alleged sins of one or several individuals. The Minister later told Parliament he had no intention of modifying his control over the SIUPP. A newspaper editor whose newspaper lost its SIUPP in 1990 for publishing a poll which was judged insulting to the Prophet Muhammad was sentenced in April to 5 years in prison, later reduced by 6 months, on criminal charges of insulting a religion.

The Government occasionally censors publications and continues the practices of telephoning editors to suppress stories and censoring foreign periodicals. An article about East Timorese workers in Java that was to appear in the prominent news weekly TEMPO, for example, was censored in early September at the insistence of military officers who came to the magazine's offices.

The Government closely regulates access to Indonesia by visiting and resident foreign correspondents and occasionally reminds the latter of its prerogative to deny requests for visa extensions. The Australian Broadcasting Corporation, for example, was allowed to reopen a bureau in Jakarta after a lengthy break caused by controversy over Australian media coverage of Indonesia. The importation of foreign publications and video tapes, which must be reviewed by government censors, requires a permit. Importers usually avoid foreign materials critical of the Government or dealing with topics considered sensitive, such as human rights. Foreign periodicals and newspapers, readily available in Indonesia, are subject to censorship prior to distribution. The International Herald Tribune was allowed to resume distribution in March after a 4-month hiatus caused by a 1990 article critical of the business dealings of members of the President's family. When the Government expressed outrage at the article, the newspaper's Indonesian distributor ceased distribution.

The risk of official sanctions and informal government instructions generally influence the media to avoid or exercise great caution in disseminating views of government critics. However, coverage of opposition views conveyed to the Parliament in July during a meeting with the Petition of 50 dissident group was extensive. Lack of clear guidelines on what is permissible has generated a significant degree of self-censorship both in public speaking and in the press. However, as in 1990, the limits of government tolerance were regularly tested in 1991 in published editorials, opinion pieces, cartoons, and public statements.

While academic freedom is provided for in law, constraints exist on the activities of scholars. They sometimes refrain from producing materials which they believe might provoke government displeasure. Publishers are often unwilling to accept manuscripts dealing with controversial issues, and those that do sometimes find works banned long after they have been published. For example, an Indonesian translation of a Japanese scholar's work on Indonesia was banned in September, a year after its publication, because the Government felt it discredited President Soeharto. This was one of at least 15 books the Government banned in 1991.

b. Freedom of Peaceful Assembly and Association

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 approvals is fairly automatic, authorities occasionally withhold permission. The Indonesian Lawyers Association, for example, was unable to get government permission to hold its national meeting. Meetings of nongovernmental organizations are sometimes subject to substantial official efforts to produce specific outcomes. Student gatherings have often been the target of disapprovals, and ostensible political activity at universities remains forbidden under the "Campus Life Normalization" (NKK) law of 1978. The Government also banned political campaigning from university campuses in connection with the 1992 parliamentary elections.

The 1985 Social Organizations (ORMAS) Law requires all organizations, including recognized religions and associations, to adhere to Pancasila. This provision, which limits political activity, is widely understood as prohibiting 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. Government attitudes towards human rights groups varied. Jakarta police in August entered a private home without a warrant and broke up a gathering of members of the dissident group known as the Petition of 50. The meetings had been held weekly in the same home for nearly 11 years without prior incidents. At the same time, three new discussion groups concerned with promoting democracy and human rights were formed and operated without government interference.

c. Freedom of Religion

The Constitution recognizes and provides for religious freedom for Islam, Christianity, Buddhism, and Hinduism, and permits practice of the mystical, animistic beliefs of "Aliran Kepercayaan." Although the

population is overwhelmingly Muslim, the practice and teachings of the other recognized faiths are respected. The Catholic Church, for example, operates widely in East Timor, but the activities of some of its clergy are carefully monitored by security forces concerned with their political sympathies. Various restrictions on religious activity nonetheless exist. According to official statistics, nearly 400 "misleading religious cults" are banned, including some Islamic groups considered heretical. Existing bans affect many thousands of adherents, and new bannings by national or local authorities occur periodically. Ten of the books banned by the Government in 1991 concerned religious topics.

Although banned, several thousand Jehovah's Witnesses are believed to practice in Jakarta alone. Adherents are periodically detained and their religious materials confiscated. A 1963 ban on the Baha'i faith continues in force. The private practice of banned religions is often tolerated, although authorities periodically harass adherents or pressure them to convert to the recognized faiths. 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, both of which are outlawed. Over 300 and possibly many more alleged Muslim extremists are estimated to be serving prison terms on subversion charges. Visiting Muslim fundamentalist teachers have been particularly susceptible to deportation.

There is no legal bar to conversion between faiths, and conversions occur. However, proselytizing between 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. In recent years, however, some foreign missionaries have had difficulty renewing visas or residence permits—a few on unspecified "security grounds." Laws and decrees from the 1970's do not allow foreign missionaries to spend more than 10 years in Indonesia, with extensions to 15 in exceptional circumstances only. With rare exceptions, enforcement of this policy does not discriminate by sect or nationality. Exceptions to the 10-year rule have been granted to foreign religious workers since late 1987 in the remote areas of Irian Jaya and Kalimantan and, more recently, in other parts of the country. The Government says it intends over time to reduce the number of foreign missionaries in order to encourage employment of Indonesians. Foreign missionary work is subject to the funding stipulations of the ORMAS law discussed

above. Indonesians practicing the recognized religions maintain active links with coreligionists inside and outside Indonesia and travel abroad for religious gatherings. The Government permits a set number of pilgrims to make the hajj annually.

d. Freedom of Movement Within the Country, Foreign Travel, Emigration, and Repatriation

Restrictions on freedom of movement exist. Permits to seek work in a new location are required in certain areas, primarily to control further population movement to crowded cities. Previously some ethnic Chinese encountered legal and bureaucratic obstacles to obtaining citizenship, although the Government's stated policy was to encourage them to apply. In connection with the 1990 renewal of diplomatic ties between Indonesia and China, officials announced that stateless Chinese—currently estimated to number 300,000—must adopt the citizenship of one country or the other and that Indonesia's procedures would be simplified and shortened. Restrictions on travel to China were lifted by the Government in August.

Government officials acknowledged that some 17,000 Indonesians are under an absolute foreign travel ban. Included in this group are former political prisoners and government critics such as some members of the Petition of 50. Officials also acknowledged that a second list exists of persons whose permission to travel is decided only when they apply for an exit permit. Some critics, however, are free to travel abroad, and a person prohibited at one time may be permitted to travel subsequently. Students wishing and able to do so can generally go abroad for study. Restrictions exist on movement by Indonesian and foreign citizens to and within parts of Irian Jaya. Security checks affecting transportation and travel in Aceh occurred sporadically in early 1991, and permission was required to visit certain districts considered sensitive for security reasons. Curfews were sometimes in force in connection with military operations in parts of East Timor and Aceh. Family visits back to East Timor by East Timorese now living in Australia continued. 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.

Indonesia continued its generous attitude regarding Indochinese asylum seekers. It has granted first asylum to over 123,000 Indochinese asylum seekers since 1975, and the population of its Galang Island facility was about 20,000 through most of 1991. Galang's Cambodian population was about 1,750. Indonesia considers the Cambodians illegal entrants rather than asylum seekers. Nevertheless, Cambodians have been allowed to remain in Indonesia, pending an

international decision on how to resolve their situation. Indonesia also continued its cooperation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the ICRC on the return of residents of Irian Jaya who had fled to Papua New Guinea during separatist violence in the eastern portion of the province.

SECTION 3. RESPECT FOR POLITICAL RIGHTS: THE RIGHT OF CITIZENS TO CHANGE THEIR GOVERNMENT

Parliament, political organizations, and the general public have only limited ability to influence government decisions, and citizens cannot change the system of government or its leadership. President Soeharto and a small group of active duty and retired military officers and civilian officials exercise governmental authority. The military has responsibility under a "dual function" doctrine for national defense and security plus sociopolitical affairs. The military is predominant in the political and security fields. The Constitution provides Parliament a mechanism to call the President to account in extraordinary circumstances.

The Parliament considers bills presented to it by government departments and agencies but does not draft laws on its own, although it has the constitutional right to do so. The Government seeks to resolve potential parliamentary concerns before bills are officially presented. Parliament makes technical and (occasionally) substantive alterations to bills it reviews. Through consultations and hearings with ministers and other executive branch officials, press statements, and field trips, Parliament is contributing more actively to the content and execution of government policy than previously. This was especially true in 1991, when debates over "openness," press control, land tenure, travel restrictions, and the role of Parliament itself were given wide publicity. Nonetheless, Parliament remains clearly subordinate to the executive branch.

Only three political organizations are allowed by law. GOLKAR, a government-sponsored organization of diverse functional groups, dominates. Two small political parties—the United Development Party (PPP) and the Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI)—also operate. By law they embrace Pancasila. They are not considered opposition parties and seldom espouse policies much different from those of the Government. 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. 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 either 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.

General elections for Parliament and for provincial and district assemblies are held every 5 years. GOLKAR won 73 percent of the national vote in the 1987 elections. New elections are scheduled to be held in June 1992. All adult citizens are eligible to vote, except active-duty members of the armed forces, convicted criminals serving prison sentences, and 36,345 former PKI members. Voters may choose by secret ballot between the three approved political organizations, who field candidate lists in each electoral district. Those lists must be screened by BAKORSTANAS (see Section 1.d. above), which determines whether candidates were involved in the abortive 1965 Communist coup or adhere to other banned ideologies. Critics charge these screenings are unconstitutional, since there is no way to appeal the results, and note that they can be used to eliminate government critics from Parliament.

SECTION 4. GOVERNMENTAL ATTITUDE REGARDING INTERNATIONAL AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL 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. While various domestic organizations and persons interested in human rights operate energetically, the Government discourages public human rights activities. Some human rights activists have complained of government harassment.

The Government considers outside investigations of alleged human rights violations to be interference in its internal affairs. Amnesty International, for example, is banned from Indonesia. Nonetheless, the Government granted the ICRC access to political prisoners arrested in connection with the insurgency in Aceh and to jailed Muslim extremists. Under a 1985 agreement, the ICRC is authorized by the Government to visit persons held for security reasons in East Timor. Nonetheless, the ICRC experienced significant delays in gaining access to those wounded or imprisoned in the November 12 East Timor incident, and in getting permission to revisit prisoners in Aceh first seen in July. The ICRC annually visits and interviews the prisoners convicted of participation in the abortive, Communist-backed coup in 1965.

Various foreign parliamentary groups visited trouble spots such as Aceh and East Timor, although a November visit by Portuguese parliamentarians to East Timor was canceled at the last minute because of a dispute over the inclusion of a foreign journalist the Indonesian Government considered

biased. The prospects for a Portuguese visit were unclear at year's end. The U.N. Special Rapporteur for Torture visited Jakarta and East Timor in November, but a workshop on human rights jointly sponsored by the Government and the United Nations was postponed at the latter's initiative in December.

SECTION 5. DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE, SEX, RELIGION, LANGUAGE, OR SOCIAL STATUS

Indonesians exhibit considerable tolerance for ethnic, racial, and major religious differences, with the important exception of official and informal discrimination against ethnic Chinese. 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 citizens, 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, can neither be imported nor produced domestically. Private instruction in Chinese is discouraged but takes place to a limited extent. No laws prohibit speaking Chinese, but the Government lays heavy stress on the learning and use of the national language, Bahasa Indonesia.

Many people of Chinese ancestry have nonetheless 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. Jakarta authorities have ended the practice of marking local identification cards to indicate Chinese ethnicity. However, 1991 saw a rise in anti-Chinese feeling in many quarters of Indonesian society, particularly against the affluent Chinese.

Under the law, and as President Soeharto and other officials periodically affirm, women are equal to and have the same rights, obligations, and opportunities as men. 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. Although women constitute one quarter of the civil service, they occupy only a small fraction of the service's top posts. Women 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 nutrition. Traditional attitudes which limit women's aspirations, activities, and status undercut state policy in some areas. Several voluntary, private

groups work actively to advance women's legal, economic, social, and political rights and acknowledge some success in gaining official cognizance of their concerns.

Violence against women is an acknowledged though inadequately documented problem. The Government has recognized domestic violence as a problem in Indonesian society and provides some counseling, as do several private organizations. However, cultural, social, psychological, and other factors inhibit reporting of such abuse and recourse by victims to counseling and legal protection.

SECTION 6. WORKER RIGHTS

a. The Right of Association

Private sector workers, including those in export-processing zones, are free to form or join unions without previous authorization, but in order to bargain on behalf of employees a union must meet the requirements for legal recognition and register with the Ministry of Manpower. The requirements for legal recognition are representation in at least 20 of the 27 provinces, branch offices in at least 100 districts, and 1,000 local units at plant level. The unions draw up their own constitutions and rules and elect their representatives while under close government scrutiny and subject to government approval prior to registration. Less than 6 percent of the estimated 78-million-member work force is organized. The All Indonesia Workers Union (SPSI), which groups together private sector workers, is the only recognized intersectoral trade union body. In 1990 the SPSI reorganized into 13 autonomous divisions, covering broad industrial sectors and specialized institutes. It has about 10,000 local units at the plant level and claims over 3 million members, although only about 900,000 actually pay dues.

In November 1990, a number of human rights campaigners created the Setia Kawan (Solidarity) free trade union, alleging that the SPSI had failed to defend worker interests adequately. While the Coordinating Minister for Political and Security Affairs initially stated that the Government would not approve the new trade union when it sought to register because to do so would violate the Government's single-trade union policy, he later indicated that the Government would tolerate the new organization if it did not do anything illegal. The Government has made no formal move to ban Setia Kawan. However, the Setia Kawan is not able to function as a labor union since it does not meet the requirement for legal recognition referred to above. Setia Kawan organizers have been harassed, and in June Secretary General Saut Aritonang reported he was abducted by armed men and detained for several days. Prior to this incident, Aritonang had indicated he would be going to Geneva to bring Setia Kawan's case before

the International Labor Organization (ILO) during the ILO's annual International Labor Conference at which the Indonesian Minister of Manpower would be president of the conference. The Indonesian Government has denied responsibility for Arintonang's disappearance, and Arintonang has not publicly speculated on the identity of his abductors.

Prior to the 1990 SPSI National Congress, the Joint Secretariat of Industrial Unions carried out certain limited trade union functions which excluded collective bargaining. At the 1990 Congress, however, a number of its principal leaders rejoined the SPSI and, while the Joint Secretariat continues to exist in name, it is not a functioning organization.

In 1990 the Teachers' Association (PGRI) was allowed to register as a trade union with exclusive jurisdiction for this sector. The PGRI, which consists of 1.3 million teachers, including teachers in religious, private, and public schools, has representation in all 27 provinces. It has not, however, attempted to bargain over wages and working conditions, preferring its traditional role of working with the Government to pursue the interests of its members. Some PGRI officials are employees of the Ministry of Education.

State enterprise employees and civil servants, including public school teachers, must belong to KORPRI, a nonunion association whose Central Development Council is chaired by the Minister of Home Affairs. In 1990, for the first time, a KORPRI subunit successfully negotiated four collective bargaining agreements with the state-owned coal company.

The Government and employers have considerable influence over SPSI affairs; a retired military lieutenant colonel and GOLKAR district chairman with some prior union experience is chairman of the largest provincial branch of the SPSI, primarily due to government backing. The Minister of Manpower is a member of the SPSI Consultative Council. SPSI officials are pressured to join GOLKAR, and GOLKAR members dominate the SPSI leadership. Several SPSI leaders are in the DPR and are members of the GOLKAR faction.

Under the ORMAS law (see Section 2.b.), government approval is needed for meetings outside union headquarters. Permission is routinely given. A union may be dissolved if the Government believes it is acting against Pancasila. There are no laws or regulations laying out the procedures for the dissolution of a union, and there have been no cases of union dissolution. The SPSI is free to maintain international contacts.

While Pancasila principles call for labor-management differences to be settled by consensus, all organized workers, with the exception of civil servants, have a legal right to strike. However, before a strike can occur in the private sector, the law requires intensive mediation by the Ministry of

Manpower and prior notice regarding the intent to strike. Most disputes are settled through negotiation and consensus, due in part at least to fear of police and employer retaliation. In 1991 there was a significant increase in the number of strikes, especially on the part of workers demanding employer compliance with the legal minimum wage. In a number of instances, the military or police were called to the scene of the strike. The nature of military and police involvement at work stoppage sites has been varied. Most often the security forces have limited themselves to protecting property and preventing violence, although there have been reports of conscious attempts to intimidate strikers. Their mere presence has no doubt had a dampening effect on the willingness of workers to pursue strike or other protest activity. However, there have also been reports that military officers have attempted to mediate at strike sites and worked to settle disputes to which they were called.

The largest strike, involving approximately 12,000 workers engaged in the manufacture of automobile tires in the industrial area west of Jakarta, prompted the Minister of Political Affairs and Security to charge that "would-be heroes" and other unnamed parties were behind the recent strikes. On several occasions the Minister of Manpower stated the strikes were the result of workers' increasing awareness of their legal rights. During the first 11 months of 1991, there were 112 officially recorded strikes compared to 45 for all of 1990. Most of these strikes were wildcat and so technically illegal, but there were no reports of strike leaders or workers being prosecuted for conducting them. Many strikes occur suddenly and without prior attempts to resolve problems and may not be included in official statistics. There have been a few reports of employer retaliation against strike leaders, but this seems to be the exception and not the rule. Most strikes are settled relatively quickly and all workers return to work.

Strike outcomes varied. In some cases employers have quickly complied with worker demands that salaries be increased to the legal minimum wage. Others have been less successful with workers returning to work with only partial gains or none at all. In practice there are no clear, established procedures regarding the settlement of disputes. If the parties cannot settle the matter, it is usually submitted to the Ministry of Manpower's Mediation and Conciliation Service. If the parties do not accept the mediator's decision, the mediator or either party may submit the matter to tripartite (government, employers, employees) administrative tribunals or to arbitration. The Minister of Manpower may nullify the decisions of administrative tribunals on legal or national interest grounds. Although technically the Minister's decisions may be

appealed to the courts, in practice it is rarely done.

Indonesia has for many years been the subject of complaints in the ILO regarding the ban on organizing public sector unions, insufficient protection against antiunion discrimination, restrictions on the registration of trade unions and collective bargaining, and the exercise of the right to strike. The ILO Conference in June again regretted that Indonesian law was still not in conformity with the requirements of ILO Convention 98, which Indonesia has ratified.

b. The Right to Organize and Bargain Collectively

Collective bargaining is provided for by law, but only registered trade unions can engage in it. The Ministry of Manpower vigorously promotes collective bargaining as an instrument of industrial relations in accordance with Pancasila. The overwhelming majority of the SPSI's collective bargaining agreements are negotiated and concluded bilaterally with employers. Once notified that 25 employees have joined a registered union, the employer is under an obligation to bargain. As a transitional stage to encourage collective bargaining, regulations require that every company which has 25 or more employees must 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 has consulted with a committee consisting of employer and employee representatives, in the absence of a union. Of the approximately 10,000 SPSI units, only about half 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 Ministry of Manpower for mediation and arbitration. In practice, most negotiations are concluded within the 30-day period. Agreements are for 2 years and can be extended for 1 more.

Labor law applies equally in export processing zones. While some companies in these zones have SPSI units, none have negotiated collective bargaining agreements. Regulations expressly forbid employers prejudging or harassing employees because of union membership, and employees are urged to report harassment to the Government. The SPSI claims that some employers discriminate against its members and those wishing to form SPSI units.

Many strikes and protests take place in support of fired union officials. Charges of antiunion discrimination are handled by the administrative tribunals. Many union members believe that the tribunals generally side with the employer. Because of this perceived partiality, many workers reject or avoid the process and present their disputes

before the Parliament and other agencies. Workers can organize without restriction in a private enterprise, even if it is designated vital by the Government, subject to the recognition procedures discussed above. If the State has a partial interest, the enterprise is considered to be in the public service domain, but this does not legally limit organizing. There are a significant number of government/private joint enterprises which have labor unions and which bargain collectively.

c. Prohibition of Forced or Compulsory Labor

Forced labor is prohibited by law. However, in 1990 credible reports asserted that military and civilian officials in Irian Jaya cooperate with Jakarta-based timber companies to compel Asmat tribespeople to cut down trees and transport them downstream to waiting ships, and that the Government resettlement program raises serious questions of informed consent. There are also documented reports of labor contractors in Jakarta selling girls as domestic servants or to brothels near plantations, and of men sold as agricultural workers. The Government responded that it was investigating the allegations. The Government did not release the results of this investigation, however, in 1990 or 1991.

d. Minimum Age for Employment of Children

Child labor continues to be a major problem. The Ministry of Manpower acknowledges that there is a class of children under age 14 who, for socioeconomic reasons, must work and notes that the child labor laws, which provide detailed safeguards, have not been fully enforced.

Employers are supposed to report in detail on every child employed, and the Ministry of Manpower is supposed to carry out periodic inspections. Employers not complying with the law and regulations are legally subject to fines of \$65 and/or up to 3 months in jail for each infraction, but the Government still relies on persuasion and teaching employers rather than penalizing them. The Ministry of Manpower continues to admit that employer compliance with the regulations is inadequate (less than 50 percent of companies employing children have registered), and that it still lacks enough qualified inspectors to carry out inspections. Observers claim that over 2 million children under the age of 14 are working half- to full-time, mostly in family-run businesses in the informal sector and at agricultural sites, where enforcement is difficult. Efforts to control child labor focus primarily on instituting educational programs for working children.

e. Acceptable Conditions of Work

The law establishes 7-hour workdays and 40-hour workweeks, with one-half hour of rest for each 4 hours of work. It provides for

a 24-hour rest period each week. Regulations allow employers to deviate from the normal work hours upon request to the Minister of Manpower with the agreement of the employees. In the absence of a national minimum wage, minimum wages are established by regional wage councils working under the supervision of the National Wage Council. This is a quadripartite body consisting of representatives from labor, management, government, and universities. It also establishes 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. The minimum wage rates constantly lag far behind the basic needs figures and fall short of providing a decent standard of living.

Observance of minimum wage and other laws regulating benefits and labor standards varies from sector to sector and from region to region. Employer violations of these guarantees are considered to be fairly common and often the subject of strikes and employee protests. Government supervision and enforcement have been weak or nonexistent. In May 1989, the Manpower Minister issued regulations giving ministry officials a legal basis to carry out periodic inspections and providing for fines or imprisonment for employers who do not comply. In March 1990, spurred on by an Asian-American Free Labor Institute/SPSI minimum wage compliance project, which showed that 50 to 70 percent of employers in three targeted areas in Jakarta were paying less than the minimum wages, the Manpower Minister began to prosecute some employers for violating minimum wage regulations in order to set an example.

Both law and regulations provide for minimum standards of industrial health and safety. In the more profitable and largely Western-operated oil sector, safety and health programs function reasonably well. However, safety and health programs in the country's over 100,000 large, registered companies in the non-oil sector are still hampered by the limited number of qualified inspectors from the Ministry of Manpower (less than 1,300), the slowness with which the firms establish the required plant-safety committees, the need for more and better training of government inspectors and plant-safety personnel, and the lack of employee appreciation for sound health and safety practices. A National Health and Safety Council, an advisory body established under the Ministry of Manpower, was created in 1990 to oversee the enforcement efforts of over 6,000 company safety committees. Workers are obligated to report hazardous working conditions, and employers are prevented by law from retaliating against those who do, but in practice enforcement is weak.

TRANSCRIPT OF CORNELL UNIVERSITY CONFERENCE

(DECEMBER 9, 1991)

Narrator: Our panel discussion will start with Amy Goodman, who is correspondent for WBAI Pacifica Radio in New York and who was present in East Timor at the massacre.

AMY GOODMAN

Why don't I start by giving you an eye-witness account of what actually happened on the morning of November 12. It was a Tuesday morning. I along with Alan Nairn survived a massacre, and we are here to tell you about it. It was early in the morning, around 7:00, and there was a mass at the Motael Church, a Catholic church in Dili. It was a mass commemorating the funeral two weeks earlier of a young man named Sebastiao Gomes, who had been killed when soldiers surrounded the Church and shot into it. We arrived a few hours after that and attended the funeral, and covered it the day after. On that day, two weeks before the massacre, about a thousand people went from the funeral, along with the body of Gomes, up to the cemetery, chanting slogans like "Viva, Sebastiao" and "Viva, East Timor," went into the cemetery and buried Sebastiao Gomes. They then went home.

Two weeks later, on November 12, this was a commemoration. They had a mass, and they retraced the steps of the procession. Only this time, there were more people. There were not just a thousand people. It started out about fifteen hundred people in front of the church after the mass. Young men and women unfurled banners – that was different from two weeks earlier – and those banners said things like "Indonesia, why you shoot our church" and "Portugal, we are your responsibility." And they walked up and wound through the streets of Dili. As they walked, many people joined them, thousands of people: girls in their Catholic school uniforms, little children who were five and six years old, coming from their homes, people from their work places, and old women in Timorese garb, traditional long costumes. They joined this procession and went up to the cemetery, just like two weeks earlier.

The difference came at the cemetery. There, the young girls that you saw in the film were carrying flowers to put on Sebastiao Gomes' grave. Some people had gone into the cemetery, and there were still thousands outside it. Along this road to the cemetery, there were two high walls on either side: on this side, the Santa Cruz cemetery where he was buried, on this side the military cemetery. The people were trapped by these two walls except for an

opening in the cemetery, of the people's cemetery's wall, that people could go through. I was standing there and interviewing people - this was the end of the procession and people were about to go home. That is, until a truck, carrying about fifty soldiers came in this direction and blocked off this route. Then from the other direction, which was where the procession had come from, hundreds of soldiers marched up in formation, holding their M 16's, about ten across. Marching, slowly, together, and everyone is over here. There is a collective gasp that goes up. It is quiet, and people start to step back. Could it be that they were actually going to fire? I still couldn't believe that.

At that point Alan said - we were about at the front of where these people were - "Why don't we right to the front." And with my headphones, and my tape recorder, and my mike out like a flag, and Alan with a camera above his head, he said, "They're unlikely to do something rash in front of Western observers." Clearly, we were documenting the situation. So we came forward and stood between the Timorese people and the soldiers as they marched up. Well, we were wrong. The soldiers came up here, without missing a beat. The first rows spread out in a line, in front of the people, about twelve to fifteen of them, picked up their weapons, their M16s, and started firing into the crowd without missing a beat. Not a warning, no provocation, everyone just stepping back and trying to get out of the gun fire, which was impossible.

At that point - we were standing right here, on the corner - another group of soldiers came and grabbed my microphone, which I had held out, and they shook it in my face, as if to say, "This is what we don't want." Then they pulled me forward, pulled me to the ground and started beating me with rifle butts, kicking me and punching me in the face. Alan was right behind me with his camera, and got a shot of the soldiers shooting into the crowd, until he was hit. As he was being beaten, he was able to throw himself over me, and so I sustained much less severe injuries. Alan, on top of me, was getting beaten very, very hard. They fractured his skull, and they kept beating him. He was drenched in blood, and they kept beating him.

We were right behind the line of fire. At this point, they had stripped us of everything. I had no tape recorder, microphone, headphones. They had taken everything of Alan's, including his passport. And all we could say, as they had us on the ground, was "We are from America, America. The same place where those M16s come from. We are from America." They kicked me in the stomach, and I said it again. I showed my passport, the only thing I had left, they threw it back, and we just said, "America, America" as others joined in. Then they took the M16s and put them to our head, and

they were screaming at us. But they decided not to execute us. They turned to an older Timorese man that they had dragged over, and they started beating him into the sewer next to us. And every time he picked up his head, they took their rifle butts and they smashed it down on his skull. And every time he picked it up again, they would take their black boots and crush it down.

At that point, a jeep pulled up and we were able to get into it. Despite the fact that Alan was covered with blood and we were badly beaten, we were extremely lucky. Because, everywhere around us were dead Timorese. The soldiers had moved into that crowd, and were continuing to pick off the people who were left standing. They were then surrounding the cemetery, and we heard continued shots. We got in the truck. The person in the jeep carried the old man into the jeep, and we started driving off to the hospital. A little ways down the road, a young Timorese man hailed the jeep down. It stopped, and dozens more Timorese jumped into this jeep. Dozens inside the windows, climbing on the roof, climbing on the back, hanging onto the spare wheel. People were falling off, and others were climbing on because the soldiers were surrounding the area and executing everyone inside. Everyone was trying to get out.

We went to the hospital where we saw a boy with a gunshot in his back, another boy being operated on, people laying on the floor. The carnage was there, it was at the cemetery, it was everywhere, and we continued to hear gunshots. We were then able to go to two hiding places and to decide what to do. Fortunately, there were two planes out of the country that day, at 1:00 and at 1:30, and we were able to get onto the last plane.

As we left, the soldiers were breaking into houses, and rounding more people up. Yet this, amazingly enough for this description, is not unusual for East Timor. What is unusual is that Western observers were there to witness it. There was a TV camera man, as you saw in the film, from Yorkshire TV, who was in the cemetery, and he filmed the people running in terror, tripping over the ones who were wounded. When the soldiers came at him, he buried the videotape in the cemetery. He came back in the dead of night, dug it up, and got it out of the country. And that's what you were able to see.

We had spent two weeks before this day, and already the people were suffering from a level of intimidation that was as high as it had been in 1975. They were expecting the Portuguese delegation to come to investigate the human rights situation, and so were the soldiers. How they prepared the people, they went from village to village. We have the names of soldiers and we have dates of village meetings where they met with everyone and said, "If you speak to the Portuguese delegation, we will kill you after they leave, and we have dug the mass graves

to bury you in." This was the atmosphere in which this demonstration and procession took place. The Bishop said the common line of the Indonesian soldiers to the people of Timor, said over and over again, is "If you speak, we will kill your family to the seventh generation."

I'll end by saying that last week, Indonesia banned me and Alan from returning to the country, to Indonesia, or East Timor. If Indonesia wants to cut back on the negative publicity which stemmed from this event, then they should stop the killing and the tensions and the tortures that have continued beyond the November 12 massacre. And finally, they should abide by the 1975 and 1976 UN Security council resolutions calling for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor without delay.

Narrator: Thank you, Amy. We turn now to Allan Nairn, who's role has already been described. Allan is a writer with The New Yorker magazine.

ALLAN NAIRN

Thank you. On November 12 we survived the massacre carried out with US weapons and we survived a crime. Standing there, and after a few seconds, lying there on the road as they were beating us with those M16s it was very clear that we were at the scene of a crime. All around us people were falling. Just walking up the street with these people a few minutes before, I'd been talking to many of them. There was one young man who said, "They don't respect our church; they don't respect our freedom of religion, and that's why we're marching." And he mentioned that he thought he might die that day, but he was prepared to. And I don't know how many of the people that I spoke to on that march died in the street because it was very hard to keep track of individuals - the soldiers were just pouring round after round of automatic fire into this crowd of people. The people had been standing still; the march was over. The soldiers when they opened fire were about as far from the crowd as I am from the front row here and the soldiers stretched out across the road would have reached from, say, a few yards to the right of this table here to a few yards to the left. And actually the crowd, the space that the crowd of people took up was probably about the size of this audience. And now just imagine in front of you, standing behind me, two or three or four or five hundred other troops, all of them with M16s, who would simply raise the rifles and point them at you and open fire, and keep firing for from 5 to 10 minutes: that's what happened to the Timorese that day. And, its something that's... it's completely indescribable. It's as if hell opened up and suddenly appeared right there on that street outside the cemetery. People were falling everywhere, you heard the pop of the automatic fire, with smoke in the air. There was some

crying out, but mainly it was a fairly quiet scene. All you really heard at first was the gunfire as the street was getting wet with blood. And they didn't stop: the soldiers just kept on firing. At one point they had a hard time advancing down the street because it was just clotted with bodies, and so they had to step around and leap over the bodies to shoot in the back the people who were still running away.

Now the Indonesian government has said that this is something that requires further investigation and they've appointed a commission to do so. The U.S. State Department has also said that this is something that requires further investigation, and they are waiting for the results of Indonesia's investigation before they will discuss any action on what happened. Well, you don't need much of an investigation to see what happened. This was as simple as it gets: this is as simple as an interaction between people can get. You had cold-blooded, face to face murder of dozens upon dozens upon dozens of people. The US government responded to this by condemning the massacre. They condemned it by saying that the amount of force that the army used was clearly disproportionate to whatever threat the army faced. Well the only threat the army faced was the fact that these people were speaking, that these people were engaging in public assembly, the fact that these people were engaging in politics, something which is prohibited in East Timor. But the State Department said in the next breath that they were not going to cut back the US military or economic aid to Indonesia.

Now, as many of you probably know, the original invasion of East Timor was launched on December 7, 1975, about a day and a half after President Ford and Henry Kissinger met with Suharto of Indonesia. Immediately after the invasion, the following year, the US doubled its military aid. After that, year after year, as verified reports of massacres and a policy of forced starvation came in, the US increased its aid to Indonesia. What this amounts to, in any, I think, objective assessment of the facts, is that the United States sees what Indonesia is doing in East Timor and they decide that what Indonesia is doing in East Timor is consistent enough with US objectives to renew the military aid. If this were a domestic crime, this would be an indictable offense. The United States is in an objective sense acting as an accomplice to Indonesia. If you provide a gun to someone who robs a convenience store, and the clerk dies in the robbery, you can be charged as an accomplice. If you provide a gun to someone who's murdered before, and they go out and murder again, and you provide them with another gun, and another gun and another gun, you're clearly an accomplice to that crime.

If you look at the Nuremberg principles, which were developed in the trials of the Nazis after World War II, they make it clear that those who can be punished for crimes against humanity, which are defined as mass killing and torture for political purposes, include not just the principals, meaning those who pulled the trigger; not just those Indonesian troops who were standing there with their M16s, pouring their fire into the crowd, but also, as the Nuremberg principles put it, accomplices, be they politicians or statesmen. And that is the role that the government of the United States, among other governments, has played in the killings of East Timor. And simply as a human being, simply as an American, someone who happened to have survived this latest massacre, only the latest of many, I just have to say that it has to stop. That any American citizen who knows what has happened here, who has any basic respect for the rule of law, for very simple rules of decency, has to demand that it stops.

Right now, even as we're meeting here, it's 8:20 in the evening, that means it's 9:20 in the morning in Dili, in East Timor, right now the army is most likely sweeping through the streets, continuing the roundups of Timorese. Just this morning I spoke to someone who was in direct contact with Dili, who was getting the word that the assassinations and the torture continue. A couple of weeks ago they took a group of young people out of Dili and brought them to an Indonesian military base, and as they were torturing them they were taunting them, saying, "You see, the world hasn't responded, the United States hasn't responded. You are all alone, you are our captives, you are at our mercy." Well, what they were saying wasn't entirely true, in fact there has been an international response. This massacre has gotten more attention than anything in the history of East Timor. It's become a major national issue in Australia, in Portugal, it's become an important issue in Canada, in England, throughout the European community and Japan; in the United States its gotten more press attention than East Timor ever has before, even though it's not nearly the attention it should have gotten. But still in a sense those Indonesian torturers were right, because the world has yet to take action. The United States is continuing its aid; the United Nations has not acted through the security council or any other body; nations like Portugal which have called for international action have not taken any action themselves in the United Nations, in the third committee or in the security council. Action is possible now; there's a growing international climate of pressure and opinion which makes possible a change in US policy. Just three days ago 52 members of the US Senate released a letter they had sent to President Bush calling on him to push for self-determination for East Timor. There's a

resolution which has been passed, a sense-of-the-Senate resolution, which calls for the same thing. In the US House, Congressman Wolf of Virginia, Congressman Porter of Ohio, Congressman Downey of New York are going to be pushing for a cut-off of US aid to Indonesia, but none of this has happened yet. As of now the killings continue, as of now the US arming of the Indonesians continues. And unless Americans take action, and unless Americans decide this is going to stop, more people will probably die today, and more people will probably die tomorrow. It's that simple, it's that clear, and it's that blunt, and it's a matter of simple human decency now for people in this country to take action and bring this slaughter to an end.

Narrator: Thank you. Now we will proceed to the remarks of Dr. Antonio Pais who is the Press Consul to the Portuguese Embassy to the United Nations, and follow that with a talk by Mr. Jose Guterres and Ben Anderson at the end, and then discussion. I'll turn my microphone over to Dr. Pais.

ANTONIO PAIS

Thank you very much. I'd like to congratulate you now first of all for making this event possible here. Unfortunately, the motive that made possible this gathering here was a very sad and unfortunate one. A loss of more than one hundred innocent lives was necessary to make the world finally face and pay attention to one of the most outrageous cases of human rights violations of our times, and one that has lasted for sixteen years now. East Timor is a non-self governing territory for which Portugal has special responsibilities as the administering power recognized by the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

Throughout the years, Portugal has constantly denounced the human rights violations in East Timor carried out since the military invasion carried out by Indonesia took place in 1975. This situation has been characterized by systematic practice of extra-judicial executions, torture, and ill-treatment, disappearances, arbitrary arrests, and political imprisonment, to name just a few of the most blatant violations of basic human rights and fundamental human freedoms. Although our assessment of the seriousness of the situations was supported by numerous reports from reliable and independent sources, the denials and the campaign of misinformation carried out by Indonesia, in its attempt to close the territory to the outside world, led some members of the international community to admit that Portugal was perhaps exaggerating a bit in its accusations. Sadly enough, the recent events have come to demonstrate in a tragic manner that our assessment of the situation was well-founded.

Now, what can we do? What could and should Portugal do to remedy this situation? A year ago, the United Nations Security Council adopted a dozen resolutions to force Iraq out of Kuwait. To implement these resolutions, the US and the members states moved more than a quarter of a million troops into the Middle East, making the launching of a devastating war in the name of the United Nations. We all know the outcome of the war: Iraq was finally forced out of Kuwait. Ladies and gentlemen, between 1975 and 1982, the United Nations adopted no fewer than ten resolutions calling for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and for the people of East Timor to exercise their right of self-determination. The United States and the world community did not send one single soldier to implement the UN resolutions. The world didn't move a finger. And Portugal, as we are all aware, is no big power. We have no big fleet or a large air force that could be sent to rescue the Timorese people. Portugal is a small country.

So, the answer lies in the international community. Only the international community, with its pressure, can make Indonesia play within the limits of international law. All we can do at the national – I mean Portuguese – level is to carry a stronger diplomatic campaign throughout the world, especially with our friends and allies, reminding them of their moral obligations, reminding them that there can be no double standards in world affairs, that what is good for Kuwait or Namibia or for Western Sahara has to be good for East Timor too.

The world has changed dramatically during the past decade. Everywhere we are witnessing rapid changes brought about by growing and irreversible aspirations to see those rights and freedoms effectively recognized and observed. The evolution taking place in Europe, Southern Africa and other regions around the world is tending towards the establishment of more democratic forms of government. It is also pointing to the recognition of the paramount importance for the international community to preventing and to suppressing any acts of aggression against its smaller and weaker members. And also to fight against human rights abuses and to uphold the right of the peoples to self-determination. Well, if this is the general trend, why should East Timor be the exception?

As I said before, there is a diplomatic effort that has been carried out. Portugal is now putting some pressure at the United Nations level, asking that a UN sponsored Commission of Inquiry be sent to East Timor as soon as possible to conduct an impartial, thorough and internationally acceptable investigation into what has occurred there. We deny Indonesia any legitimacy to conduct such an inquiry. The commission appoint by the government of Jakarta will

convert the indispensable investigation into a mockery.

On the other hand, Portugal, which is a member of the European Community, which achieved a major diplomatic victory last week when the twelve foreign ministers unanimously approved a declaration for the first time, condemning Indonesia for its brutality and calling for a thorough, credible investigation by impartial and independent experts. At the same time, it warns Indonesia that the twelve will review their cooperation with Jakarta in light of the response of the Indonesian authorities. Finally, the twelve members of the EEC stress their support for a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the issue. This was a major diplomatic breakthrough, that Portugal will certainly follow up during the next six months, starting January first when it holds the rotating presidency of the EEC.

Ladies and Gentlemen, our diplomatic efforts are being made mainly in Australia, Japan, Canada, and, of course, the United States. As we all know, both houses of Congress have passed several weeks ago a resolution condemning Indonesia and suggesting that assistance to Jakarta should be reviewed. But a lot more has to be done, since the congressional protests have so far fallen on deaf ears in the White House. And, let's face it, ladies and gentlemen, the United States is the key that can bring a solution to East Timor. And when the President of the United States is calling for a new world order based on the generally accepted principles of freedom, human rights and self-determination, we don't understand that these principles do not apply to East Timor. All we are asking the United States and the international community is to give Timor a chance. Give them a chance to exercise their right of self-determination. That's all. Thank you.

Narrator: Thank you. The next speaker is Mr. Jose Guterres who is the Fretilin Representative to the U.N. We're very fortunate that Jose could be here with us today and give us the point of view of the independence movement. Thank you.

JOSÉ LUIS GUTERRES

I thank you for this opportunity. Fretilin is a political party created in '74 and our main objective is to create a democratic and independent East Timor. I think that some here might ask why such a small country, with a small population, has the courage to face one of the largest and powerful countries in Southeast Asia, Indonesia. I think that if any of you present here, if your country is invaded by another neighbor, if you see your family, relatives, friends assassinated by the invaders, by the occupation forces, I think that none of you will refuse to stand up and say "no" to those killings and have the courage to do something

for your people. And I think that this is true also for my Indonesian brothers, perhaps some of them are here, and I'm not Indonesian but what I'm fighting for is freedom for my country and freedom for my people. Indonesian history shows us.....to the war, progress, when those Indonesian nationalists first fought the Netherlands, they gave to the.....countries some kind of hope and example. President Sukarno is one of the best images, that today is....lost by the Indonesian people.

We in East Timor.....also, when we look to Indonesian history, admire Indonesian history and their people. And I want to make clear, again, that we are not against the Indonesians. We are fighting a system that brought to the Indonesian people also many sufferings. I don't know how many people died in '64 [sic] when this government came to power. I don't know how many Indonesians are still in prison. I don't know how many former political prisoners that do not have any right to free access to [the] labor market and even their families, [their] children, do not have the right to education like all the [other] Indonesian citizens. That's why the question of the invasion of East Timor is also, I think, that when we talk about this we must look also to those Indonesian people that are still fighting, struggling, for democracy in their own country. And for the young generation in Indonesia that I have met some years ago and have met during these years in Europe and in the US, have all the respect and my sympathy to these courageous students that with many difficulties they are fighting also a regime that's in my opinion, I could be wrong, I think that this is the regime most brutal and the most repressive that now exists in this world today. I could be wrong, but this is my opinion. And what they are doing in East Timor goes beyond all imagination. We have been suffering this kind of massacres since '75. Unhappy [sic] at that time, no cameraman was present, and also the Indonesian soldiers, they did or they came to kill, first in October, in the border area, they killed five Australians, New Zealand and British journalists. Later, on the 7th December they killed also an Australian journalist.....and that's why, one of the reasons why many, after the Indonesian invasion, not so much news we receive from the international press.

As you all know, that unhappily, the American administration during these years did not pay any attention at all to the human rights situation, to the East Timorese fight for freedom and independence. The Carter administration gave all the support that Indonesia needed in their fight against Fretilin forces. In '79 the war in East Timor was practically in a stalemate. Fretilin resistance was able to force Indonesian troops to be only in the coastal areas. At that time many Timorese were in the Fretilin-controlled areas. But with American support:

..... anti-guerrilla aircraft, and other weapons from other Western countries, we faced many bombardments, many attacks, aerial bombardments, neighborhood bombardments, and so the majority of our forces and the majority of our people were obliged to surrender to Indonesia troops inside the occupation areas. And since then, the guerrillas' tactics have been changing. At that time we need to face, to defend a large population in our areas, and the guerrillas were not able to be mobile and move freely. And today the situation has changed, and the guerrillas in East Timor now are still effective and waiting for the hour to initiate again the armed resistance.

But for some years, since three years ago we have been relying on the international community to help bring a peaceful solution for Timor. We have proposed several times to the Indonesian government to have negotiations without any preconditions. In '83 we did have a meeting with the Indonesian commander in East Timor, Colonel Purwanto, and it was possible to arrange a cease-fire for one month, but it [was] broken by the Indonesian army initiative [sic]. And we feel that Indonesian military are not yet prepared to initiate a frank discussion and dialogue with what they call, what the military call the East Timorese, their own "brothers." But the image that we have seen, I think that nobody will kill their brother like what they did and what we saw.

And what we are looking for today, is, under the auspices of the United Nations, we can have a referendum for East Timor, that can give the people of East Timor a chance to decide for themselves, under international supervision, what they really want. If they want integration with Indonesia, that's OK, I will be happy in Jakarta or some place in Indonesia. If they want independence, please let the people of East Timor decide and be independent.

But sometimes... I talked many years ago with [an] Indonesian scientist and he told me about the government arguments that they were sent to East Timor to help the Timorese because Timor is very poor, andthey want to help. But the reality is not this. East Timor is rich in oil and natural gas. That's why a democratic country like Australia forgets about it's principles and signs this Timor Gap Treaty. But I'm happy also to say that the Portuguese government has a mission applying to the International Court of Justice and I hope some decision will come as soon as possible.

One thing that you can ask is what is Fretilin? Are we left, center, or Communist or Marxist, or what ideology we have? I can say to you that Fretilin does not have any ideology. we are just a resistance movement, and we have a political problem that indicates [sic] us to struggle by all means to find a peaceful solution and fight until a referendum, internationally supervised, can be held in East Timor. The political system

that we are looking for East Timor is a multi-party system, with free market economy, and we would like very much to have in the future good relations with our neighbors, including Indonesia. And we would like to also, I would like to appeal to all of you to do what you can, at least encourage a dialogue, encourage a peaceful solution for East Timor. Help also the Indonesian democratic movement, and for the United States citizens, I think that what you can do is write to your members of Congress and to your President to say, to raise your complaints, and to at least say that you don't want that these massacres continue in East Timor and you want, like for everybody else, a peaceful solution and [to] give a chance to [the] East Timorese, a chance for democracy. Thank you.

Professor Benedict Anderson is Aaron Binenkorb Professor of International Studies at Cornell University. He has testified before Congress as a recognized expert on Indonesia and East Timor.

BENEDICT ANDERSON

What I want to do in the time available is not to speak about Indonesia so much as the United States, which has had an enormous responsibility over the years for the catastrophes and tragedies that have happened in East Timor. When I say the United States, I don't mean American citizens, obviously. I don't even really mean the Congress. What I mean is a series of administrations, starting with President Ford up through President Bush. I would just like to highlight four things which will illustrate four separate aspects of the deep White House complicity in what has happened in East Timor, and then I would like to give a brief description of what I think are the reasons for this complicity. Then I would like to conclude with a couple of remarks about why I think the present situation in fact has changed rather substantially from what it was, say, 10 years ago or even 5 years ago.

First, direct American complicity has already been alluded to in the initial invasion. Alan Nairn brought this up, and he was absolutely right to do so. The fact is that when President Ford and Henry Kissinger arrived in Jakarta just prior the invasion, the Administration was fully informed of what the Indonesians planned to do. More importantly, they were fully informed that 90% of the weapons that were going to be used in the invasion of East Timor were provided by the United States. They were also fully aware of the fact that those weapons had been given to Indonesia under the 1958 bilateral US/Indonesia agreement on one condition, which prohibited the use of these weapons for external purposes. What happened in effect was not only that the United States winked at the use of American weapons, they also winked at the invasion, and they winked at the fact that an agreement they themselves had been party

to was being violated by the Indonesian government. In effect, what Kissinger told the Indonesians was, "Well, go ahead and do it, but make sure it's over quickly." The first point is direct implication of the Kissinger/Ford regime in this initial gross violation of the Timorese people's right to determine their future.

The second thing I would like to mention is that a small place like East Timor, up against an enormous country like Indonesia with lots of friends in the outside for various reasons, had one thing going for it, at least initially, and that was the widespread sympathy promoted in the outside world. It was very important for East Timorese people to have access to the outside world. Up until 1983, the United Nations General Assembly every year passed a resolution condemning Indonesia's invasion and requiring withdrawal or asking for withdrawal from East Timor. This was always ignored, of course, by Indonesia. The important point about this is that as long as the United Nations was handling the issue, as long as there were debates every year, as long as the Security Council heard the issue, East Timor was visible internationally. And here is the second crucial role of the United States. The key role was played from 1976 on by now Senator Patrick Moynihan who was then the US Representative to the United Nations. In his memoirs, he boasts of the fact that he worked extremely hard from 1976 on to break down bit by bit, using all the various muscles that the United States has available to it, to chip pieces away from the support that East Timor and other places in the world that were in trouble like this had, so that gradually the support for East Timor whittled down little by little until it passed off the annual agenda in 1983. That meant that the United States had a central role in removing East Timor from international visibility. Senator Patrick Moynihan, in his own memoirs, of course on instructions from the White House, played this role. So that's the second thing. The US has played a central role in silencing from the world information on East Timor.

Thirdly, in the early years of the invasion, the Indonesians had a great deal of difficulty, as Jose Guterres has said. In fact, the United States State Department conceded in the end of 1977 that - that's about eighteen months after the invasion - that not more than one third of the population of East Timor was actually under Indonesian control. Two thirds were still under the control of the resistance. Well, this seemed a very intolerable situation to military commanders in Jakarta, and they needed help. What they needed was something that would do two things. One thing was to bring the population of East Timor under the government's control. The only way that could be done was to force people out of the mountainous interior of East Timor into the plains near the cities where they could be

put under direct military control in settlement camps. The only way that could be done was by driving them out of the hills. Here, the United States played its third crucial role, because it began to ship in the fall of 1976 what Jose Guterres has mentioned, OV-10 Broncos, an aircraft which was specially designed in the Vietnam War period for close-up counter-insurgency operations. These aircraft have heavy firepower, operate very close to the ground, and can be used very effectively in destroying crops, and in terrorizing rural populations. It was the OB10s more than anything else that started to make people flee the mountains and the hill-sides out of hunger and starvation and fear, and to go down to the plains, where they were put into enormous resettlement camps.

The interesting thing about this, which gives you again an idea of how the White House operated – this was the late Ford, early Carter administration – was that the Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, in fact, informed Congress that the United States was so deeply shocked at what Indonesia was doing in East Timor that they had decided to suspend delivery of weapons to Indonesia to express the deep concern of the White House. This was told to Congress. Of course it turned out to be a flat lie. Benjamin Rafkin[?] subsequently proved that throughout the period of the so-called suspension of weapons because of deep shock, OB10 Broncos were going through non-stop. Furthermore, even more absurdly, it turns out that the Indonesian government had never been informed that these arms had been suspended. For good reason, for they had been going on all the time.

So, the point is that here is another major element in US complicity. It is in this period that the enormous population losses in East Timor took place. People died by the tens of thousands from starvation and from diseases that are associated with that, sitting in camps with no means of livelihood, deprived of the land in which they had lived and so forth, as well as the usual killing, executions and so forth. Nobody, not even the Indonesian foreign minister, not this one but the one before, who (se nephew) I think is living maybe here, in fact said, that in his estimation, probably 150,000 people had died, which is between a fourth and a third of the population. The former Vice President of Indonesia, Adam Malik, once said that “Well, 50,000, 80,000, so what?” in public. Now that, again, is American complicity. If it hadn’t been for these OB10 Broncos and the associated counter-insurgency campaigns, these people wouldn’t have died.

The last thing I want to mention is that when the situation became extremely grave, in 1978, the American ambassador, then Ambassador Edward Masters finally went, three years after the invasion, to East Timor with a reporter from the New York Times,

William Keagan, and some other diplomats. Keagan reported in September of 1978 that all the ambassadors were deeply shocked by the conditions that they saw: starvation, etcetera, etcetera. Something had to be done. However, it turned out that nothing, in fact, was done. Internal State Department documents show that it was not until June 1979, after nine months of being deeply shocked by these conditions, that actually even a proposal for providing humanitarian aid to the population of East Timor took place. There’s only one simple reason for that, which was, that the Indonesian government said, “We don’t want aid coming in now. We have to get control of the situation.” “All right. If that’s the way you feel about it, we won’t do anything.” So that’s four crucial things, and that is complicity in the initial invasion, complicity in removing East Timor as an issue internationally, complicity in the counter-insurgency campaigns that produced these extraordinary losses of life, and complicity in withholding humanitarian aid when it could have been delivered. Very important.

Now, the reasons for this, I think, everyone already should be pretty clear about, but I’ll just quickly mention them. First, the fact that this is an enormous, resource-rich country, Indonesia, which sits astride the international waters between the Pacific and the Indian Oceans, and one of the crucial channels between the Indian and Pacific Oceans runs through Timorese territory. It is a deep-water channel, and the Indonesian government made a secret agreement with the United States government permitting United States nuclear submarines to pass through these waters without surfacing. Normally under another country’s waters, nuclear submarines have to surface. The United States asked Indonesia if it would be all right if they did that because there would be Soviet satellites watching. Second, there’s the oil resources and the business opportunities which the government has made very much available to American businesses. Third, Indonesia’s President Suharto earned enormous gratitude in Washington because in 1965 he managed to destroy the three million-strong communist party in Indonesia in a campaign which resulted in certainly a half a million people being massacred, not in East Timor but in Indonesia, thereby, as it were, rescuing the biggest country in Southeast Asia from the communist threat, at a time when the US was having grave difficulties in Indochina, without a single drop of American blood being shed. So they earned gratitude there. It is also to be said, that East Timor is very unlucky in the moment of declaring its independence at the end of 1975, because that was the year in which the countries of Indochina moved into communist hands and the United States was humiliated in Vietnam. Therefore, it was very unlikely at that time to challenge or to restrain Indonesia,

especially when Indonesian military personnel were saying, “You better watch out. There’s going to be a communist state in East Timor, and it’s going to be spying on what the nuclear submarines and so forth do.” And finally, the last thing I suppose that has to be mentioned is that the Indonesian government was quite moderate in OPEC after 1973, and, in that sense, also earned American gratitude at the time of the enormous increase in oil prices.

My question is, has the situation changed in any substantive way? I would say that, in some respects, yes. First of all, the nuclear submarine issue and the passage through the Timorese Straits is no longer very serious, given that the Cold War has come to an end. Being terrified of communism is obviously no longer an issue; what would be justified in those days is much more difficult to justify now. The United States actually had to respond to the Tiananmen Massacre, and, as you probably saw this morning in the Washington Post, the editorial on East Timor actually calls East Timor Indonesia’s Tiananmen. It is also true that the example of Kuwait which has been mentioned by some people is very visible, but we also know that the Baltic States, which were forty years under Soviet domination, have recently achieved their independence, after a longer time than East Timor. We know that Slovenia and Croatia are very likely to have at least some form of autonomy and independence, the Ukraine and so forth. That is, the world today is much more open and ready to reject the kind of Machiavellian big-powerism of the past few years, much more ready I think to look at the democratic process and the rights of even small peoples not to be tormented by large neighbors.

It is also true that the United States in fact has never de jure accepted East Timor’s incorporation into Indonesia. It has only accepted de facto, unlike the shameful example of Australia which has accepted de jure only for the reason that it wants to carve up East Timor’s oil resources with the Indonesian government. The fact that the United States even now has only accepted de facto incorporation means that a position is there if the United States wishes to use it. It is possible to say that “Look, we never said you could legally invade; we just said, ‘what can we do?’ and, if the situation changes, we could change our policy.”

One last thing has changed, and what you saw in the video is a very good example of this. If you look at the people who were in that video you’ll see that most of them are kids of sixteen, seventeen. Those kids probably weren’t even born when Indonesia made its invasion. They are not people who remember what happened in 1974, 1975; these are people who have grown up under Indonesian rule. The Indonesian government has been saying for years, “The old people, the guys who were there before under the Portuguese – hopeless! But we are going to

do a lot for the young people; we are going to Indonesianize them; they will become our brothers” and so forth. What has happened in the last few weeks, if not long before, is it is absolutely clear that this policy has been a complete failure. Those children, born under Indonesian rule, are fighting Indonesian rule, in the same way that fifty years ago, sixty years ago, young Indonesians being given a good education by Dutch colonial governments also felt the call of nationalism, and began a nationalist movement against Dutch rule, which, after bitter fighting between 1945 and 1949, produced an independent Indonesia. I think it is very important that the United States understand this. It is even more important that young Indonesians understand this. The thing that brought their country independence in 1945, exactly the same processes, are going to produce a free East Timor.

INDONESIAN FOREIGN MINISTER ALI ALATAS AROUND THE WORLD

ALATAS, IN LONDON, RULES OUT EAST TIMOR VOTE (UPI)

UPI. 5 February 1992. Abridged.

Comment: A later report from Brussels has Alatas saying that army men have been sentenced. This was presumably a mis-quote, unless he felt he was being so heavily pressed on this question that he consulted Jakarta, and was told to change his tune.

Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, dogged on a European tour by questions about the East Timor killings, Wednesday insisted the territory's residents favour Jakarta's rule but ruled out any vote to find out. Alatas also acknowledged he knew of no member of the military who were criminally charged in the November killings, despite the arrest of 56 civilian protestors but said probes were not yet complete.

“I don't know the exact answer to all these questions,” Alatas told reporters asking what action were planned against the troops who fired on demonstrators on Nov. 12.

Flatly ruling out a plebiscite, he said: “Why should we do that? It's a small minority (favouring independent).”

He acknowledged 56 civilians were facing trial because they participated in or backed the Nov. 12 demonstration, including four who have “proudly confessed” to the serious crime of subversion. But he had no information on how many troops or officers faced criminal penalties. “There is a civilian court and the attorney-general is taking the civilian side of the story, and there are military courts and military procedures take care of that. Both have started. One is a little bit faster perhaps, but that doesn't mean to say that you can jump to conclusions that only (civilians) will be brought to trial.”

“What we have been facing is this continuing effort by Portugal and by certain groups which call themselves Fretilin, a handful of political adventurers, living in Portugal and elsewhere, on borrowed passports, on borrowed time, claiming that they represent the true view of what the East Timorese people want,” he said. “How long should we entertain the demands of this small unrepresentative group? How long should we allow a malicious, persistent campaign to be waged against Indonesia?”

[AFP adds: Alatas is scheduled to return to Europe in late February to visit other EC capitals, including Rome, Madrid, Paris and The Hague, before travelling to Washington.]

FACE TO FACE BETWEEN ALATAS AND JOLLIFFE

Publico, Lisbon. Date 7 February 1992. Original language Portuguese. Byline: Joao Bosco Jardim. Slightly abridged.

Note: The original conversation took place in English.

Vetoed by Jakarta in the lead-up to the visit to East Timor by a parliamentary delegation last November, Australian journalist Jill Jolliffe felt the full force of the anger of the Indonesian authorities. Jolliffe, Portugal correspondent for *The Sunday Times*, was in London on 5 February and the paper naturally put her name forward for the press conference of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, to wind up his one-day visit to the UK. The request was not well received; the Indonesian embassy struck *The Sunday Times* from the list and extended an invitation to *The Guardian* which chose as its representative ... Jill Jolliffe.

Also prevented from attending the Alatas press conference – as were all Portuguese journalists with the exception of the RTP (TV) journalist, Rodrigues dos Santos who was authorised to attend but without any equipment – Joao Bosco Jardim, *Publico* correspondent, managed to record the following dialogue between the journalist and the foreign minister.

JJ: Mr Minister, I have already been prohibited on other occasions. This morning I was prevented from entering the Indonesian embassy. I would like to speak with you.

AA: What about?

JJ: I would like to ask for a review of my case. I am an accredited journalist working for *The Sunday Times* and *The Guardian* and was named to cover this press conference. I think it would be very good if we could break this impasse which exists between Portugal and Indonesia and calmly discuss the prohibition against me.

AA: It is one thing to talk about your prohibition. To talk about breaking the impasse seems to be asking rather much. Are you negotiating in the name of Portugal?

JJ: Of course not.

AA: OK. (He smiles to journalists nearby.)

JJ: I am a journalist. I am here to do a job of work.

AA: OK (smiling as he walks in the direction of the front door of the hotel where the press conference had just been held).

JJ: Would it be possible to discuss this before you leave?

AA: Yes, but... (continuing to walk. The presence of a number of foreign journalists near the minister created a commotion, prompting members of his staff to intervene).

JJ: I would like to discuss that [less dramatic] case.

AA: Very well. We each know the other's position. Right?

JJ: I don't think so. I believe that you will not objectively consider by situation. I am a professional journalist accredited by The Sunday Times and The Guardian.

AA: I never said you weren't an authentic journalist.

JJ: Yes, you did.

AA: No. But you took part in a campaign. You are a crusader.

JJ: I think there's a contradiction. I report what I see.

AA: Have you been to Indonesia recently?

JJ: Unfortunately, you haven't allowed me to go to Indonesia. Please allow me to go....

AA: If you haven't been to Indonesia, you shouldn't speak with such authorities about the country....

JJ: I argued with your predecessor, Dr. Mochtar, that I would be able to cover events much more fully if I were able to get to know more about Indonesia.

AA: OK. That's your opinion. And I have the right to doubt your opinion, based on what you have written over the years.

JJ: You never said so before....

AA: No, but I have read all of your columns.

JJ: You have read all of my columns?

AA: Yes.

JJ: Then, you should know that I have cited your own sources. I interviewed Dr. Mochtar in Luanda. I interviewed your representatives in Geneva. [.....] In general you have refused to speak to me.

AA: Me?

JJ: Today is certainly the first time.

AA: I have never refused. But you suggested [referred to?] an agreement between Portugal and Indonesia.

JJ: Yes, an agreement which precluded the vetoing of journalists. [This refers to the Terms of Reference agreed by Indonesia and Portugal, establishing arrangements for the parliamentary mission to East Timor.]

AA: It certainly did not do that.

JJ: I have the text.

AA: But that isn't the text.

JJ: I have the other texts too. (The minister and the journalist are now both speaking at once.)

AA: Just see how you are [acting]. This is a challenge to me. I was the one who negotiated that text. I challenge you to interview the Portuguese, now or whenever you like, and see if they deny the truth of what I am saying.

JJ: That makes no sense. Why should I do that? I would prefer to speak with you

under different circumstances. But if you don't think it's important enough....

AA: OK, but perhaps I won't have the time, unfortunately... (Here the dialogue was interrupted by other journalists who were witnessing the dialogue.)

JOURNALISTS BY INVITATION ONLY (INDEPENDENT)

The Independent. 19 February 1992. News item on Media Page, edited by Maggie Brown. Reproduced in full.

If word of a recent run-in with British journalists has crossed the Atlantic, the Indonesian Foreign Minister, Ali Alatas, can expect a bumpy ride when he addresses American reporters at the National Press Club in Washington tomorrow.

He visited London recently on a fence-mending tour after the Indonesian army massacred up to 200 people at a peaceful demonstration in East Timor in November.

Mr Alatas called a press conference, but reporters from *The Sunday Times*, *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Telegraph* were refused places. Television cameras were also banned. The reason given was shortage of space, but the Indonesians made it clear that their objection about *The Sunday Times* was its choice of representative, Jill Jolliffe – an authority on East Timor who is banned from Indonesia.

At the press conference, every journalist who asked a question was photographed. When Mr Alatas emerged he was approached by Ms Jolliffe, who asked why she had been denied space in the half-empty conference room. Mr Alatas became heated and accused her of being a "crusader." *The Sunday Times* sent a complaint to Mr Alatas but has received no reply.

ALATAS, IN BRUSSELS, SHOCKED BY AMNESTY REPORT (REUTER)

Reuter, Brussels, Brian Love, Feb 7 - Indonesia said on Friday it was shocked that the human rights group Amnesty International had attacked its inquiry into a massacre in East Timor last November, when troops shot dead scores of civilians during a procession.

"It's a sweeping rejection of everything we've been trying to do," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said.

"We are deeply disappointed," he told a news conference in Brussels, his last stop in a tour of Europe.

Alatas said the incident was a tragic event and he wanted to put the record straight. Unfair reports and accusations implied that Jakarta condoned the military's violence and had done little to find the culprits, he said.

He accused Portugal of backing a smear campaign.

"(We are) concerned that one government and one certain country...insist in their anti-Indonesian campaign with deliberate misrepresentation and exaggeration," Alatas said.

Portugal had been "playing the role of white angel round the world (and) depicting Indonesia as a black devil," he said.

Despite saying the military was far from free of blame, Alatas denied claims that the Dili procession had been peaceful.

"Contrary to press reports of a peaceful procession...there were elements of provocation and premeditated agitation," he said.

He said the government was satisfied with the results of the inquiry and would now take action against all those responsible.

Alatas said soldiers involved would be tried by a military council and civilians would be brought to justice in accordance with the law.

London-based Amnesty has urged U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali to order a report by the Commission on Human Rights.

ALATAS TO VISIT JAPAN TO EXPLAIN MASSACRE (KYODO)

JAKARTA, FEB. 14 KYODO - INDONESIA'S FOREIGN MINISTER ALI ALATAS WILL LEAVE FOR JAPAN ON SUNDAY BEFORE PROCEEDING TO THE UNITED STATES AND EUROPE TO DISCUSS ISSUES SURROUNDING THE NOVEMBER 12 EAST TIMOR SHOOTING INCIDENT, DIPLOMATIC SOURCES SAID FRIDAY.

IN JAPAN, ALATAS IS SCHEDULED TO MEET WITH HIGH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND DIET MEMBERS ON MONDAY, THE SOURCES SAID.

MORE THAN ONE THIRD OF JAPAN'S DIET MEMBERS HAVE PETITIONED THEIR GOVERNMENT TO HALT AID TO INDONESIA IN THE WAKE OF THE SHOOTING INCIDENT BY INDONESIAN TROOPS THAT WITNESSES SAID LEFT AT LEAST 100 PEOPLE DEAD.

JAPAN HAS BEEN INDONESIA'S SINGLE LARGEST AID DONOR. IN JANUARY, KOJI KAKIZAWA JAPAN'S PARLIAMENTARY VICE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID IN JAKARTA THAT JAPAN WOULD CONTINUE TO PROVIDE AID DESPITE THE KILLINGS, IN ORDER TO CONTRIBUTE TO INDONESIA'S CONTINUED ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT.

LETTER TO ALATAS (FREE EAST TIMOR JAPAN COALITION)

[The following letter was sent by Free East Timor Japan Coalition to Alatas during his stay in Tokyo.]

February 17, 1992

Dear Mr. Ali Alatas,

Free East Timor Japan Coalition hereby wishes to convey its deep concern about the present situation of East Timor and the fate of the people of East Timor particularly after the Santa Cruz massacre.

Free East Timor Japan Coalition has demanded your government to return the dead bodies to their families and to make public the names of the victims of the massacre. These demands have not been fulfilled yet at all. We have not heard anything about the 90 people believed to have been missing after the massacre. President Soeharto ordered Commander-in-Chief Try Sutrisno to find out whereabouts of these 90 people, but in our knowledge nothing seems to have been done since the order.

In terms of respect for the fundamental rights of the people of East Timor, the response of your government this time was totally unsatisfactory. Your government has not responded at all to the legitimate aspiration of the people of East Timor, and is still not ready to hear what the people of East Timor wishes to say through an internationally recognized procedure. Instead your government is vigorously persecuting those against Indonesian rule there, including those who were involved only in non-violent activities.

The most of the participants in the November 12 demonstration were teenagers or in their twenties. After your government's long efforts to win their hearts and minds by development projects and so-called "territorial operation" by the ABRI, all these young Timorese emerged as nationalists. And it is certain that the Santa Cruz massacre lost Indonesia this new generation. We believe that this situation won't cease to exist unless your government promises a fundamental settlement of the problem.

Now Portugal has formally submitted the proposal to the United Nations Secretary-General to include East Timorese representatives in negotiations mediated by the Secretary-General. We urge your government to positively respond to this proposal in order to bring about permanent peace to East Timor.

Yours sincerely,
Free East Timor Japan Coalition

WATANABE: AID NOT AFFECTED BY MASSACRE (REUTER)

Reuter, Tokyo, Feb 17 - Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe said on Monday the military massacre in East Timor would not affect Japan's aid to Indonesia, despite disagreement in the Japanese parliament.

"As our country evaluates...the measures taken by Indonesia (after the incident), there will be no change in our aid policy," Watanabe told visiting Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Japan provided 235 billion yen (1.9 billion dollars) in economic aid to Indonesia last year, including 170 billion yen (1.3 billion) in

official development assistance, making it the biggest aid donor to the country.

In December, more than 260 members of the 764-strong parliament, from both ruling and opposition parties, urged Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to halt the economic aid.

Alatas said countries including Japan should not link economic aid to human rights. "If economic aid came to a halt, it is the people in East Timor who would suffer the most."

Watanabe urged Indonesia to conduct fair trials of demonstrators and soldiers, saying that they should be treated equally. "That is what the international community pays great attention to," he said.

Alatas said his government would punish both civilians and military personnel who violated its domestic laws.

Alatas criticised the Western media for comparing the Dili incident with the Chinese military crackdown in June 1989 on student protesters.

"The Tiananmen Square incident happened under government guidance but the East Timor incident did not," he said.

He criticised a planned visit to East Timor by a shipload of protesters as a provocative act which would raise tensions.

The Indonesian foreign minister plans to visit the United States, Canada, France, the Netherlands and Spain to counter international criticism over the East Timor incident.

ALATAS MEETS DIET MEMBERS FORUM ON EAST TIMOR

By Aki Matsuno, Free East Timor Japan Coalition.

In the evening of Feb. 17, Monday, Alatas had a meeting with some members of the Diet Members Forum on East Timor, at a room of prestigious Imperial Hotel. The lobby of the hotel was heavily guarded by plain cloth policemen. The meeting was arranged by Japanese Foreign Ministry on request of Alatas.

The meeting lasted for two hours and Alatas impressively and energetically explained about measures taken by the Indonesian government. He said that now 56 civilians were detained in connection with the incident and that the final report by the government-appointed commission will be submitted within a few days. He also said that responsible military men would be tried according to military law and that the result of these trials will be made public.

Rep. Satsuki Eda, secretary of the Forum, asked Alatas to positively respond to the Portuguese proposal for negotiations to include East Timorese. Alatas said Indonesia would respond positively to it.

After the meeting, journalists were waiting on the corridor and there was a instant press conference there for about 40 minutes.

KILLINGS WON'T END JAKARTA AID, ENVOY TOLD (JAPAN TIMES)

Japan Times, Feb. 18, 1992, Full text.

Japan will not change its policy of economic aid to Jakarta despite last November's bloodshed in East Timor, Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe Monday told Ali Alatas, Indonesia's visiting foreign minister.

Measures taken by the Indonesian government in the wake of last November's mass shootings by soldiers in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976, were appropriate, Watanabe noted.

He urged Jakarta to follow through on promised actions and added that both civilians and soldiers involved in the incident should be punished in a balanced way, according to a Foreign Ministry official who briefed reporters.

Indonesia will try all those who violated laws in connection with the shootings, Alatas told Watanabe, indicating soldiers held responsible for the bloodshed will stand before a military tribunal.

The process will be quicker for civilians than for soldiers, he said, asking the international community to wait until all legal proceedings are completed.

While about 50 civilians who took part in the demonstration that triggered the shootings have already been arrested, no actions have been taken against the soldiers, except for relieving two military officers in charge of the province of their posts, according to ministry officials.

Alatas is visiting Japan as part of an international tour to explain Jakarta's position on the East Timor case. He will leave Tokyo today for the United States and Canada, and will visit Europe later.

The shootings took place Nov. 12 in Dili, capital of East Timor. Indonesian authorities originally said that only 19 independence activists were killed, but later announced that more than 50 had died. Initial foreign press reports said over 100 were killed.

Faced with international criticism over the shootings, the Indonesian government took the rare step of acknowledging military responsibility, the officials said.

In talks with Watanabe, Alatas criticized some Western nations for linking economic aid with human rights issues, saying suspension of aid will not help the people of East Timor and might cause nationalistic reactions in Indonesia.

In a meeting with some Japanese and Indonesian reporters earlier in the day, Alatas disclosed that a government-appointed commission would submit a final report of its investigations into the shootings "in a few days."

He reportedly described the incident as "tragic and regrettable."

ALATAS VISIT SPARKS DEBATE ON CONTINUED AID FOR INDONESIA (IPS)

Tokyo, Feb. 21 (IPS/Suvendrini Kakuchi) – The visit of Indonesian foreign minister Ali Alatas to Tokyo this week has revived fresh calls for Japan to use its substantial development aid to Jakarta as leverage in solving the East Timor issue.

Tokyo was the first stop of Alatas' tour of major capitals this month to explain that Jakarta is taking firm action on the killings of East Timorese demonstrators by Indonesian army troops last November.

After the international uproar over the incident, Jakarta has set up a high-powered commission headed by a supreme court judge to investigate the shootings.

The commission's preliminary findings, released in late December, faulting the troops for overreacting and placing the death toll at 50 with 90 missing have satisfied most of Indonesia's aid donors, including Japan.

Human and civil rights activists have remarked that Tokyo was chosen as Alatas' first stop because it is considered one of the easier targets to convince. They say Alatas left having satisfactorily convinced Japanese government officials of Jakarta's sincerity.

"Japanese commitment to protecting human rights is far weaker than in the West. Alatas probably found his trip to Tokyo a party in comparison to what he has to face in Washington and Europe," said an Indonesian expert who declined to be named.

Alatas flew on to Washington Wednesday with only a tame admonition from the Japanese government.

Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe urged Jakarta to "follow through on promised action," adding that both civilians and soldiers involved in the incident "be punished in a balanced way," said a foreign ministry official.

"The Japanese government is only interested in expanding its economic leverage. a cut in aid for the sake of human rights is inconceivable to the high-ups because it will hurt trade with Indonesia," said James Coehlo, professor of Portuguese studies at Tokyo's Sophia university.

A call for the Japanese government to take a clear-cut stand on the East Timor shootings has been gaining ground recently.

Several Japanese MPs have joined Roman Catholic, human and civil rights groups in criticising the government for "resorting to quietly pressing violators to reform rather than taking punitive action."

They say this policy has been applied by the government to countries with close economic ties to Japan like Indonesia, China and Burma.

Japanese assistance, amounting to 1.8 billion dollars in official development aid (ODA), is indispensable to Indonesia, political analysts and civil rights activists say. A cut in aid would therefore be very effective

in forcing the Indonesian government to consider granting independence to the East Timorese, they point out.

But despite lofty speeches in international platforms that extol democracy and human rights, the Japanese government appears to be convinced that development assistance should not be directly linked to the promotion of human rights. And some development aid and economic experts here support this view.

"The government was right not to cut ODA to Indonesia. It was a tough choice given western pressure on Jakarta but in the long run, it is best that the situation remains calm in Indonesia for the benefit of the majority," said development economist Nobuyuki Takeshita.

President Suharto is widely admired by many Japanese who cite Indonesia's rapid development under his rule.

Some economic experts here are openly critical of western nations which support pro-democracy activists in third world countries.

"Do you really think that the Chinese students in Tiananmen Square would have lasted long even if they succeeded in bringing down the government?" asked Takeshita.

Another viewpoint that is prevalent here is that the East Timor issue is a European dilemma and that Japan should therefore not be expected to respond in the same way as the west.

East Timor was a Portuguese colony until 1974 when a coup in Lisbon forced Portugal to abandon it. The resulting civil war was used by Indonesia, which had taken over the formerly Dutch-controlled western part of Timor island, to move in its troops. East Timor was formally annexed in 1976 as an Indonesian province.

A Japanese government policy that favours economic prosperity over human needs is not unacceptable to mainstream Japanese who have seen this policy followed in post-war Japan, analysts say.

Japan's economic success is the result of putting the development of the country ahead of the needs of the people, the analysts say. This view is now firmly entrenched in the country's foreign policy, they say.

ALATAS ARRIVES IN WASHINGTON (AFP)

AFP, Washington, Feb 18 - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas arrived here Tuesday on a mission to explain his government's position on the army massacre of civilians in East Timor in November.

Alatas arrived from Japan for the three-day visit and he is later to go on to United Nations headquarters in New York, Canada and several European capitals, Indonesian embassy officials said.

The Indonesian foreign minister held meetings Tuesday with human rights organisations Asia Watch and Amnesty International as well as U.S. senators and congressmen. He was to talk to State Department officials Wednesday.

Alatas' visit coincides with the arrival of a four-member parliamentary delegation from Portugal which will meet with Congress members and government officials over the next three days.

Also, the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Relations is to hold a hearing Friday on East Timor and U.S. policy toward Indonesia with testimony from Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Richard Solomon.

CALL TO DEMONSTRATE

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas is coming to Washington to convince Americans that his government's killing in East Timor is not something we should be concerned about.

But we are concerned.

He will speak to the press and the public in DC on Thursday.

We will be there. Join us.

Protest Ali Alatas' visit to the U.S.

Thurs. February 20. 11:30 to 1:00.

National Press Building, 14th & F Streets NW, Washington, DC.

Sponsored by The Basics, PO Box 57365, Washington, DC 20036, and the East Timor Action Network / U.S.

Report: About two dozen people gathered with signs and leaflets. Although the luncheon/press conference was on the third floor, they were visible and audible to all who attended, and raised awareness of attendees and passers-by alike to the crimes of Alatas' government.

ALATAS DC PRESS CONFERENCE (UPI)

UPI, Washington, Feb 20 - Indonesia's foreign minister Thursday denounced "myths and misrepresentations" about his government and specifically a 1991 massacre in East Timor where soldiers killed scores of people during a demonstration.

"We were just as shocked that the incident occurred as everyone else," Alatas told a small gathering of Washington reporters and editors. "Something went terribly wrong with the demonstration."

Attacks on the government for the attack "will not only prove to be counterproductive, they will only prolong the agony, tensions and frustrations in the East Timor region."

Alatas' account was sharply questioned by Allan Nairn, a free-lance reporter for The New Yorker magazine, who was attacked by Indonesian troops as he watched the military response to the demonstration.

Nairn said the soldiers marched in file, with their rifles displayed, then opened fire in unison on the advancing crowd.

"It's your recording against our recording," the minister said.

When another reporter raised questions about a 1975 attack on Australian journalists, Alatas shot back: "These are misrepresentations that have hounded us for years. The incidents have been exaggerated." Constant repetition of such information, he said, has given validity to the charges of human rights violations, he said.

"East Timor has suffered the same fate," he said.

Alatas said the soldiers attempted to restore order and their actions did not represent a government policy designed to limit or thwart dissent.

He also criticised critics he said were comparing the East Timor attack with the Chinese government's assault on political protesters in Tiananmen Square in 1989, where hundreds were killed or wounded by soldiers clearing the square.

"Unfortunately, these kinds of tragic events have happened, even in developing countries," he said, comparing the attack with the deaths of four students at Kent State University in Ohio in 1971 during an anti-war protest.

Alatas said he was touring world capitals "to give clarifications and to give explanations" for the attack, and to assure world leaders the tragedy did not represent government policy.

AFP ACCOUNT

AFP, Washington, Feb 20 - Indonesian Foreign minister Ali Alatas Thursday defended Jakarta's handling of the inquiry into the November massacre of civilians in East Timor and said most foreign governments had accepted it.

Alatas, who met Thursday with Vice President Dan Quayle and Secretary of State James Baker, said that the findings of the National Commission of Inquiry had been "evenly received by most governments."

But he admitted that there remained widespread skepticism particularly among human rights groups that the Indonesian government was telling the entire truth and would punish any member of the military found to have acted illegally.

"We deeply regret the fact the one government in particular (Portugal), some non-government organisations and certain sections of the international media persist in disparaging the efforts we have undertaken," Alatas said.

Alatas also warned that a Portuguese "peace boat" carrying more than 100 students and journalists which is sailing toward East Timor to lay wreaths in memory of those killed would be committing "an act of provocation."

"They are obviously hoping that another incident will occur to win over international support," Alatas said.

The Indonesian foreign minister said that he would go to New York Friday to meet with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and discuss the findings of the U.N. special envoy Amos Wako.

He is then due to travel to Canada and several European countries including France, the Netherlands and Spain. He has already visited Tokyo, London and Brussels.

THE INDONESIAN COVER-UP (BOSTON GLOBE EDITORIAL)

Friday, 21 February 1992

There was macabre irony in the location of the press briefing Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, gave yesterday at the National Press Club. Alatas has been touring nations that donate \$5 billion in international aid yearly to Indonesia, trying to control the damage his government did to itself by covering up a November massacre of unarmed civilians on East Timor. He met selected journalists in the First Amendment Room.

The irony is macabre because journalists were banned from East Timor for many years, so that they could not report on Indonesia's genocidal liquidation of between 100,000 and 200,000 Timorese. The November slaughter of 100 or more Timorese mourners at a cemetery became a diplomatic problem for the Suharto regime because Western reporters and photographers witnessed the unprovoked, cold-blooded murders perpetrated by Indonesian troops.

Some of the journalists present were brutally beaten and threatened with death. Their notebooks were seized, and many Timorese whose names were found in the notebooks were later arrested, interrogated, tortured, and charged with subversion (which can carry a death penalty under Indonesian law).

Alatas is in Washington to convince legislators, human rights groups and the press that a report of the massacre issued by his government's Commission of Inquiry should absolve Indonesia of any further blame or responsibility. Amnesty International found the Indonesian inquiry "fatally flawed" and decried its findings as "unacceptable."

Amnesty said: "The Commission of Inquiry gave undue credence to military accounts of the incident while ignoring or misconstruing independent evidence, including eyewitness testimony, which contradicts the official version. Such evidence suggests that the actions of the security forces were not a spontaneous reaction to a riotous mob, but a planned military operation, conducted according to normal military procedures."

The Indonesian cover-up must be rejected - not merely in the interest of historical

accuracy, but because the people of East Timor continue to be arrested, tortured and intimidated in the aftermath of the cemetery killings. Catholic priests have been prime targets of the repression. Timorese say their only protection from Indonesia's army of occupation is the outside world - particularly the US government.

Political and economic pressure on the Suharto regime can save individual lives in Timor - a nation that was invaded and annexed in 1975 in the same way that Kuwait was invaded and annexed by Saddam Hussein. To save Timor as a nation, the US should work for a UN-supervised referendum on Timorese self-determination.

ALATAS IN CANADA

Report by the East Timor Alert Network

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was in Ottawa yesterday, 24 February, to meet with Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall. McDougall was clearly looking for an excuse to restore suspended Canadian aid to Indonesia, but was challenged on this by both major opposition parties.

Alatas was originally scheduled to appear before the House of Commons Subcommittee on Human Rights, but this was downgraded to an informal meeting in a Conservative MP's office at the last minute. Two days before the visit, reporters could get no details of his itinerary.

Monday morning, External Affairs announced that it would be holding a news conference with Alatas and McDougall, shortly before a scheduled news conference by Allan Nairn at Parliament. Nairn was taken across town by Liberal MP David Kilgour and confronted Alatas, prompting MacDougall to complain that he should be at his own news conference. She also signalled her support for the Indonesian line by referring to the Timorese charged with subversion as the "perpetrators" of violence on Nov. 12.

New Democrat MP Svend Robinson raised East Timor in question period.

Both Indonesian Consulates in Canada were the site of vigils for East Timor at the same time Alatas was in Ottawa. In Toronto, 15-20 protesters laid flowers and a Timorese flag in front of a cross representing the grave of Sebastiao Gomes, and two women threw blood on the doors of the consulate after the group was refused entry. One of these is still being in jail and will appear in court tomorrow.

A blood pouring also took place at the Indonesian Consulate in Vancouver, and received excellent media coverage.

CANADA MAINTAINING SANCTIONS? (REUTER)

Ottawa, Feb 24 - Canada said on Monday that it will maintain its aid embargo against Indonesia despite Jakarta's progress in

clarifying the circumstances of a massacre of 200 East Timorese in November.

Ottawa will not resume aid until it hears Indonesia's final official account and a United Nations report on the massacre, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said after meeting Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

Canada is the only country that maintains aid sanctions against Indonesia, which depends heavily on foreign donors.

"(Indonesia) is very clearly attempting to come to grips with the situation," McDougall told a news conference.

She said an interim report on the massacre was "evidence of the commitment of the Indonesian government to ensure the perpetrators will be brought to justice."

Indonesia is seen as a test case for Canada's move to put greater emphasis on human rights in its foreign policy.

Legislation under study in Parliament would grant the government powers to impose prompt and effective economic sanctions against states abusing their citizens' rights.

See the Canadian section below for more details about Canada's threatened reversal of sanctions against Indonesia, and what people are doing to stop it.

ALATAS IN PARIS (AFP)

AFP, Paris, Feb 25 - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas arrived here Tuesday for talks with his French counterpart Roland Dumas on the East Timor question, officials said.

Alatas kicked off his diplomatic offensive in the first week of February when he visited London, Brussels and Geneva.

The second, current round of his tour took him to the United States, where he visited Washington and the United Nations in New York, and Canada, which suspended aid negotiations with Indonesia following the massacre.

After Paris, Alatas is expected to visit Bonn, The Hague, Madrid and Rome, according to diplomatic sources in Jakarta.

Alatas, who will have a working lunch Tuesday with Alain Vievien, the secretary of state of foreign affairs, is also expected to discuss the Cambodian situation.

ALATAS IN THE HAGUE (AFP)

The Hague, Feb 27- Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas arrived here Wednesday on a two-day visit and held talks with Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek and Development Cooperation Minister Jan Pronk centering on the East Timor question.

Alatas is touring European capitals to explain what his government has done and intends to do concerning a massacre carried out by the Indonesian army on November 12

in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Van den Broek told Alatas his government had been shocked by the massacre but appreciated the way the Indonesian Government had subsequently handled the affair. However, he continued to keep a careful eye on the behaviour of the Jakarta authorities, the spokesman said.

The Dutch minister asked his Indonesian counterpart for details of how many had died, the progress being made by the inquiry and the government's plans concerning development of East Timor.

Meanwhile, Pronk told journalists after his talks with Alatas that the Dili massacre must be the last incident of its kind.

If the human rights situation did not improve, the Economic Community would revise its policy toward Indonesia, Pronk warned, adding however that Alatas was one of a group there who genuinely wanted to improve human rights.

On Thursday Alatas was to meet Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers before leaving for Madrid.

In Lisbon, meanwhile, the Portuguese Government expressed its desire to continue negotiations with Indonesia on East Timor, which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

The foreign ministry said the Portuguese authorities considered recent statements made in Paris by Alatas that the United Nations secretary general had not received any Portuguese proposal to resume the negotiations "can only be a misunderstanding."

A formal proposal by Portugal was put forward on January 24 to Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the foreign ministry said, for talks to take place under U.N. auspices without preconditions, and to include Timorese participation.

ALATAS: BAN ON FOREIGN JOURNALISTS A 'TEMPORARY' MEASURE (IPS)

The Hague, Feb 27 - The ban on foreign journalists from entering East-Timor is just a "temporary" measure being taken while government took the necessary steps to restore order to the province, Indonesia's foreign minister said here Thursday.

Speaking at a press conference, foreign minister Ali Alatas also stressed that the massacre in the East-Timorese capital on November 12 was a "regrettable incident" and stressed that his government had never condoned the act.

Alatas was on a one-day visit to the Netherlands to "clarify" the events of last November in which army troops shot dead more than 50 people.

The ban on visits by journalists to the former Portuguese colony was announced Wednesday by the Indonesian authorities in Jakarta. The authorities charged that foreign journalists who were present during the in-

cident entered the province under false pretences.

Indonesian armed forces commander, Try Sutrisno, also told a parliamentary committee last week that the journalists had allowed themselves willingly or unwillingly to be used by "anti-government elements."

The foreign press had also come under fire for what the authorities in Jakarta said were biased accounts of the incident in which at least 50 people died.

Minister Alatas told journalists that he was not yet fully informed, but said he is sure that the measure was only for "the time being."

What was needed, he said, were conditions both inside and outside of the country that were "conducive" to allowing the government to take the steps which it deemed necessary to put the province back on the right foot.

During his one-day trip, the Indonesian foreign minister also held discussions with the Dutch government during which he stressed that the "incident" was not an "act" ordered by the government nor was it reflective of the policy of the government or of the armed forces.

"The incident was a tragedy and a serious setback to all the efforts of the Indonesian government to bring harmony and progress to East-Timor," he said at the subsequent press conference.

The foreign minister also denied that Indonesian troops fired at a "peaceful" demonstration in Dili. According to him, "a small group of agitators turned into a disorderly and destructive demonstration."

The Indonesian minister noted that his government had since taken swift measures to address the situation, including the setting up of a national commission of enquiry. "This commission has used very clear and often blunt language in apportioning the blame where blame should be put," said Alatas.

Among the commission's recommendations is that action should be taken against all those who were involved in the November shooting, once it is proven that they violated the law. "They should be brought to trial in accordance with the rule of law," Alatas said.

As Alatas spoke, it was announced in Jakarta that a military court had found six senior officers guilty of "violating the law." among them was the commander of the operational command of East-Timor, major-general Sintong Panjaitan.

President Tni Suharto dismissed Panjaitan and a whole list of officers shortly after the massacre. "President Suharto also instructed the attorney general to initiate legal actions and proceedings against all those suspected of having violated the law," Alatas added.

"The commander of the armed forces has been ordered to search for those listed as missing and to clarify the discrepancy in the numbers of casualties," the foreign minister

stressed. According to the army nineteen demonstrators were killed and fifty are missing.

Additionally, Alatas said his government had agreed to the proposal by the United Nations to invite Amos Wako, a specialist in human rights, to Indonesia to get "clarification" on the incident.

Alatas attacked Portugal, some non-governmental organisations as well as people he described as "political agitators abroad" who had criticised the work of the commission. Their attitude, he said, was "very irresponsible."

The "incident" as he terms it, has been condemned by Holland, Denmark, Great-Britain, Canada and several other western countries. The Dutch government suspended its development aid cooperation with Indonesia immediately after the massacre.

Turning to the question of the Lusitania Expresse, a ship which is to shortly due set sail to East-Timor, minister Alatas urged the organisers to cancel their plans. The organisers have planned what they call a peace mission to Dili during which they intend to lay flowers on the graves of the victims of the massacre.

In Alatas' opinion, the objective of the voyage of the Lusitania Expresse is "provocative in nature" and not at all humanitarian, but rather "politically motivated."

"It will only aggravate tensions in East-Timor. We cannot allow or tolerate that ships with passengers on board violate our national laws and international regulations," he said.

INDONESIA 'COMMITTED TO JUSTICE' (REUTER)

Reuter, The Hague, Feb 27 - Indonesia is firmly committed to seeing justice done over the army massacre of civilians on East Timor last year, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Thursday.

"Our government actions show the seriousness and firmness with which (it) intends to proceed," Alatas told journalists in the Netherlands.

"The incident should not have taken place. (It) was a serious setback to our efforts to find a solution to the East Timor question in general," Alatas said.

Alatas, currently on a world tour, met top Dutch officials to discuss the East Timor killings and development aid.

A Dutch foreign ministry spokeswoman said the Netherlands was "shocked over the Dili incident but values the manner in which the Indonesian government has approached the affair."

The Netherlands last month resumed its 220 million dollars a year in development aid to Indonesia, which it had suspended after the killings. Most major donors, including Japan, also said they would maintain aid.

Alatas defended Indonesia's action on Wednesday in banning journalists from East

Timor, which, he said was "necessary as a temporary move."

He added: "To put into motion our measures (in East Timor) we need a period of calm and need to ensure tensions are not heightened."

He repeated his government's opposition to the planned visit to Dili next week by a Portuguese ship full of students who want to lay a wreath at the cemetery where the massacre took place.

GOINGS ON ABOUT CANADA

CANADA TO CONTINUE AID SUSPENSION (UPI)

UPI. 6 Feb 1992. Dateline: Jakarta. Abridged.

Canada said Thursday it would continue its suspension of aid to Indonesia despite accepting the findings of a recently released government report into the East Timor massacre three months ago.

Canadian ambassador to Jakarta, Ingrid Hall, said the suspension of aid would not be reviewed by Ottawa for at least another two weeks when foreign ministers of both countries are expected to discuss the issue.

After a meeting with Rudini, the Indonesian interior minister, Hall said the Canadian government was still very concerned with the human rights situation in Indonesia.

Commenting on a government inquiry into the affair, Hall said the final report was acceptable though Canada wanted those responsible for the massacre to be brought to justice.

Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas is receiving much the same message as he currently tours Western Europe in an attempt to revive aid to his country.

FARAWAY BLOODSHED LEAVES A STAIN ON CANADA (GIBBONS)

The Globe and Mail, Toronto, Canada. 10 February 1992. Op-ed feature.

Comment: a letter from Li-liene Gibbons will be presented at the UN Human Rights Commission hearings in Geneva.

The killing of dozens of Timorese funeral marchers by Indonesian troops led to a \$30 million cut in aid by Ottawa, but more pressure is needed against the regime, argues a Vancouver student whose brother was among the victims...

By Li-liene Gibbons, Vancouver

As a 21-year old Canadian university student, I hardly have a professional interest in what is going on in far-off East Timor, but I certainly have a personal one – last fall, my brother died there.

Kamal was 20 and on his way home to Malaysia during a break from his university studies in Australia. An active supporter of human-rights causes, he stopped in the Timorese capital of Dili to investigate firsthand the abuses the people have suffered since their country was annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

Then, on Nov. 12, Indonesian troops opened fire on a Timorese crowd mourning the death of an independence sympathizer.

Exactly how many died is the subject of great debate, but my brother was among them. His body was found half a kilometre from the site of the massacre. How it got there has yet to be explained.

Also in need of an explanation is Indonesia's response to this outrageous slaughter. How much humanity does it take to realize that the murder of innocent people is a blatant violation of human rights?

Canada is to be commended for responding to the bloodshed by suspending \$30 million of its aid to Indonesia. Canada's judgment – that the Indonesian government is "guilty of human-rights violations" in East Timor – was not only right under international law, but also was long overdue. For the first time since the murderous Suharto regime came into being in 1965, there has been international outrage at a massacre committed by the Indonesian army.

Indonesia's response – an inquiry into its own crimes – is completely unacceptable. According to the UN ECOSOC's principles for inquiring into such atrocities, members "must be chosen for their recognized impartiality, competence and independence as individuals. In particular they shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of an inquiry."

The commission is chaired by M. Djaelani, who is a former general, a retired member of the Indonesian Supreme Court and in his prime a commander of the infamous Red Beret unit involved in numerous atrocities in East Timor.

The results, published on Dec. 27, deal in military hearsay, half-truths and abstractions. The basic premises of the report – that the killings were an isolated incident where soldiers "without any command control" were "exercising self-defence" due to the "provocative savagery" of the East Timorese – entirely contradict the evidence of the Timorese and five foreign journalists who witnessed the Indonesian soldiers firing on the crowd without provocation and in a highly disciplined manner.

In an attempt to appease the international community, the commission managed to find it had "strong enough reason to believe that the number of dead is around 50." President Suharto replaced two senior generals in command of East Timor as a sop to major aid donors.

As a result, the East Timorese are being abandoned by world governments. The United States and Australia have welcomed the report; Canada is accepting the results, but quietly.

Meanwhile, Indonesia is intensifying its barbarous and illegal regime in East Timor. President Suharto has ordered that all who took part in the funeral procession be tried under Indonesia's anti-subversion laws, which carry the death penalty.

Gen. Theo Syafei, the new commander in East Timor, has issued a warning: "I am not

as patient as Warouw (the former commander)." Last month, Gen. Try Sutrisno, commander-in-chief of the Indonesian armed forces, endorsed their policy towards East Timor by saying "we will annihilate all separatist elements that taint the dignity of Indonesia."

Canada's dignity is tainted in a more genuine way by our relations with Indonesia. This has been called part of a "bridge-building" policy with the Association of South-East Asian Nations.

The advocating of human rights by Indonesia's major aid donors is not enough, as the loss of at least 200,000 East Timorese since 1975. Indonesia continues to deny such organizations as Amnesty International access into East Timor; it also refuses to allow an internationally supervised investigation of the Nov. 12 shooting.

Yet Canada continues to support the regime with \$50 million in development assistance [sic]. Why does Ottawa not push for at least an international inquiry? When will the world endorse the UN Charter articles that call for "respect for the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples"? The lives of the East Timorese are in our hands.

Li-liene Gibbons is an arts student at the University of British Columbia with a special interest in Asian affairs.

CANADA CONSIDERS LIFTING SANCTIONS (OTTAWA CITIZEN)

By Louise Crosby, Citizen foreign affairs writer, 25 Feb. 1992, front page.

Canada may soon lift sanctions imposed on Indonesia when troops from that country killed dozens of people in East Timor last November, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said Monday.

Following a meeting with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, McDougall said Canada is encouraged by Indonesia's efforts to "come to grips with the situation" by setting up an inquiry into the killings.

The inquiry commission's interim report "is evidence of the commitment of the Indonesian government to ensure that the perpetrators among the military and civilians will be brought to justice, she told reporters.

"There has been considerable progress in the attitude of the government of Indonesia. I can see a time when we would alter the policy we have taken regarding aid. We'll be looking for the follow-through on the interim report."

On Nov. 12, up to 150 unarmed, pro-independence demonstrators were killed by Indonesian troops in Dili, the capital of East Timor. Following protest by human rights groups, Canada suspended \$30 million in proposed aid projects to Indonesia.

The interim report by Indonesia's government-appointed commission put the

number of dead at only 50 and called it a "spontaneous reaction (by) the security personnel to defend themselves." It said the incident "does not reflect the policy of the government or of the armed forces."

Two generals have been replaced but no charges have been laid. The report does not contain any recommendations to prevent similar violence by the army in the future.

Alatas is touring Western capitals to defend the commission's findings. "What is important is for people and governments abroad to evaluate the (Indonesian) government's response, to judge us by what we are doing to overcome the incident," he said.

According to Amnesty International, the mandate and methods of the commission were "fatally flawed and its findings are unacceptable." Since the incident, more than 60 Timorese have been imprisoned in connection with the incident, and some or all may be prisoners of conscience, Amnesty says.

Allan Nairn, a writer for New Yorker magazine who witnessed the massacre, said Monday the interim report is a "lie" and McDougall "is letting herself be deceived or is knowingly overlooking the facts."

Nairn, who this month testified before the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, said it is Indonesian government policy to crack down on anyone who engages in free speech and public assembly.

Nairn said Alatas is on a "damage-control tour because the world has condemned the massacre." Suspension of aid by donor countries would pressure Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, which it has occupied since 1975, he said.

Indonesia receives about \$46 million a year in direct government-to-government assistance, making it Canada's second-largest recipient of bilateral aid. That assistance was left intact when Canada imposed aid sanctions.

OTTAWA PONDERES EASING SANCTIONS ON INDONESIA (MONTREAL GAZETTE)

Warren Caragata, 25 February 1992, Canadian Press

Comment: McDougall now says that there is not a pattern of human rights abuses in East Timor – a far cry from December, when she condemned not only the massacre, but also the ongoing human rights situation.

OTTAWA – Canada is leaning towards lifting sanctions against Indonesia, applied last year after a massacre in East Timor, External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall said yesterday after meeting for more than an hour with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

"I can see a time when we would alter the policy we have taken regarding aid," McDougall said.

The Canadian government suspended three new aid projects worth about \$30 million but did not touch the bulk of its aid effort, worth \$46 million this year.

McDougall accepted assurances from Alatas that Indonesia aims to bring to justice those involved when soldiers opened fire on 3,500 mourners at a funeral in the East Timor capital of Dili. More than 100 people were killed.

"There has been considerable progress," McDougall said. "We believe that the government of Indonesia is very strongly attempting to come to grips with the situation."

She said she does not necessarily agree with an assessment by Amnesty International, a human-rights group, that the massacre was part of a pattern of human-rights abuses in East Timor.

Canadian officials point out that Canada has taken sterner measures than most countries and has left sanctions on longer.

But opposition critics said McDougall should get even tougher in supporting the rights of the East Timor people.

MP Christine Stewart, the Liberal Party's associate critic for human rights, said virtually all aid to Indonesia should be cancelled. Only projects that actually help reduce poverty should be continued.

Allan Nairn, a correspondent for the New Yorker magazine who witnessed the November massacre, said Indonesia is so dependent on foreign aid that it would change its East Timor policy in the face of concerted Western protest.

East Timor, at the eastern edge of the Indonesian archipelago, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975. An independence movement has fought the Indonesian army for years.

Alatas said the purpose of his tour of foreign capitals is to explain Indonesia's actions since last November's killings in Dili.

He said he hopes foreign governments will take a "more balanced" view of the situation.

MACDOUGALL MAY LIFT INDONESIAN SANCTIONS (TORONTO STAR)

25 February 1992. By Tim Harper

OTTAWA – External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall signalled yesterday she's prepared to restore aid to Indonesia, less than four months after its troops massacred a group of mourners at a funeral in occupied East Timor.

McDougall made the comments after a 90-minute meeting here with Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, on a tour of Western capitals his critics have dismissed as a "public relations tour."

Canada suspended \$30 million in promised funding for new projects in Indonesia last December to protest the shooting of the

mourners, which according to witnesses, claimed more than 100 lives.

Alatas has indicated only 19 people died and said soldiers were forced to fire in self-defence.

"I would hope there would come a time – if things work out like I expect them to – that we would alter this policy," McDougall said following the meeting.

She said she believes the Indonesian government has made "considerable progress in attitude."

"We have no reason to believe the government will not live up to its commitment and I would hope that we will be able to achieve a normal relationship in this area."

In the House of Commons, under questioning from NDP External Affairs critic Svend Robinson, McDougall said the government does not necessarily accept an Amnesty International report on the Nov. 12 massacre.

Amnesty reported the government-appointed National Commission of Inquiry was "fatally flawed and unacceptable" and that the government in Jakarta has continued to execute and wrongfully imprison opponents of in East Timor while pretending to investigate the shootings.

After the news conference, American writer Allan Nairn said: "I am a survivor of the massacre ... and the Indonesian report is a lie. It seems Minister McDougall is either letting herself be deceived or is knowingly overlooking the facts."

The Liberals also said they cannot understand how McDougall is making her judgment.

"Nothing has changed over there. How can she say she doesn't agree with Amnesty International when we've got proof from eyewitnesses?" said Liberal human rights critic Beryl Gaffney.

Alatas told a news conference the massacre was "essentially a tragedy."

But he said there was a lot of exaggeration and anti-Indonesian campaigning under way by opponents who are trying to discredit his government.

Demonstrators staged a silent vigil outside the Indonesian consulate in downtown Toronto yesterday to protest human rights violations in East Timor, The Star's Cal Millar reports.

Members of the East Timor Alert Network and ACT for Disarmament organized the demonstration.

See page 22 (*Alatas visit to Ottawa*), and page 49 (*Canada supports Indonesia in the U.N. Human Rights Commission*).

ACTION ALERT ON INDONESIAN COMMISSION OF INQUIRY (ETAN/CANADA)

From Li-liene Gibbons, East Timor Alert Network, 104-2120 West 44th Street, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2. March 1, 1992.

Dear friends,

This is a very important time for the East Timorese. External Affairs is quietly accepting the recent results of the Indonesian inquiry into the Dili massacre. East Timor's future is in the hands of the international community. The situation is the worst it's been since 1983, when the generals instigated a crackdown in response to a cease-fire and talks between the resistance and the local Indonesian commander.

Elaine Briere received a phone call on Jan. 15 from a student in Dili saying 'help us, please help us. There are very many persons being killed and many still being jailed.'

The Indonesian inquiry results must not be accepted for the following reasons:

- 1) The massacre of Nov. 12 was not an isolated incident. Since the Indonesian occupation began in 1975 human rights groups have documented a persistent pattern of such massacres, arbitrary arrests, torture and disappearances of at least 200,000 Timorese. The attack by the Indonesian military was highly organized, not a spontaneous one from low-level officers as the report suggests.
- 2) Indonesia has no jurisdiction in East Timor, and no authority to try anyone in East Timor. But President Suharto has ordered that all who took part in the funeral procession be tried under Indonesia's anti-subversion laws which carry the death penalty.
- 3) Under the UN Economic and Social Council's guidelines for inquiring into atrocities of this nature, the chosen members "shall be independent of any institution, agency or person that may be the subject of the inquiry." According to Michael Leifer of the London School of Economics, "within Indonesia, there are no effective independent institutions."
- 4) The head of the inquiry, M. Djaelani, is a former general, a member in retirement of the Indonesian Supreme Court, in his prime a commander of the infamous Red Beret unit involved in numerous atrocities in East Timor.
- 5) Gen. Try Sutrisno, the commander in chief of the Indonesian armed forces, in December endorsed the Indonesian policy towards East Timor by saying "we will annihilate all separatist elements that taint the dignity of Indonesia." (International Herald Tribune)
- 6) Indonesia does not respect human rights and still refuses to sign United Nations conventions on human rights. It refuses to

allow an internationally supervised investigation into the massacre and situation in East Timor. It continues to deny international human rights organizations like Amnesty International access into East Timor and Indonesia.

Please write to: The Hon. Barbara MacDougall Minister of External Affairs
House of Commons Ottawa, ON. K1A 0A6
Thank you,
Li-lien Gibbons

U.N. ENVOY AMOS WAKO'S MISSION TO TIMOR

WAKO ARRIVAL REMARKS

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Feb 9 - A special United Nations envoy arrived in Jakarta on Sunday to discuss Indonesia's response to the killing of civilians by its soldiers in East Timor three months ago.

"My mission is really consultative, one which seeks clarification, one which seeks to be informed on what is happening, what is being done by the government on issues relating to the incident on 12th November," Amos Wako told reporters on arrival at Jakarta airport where he was given a low-key welcome.

He will meet government and military officials, starting with foreign minister Ali Alatas on Monday morning and will also go to East Timor during his visit, expected to last about a week.

Wako said he would meet anyone who could tell him about the incident.

"Indonesia has undertaken that whoever sees me...will not in any way be victimised."

UPI, Jakarta, Sukino Harisumarto, Feb 9 - Wako expressed the hope he would be permitted to go to East Timor during his stay in Indonesia.

Wako, who is Kenya's attorney general, attempted to put Indonesian authorities, nervous that the visit could represent a U.N. inquiry, at ease Sunday by stressing that he was not part of an inquiry.

"I don't think my visit is in any way an interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia," he said. "I wouldn't be here without an invitation from the government of Indonesia."

Wako, accompanied by two other U.N. officials, would not elaborate on his itinerary during his Indonesian visit.

HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVIST MEETS UN SPECIAL EMISSARY

TAPOL report, 12 February 1992

The foremost Indonesian human rights activist, J.C. Princen, today met Amos Wako, the special emissary of the UN Secretary-General who is currently in

Indonesia to follow through UN efforts to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor on 12 November 1991.

Princen who is chair of the Indonesian League for the Defence of Human Rights (LPHAM), also met the UN emissary as a member of Infight, the Indonesian Front for Human Rights.

During the talks, Princen said it was essential for the names of the casualties who died during the massacre to be made public. He also raised the issue of compensation for those who had lost relatives during the massacre or who had been themselves injured. He impressed upon Wako the need for international protection for human rights organisations in Indonesia which had come under increasing pressure from the authorities for their activities in connection with human rights abuses in East Timor.

Princen also handed Wako a document on the human rights

AS LONG AS IT'S NOT INVESTIGATIVE (EDITOR)

Editor. 15 February 1992. Abridged.

The eyes of the world are again turned on Indonesia because of the scheduled visit of Kenya's attorney-general, Amos Wako, the UN's Special Rapporteur on summary and arbitrary executions.

The task entrusted to Mr Wako is important because of the discord between the UN and Indonesia. Such a visit was first raised last year by former UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar but Indonesia felt it had been 'side-stepped' because de Cuellar used his personal authority rather than going through official procedures. Indonesia also rejected an 'investigation team,' the term used at the time by de Cuellar. "We will receive an emissary of the UN but not for investigation," said Foreign Minister Ali Alatas at the time.

This is now the formula agreed by the two sides. Being called a 'personal emissary' highlights a diplomatic rather than an investigative role. These difficult consultations are reflected in the secrecy surrounding Wako's visit. Up to late last week, Wako's itinerary was not being made public. The UN announcement simply said he would meet government officials, members of the national inquiry commission (KPN) and others linked to the Dili incident.

Wako and his team can meet anyone they want, said Benny Murdani, Foreign Minister ad interim. "If they ask, we will consider it, as long as it's not for investigation," said Minister/Secretary of State Moerdiono.

Many circles doubt the value of the UN team visiting Dili. "Their appearance there would lead to reactions," said Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a member of the KPN. What if Wako wants to meet Bishop Belo? "He can be called to Jakarta," replied Amaral. That may have been the way chosen

as, according to Editor's sources, Belo left for Jakarta over the weekend.

In any case Wako will meet the whole KPN team who will tell him the results of their inquiry, as they told them to President Suharto at the end of last year.

The results of Wako's visit will provide the basis for the UN Secretary-General to formulate the next move for reaching a solution to the East Timor question. For Indonesia, the Wako visit is like a two-edged sword in its efforts to restore Indonesia diplomacy which plummeted because of the Dili incident. Will it be for the better or not?

U.N. SPECIAL ENVOY NOT TO PROBE EAST TIMOR SHOOTING, SAYS ALATAS

JAKARTA, Feb 10 (AFP) - Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said here Monday that a visiting personal envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was not investigating the November massacre in East Timor.

"His coming here is not of an investigative nature... The main thing is, it is clarification not investigation and I know the difference," Alatas told journalists after meeting the special envoy, Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako.

Wako, who arrived here Sunday saying he was seeking clarification on the Dili shooting, declined to talk to the press after the meeting with Alatas.

Alatas also said that Wako had asked to go to Dili, East Timor, where the shooting occurred, "and in principle, we have no objection." A date has yet to be agreed for the visit, he added.

Indonesian troops fired into a crowd at a cemetery in Dili on November 12, killing some 50 people according to the official toll. Other sources have said more than 100 died.

While in Jakarta, Wako is also scheduled to meet with Indonesian Attorney General Singgih, head of a National Commission of Investigation which was set up to probe the massacre, Minister of State Secretary Murdiono and Coordinating Minister of Defence and Political Affairs Sudomo, Alatas said.

Other meetings with non governmental officials were still being arranged, he added.

Indonesian troops invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. Lisbon severed diplomatic ties with Jakarta shortly afterward. Jakarta unilaterally declared East Timor its 27th province in 1976, a move both the United Nations and Portugal have refused to recognize.

INDONESIA TO ALLOW U.N. ENVOY VISIT EAST TIMOR

JAKARTA, Feb 10, Reuter - Indonesia said on Monday it would allow a United Nations special envoy to visit East Timor where soldiers shot scores of civilians three months ago.

"He said it wouldn't be a complete visit without going to East Timor," Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters. "We have no objections and are looking for the best time for the visit."

Alatas was speaking after meeting Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako, the personal representative of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, who arrived in Jakarta on Sunday.

An international outcry followed the November 12 shooting of civilians mourning the death of a separatist in the East Timor capital Dili. An official inquiry said 50 people were killed though local witnesses say the toll was much higher.

On his arrival, Wako said he would meet anyone who could tell him about the incident.

Only civilians have been charged over the shootings though an official inquiry put much of the blame on the military.

Alatas said Indonesia would bring those who broke the law to court and a special military council would deal with soldiers.

"The November 12 incident did not reflect our government's policy. It was a tragedy which we all regretted," he said.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesian rule in East Timor.

Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975 shortly after the former Portuguese colonial rulers withdrew.

ALATAS: WAKO CAN VISIT TIMOR

JAKARTA, Indonesia (AP, Feb. 10) - Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told a special United Nations envoy Monday that he would be allowed to visit East Timor to investigate the shooting deaths of demonstrators by Indonesian troops last November.

Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako arrived in Indonesia Sunday, at the request of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Ghali, to gather information on the shooting of unarmed Timorese protesting Jakarta's 16-year-old occupation of East Timor.

While a national commission maintains that about 50 people were killed and about 90 were still missing, foreign witnesses and human rights groups have placed the death toll as high as 200.

After a two-hour meeting with Wako, Alatas told reporters that Wako had said he intended to make a trip to Dili, East Timor's provincial capital.

"Of course we will allow it," Alatas said. "We will arrange the time of the visit."

Wako is expected to meet with top Indonesian officials, who have said they welcomed his visit but would reject any plans for an international commission to investigate the shootings.

Amnesty International has accused the Indonesian government of conducting a biased investigation and of committing further human rights violations.

Two senior army officers were dismissed, but no soldiers were punished for the killings.

Indonesian troops intervened in East Timor during a civil war in 1975 and annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

U.N. SPECIAL ENVOY TO MEET SUHARTO ON FRIDAY

JAKARTA, Feb 11 (AFP) - A special envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General will meet President Suharto Friday to seek clarification on the November army shooting of civilians in East Timor, State Secretary Murdiono said Tuesday.

The envoy, Kenyan Attorney-General Amos Wako, will also deliver a message from President Daniel arap Moi when he meets with Suharto, from Dili, Murdiono said.

U.N. chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali's envoy is to leave Wednesday for East Timor, where he will stay overnight, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas earlier told reporters at his office.

Murdiono said Wako had examined the preliminary government report on the November 12 military shooting which concluded that some 50 people were killed.

Other sources, including witnesses, have said the death toll was up to 115.

The visiting envoy met with members of the government's probe team and with Alatas on Monday.

U.N. ENVOY TO MEET INDONESIAN PRES. SUHARTO

JAKARTA (FEB. 11) KYODO - A UNITED NATIONS' ENVOY WILL MEET WITH PRESIDENT SUHARTO FRIDAY TO DISCUSS THE SHOOTING INCIDENT INVOLVING GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN EAST TIMOR LAST YEAR, SECRETARY OF STATE MURDIONO SAID TUESDAY.

AMOS WAKO, WHO IS ALSO KENYA'S ATTORNEY GENERAL, MET WITH MURDIONO DURING THE DAY TO DISCUSS THE KILLING OF AN ESTIMATED 50 PEOPLE BY GOVERNMENT TROOPS IN EAST TIMOR LAST NOVEMBER 12.

MURDIONO TOLD REPORTERS SUHARTO WILL TALK WITH THE SPECIAL ENVOY SENT BY U.N. SECRETARY GENERAL BOUTROS BOUTROS GHALI AFTER HE RETURNS FROM EAST TIMOR'S CAPITAL OF DILI, WHERE THE INCIDENT OCCURRED.

WAKO LEAVES FOR DILI ON WEDNESDAY. MURDIONO SAID WAKO HAS ALREADY EXAMINED A PRELIMINARY REPORT DRAFTED BY A SPECIAL GOVERNMENT COMMISSION SET UP TO INVESTIGATE THE INCIDENT. THE

COMMISSION WILL SOON RELEASE ITS FINAL REPORT, MURDIONO SAID.

HE SAID THE FULL REPORT WILL SUPPORT THE PRELIMINARY FINDINGS THAT 50 PEOPLE WERE KILLED AND ANOTHER 90 WENT MISSING IN THE INCIDENT.

THE REPORT CONTRADICTS EYEWITNESSES AND OTHER INDEPENDENT SOURCES WHICH CLAIM THAT THE DEATH TOLL EXCEEDED 100 WHEN GOVERNMENT TROOPS OPENED FIRE ON A FUNERAL PROCESSION IN DILI.

THE COMMISSION SAID SOLDIERS ENGAGED IN "EXCESSIVE SHOOTING" AFTER BEING PROVOKED. WITNESSES, HOWEVER, SAID MILITARY PERSONNEL OPENED FIRE WITHOUT CAUSE.

AFTER HIS MEETING WITH MURDIONO ON TUESDAY, WAKO ALSO SPOKE WITH ATTORNEY GENERAL SINGGIH REGARDING THE SHOOTINGS.

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 11 - A special envoy of the U.N. Secretary-General will meet President Suharto Friday to seek clarification on the November army shooting of civilians in East Timor, State Secretary Murdiono said Tuesday.

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U.N. chief Boutros Boutros-Ghali's envoy is to leave Wednesday for East Timor, where he will stay overnight, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas earlier told reporters at his office.

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The visiting envoy met with members of the government's probe team and with Alatas on Monday.

WAKO MEETS WITH MURDIONO

Kyodo, Jakarta, Feb 11 - Amos Wako met with Murdiono during the day to discuss the killing of an estimated 50 people by government troops in East Timor last November 12.

Wako leaves for Dili on Wednesday. Murdiono said Wako has already examined a preliminary report drafted by a special government commission set up to investigate the incident. The commission will soon release its final report, Murdiono said.

He said the full report will support the preliminary findings that 50 people were killed and another 90 went missing in the incident.

After his meeting with Murdiono on Tuesday, Wako also spoke with Attorney General Singgih regarding the shootings.

WAKO ARRIVES IN DILI (AFP)

JAKARTA, Feb 12 (AFP) - United Nations special envoy Amos Wako arrived in Dili, East Timor, Wednesday, to seek clarification of the November shooting in which at least 50 people were killed.

Wako, a personal envoy of U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, flew from here in a special airplane and landed in Dili in the afternoon in rough weather, sources in Dili contacted by telephone told AFP.

A commercial aircraft of the domestic airliner Merpati Nusantara airlines, also scheduled to land Wednesday afternoon circled Dili airport several times in the storm before the pilot abandoned his attempt and returned to the resort island of Bali, passengers said from Denpasar.

Among passengers on the Merpati flight were several military officers and scores of journalists from Jakarta, they said.

Wako, who is also Kenya's attorney general, arrived in Indonesia on Sunday seeking clarification on the November 12 shooting in Dili and the steps taken by the government here since.

He has already met in Jakarta with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, State Secretary Minister Mardiono, Attorney General Singgih, Coordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs Sudomo and members of a national commission of investigation set up by President Suharto to probe the shooting.

In its preliminary report, the commission said that troops, acting without command, had shot into demonstrators at a cemetery in Dili, killing about 50 people. Other sources said the death toll could have topped 100.

The sources in Dili said Wako is scheduled to meet with East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao on Thursday and with Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo later in the day.

Press reports here said the U.N. envoy will also be meeting East Timor Military Operational Commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei before flying back to Jakarta late Thursday.

WAKO MEETS CARRASCALAO

Kyodo, Jakarta, Feb 13 - Amos Wako held talks with the governor of East Timor to discuss the killings there last November.

Accompanied by two U.N. officials, he held a two-hour talk with Jakarta-appointed East Timor governor Mario Carrascalao on what measures the Indonesian government has taken over the killings.

The talks were also attended by Udayana Military Commander Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri, who oversees Bali and East Timor, as well as a member of a government inquiry commission Hadi Wayarabi, who is also a Foreign Ministry official.

Carrascalao said that in the talks Wako put questions because he wanted more in-

formation than the official commission report has provided.

"During the talks, I briefed him on the prospective government program in handling East Timor after the November 12 incident," Carrascalao was quoted as saying.

Wako also met Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo but the newspaper did not report on their talks.

UN ENVOY VISITS MASSACRE SITE, ENDS TIMOR TRIP

DILI, East Timor, Feb 13, Reuter - A United Nations special envoy ended a mission to East Timor on Thursday after visiting a cemetery where Indonesian soldiers shot scores of people three months ago.

Plainclothes security men kept watch at the airport and other sensitive areas of the East Timor capital Dili as the envoy, Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako, toured the city, witnesses said.

An international outcry followed the November 12 shooting of civilians mourning the death of a separatist in Dili.

An official inquiry said 50 people were killed though other sources put the toll at more than 100 and said the shooting was unprovoked.

On arrival for his two-day visit, Wako said he would see anyone who could tell him about the incident.

On Thursday he met East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao and Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the influential prelate of the predominantly Roman Catholic territory.

He also drove in an army bus with eastern Indonesian military commander Major General Herman Mantiri along the route to Santa Cruz cemetery taken by the mourners before the soldiers opened fire.

Wako, the personal representative of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, did not get off the bus at the cemetery.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976. Indonesian troops invaded the territory in 1975 after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers and have stayed on since then to fight separatists.

Governor Carrascalao told reporters Wako's visit was aimed at seeking clarification of the official report and not to carry out a separate investigation.

Carrascalao also said government action must taken against those found guilty.

"The law should be applied to everyone...and that includes the military," he added.

Only civilians have been charged over the shootings.

SUHARTO TELLS OTHERS NOT TO IMPOSE THEIR VALUES

JAKARTA, Feb 13, Reuter - President Suharto on Thursday said continued inter-

national criticism of an army massacre in East Timor three months ago amounted to a violation of Indonesia's rights.

"No country should impose its values (on another country)...it is not in accordance with the values they themselves glorify," he said in a speech while accepting the credentials of the new Dutch ambassador to Indonesia.

"If it is forced, it is itself the same as denying human rights and the sovereignty of the country."

The Netherlands, which colonised what was then known as the East Indies for about 350 years until 1945, has been among the most vocal critics of the military shooting of civilians in East Timor last November.

It threatened to cut aid to Indonesia following the shooting, which the government says left 50 people dead. Witnesses say the soldiers killed more than 100.

In a clear reference to the Dutch, Suharto said: "As a country born out of a war for independence after expelling colonialism which has taken away its rights for hundreds of years, we are upholding freedom and self-respect.

"We are determined to build up our own power and to develop in the direction that we consider is right for us," he said.

"But we are also aware of the importance of cooperation and assistance from other nations to accelerate the development of the country, without sacrificing our basic principles as a sovereign state."

Suharto made his comments as a United Nations special envoy ended a mission to East Timor after visiting a cemetery in the capital Dili where the shootings took place on November 12.

Kenyan Attorney General Amos Wako earlier on Thursday met East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao and Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the influential prelate of the predominantly Roman Catholic territory.

He also drove in an army bus with eastern Indonesian military commander Major General Herman Mantiri along the route to Santa Cruz cemetery taken by the mourners before the soldiers opened fire.

Wako, the personal representative of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, did not get off the bus at the cemetery.

The United Nations does not recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976. Indonesian troops invaded the territory in 1975 after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers and have stayed on since then to fight separatists.

Indonesia gets about five billion dollars a year in aid from industrial countries, most of whom have condemned the East Timor shootings.

They have largely been placated by the government report into the incident, though Indonesian soldiers have yet to be charged with the shootings.

Governor Carrascalao told reporters Wako's visit was aimed at seeking clarification of the official report and not to carry out a separate investigation.

FORCING FOREIGN VALUES ON OTHER COUNTRIES VIOLATES HUMAN RIGHTS: SUHARTO

JAKARTA, Feb 13 (AFP) - Indonesian President Suharto hit out Thursday at countries which attempted to impose their values on other countries, claiming it was a violation of human rights.

He made his comments at the palace here when receiving the credentials of new Dutch Ambassador, Robert Dudley van Roijen.

The Netherlands has threatened to cut aid to Jakarta after Indonesian troops shot dead 50 people at a memorial ceremony in Dili, East Timor, in November. Other sources said the death toll probably topped 100.

Indonesia and other member states of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) - Brunei, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand - have been trying to thwart efforts by their main western donors and trading partners to link aid and trade with human rights issues.

Suharto said: "There is not a single nation obliged to apply values of life which it cannot understand and are incompatible with its own fundamental values. If they are imposed, it would be equal to negating human rights itself and the fundamental rights of a sovereign state."

He said Indonesia recognized that there were fundamental rights which were universal in nature and cited human rights, democracy and freedom.

However, he said those values, if they originated from abroad, would only be able to grow healthily in another country if they incorporated local values.

"In this world which is increasingly becoming unified, the importance of the meaning of mutual understanding and mutual respect between countries is increasingly felt," Suharto said.

Suharto said Indonesia was determined to develop itself by its own means. "But we also are aware of the importance of cooperation and aid from other countries in accelerating the development, without sacrificing the fundamental principles of a sovereign country."

The president last month unveiled a draft state budget for the upcoming fiscal year which begins in April in which the role of foreign aid in development was drastically reduced. Instead Indonesia will rely more on internal revenues generated from tax and exports.

The future of the world was the responsibility of all nations. One country or group of nations, no matter how powerful, would not be able to govern the world alone, Suharto said.

"A world regulated by a single country or group of countries only, would give rise to

injustice which will itself turn into a seed for global unrest," said Suharto, leader of the world's fourth most populous nation with over 150 million inhabitants.

WAKO: INDONESIA READY TO TRY SOLDIERS OVER TIMOR DEATHS

By Jonathan Thatcher

JAKARTA, Feb 14, Reuter - Indonesia has promised to prosecute anyone, including soldiers, involved in the massacre of civilians in East Timor last November, a special United Nations representative said on Friday.

"It was made very clear that...anybody who infringed regulations relating to the shooting and so on, even if it was the military, would be prosecuted," Amos Wako told reporters after meeting President Suharto.

Wako, Kenya's attorney-general, spent six days in Indonesia discussing the November 12 shooting by soldiers of mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili.

Witnesses say at least 100 people died. The government has put the death toll at 50.

"My discussions with him (Suharto) were very informative and authoritative regarding the steps the government has already taken in relation to the Dili incident and what its intentions are," he said.

More than 50 East Timorese face trial over the incident. But diplomats are concerned that no soldiers, blamed in an official report for their role in the shooting, had yet been prosecuted.

A special military council investigating the army's role has still to complete its work.

"My mission was not investigative...My mission was to clarify some of the issues. I think I have enough information on which to go on," Wako said.

He expects to give his report and recommendations to U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali next week.

The U.N. still does not recognise Jakarta rule in East Timor which it invaded in 1975 shortly after the Portuguese colonial administrators left.

Wako said he spoke to a wide range of people from government and the military as well as civilians.

During a two-day visit to East Timor, at the eastern end of the Indonesian archipelago, he met the 14 East Timorese still in hospital with injuries from the November shooting.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told the news conference that he expects to continue his trip to North America and Europe this weekend to explain Indonesia's position over the incident.

SUHARTO: SOLDIERS TO BE PROSECUTED

Kyodo, Jakarta, Feb 14 - Indonesian President Suharto has promised to prosecute

all involved in the November 12 shootings in East Timor, including soldiers, United Nations envoy Amos Wako said here Friday.

"The president was very clear. (He) said that all found guilty would be prosecuted," Wako told reporters at the end of his trip.

He said his meeting with Suharto was "very informative and authoritative regarding the steps that the government has already taken in relation to the Dili incident."

Suharto is determined "those who gave the orders to shoot and those who actually carried out the shooting would be prosecuted," Wako said.

U.N. ENVOY ENDS ITS SIX-DAY FACT-FINDING TRIP

JAKARTA (FEB. 14) DPA - A United Nations envoy ended a six-day mission to Indonesia Friday to discuss an incident in East Timor in which some 50 people were killed when troops fired on demonstrators.

Amos Wako, the Kenya attorney general, said he was satisfied with his talks and would report to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Ghali.

Wako said he was in Indonesia to clarify details of the incident at Dili on November 12. He also wanted to discover what steps the government had taken to investigate the shootings.

Wako held talks with President Suharto and Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. On a two-day trip to Dili earlier in the week, he met East Timor governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, Catholic bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, military leaders as well as private citizens.

The envoy also held discussions with a national commission which has been set up to investigate the incident. In Dili, he visited 14 people still being treated in hospital for their injuries.

WAKO ENDS INDONESIAN VISIT (RADIO AUSTRALIA)

14 Feb 1992. 10:00 UTC Radio Australia International Report (English)

UN Special Envoy Amos Wako has just ended a mission to Indonesia to gather information on last November's massacre in the East Timorese capital, Dili. Mr Wako said he's been assured that troops found to have been involved in the killings will be prosecuted. This report from Ian MacIntosh in Jakarta:

Mr Wako, who began his final day here by meeting with President Suharto, says the Indonesian leader has been very clear that all found to have been involved in the Dili bloodshed would be prosecuted. He told reporters that he'd specifically asked his host, "What about the military?," and has been told that Indonesia, as a society which obeys the laws, has set up a military council of honour to probe armed forces involvement in the massacre. Based on the council's

findings, the envoy quoted President Suharto as saying those who either gave the orders to shoot or actually carried out the shooting would be prosecuted, and he, the president, was determined that would happen.

The final reports of both the national commission which enquired into the killings, and the military council currently in session are still awaited, but they're understood to be generating strong opposition from those in the military and elsewhere who believe Indonesia's probe of the Dili massacre has already gone too far.

Today Mr Wako, who is the Attorney General of Kenya, was at pains to point out that despite the low key public posture he and his four-person support team have adopted since their arrival here last weekend, they've been able to meet with a range of government and military officers, as well as, in his words, "citizens of Indonesia," and a wide cross section of Non Government Organisations that had asked to see him. He would not go into detail, however, about those meetings.

The envoy said he'd also discussed a range of issues, among them the question of prosecutions of military personnel and others involved; identification of those dead and missing after the November 12 killings; the number, location and identity of bodies, and questions relating to the general rehabilitation and development of East Timor.

Mr Wako was asked whether he had managed to obtain information which differed from that provided by his Indonesian Government hosts, such as on the number of people who died in the Dili carnage. He replied that the death toll was an issue still needing clarification. The envoy added that the identification of those missing, some of whom he said had died, was another matter discussed at length during his visit.

Mr Wako, who returned to Jakarta from Dili late yesterday after a 24 hour visit to the East Timorese capital, confirmed that he'd met there with Provincial Governor Mario Carrascalao, Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo and senior military officers. He'd retraced the route of the fateful procession from Dili's Motael Church to the Santa Cruz Cemetery, where the killings occurred, and talked with some of the massacre victims, still in hospital 3 months after the incident.

But on the details of his findings in Dili, as well as from his various Jakarta meetings, Mr Wako would not be drawn. He said he planned to forward his report to the UN Sec. General, Mr Boutros-Ghali next week, telling reporters that, following his visits to Jakarta and Dili, he was in a position to compile a comprehensive assessment, containing both his opinions and recommendations. He would not, however, indicate what follow-up action Dr. Boutros-Ghali might decide upon.

SECURITY OPERATIONS IN DILI DURING WAKO VISIT (EDITOR)

Editor. 22 February 1992. Original language: Indonesian. These are extracts from a two-page article reporting on the visit to Dili of Amos Wako, the UN Secretary-General's special emissary:

This was the first visit to East Timor of a senior UN official since integration. It was the most eagerly awaited part of his visit to Indonesia.

This would be the 'core' that would determine the results of the Wako visit. But, some circles feared that it would be used to stage a demonstration, as happened during the visit of another UN official, Professor Kooijmans. This is why, said Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, commander of Kolakops (operational command), "the armed forces didn't want to be caught napping and didn't want to take the slightest risk."

Therefore, already for several days before the visit, security forces blanketed the entire city. Around half a dozen Hino trucks, each carrying fully-armed anti-riot troops with shields drove through the streets every day. "We were on full alert, day and night. Intelligence units were also on full alert," said a Dili police officer.

From crack of dawn on the day of Wako's arrival, row upon row of troops were spread right across the grassy fields and in between the trees surrounding Comoro airport. "We were there at the ready from five in the morning," one of the soldiers later told Editor. Even when there was a heavy downpour, the troops remained in place awaiting the arrival of Wako's plane that afternoon.

As a result, no incident occurred, though a number of youths in several villages had been making plans to stage a demonstration to greet Wako. But before the plans could actually go ahead, the security apparatus got wind of them and a number of arrests were made.

One leading figure who was captured because he was suspected of heading these preparations was Jacob Fernandes, Santa Cruz village chief. Brig. Gen Theo Syafei confirmed that these attempts to hold a demonstration and the arrests did indeed take place.

Nevertheless, another "incident" did occur. When they left Jakarta, the six members of the UN team were escorted by two members of the national investigation commission (KPN), Hadi W. Alhadar and Clementino dos Reis Amaral. During their transit in Bali, the regional military commander, Major-General Mantiri, joined the group. For the entire visit (in Dili), along the route from Motael Church to Santa Cruz and also during the inspection visit to Wira Husada Hospital, the whole group was present.

But during separate meetings with Governor Carrascalao and Bishop Belo,

Amos Wako asked for private meetings without the presence of anyone from the Indonesian side. In fact, during the meeting with Bishop Belo in the company of two senior church officials, several Indonesian officials were told to leave.

During the one-and-a-half hour meeting, when the conversation was held in Portuguese and Latin, the Bishop presented photographs of the Santa Cruz incident. "It was a secret meeting. This was an investigation, not just asking for clarifications," said one source. Is that so?

Clementino denied that. "We left because we respected their request." Carrascalao also denied that anything secretive had happened during his meeting with the Wako team. Wako said: "I wanted to talk calmly. I felt disturbed by the presence of those others."

WAKO: I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE STAYED A LONG TIME (EDITOR)

Editor. 22 February 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Extracts only.

Q: Are you satisfied?

A: I only had five days here, whilst the KPN has worked for several months. Naturally, the Indonesian government has obtained satisfactory results from those investigations.

Q: Isn't a visit of only five days too short?

A: Yes, as a matter of fact, I'd like to have been here much longer. But it wasn't my task to carry out an investigation so I didn't need a long time. If it had been an investigation (like the KPN for instance), I would have needed months.

Q: If it was not your task to conduct an investigation, why did you meet separately with Bishop Belo, Father Ricardo and Father Antonio, without Indonesian officials being present?

A: I wanted to have a calm discussion. I felt disturbed by their presence. I'm only joking. Sometimes on a mission like this, I need to speak as the special emissary of the UN Secretary General, the only one. Indeed, I had some people to accompany me, to help me. But when certain things happen and there are things of a special nature that I must discuss with certain people, then I have to do this. It's part of my task.

Q: Did you think it was adequate to inspect the location of the incident from inside a bus?

A: Even though I was in a bus, I kept my eyes wide open. I don't think there is all that much difference between going to that place on foot or in a bus. I was quite satisfied.

Q: What was your aim in coming to Indonesia?

A: First to meet and consult with the Indonesian government. Second to seek

clarifications about the Dili incident.

Third, to discover what is being done to resolve the 12 November 1991 incident.

These are the three most important things from my visit this time.

Q: Have you achieved these objectives?

A: I think so. I think I have the necessary information for further steps. I will draw together everything I have to report to the Secretary General. The next step is up to him. I don't know whether he will want to take it to an international forum or not. I must leave it to his judgment.

TEMPO ON WAKO'S DILI VISIT

Tempo. 22 February 1992. Original language Indonesian. These are extracts from a four-column report about the visit to Dili of Amos Wako, the special emissary of the UN Secretary-General.

[Comment: Note that the military doctor in Dili still sticks by the army's earlier casualty figure of 19. Taken together with Syafei's remarks in his Tempo interview - see separate posting - the army shows clear signs of opposing the Suharto/KPN cover-up. Does this mean Suharto will face problems keeping his promise that officers who ordered the troops to open fire will be brought to justice?]

The most interesting part of Wako's visit (to Indonesia) was the trip to Dili which lasted only a day. When he landed on Wednesday afternoon, there was a heavy downpour in Dili. It would appear that the public were not interested in the Wako visit. "They were not interested in Wako, all they were talking about was the Portuguese ship," said Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei.

Apart from the question of the ship, the security forces took extra measures. The Wako group was heavily guarded; in contrast, hardly any security measures were taken when the UN's special rapporteur, Professor Kooijmans, visited Dili last November.

It is evident that Brig-Gen. Theo Syafei did not want to be caught napping. Throughout the Wako itinerary, Theo never stayed with the group. He controlled the group from a distance, always in civilian dress. During Wako's meeting with Governor Carrascalao, Theo made a tour of the town. Sometimes, he went ahead of the group, inspecting the situation.

On Wednesday afternoon, drenched by the rain, the commander went to watch a football match between kampungs. "I wanted to see whether this was indeed just a football match," Theo told Tempo.

Moreover, Theo slept that night in the room next to Wako's in Hotel Mahkota.

The results were satisfactory. Theo seems to have passed his first test with flying colours. There were no disturbances during the Wako visit even though some,

including the Governor, had expressed reservations that the visit might lead to trouble.

The Wako group met very few people in Dili. They met the Governor and Bishop Belo alone, in private. All the others in the group, including KPN member Hadi Wayarabi and Major-General Mantiri, were kept waiting outside.

The group drove along the route taken by the demonstration from Motael Church to Santa Cruz Cemetery. But they did not get down from the coach in which they were travelling. Tempo has been told by military sources that there was no ban on their getting out of the coach and inspecting the location of the incident.

Wako did not bother himself much about this. "I kept my eyes open." At Motael, the coach stopped for only three minutes, then drove at 30 kms an hour to the cemetery. They stopped there for only five minutes.

Then the group went to the Wira Husada Military Hospital where Wako spoke to some victims still being treated. [Tempo publishes a photo showing Wako talking to a patient in bed; an army officer is standing nearby.]

Wako also spoke to Major Dr. Sofyan Malik, commander of the medical detachment in East Timor, about the number of casualties. The major told him that nineteen died, 13 at the place of the incident and the remainder in hospital.

These are the figures according to the old version, before the KPN published its findings. According to Major Malik, the victims were transported in army trucks. "There were five or six," he told Wako.

Seeing that Wako was so meticulous, some people wonder whether this can still be said to be seeking clarifications. But Wako himself says that this is what he was doing. "If this were an investigation mission, I would have to stay here for months."

JAKARTA WANTS TO CLOSE THE CHAPTER ON MASSACRE (IPS)

Kuala Lumpur, Feb. 20 (IPS/S Sivam) – Indonesia is hoping that a United Nations special envoy will redeem its international image, badly tarnished after an Indonesian army massacre of East Timorese protesters last November.

Jakarta seemed close to finally gaining international acceptance of its annexation of tiny East Timor when soldiers fired into a crowd of demonstrators in the predominantly Christian former Portuguese colony last Nov. 12.

Amos Wako, special envoy of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, spent all of last week in Indonesia seeking clarification of the killings. His itinerary included a trip to the East Timor capital of Dili where the massacre took place. Wako is attorney-general of Kenya as well as an international authority on human rights.

Wako was non-committal when he spoke to journalists after meeting president

Suharto, only saying that the Indonesian leader had told him of the steps Jakarta is taking.

When a howl of protest rose worldwide after the massacre, Jakarta immediately pulled out the top two generals in charge of the Indonesian army in East Timor and set up a high-powered commission headed by a supreme court judge to investigate the incident.

The commission's preliminary finding issued in late December, faulting the troops for overreacting and placing the death toll at about 50 people with 90 more missing – either dead or in hiding – has satisfied most of Indonesia's aid donor countries.

Analysts say that Jakarta wants to close the chapter on the Dili incident because it is hosting the non-aligned movement (NAM) summit later this year. Jakarta officials fear that the East Timor issue could be exploited by some member states to discredit the Indonesian government.

Foreign secretary Ali Alatas has been touring world capitals this month to assure that Jakarta will take action against the errant soldiers and is implementing measures "to restore peace and ensure the safety" of East Timor's 750,000 people, including "a full review" of its policies in East Timor.

Since the massacre, three countries have suspended their aid programmes to Indonesia – Canada, Denmark and the Netherlands. The United States, Japan and others waited for the results of the official inquiry and have pronounced themselves satisfied with it.

Foreign aid totals some five billion dollars a year and accounts for about a fifth of Indonesia's development budget.

But Alatas' assurances have struck a hollow ring. To date no action has been taken against the soldiers directly involved in the shootings while more than 50 East Timorese students are under investigation in Java and Bali for dissident activities.

Another 32 in Dili have been detained for taking part in the demonstration, according to attorney-general Singgih. Three were recently sentenced to seven to nine-year prison terms. The maximum penalty for subversion is death.

The 'Indonesian human rights campaign' has protested the haste with which the Timorese are being tried and sentenced. The human rights group has charged that two of the trials lasted only a day each.

Since January, Indonesian troops – part of the 10,000-strong contingent in East Timor – have moved against jungle units of the Fretilin, the East Timorese guerrilla separatist movement, capturing an undetermined number, including the group's second-in-command, Jose da Costa.

Rebel leader Xanana Gusmao is still at large while a prominent lieutenant who is now Fretilin's chief spokesman, Jose Ramos-Horta, is now Lisbon-based after escaping to Australia.

Portugal invaded the eastern half of Timor island in 1642, the Dutch-controlled western half went to Indonesia upon independence.

An abrupt Portuguese withdrawal in 1974 after a coup in Lisbon brought an end to colonialism in East Timor but the political instability that followed led to civil war.

Indonesia, saying it feared the spawning of a "Cuba at our back door," moved its troops into East Timor in December 1975. it said it did so "at the request" of some Timorese groups. East Timor was formally annexed the following year as an Indonesian province.

Since then, Portugal has been spearheading an international campaign to negotiate a solution to the East Timor issue in the united nations and bring pressure on Indonesia to respect human rights in East Timor.

Although Fretilin has been fighting the Indonesian army since the annexation, Jakarta officials say East Timor has been pacified.

Indonesia had hoped that the planned simultaneous visits last November of Portuguese parliamentarians and U.N. envoys to assess the situation in East Timor would lead to U.N. recognition of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

But the Portuguese mission fell through at the last minute. a team from the U.N. Human Rights Commission did visit Dili last November and some 1,500 protesters were gathering to march to the hotel where the team was staying when the soldiers shot at them.

PREPARING FOR THE PEACE BOAT

PROPOSAL: MISSION "PEACE IN TIMOR"

1. GENERAL VIEW OF THE SITUATION

- 1.1. The media war - The Santa Cruz massacre assumed an unprecedented significance in the recent history of Timor. The testimony that reached the international community through television images brought up a tragedy that many people ignored or tried to forget. Once more it became clear that a television image is much more powerful than a thousand words.
- 1.2. The Indonesian vulnerability - Never in recent history was the international pressure on Indonesia so strongly felt as it is today. We must make the best of this temporary vulnerability and that is precisely what we're doing. This demands a constant pressure through the creation of political, diplomatic and, above all, media facts.
- 1.3. A different world - With the systematic fall of dictatorships and the increasing intolerance towards the Human Rights violations the world cannot continue to ignore cases like Timor. Also, with the fall of communism some fears have vanished, making the new world order less favourable to Indonesia.
- 1.4. An opportune intervention - The Greenpeace movement, The Live Aid concerts, the Amnesty International, the Chinese and Czechoslovak student movements, the plight for the Amazonian Indians are examples that show the world is again receptive to new forms of media intervention. To spread any message or win any cause everyone must keep this in mind.
- 1.5. National mobilization - Like the international community, Portugal was never so sensitive and receptive to the issue of Timor. Students' initiatives have been particularly important in this area.

2. STRATEGY

1. Create an event of great media impact.
2. Center the intervention on the value of Peace and Dialogue, for the defense of Human Rights.
3. Create a situation that puts an end to inactivity and hastens the course of the events.

3. BRIEF DESCRIPTION

Trip to Timor by sea with the participation of 100 persons, including, among others, students from Portugal, other EEC countries, USA, Japan, China, Australia, Czechoslovakia. Some national and international personalities will also be invited. This mission also welcomes the Media participation.

4. PURPOSE

To lay a wreath of flowers at the Santa Cruz cemetery

5. DATE: 27TH FEBRUARY 1992

This mission will take place during the last week of the World Conference for Human Rights, promoted by the UN in Geneva.

ANNEX 1

1. Brief description

Voyage to East Timor by sea departing from Australia of an international group of students and personalities. Accompaniment by the Media

2. Purpose

To make a plea for Human Rights through the symbolic gesture of laying a wreath of flowers at the Santa Cruz cemetery (the place where 80 people, mainly students, were massacred in 12.11.91).

3. Organization

Peace in Timor Commission with the support of students' associations, important personalities and the Media.

4. Students' participation

Although the risk is minimal, the students' participation is voluntary and their own responsibility. All expenses, including trip from country of origin, lodging, feeding and return trip, will be supported by the organization. The departure to Australia comprehends two phases:

A. Meeting of all the participants in Lisbon, with arrival on the 23rd of February. The participants from the Far East are dispensed of this phase.

B. Departure to Australia on the 24th in a direct flight.

5. Trip Australia-Timor

Departure: 26th of February from Port Darwin. Duration: 2 to 5 days. Climate: warm and moist. Equipment: light clothing, sleeping bag, rain-coat and a warm piece.

6. Total duration of the Mission Peace in Timor

A duration of 5 to 10 days is expected.

7. If you want to join this initiative, you should:

A. Immediately contact the organization to:

Rua da Prata, 185 - 2o., 1100 Lisbon, Portugal tel.: 351-1-3479348/9, fax: 351-1-3476518 The following information is required: Name, Age, Address, Telephone number, Schoolhouse, Course, Organization you represent, Nationality. If you have any specific abilities or knowledge that might be useful for this mission you should refer them as well. This information should be confirmed by fax or mail, mentioning the acceptance of this conditions included in this annex 1.

B. Any visa required for either Australia or Portugal should be arranged by you.

8. Last (but not least)

The success of this mission depends on your participation and it's international diffusion. Spread the news of this mission. See you soon.

INDONESIA READIES FORCE FOR PORTUGUESE ARRIVAL

JAKARTA, Feb 11, Reuter - East Timor's military commander has assigned a special task force to deal with the impending arrival of a Portuguese ship to mark the massacre of civilians there by Indonesian soldiers three months ago.

"We have set up a special task force to safeguard the people's sovereignty and state from being undermined and provoked by the arrival of the Portuguese ship," the Jawa Pos daily quoted Brigadier-General Theo Syafei as saying.

It will comprise police and immigration officials.

The Lusitania Expresso set sail last month from Lisbon for the former Portuguese territory to mark the November 12 shooting in the capital Dili when witnesses say soldiers killed more than 100 people. The government says 50 died.

The ship will first dock at Darwin, Australia, to pick up more than 100 students and journalists and sail to Dili at the end of February where they plan to lay flowers at a cemetery.

The newspaper said three people had been arrested in Dili on charges of setting up a committee to welcome the ship.

State secretary Murdiono told reporters in Jakarta that the ship must have permission to enter Indonesian waters.

"They should not look for trouble...If they want to be good tourists, fine," he said.

Diplomats say they doubt Indonesia would give permission and Dili residents said the ship's arrival could well trigger fresh violence.

A special envoy of the United Nations Secretary-General will fly to East Timor on Wednesday for a two-day visit to seek further information on the incident which led to an international outcry against Indonesia and its human rights record in East Timor.

The U.N. does not recognise Jakarta's rule in East Timor which Indonesia invaded

in 1975 after the withdrawal of the former Portuguese colonial rulers.

'ARMADA' TO STOP PEACE SHIP?

Reuter, Jakarta, Feb 15 - Indonesia has ordered its navy to guard East Timor against the arrival of a Portuguese ship carrying mourners to mark November's army massacre.

The daily Kompas reported that East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei had set up a special task force in the Timor Sea to keep the ship away from the former Portuguese colony.

Asked what the military would do when the ship arrived, Syafei said: "I love peace. But I love sovereignty and freedom more...I would try to deal with them softly, if it did not work, I would handle it just like the apparatus of a sovereign country should do."

The task force involved police, immigration officials and the navy, Kompas said. The frigate KRI Halim Perdana Kusuma arrived in the territory on Wednesday.

"That was the first ship. The second, the third and the fourth will follow," Syafei was quoted as saying.

The Lusitania Expresso set sail from Lisbon last month, planning to dock at the northern Australian city of Darwin to pick up more than 100 students and journalists from all over the world before proceeding to Dili.

Intelligence officers said the Portuguese ship had reached Djibouti in the Horn of Africa and was expected to arrive in Indonesia in about two weeks.

PEACE MISSION COULD FAIL FOR LACK OF FUNDS (IPS)

Lisbon, Feb. 17 (ips) - A bid to bring world attention to human rights abuses in Indonesian occupied East Timor could founder through lack of funds, organisers said here Monday.

The ship 'Lusitania Express' was booked to bring human rights activists to East Timor later this month. Its passengers planned to lay floral tributes on the site where Indonesian troops killed dozens of Timorese protesters last November.

But organisers from the Lisbon magazine 'Students' Forum' said Monday the mission was in danger of foundering from lack of financial support. Only one-third of the one million U.S. dollars needed to complete the protest trip has been raised so far.

Amnesty International estimated that over 100 people were killed in last November's massacre, when Indonesian troops opened fire on pro-independence demonstrators in a cemetery in the Timorese capital of Dili. Some 210,000 Timorese have been killed since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Among the passengers booked for the voyage is Isabel Soares, daughter of Portuguese president Mario Soares, a fact

which "places the mission in a very special and delicate position," noted analyst Antonio Pinto Leite, Monday.

Indonesia warned last week that it would send its navy to intercept the ship. However on Monday Portuguese media reported that Indonesia had softened its stance and will allow the ship to dock in Dili "provided she obeys Indonesian emigration and maritime transport laws."

Its passengers "must be subject to international regulations," Indonesian army spokesman General Nurhadi Purwosaputro told journalists here.

But the peace mission organisers have already said that according to law and a resolution of the united nations security council, "the territorial waters of Timor are Portuguese."

In 1975 the U.N. recognised Portugal as the administering power over Timor until a referendum is held on independence for the former colony. The U.N. also urged Indonesian withdrawal.

Pinto Leite said Monday: "the 'Lusitania Express' will not bring liberty to Timor, but it will be one step more in isolating Indonesia and embarrassing the United States, Australia and the other countries for supporting Indonesia."

"It will also fix Timor on the agenda of international conscience," he added.

WAR SHIPS TO HEAD OFF PEACE ENVOY

From jashcraft Tue Feb 18

Indonesian military has said it will not hesitate to use force when a Portuguese ship comes into East Timor this next week. They are bringing an international group of more than 100 journalists and students to lay wreaths in a service for East Timor's November massacre victims.

The peace envoy has already departed the port of Djibouti on the eastern coast of Africa on its way to Indonesia. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government has sent war ships to intercept the peace ship and make sure that they do not illegally enter East Timor.

The Indonesian officials in East Timor have arrested at least three people for allegedly setting up a committee to welcome the envoy.

November 12, 1991 the Indonesian army opened fire on the Dili cemetery in East Timor killing and wounding over 200 unarmed citizens.

More than 50 East Timorese are awaiting trial for the massacre. But no soldiers have been blamed in an official report for their role in the shooting. Supposedly a special military council is continuing an investigation into the army's role.

President Suharto of Indonesia said Thursday that the continuing international criticism of the army massacre in East Timor was a violation of Indonesia's rights.

Suharto said: "As a country born out of a war for independence after expelling colonialism which has taken away its rights for hundreds of years, we are upholding freedom and self-respect.

"We are determined to build up our own power and to develop in the direction that we consider is right for us," he said.

"But we are also aware of the importance of cooperation and assistance from other nations to accelerate the development of the country, without sacrificing our basic principles as a sovereign state."

"No country should impose its values (on another country)...it is not in accordance with the values they themselves glorify,"

The Indonesian government apparently feels that the East Timorese, who wish basic freedoms and self determination, are a threat to their national security.

The native Timorese have no rights of free speech or assembly and have been occupied by Indonesia since annexation in 1975. East Timor is 1,250 miles east of Jakarta.

Global corporations such as Freeport Moran have substantial mining interests in Indonesia while the United States supplies the military of Indonesia.

MORE SHIP ACTIONS IN SOUTH PACIFIC

Reprinted from Peace News, March 1992. By Peter D. Jones

On 22 January the ferry Lusitania Express left Lisbon, carrying a group of 50 students and 50 journalists from 19 countries, for a one-month journey to Dili, the capital of East Timor.

Those on board will try to lay a wreath of flowers at the cemetery where Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd taking part in a funeral procession, killing over 100 people (Peace News, December 1991 and February 1992).

The Indonesian authorities have not been contacted for authorisation, while the organisers – the magazine Student Forum – said the initiative was a peaceful one, "aimed at maintaining the issue of East Timor on the international agenda."

Another less publicised boat trip is planned from Australia to Bougainville where the Papua New Guinea government continues to maintain a semi-blockade of the island after a two-year standoff between separatists and the Port Moresby central government. It is estimated that around 500 people in Bougainville have died during this period, and although food and medicine now seems to be trickling through, the Australia boat will be taking clothing as a priority.

OZ GOV'T WARY OF PEACE SHIP

UPI, Jakarta, Feb 18 - The Australia ambassador to Indonesia said Tuesday the Australian government would take strong action against a Portuguese ship on a "peace

mission" to East Timor if its activities endangered its relations with Indonesia.

The ship, the Lusitania Expresso, plans to anchor at the Australian port city of Darwin before leaving for East Timor on Feb. 27.

"The Dili issue is starting to calm down now and there is no longer any need for it to be discussed further," he said.

ROW THE BOAT ASHORE?

AFP, Lisbon, Feb 19 - A Portuguese "peace ship" bound for Indonesian-held East Timor is currently in the Indian Ocean and is due to reach Darwin, northern Australia, early next month, organisers have said here.

The Lusitania Expresso, which left here on January 23, will take on about 100 peace protesters and journalists in Darwin before sailing for Dili, capital of East Timor.

The Indonesian military has warned it will treat the ship as it does fishing vessels that illegally trespass in its waters.

"The (Portuguese) boat will be driven back by our routine patrolling ships as we do to foreign boats stealing fish," the daily Jawa Pos newspaper quoted Chief of Eastern Indonesian Armada Vice Admiral Tanto Kuswanto as saying.

The Indonesian military last week set up a marine task force in East Timor to watch the sea around the former Portuguese colony.

Earlier, Brigadier General Syafei said the military had detained several people including the head of Santa Cruz village, near Dili, for allegedly trying to form a welcoming committee for the Portuguese ship.

Portuguese Premier Anibal Cavaco Silva, whose country is still recognized by the U.N. as responsible for the administration of East Timor, has said the "peace ship" is not a Lisbon diplomatic initiative.

But he was quoted by the Forum Estudante student review as saying the initiative was "generous and positive" and "could help the cause of the Timor people."

DELEGATION FROM BROWN UNIVERSITY ON BOARD THE "LUSITANIA EXPRESSO"

From "The Portuguese American," Providence, Rhode Island. Feb. 19. Original: Portuguese. Reproduced in full. Translated and commented by Jose' Basto.

Comment: "Lusitania" is an archaic name of Portugal - it was the name of the first Portuguese tribe that fought back the Roman empire.

A group of professors and students from Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, will soon participate in the solidarity trip towards the people of East Timor, on board the "Lusitania Expresso."

The group, organized by the Dean David Targan, professor of Astronomy at Brown University, will also include students from

other universities, including the University of California at Berkeley.

"We are going to demonstrate the support from the people of the United States, in general, and from Brown University, in particular, to the cause of East Timor's people" said David Targan to the newspaper "The Portuguese American," adding that, with this demonstration of solidarity, the group intends to apply some pressure on Indonesia to settle the Timorese problem.

The group will soon depart for Darwin, Australia, where it will meet with around 100 students from 23 countries to participate in the solidarity pilgrimage for the victims of November 12 Santa Cruz cemetery massacre. They will lay crowns of flowers at the cemetery in Dili.

A group of students and professors from Brown University, led by David Targan, recently formed the "East Timor Action Network," an organization that is developing activities with the objective of alerting American public opinion to the question of East Timor. On March 13 this group will organize a forum about East Timor which will include journalists Allan Nairn, from the "New Yorker" magazine, and Amy Goodman, correspondent of the national radio network "National Public Radio" [sic, actually Pacifica/WBAI], who are eyewitnesses to the Dili massacre. The two journalists will testify next Friday in a public hearing in the [U.S.] Congress [actually, the hearing was delayed until February 27 or later] which will also hear delegation of representatives of the Portuguese Republic General Assembly, who are coming to Washington expressly for that event."

INDONESIAN NAVY ON LOOKOUT (AFP)

AFP. 21 Feb 1992. Dateline: Banda Aceh.

AFP, Banda Aceh, Feb 21 - Indonesian Navy vessels are patrolling waters off the Malacca Strait in the Indian Ocean to look out for a Portuguese "peace boat," military sources here said Friday.

Seven ships were sent from the Sabang naval base, on Sabang island off the northernmost tip of Sumatra, and are now on round-the-clock patrols in the Indian Ocean north of Sumatra, the sources said.

They are on the lookout for the Lusitania Express.

The sources said that Indonesian authorities believed the boat might try to dock at Sabang port to take in some drinking water later Friday or on Saturday.

But the ship might instead head straight for Darwin, Australia, they added.

There is a large East Timorese community in Darwin, and Australia has been in the forefront of the international outcry over the Dili massacre.

The navy boats sent out from Sabang include frigates, a destroyer and patrol vessels, the sources said.

SCORES ARRESTED IN TIMOR

(JAKARTA POST)

Jakarta Post, 21 Feb. Items abbreviated.

The military in East Timor, sensing the potential trouble that the visit of the Portuguese peace boat could create, has set up a special task force. Scores of East Timorese have been arrested in the past two weeks for holding clandestine meetings to welcome the mission.

The Indonesian government has accused the mission of attempting to keep the November 12 issue alive. Australian ambassador, Philip Flood said his country cannot stop the boat from making a stop in Darwin as it is an international port, although it could disrupt Australia's relations with Indonesia. Flood said Australia would take steps if members of the mission indulged in illegal activities in Darwin which could endanger Indonesia. "Australia will not sacrifice its good relations with Indonesia because of some obscure activities," he said.

PRESS RELEASE ON U.S. PARTICIPATION IN PEACE SHIP*February 24, 1992*

On March 3, 1992, five American citizens will join over 100 students from over 30 countries on a Peace Mission to East Timor (Paz em Timor).

After boarding the Portuguese-registered ship Lusitania Expresso in Darwin, Australia, the students intend to land in East Timor in order to lay a wreath of flowers in Santa Cruz cemetery, in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

The Santa Cruz cemetery is the site of the November 12, 1991 massacre of up to 200 East Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops. The bodies of the victims are as yet unaccounted for by the Indonesian government, and therefore the students will not be able to lay wreaths on specific graves.

The Mission is a symbolic gesture to remind the Indonesians and the world that the suffering of the East Timorese people since the 1975 Indonesian invasion has not been forgotten and that the ongoing human rights abuses are not being ignored.

As East Timor is according to international law under the protection of Portugal, Indonesia has no de jure authority over East Timor, and the participants will therefore not be requesting visas of the Indonesian government. Indonesia has responded by sending 7 navy vessels to East Timor in order to intercept the Portuguese ferry.

The Americans who will be participating in this mission sponsored by Forum Estudante, a Portuguese student newspaper, are:

Dean David Targan, Associate Dean of the College, Brown University; Jeff Bekes, Steven Falbo, Rami el Samahy, and Lorne Rider, all students at Brown. Su-lyn Seah, a

Singaporean national studying at Brown, will also be going.

On March 13, 1992 at 7 pm, Brown will host a forum to discuss recent events in East Timor. Allan Nairn of the New Yorker, Amy Goodman of Pacifica Radio, Professor Benedict Anderson of Cornell University, and U.S. Representative Ronald Machtley will address the audience. Portugal will send one or more diplomats, and Indonesian officials have expressed interest but have not confirmed.

Contact David M. Targan, (401) 863-2314 before Saturday, February 29 or Carolina Matos at (401) 274-4390 thereafter.

SECURITY OFFICIALS PREPARED TO FACE PORTUGUESE SHIP

(JAKARTA POST)

24 Feb 1992. Reproduced in full.

Tens of thousands of troops in East Timor have tightened security measures in the province as the date of a planned visit by a Portuguese ship carrying East Timorese dissidents to Dili, scheduled at the end of this month, approaches.

Thousands of police and security officials, commanded by East Timor police chief Col. Ishak Kodijat, have been conducting exercises to quickly dispel any possible public disturbances in the province, the Jakarta Post correspondent, Yacob Herin, reported from Dili yesterday.

A security official told the Post that many East Timorese people from all 13 districts in the province had planned to go to Dili on the day the Portuguese ferry, Lusitania, arrives in the sea-port of the province's capital.

The official said the motive of the people in welcoming the ship was still unclear, but he added that he sensed trouble if security measures were not well prepared amid rumours of a possible protest march by the local people.

The Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI) had earlier warned that the ship had to abide by international law if it wanted to enter Indonesian waters, saying that ABRI would not hesitate to drive the ship away if it violated the proper procedures.

A special task force, comprising police, military and immigration officials, was set up earlier this month to see to it that the ship's entry to East Timor fulfilled the international requirements and did not violate Indonesia's sovereignty or integrity. The Lusitania Express has on board more than 100 East Timorese students and a number of international newsmen in what the Lisbon government claims is a "peace mission" voyage to lay wreaths in the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili. The ship left Portugal early this month.

The incident caused international furor which subsided only after Indonesia had given an explanation to some Western

countries and had allowed a special UN envoy to visit Dili to check the credibility of the findings by a national inquiry team (KPN).

The official said sources close to Portugal had revealed that the ship also carried three East Timorese students who had been trained in Libya, specialising in terrorism, and a Lisbon-based Australian journalist, Jill Jolive (sic) who was very much against Indonesia.

The government rejected Jolive's inclusion in the visit by Portugal's legislators to East Timor last September on the grounds that she was a supporter of the Fretilin, the East Timorese separatist group. The visit was postponed following Jakarta's refusal.

INDONESIA BANS PEACE SHIP

(DPA)

DPA, Jakarta, Feb 25 - Indonesia Tuesday rejected a planned visit of the Portuguese-chartered ferry boat, the Lusitania Expresso, to Dili, East Timor, by the end of this month or early in March.

"The Indonesian government declares the territorial waters of Indonesia closed to the vessel, and in accordance with its sovereign rights and for the sake of public order will enforce the applicable national and international laws if the group of people on board the ship persist in this voyage," a foreign ministry statement said.

The statement said the objective of the voyage was provocative in nature. "It is not at all humanitarian but politically motivated and designed to instigate confrontation, aggravate tension, induce divisiveness and incite disturbance in East Timor."

Theo Syafei, military commander of the former Portuguese colony said the visit was not anymore timely after the Dili incident in which 50 people were killed and about 100 others injured.

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Feb 25 - Indonesia on Tuesday banned from its waters a Portuguese ship planning to sail to East Timor to mark an army massacre of civilians, accusing its sponsors of being troublemakers.

"The Indonesian government declares the territorial waters of Indonesia closed to the vessel," the foreign ministry said in a statement.

"(Jakarta) will certainly not tolerate any blatant violation of its national laws or of international law by a group of people who have explicitly stated their intention of entering Indonesia without regard to existing laws and with the intention to make provocations," the statement said.

Diplomats said Jakarta, already the object of international outrage over the shootings, wanted to keep the Lusitania Expresso away with minimum fuss but would probably force it back into international waters if it defied the ban.

The ship, which has satellite transmission equipment, called at a Sri Lankan port last

week and was expected to arrive in East Timor around March 3.

Diplomats said the converted car ferry's safest route to Darwin would be through the Malacca Strait which divides Singapore and Indonesia, then through the Java Sea and the Sunda Strait – technically international sea lanes though within Indonesian territory.

Australia's ambassador to Jakarta, Philip Flood, criticised the ship's planned visit to East Timor.

"It would be much more sensible if the Portuguese interests involved came up with constructive initiatives instead of negative ones like the ship's visit," he said in a statement.

He said Australia, one of the few countries which recognises Indonesian rule in East Timor, could not stop the ship from visiting Darwin but would warn its captain of the risks involved in going on to Dili.

TIMOR SEA MILITARY EXERCISES

Reuter, Jakarta, Menuk Suwondo, Feb 25 - Indonesia's armed forces are holding exercises off the coast of East Timor in preparation for the arrival of a Portuguese ship to mark last November's massacre there of civilians by troops.

"It's not yet a full manoeuvre but we're starting an exercise on how to deal with the ship when it actually comes," a military source said on Tuesday by telephone from the East Timor capital of Dili.

Three navy ships – a frigate, a troop landing craft and a patrol vessel – and a military aircraft have been involved in the exercises since the beginning of the week.

ONTARIO STUDENT JOINS PEACE SHIP

Ontario Federation of Students News Release/Communiqué February 25, 1992

(Toronto) The Ontario Federation of Students has nominated a representative from their membership to participate in an international vigil in East Timor. Journalists and student delegates from around the world will travel to the area to place flowers on the graves of the hundred students who were massacred by the Indonesian military during a peaceful demonstration last November.

The group hopes to remind the world of the human rights violation which took place in East Timor and promote the need for dialogue and international action on this issue. The Ontario Federation of Students will be represented on the PEACE IN TIMOR mission of Genevieve Appleton, a student at Ryerson in Toronto.

CANADIAN GOVERNMENT WARNS AGAINST PEACE SHIP

The following letter was sent today (Feb 27) by External Affairs and International Trade Canada to Genevieve Appleton, a Ryerson Polytechnic film student from

Toronto, in regards to her participation in the Peace in Timor mission.

Further to your telephone conversation with an officer of this division, the following information has been provided by the Canadian Embassy in Jakarta, Indonesia, in connection with your proposed visit to East Timor on board the Portuguese ship, the Lusitania Expresso:

(a) There is a real risk of violence if passengers land and a confrontation situation develops.

(b) If passengers violate the law by entering the country illegally or demonstrating, they could face consequences under Indonesian law.

(c) East Timor is regarded by the Indonesians as part of their sovereign territory and visitors will be treated as if they were on sovereign territory.

(d) If trouble erupts when the Expresso arrives in Indonesia there may be very little the Canadian Embassy can do.

You should be aware that there is no Canadian consular or diplomatic mission in Dili, nor is there an Australian consular presence there to assist Canadians. We trust the foregoing information will be helpful to you.

Yours sincerely,
J.C. Beaulne Director, Consular Operations Division

PS We have learned that Radio Australia today carried a news item to the effect that Indonesia has barred foreign journalists from East Timor, and has closed its waters to the Portuguese "peace ship."

The Canadian Embassy further advised on February 26, that Canadian should be cautioned against boarding the Expresso because of the possibility the vessel will try to enter Indonesian waters illegally and the near certainty that Indonesian authorities will prevent this from happening by force, if necessary.

PEACE SHIP DEFIES INDONESIA!

Reuter, Darwin, Wilson da Silva, Feb 27 - Students gathering in Darwin to join a Portuguese "peace boat" sailing to East Timor said on Thursday they would go ahead despite Indonesia's determination to block the voyage.

"I do not want to die," said student Hiroto Morii of Japan's Nagoya Institute of Technology. "We have no guns aboard, just flowers (a wreath). There is no reason for Indonesia to attack us."

Morii is one of 60 students from around the world who plan to board the converted car ferry Lusitania Expresso when it arrives in Darwin next week. Organisers say some 60 journalists are also joining.

The ship is due to leave Darwin on March 3 on a 36-hour trip to East Timor. Passengers want to lay a wreath at the Dili cemetery where Indonesian troops in November massacred scores of civilians gathered for a memorial service.

"Why is Indonesia sending navy ships to meet the boat, are they planning to kill us?" asked Meira Burguete of the Macau Hoje newspaper. "By raising the heat they are attracting more world attention.

"They say the boat is not abiding by international law by coming to East Timor, when they are not abiding themselves by being in East Timor when the United Nations says they should get out."

Paulo Veiga from Lisbon, an organiser of the voyage, said in Sydney they would not seek confrontation with Indonesian authorities nor provoke them.

"If they say they are going to shoot, we will halt, but that does not mean we will give up," he said.

"Our mission is to reach Dili to pay respects to the students massacred last year. There are students aboard our boat from 25 countries with a wreath of flowers, nothing more. There is no reason for confrontation."

He said the first priority for the organisers, the Peace in East Timor Mission, will be the safety of passengers. Two doctors will be aboard.

SINK PEACE SHIP, SAY JAKARTA MP'S (AGE)

The Age, 28 February 1992 by Terry Friel, Jakarta. Abridged

An Indonesian parliamentary committee has called for a Portuguese peace ship to be sunk if it enters Indonesian waters, today's 'Jakarta Post' newspaper reported.

The House of Representatives (DPR) home affairs commission accused the ship of embarking on a trouble-making mission and said the navy should sink the boat if organisers tried to land in East Timor to lay wreaths in memory of the victims of the Dili massacre.

"(The) commission rejects the ship because the call would only stir new unrest in East Timor," a commission member, Mr Marcellinus Adang da Gomez, said during a hearing yesterday.

The Political and Securities [sic] Affairs Minister, Admiral Sudomo, also warned yesterday that the ship, the Lusitania Express, would be dealt with harshly. "The authorities will take strict measures against it," he said.

Yesterday, Indonesia announced that journalists would be banned from visiting the province, re-imposing a ban that was lifted in 1989. The ban applies to all foreign journalists, Indonesian journalists working for foreign media, and Indonesian journalists not already based in East Timor.

It is not clear why the ban was imposed or how long it will last.

Australia has described the move as unfortunate and Australian officials will lobby the Indonesian Government to continue to allow access by Australian and other foreign journalists.

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has called on Indonesia to be lenient with independence activists arrested in relation to the incident. He told the news magazine 'Tempo' that the East Timorese must be tried "with utmost justice."

"For instance, if they are involved in non-violent organisations, then certainly it is not necessary to face them with military actions."

"The question is whether they need to be tried if their violation has only been involvement in political organisations," Senator Evans said.

Describing Indonesia's response to the massacre as encouraging he said that Australia had not yet ruled out cutting aid. "We do not separate aid from human rights," he said. 'Everything depends on who will suffer as a consequence of the withdrawal of such aid.'

INDONESIAN MILITARY THREATENS TO PREVENT LANDING (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Menuk Suwondo, Feb 28 - Indonesia's military said on Friday it would use any legal means to prevent a Portuguese "peace boat" landing in East Timor to mark an army massacre of civilians last November.

"Security officials will take actions to prevent it in any way justified by law," it said.

The aging converted car ferry, which left Lisbon last month, is due to arrive in Darwin, Australia next week to pick up about 60 journalists and 60 students before sailing on to East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

Students in Darwin said on Thursday they were determined to go ahead with the visit, despite the Indonesian ban.

Paulo Veiga from Lisbon, an organiser of the voyage, said the students would not seek confrontation with Indonesian authorities or provoke them.

"Our mission is to reach Dili to pay respects to the students massacred last year. There are students aboard our boat from 25 countries with a wreath of flowers, nothing more. There is no reason for confrontation."

Meira Burguete of the Macau Hoje newspaper said: "Why is Indonesia sending navy ships to meet the boat, are they planning to kill us? By raising the heat they are attracting more world attention."

Diplomats have criticised Jakarta for making too much fuss about the ship and focusing more attention on Indonesia and its internationally disputed rule in East Timor.

AUSTRALIAN UNIONS: PROTECT PEACE BOAT! (REUTER)

Reuter, Canberra, Feb 28 - Australia's leading trade union body called on the federal government on Friday to assist a Portuguese

"peace boat" that plans to sail to East Timor despite Indonesia's plan to stop the venture.

The Australian government should help the ship while in Darwin and support and protect those on board, said Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) President Martin Ferguson.

"Our government should be indicating...to Indonesian authorities that...we believe the ship should be given every protection and opportunity to express its point of view in a peaceful way," Ferguson told reporters.

The union move came as Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said Australia welcomed Indonesia's findings into the incident.

Indonesia said on Thursday six soldiers had been found guilty, eight would be court-martialled and five others were being investigated in connection with the shooting.

"It displays a clear sense of responsibility on the part of the military for the tragic events in Dili. It amounts to a recognition that the military's behaviour was excessive," Evans said.

The minister said the Australian embassy in Jakarta would monitor any follow-up action by the Indonesian military.

Evans said there was a need for Indonesia "to develop a systematic approach" to long-term reconciliation in East Timor and future security forces must be more sensitive to the needs and aspirations of the East Timorese people.

A spokesman for Prime Minister Paul Keating told Reuters there was no comment on the request from the ACTU.

EANES TO JOIN PEACE SHIP

Reuter, Lisbon, Robert Powell, Feb 28 - Former Portuguese president Antonio Ramalho Eanes will join more than 100 students and journalists on a "peace boat" to East Timor to protest at a massacre there by the Indonesian army, the organisers said on Friday.

The group plans to fly to Australia over the weekend to join the Lusitania Expresso, an aging car ferry, which will try to sail to East Timor to lay a wreath at the site of the killings on November 12.

The Portuguese passengers were due to leave for Darwin in northern Australia on a charter flight on Friday night.

"The Lusitania Expresso still has not reached Darwin, but we think it will arrive in Australia on March 6 and leave for Dili on the seventh or eighth," said a spokeswoman for the organisers.

Eanes, a former army general who played a decisive role in securing democracy in Portugal after the 1974 revolution, was head of state from 1976 to 1986.

The voyage has been organised by an obscure student magazine called Forum Estudante, which says it will not seek Indonesian permission to enter East Timor since Portugal still regards it as Portuguese territory.

The Portuguese government has expressed moral support for the Lusitania Expresso voyage but has withheld official backing.

"Personally I can only admire the efforts of those who have undertaken this initiative," President Mario Soares said on Friday after bidding farewell to expedition leader Rui Marques.

Soares's daughter Isabel was initially due to travel on the ship but Marques said she had withdrawn.

Marques said it was foolish for Jakarta to try to stop the Lusitania Expresso landing. "Every time they make mistakes like this another television station appears to send along a crew with us," he told reporters.

PEACE SHIP DEAD IN WATER (UPI)

UPI, Macau, Feb 29 - The voyage of the Portuguese peace ferry, "Lusitania Expresso," to protest killings in East Timor has been suspended, the Portuguese news agency, LUSA, reported here Saturday.

Rui Marques, a spokesman for the organizers making the announcement in Lisbon, refused to give any immediate reason for the sudden suspension.

LUSA said the organizers have cancelled a charter flight carrying student activists and others, including former Portuguese president General Ramalho Eanes, from Lisbon to Darwin in Northern Australia, from where the vessel was to have departed March 3 for Indonesian territory.

"This is not an easy project," the Peace Mission in Timor movement said in a statement issued Friday in Lisbon, adding that only "a small step" was missing to carry out the mission later.

The organizers of the sailing told LUSA they were still "strongly determined" to go ahead with their voyage to East Timor to protest shootings at the Santa Cruz cemetery Nov. 12.

EAST TIMOR PEACE VOYAGE CALLED OFF (JAPAN TIMES)

1 March, 1992, reproduced in full

The following news today has shocked East Timor supporters in Japan. The same news was picked up by major Japanese newspapers. The truth has not been confirmed yet.

Macao (UPI-Kyodo) The voyage of the Portuguese peace ferry "Lusitania Expresso" to protest killings in East Timor has been suspended, Rui Marques, a spokesman for the organizers announced in Lisbon Saturday. It was reported in Macao by the Portuguese news agency LUSA. Marques refused to give any immediate reason for the sudden suspension.

LUSA also reported the organizers have canceled a charter flight carrying student activists and others, including former Portuguese President Gen. Ramalho Eanes, from Lisbon to Darwin in Northern

Australia, from where the vessel was to have departed March 3 for Indonesian territory.

"This is not an easy project," the Peace Mission in Timor movement said in a statement issued Friday in Lisbon, adding that only "a small step" is missing to carry out the mission later.

The organizers of the peace vessel told LUSA that they are still strongly determined to go ahead with their voyage to East Timor to protest shootings at the Santa Cruz cemetery Nov. 12, when Indonesian paratroopers reportedly killed up to 100 Timorese demonstrators. The Indonesian government has claimed 50 were killed.

PEACE-BOAT MISSION NOT CALLED OFF (TAPOL)

From various agency reports. 29 February 1992.

Contradictory reports during the day have suggested that the Portuguese peace-boat mission to Dili had been called off and subsequently that it was going ahead.

First, AFP quoted the mission organiser, Rui Marques, as telling a press conference in Lisbon that a chartered flight due to take a party of people from Lisbon to Darwin had been cancelled, after talks with the Portuguese president, Mario Soares. Earlier this week, the Indonesian armed forces announced that the boat - now in or approaching Darwin - would be prevented from entering Indonesian territorial waters.

But later, a BBC report said that, after a 24-hour delay caused by financial difficulties, the charter plane was due to leave late Lisbon Saturday night via Madrid for Darwin.

Asked what would happen if the mission was stopped on its way to Dili where it plans to lay wreaths at the Santa Cruz cemetery where the 12 November massacre occurred, one of the organisers, Ana Silva, said: "We will remain at sea and try to make the best of it as news... and then the world will see that an international students' mission, a peace mission, is stopped at sea by warships of the Indonesians, acting against international law."

Among those on the flight scheduled to leave Lisbon is General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, former Portuguese president.

PEACE SHIP BACK ON COURSE (REUTER, UPI)

Reuter, Lisbon, Stephen Brown, Feb 29: A Portuguese mission to East Timor to protest at a massacre of civilians by Indonesian troops in November was due to go ahead on Saturday despite difficulties which threatened to scupper it.

Some 90 students and journalists, accompanied by former Portuguese president General Antonio Ramalho Eanes, were originally due to leave for East Timor on Friday but organiser Rui Marques an-

nounced at the last moment the mission had been delayed.

Marques told a news conference Jakarta was holding back authorisation for their chartered Portuguese plane to cross Indonesian air space.

The seriously underfunded mission could not afford delays and switched to an Asian airline, but could not come up with 50 million escudos (360,000 dollars) to pay for the flights.

"Fortunately it has all been resolved, with the help of anonymous donors, and we leave tonight," said Marques on Saturday.

He said the peace mission would fly to Darwin in Australia, from where they plan to sail for Dili in an aging Portuguese car ferry.

Marques said if the ship's path were blocked by Indonesian gunboats the ferry captain would stop, but the mission would already have achieved its only objective - to focus world attention on the plight of the Timorese.

"The strength of our mission is our fragility," he said. "We are just students with a wreath of flowers and a few television cameras as our only weapons."

The mission has no official backing but the governments of students taking part, including Portugal, the United States, Japan and Australia, would be obliged to take action if they came to any harm, Marques said.

The Portuguese government has given only its moral support.

"Personally I can only admire the efforts of those who have undertaken this initiative," said Portuguese President Mario Soares, bidding farewell to Marques on Friday. His daughter Isabel had planned to join the peace boat but withdrew.

However the presence of Eanes, a key figure in Portugal's transition to democracy after the 1974 revolution and president from 1976 to 1986, ensured the voyage of the Lusitania Expresso would get publicity.

The ship was due to reach Darwin on March 6 and would leave for Dili the next day, Marques said.

UPI, Macau, March 1 - The Portuguese news agency LUSA and radio reports from Lisbon monitored in Macao said a chartered plane carrying the former president of Portugal, Gen. Ramalho Eanes, and scores more protesters left early Sunday for the Australian city of Darwin via Madrid, Bangkok and Sydney.

Backers of the voyage of the "Lusitania Expresso" announced Friday that the trip had been canceled, but reversed themselves the following day.

Organizer Rui Marques, a student newspaper editor, told reporters during the weekend the trip would go ahead as scheduled, the Portuguese news agency LUSA reported in Macao.

Marques said a lack of money and technical problems led to the Friday announce-

ment of cancellation of the voyage, but additional funds has been found and the protest was back on schedule.

He said the chartered plane was scheduled to arrive in Darwin Tuesday and the "Lusitania Expresso" was to arrive in the northern Australian port Friday after leaving Lisbon on Jan. 23.

FRETILIN WARNS INDONESIA ON SHIP (REUTER)

Reuter, Darwin, Wilson, March 1 - A Timorese rebel official warned Jakarta on Sunday against harming the passengers on a Portuguese "peace boat" which plans to dock in East Timor in defiance of an Indonesian ban.

Jose Gusmao, an official of the East Timorese Fretilin movement said in the northern Australian city of Darwin that Indonesia would suffer if it took drastic action against students aboard the vessel, the Lusitania Expresso.

"I can guarantee Indonesia will not get away with this," he told Reuters. "We plan an assault of force if there is an incident...if Indonesia opens fire on the passengers."

"It will be madness for Indonesia to do anything, after all the time they have spent trying to rehabilitate the name of Indonesia since the massacre, Gusmao said.

The Peace in Timor Mission, organised by the Lisbon student group Forum Estudante, plans to dock in Dili with 60 students and 60 journalists aboard.

The students, representing groups around the world, aim to place a wreath in the Santa Cruz cemetery where the massacre occurred.

The Lusitania Expresso has been repeatedly delayed in its voyage from Portugal and is now due to leave Darwin by March 8.

Organiser Paulo Veiga said all berths aboard the vessel were taken and the mission would go ahead.

Father Jaime Coelho, a Portuguese Jesuit at Japan's Sophia University, who will travel aboard the ship, said international pressure on Jakarta since the massacre could help solve the 16-year East Timor problem.

"There has never been a better time to solve the issue of East Timor," he said.

PEACE SHIP PINUP (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, March 1 - Pictures of a Portuguese "peace boat" which is planning to sail to East Timor in defiance of Indonesian authorities have become sought-after pin-ups in the tiny territory.

The official Indonesian news agency Antara said on Sunday that pictures of the Lusitania Expresso, copied from a Jakarta newspaper, were selling for 500 rupiah (25 cents) in the impoverished territory.

Antara said the price of newspapers had also shot up to 4,000 rupiah (two dollars) with the approach of the vessel.

Newspaper prices had risen to 2,500 rupiah (one dollar 25) from an average price

of 600 rupiah (30 cents) soon after the November 12 shooting.

"Despite the soaring prices, the newspapers are sold out every day," Antara said.

TRIALS OF CIVILIANS

RUSHED 'JUSTICE'

The following letter from TAPOL was published in the Far Eastern Economic Review on 13 February 1992:

Your correspondents ("Maddening silence," FEER 30 January) lament the European Community's lack of response to Indonesia's efforts to ameliorate human rights abuses in East Timor. I wonder what they have in mind.

The new military commander, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, has given no sign of softening; on the contrary, he has warned that he is "not as patient" as his predecessor.

Indonesia's Inquiry Commission's said nothing about improving human rights. But it did recommend that "trials should be held against all those involved in the 12 November incident." Did it mean that soldiers who shot and killed the demonstrators should be court-martialled? If so, nothing of the kind has happened yet. However, 32 of the survivors of the massacre are now awaiting trial, of whom 14 will face anti-subversion charges which enable very harsh penalties, including death.

Three others were tried in Dili last week. Two of the trials lasted a day each, ending in seven-year sentences. The third took a little longer and a nine-year sentence was passed, two years in excess of the term permitted by Article 112 of the Criminal Code under which the defendant was charged. The speed with which the trials were completed means that procedures which normally take days or weeks to complete were condensed. There is no evidence that the defendants appointed defence lawyers of their choice.

Yours sincerely,
Carmel Budiardjo

TIMORESE FACE DEATH (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Feb 17 - Indonesia will put 13 civilians on trial soon in connection with November's army shooting in East Timor and four could face the death penalty if convicted, Attorney General Singgih announced on Monday.

He said the four, who were students or civil servants, would be charged with subversion, punishable by death.

Two are from Jakarta and two from the East Timor capital of Dili. "We find enough facts to charge them with subversion," Singgih told reporters.

Singgih said six others in Dili and three in Jakarta would face lesser charges carrying a maximum sentence of seven years' jail.

A total of 56 people - 32 in Dili, 22 in Jakarta and two in Bali - were arrested, the

attorney general said. He said 43 of them would be freed "in not too long a time."

IMPENDING TRIALS OF TIMORESE (ACFOA)

Release from the Human Rights Office of ACFOA, the Australian Council for Overseas Aid, 18 February 1992

SITUATION OF EAST TIMORESE DETAINEES IN JAKARTA AND DILI

1. According to widely broadcast media reports today (18 Feb), Indonesia's Attorney-General, Mr Singgih, has announced that 13 of the 56 East Timorese still detained following the 12 November massacre are to be tried, and the rest, numbering 43, are to be released 'in not too long a time.' Of the 13 facing trial, 5 are in the Metropolitan Police Station in Jakarta, 8 are in Dili.

Four of this group of 13 face trial on subversion charges which, if sustained, carry a maximum penalty of death. These four are believed to be:

Jakarta:

1. Joao Freitas da Camara, resident of Jakarta, former student at Atma Jaya University, Jakarta.
2. Fernando de Araujo, resident of Denpasar, Bali, student of Indonesian literature, Udayana University.

Dili:

3. Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, of Balide, Dili.
4. Gregoria da Cunha Saldanha, 29, of Santa Cruz/Audian, Dili.

The other nine face what are being described as 'lesser charges' on the basis of article 154 and 155 of the Indonesian Criminal Code which prohibit 'hateful, hostile or slanderous public statements against the Indonesian Government.' If sustained, these charges carry a maximum penalty of 7 years.

No charges have been formally laid against any of the 13 to be tried and no date for the trials has been set.

ACTION

The dropping of charges and expected release of most of the detainees is a further illustration of the positive impact of international opinion on the Indonesian government. It is important therefore to maintain international protest on this issue, particularly in the absence of any Indonesian government action against the soldiers responsible for the massacre.

In particular, the 'thirteen' should be the focus of very direct concern in the run up to the trials which presumably will take place in the coming weeks.

The following actions might be considered:

- a. World-wide presence (people and Amnesty-type candle) outside Indonesian government facilities until the prisoners are released and UN talks agreed to.
- b. Sending of many observers from all parts of the world to trials in both Dili and Jakarta. The International Commission of Jurists and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor might take responsibility for this.
- c. Intense letter writing campaign to:
 - President Suharto,
 - Istana Negara,
 - Jalan Veteran, Jakarta, Indonesia

Let.Gen. Ismail Saleh,
Minister of Justice,
Jl Rasuna Said, Kav. 6-7,
Kuningan, Jakarta, Indonesia

Let.Gen Ali Said,
Chief Justice, Supreme Court
Jl Lapangan Banteng Timur, No. 1,
Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia.

AUSSIE FM: RELEASE TIMORESE!

AFP, Canberra, Feb 18 - Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans renewed calls Tuesday for Indonesia to release prisoners detained after the November 12 massacre in Dili.

A statement by Evans also repeated Australia's demand that Indonesia punish those responsible for the massacre.

A spokesman for Evans said the government believed no-one should be detained or penalised for non-violent political activities but that those detainees should be treated humanely.

"The government remains concerned about a number of issues relating to East Timor and the 12 November killings," the spokesman said.

Although he said Australia was not making judgments on those charged, Evans urged Indonesia to allow "proper legal representation and a fair trial."

LAWYERS BARRED FROM QUESTIONING OF EAST TIMORESE DETAINEES (UPI)

UPI. 18 February 1992. Abridged.

A legal group said Tuesday it was denied permission to accompany detained East Timorese youths when they were questioned. The 22 were detained in Jakarta soon after staging a protest on 19 November, a week after troops opened fire on demonstrators in Dili.

Luhut Pangaribuan of the Legal Aid Institute said: "Police and prosecutor offices were fully aware that we were their lawyers,

but we were given no chance to accompany them when they were questioned."

He said the authorities should released the East Timorese who have been detained for 110 days, far longer than allowed by the criminal procedural code, which allows suspects to be held no more than 60 days without charge.

Attorney-General Singgih said Monday that 13 of the total 56 detained East Timorese would be sent to court in Dili and Jakarta in connection with the 12 Nov. protest and shootings.

LAWYER CALLS FOR DILI DETAINEES TO BE RELEASED (J.POST)

Jakarta Post, 19 February 1992.

Ponco Atmono, the lawyer of the Timorese detained in Dili, has asked the police to release 20 of them and place them under city arrest. He said by 10 March, they would have been in detention for 120 days. He said he would be ready to give a guarantee that they would not run away to the forest.

TIMORESE 'SPY' TRIALS

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 20 - A state prosecutor has called for a five-year jail term for a second East Timorese charged with helping leak Indonesian documents to Portugal.

The prosecution at the Dili state court charged garage mechanic Amaroa de Araujo of having leaked a state secret to Portugal together with two other East Timorese.

The court heard on Wednesday that the 29-year-old defendant had received copies of two documents and had forwarded them to an East Timorese businessman.

The prosecution in a separate trial at the same court Tuesday called for a five-year-jail sentence for the defendant's sister-in-law, a civilian employee at the Dili area military command who allegedly photocopied the documents.

Authorities said they concerned an intelligence report on an interview of East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao by a Portuguese television network, and a report on local preparations for a U.N. advance team.

The third person involved in the leaking of the documents, a private businessmen, is currently facing a separate trial at the same court.

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 20 - A state prosecutor called Thursday for a seven-year jail term for an East Timorese accused of being the leader of a group that leaked an Indonesian state secret to a foreign country.

The official Antara news agency said the prosecution at the Dili state court charged businessman Alfonso Rangel, 48, with having organized the leaking of several

documents classified as state secrets to Portugal.

The prosecution said Rangel obtained copies of classified documents with the help of two other East Timorese and sent them to Portugal via Darwin, Australia, where the exiled leader of the East Timorese Fretilin pro-independence movement, Ramos Horta, was living.

The courts have heard that Felesmina stole the documents from her office, photocopied them and gave the copies to Araujo, who later handed them to Rangel.

The prosecution said Rangel's actions were in aid of a group seeking independence for East Timor and could have a negative political impact on Indonesia.

TRIALS OF 13 NEAR (DPA)

DPA, Jakarta, Feb 24 - Thirteen of the 56 people arrested after last November's protests in the East Timor capital, Dili, will go on trial shortly, Attorney General Mohammad Singgih said Monday.

Singgih told reporters after meeting President Suharto that eight would be tried in Dili and five in Jakarta. The remaining 43 would be set free. Interrogation had revealed no evidence against them.

Four would be charged with violating anti-subversion laws, and if found guilty faced the death sentence. They were Gregorio Sanana, Francisco Miranda Franco, Fernando de Araujo and Joao F. Camoro [names as rendered in original].

Singgih said the five going on trial in Jakarta were student leaders who spear-headed an anti-Indonesia demonstration following the incident in Dili.

STOP THE SUBVERSION TRIALS, RELEASE ALL EAST TIMORESE POLITICAL PRISONERS! (TAPOL)

On 24 February 1992, TAPOL, the Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, issued the following appeal to all East Timor solidarity groups around the world:

Indonesia's Attorney-General, Singgih, today reiterated that four East Timorese are to go on trial charged with subversion. He made this announcement after meeting President Suharto. This signifies that he has obtained presidential clearance and the trials may now be imminent. Urgent action is needed to prevent these trials from going ahead. Everything should be done to internationalise them.

In addition to the four facing subversion charges, 52 East Timorese are still in police custody - 30 in Dili, 20 in Jakarta and 2 in Bali. The Attorney-General has announced that six in Dili and three in Jakarta will be tried on criminal charges for "spreading hatred" which carries a maximum penalty of

7 years. The others, Singgih said last week, will be released "soon" but could be re-arrested "if new evidence surfaces"; in fact, they are still in custody. There are dozens more Timorese being held in various detention centres in Dili and other parts of East Timor.

The four men to face subversion charges are:

1. Joao Freitas da Camara, formerly a student at Atma Jaya Catholic University, Jakarta. He was arrested while participating in a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November 1991. Da Camara was issued with a Portuguese passport in October, 1986 when he took refuge in the Dutch embassy in Jakarta. He therefore already has Portuguese citizenship.

2. Fernando de Araujo, a student of Indonesian literature at Udayana University, Denpasar, Bali, was arrested in Bali on 24 November, 1991. Fernando sought refuge in the Japanese embassy in Jakarta in June 1989 and before leaving, was given an assurance that the Japanese Government would protect him against action by the Indonesian authorities.

3. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, a nurse, of Santa Cruz/Audian, Dili, arrested after the 12 November demonstration in Dili which ended in the massacre.

4. Fernando Miranda Branco, 41, of Balide, Dili, also arrested after the massacre.

PLEASE TAKE THE FOLLOWING ACTION:

1. Urge your government to call for the immediate release of the four men facing subversion charges and of all the East Timorese now in police custody. In the event that the trials go ahead regardless of international pressure, your government should be asked to instruct its embassy in Jakarta to monitor the trials as soon as they begin, in cooperation with embassies of the EC member-states, Australia, Canada, the US and others, to ensure that a foreign embassy representative is present at every session.

2. Write to the Portuguese ambassador in your country, urging the Portuguese government to press for Joao Freitas da Camara to be released and allowed to leave for Lisbon. Portugal should be asked to seek the assistance of the Dutch embassy in Jakarta to do this. (The Netherlands represents Portugal's interests in Jakarta.)

3. Write to the Japanese ambassador in your country to remind the Japanese government of its pledge to Fernando de Araujo and to seek its intervention immediately with the Indonesian authorities on his behalf.

4. Do what you can, through the press, to highlight these trials in the national and local press.

5. Ask student organisations in your country to take up the cases of Camara and Araujo.

6. If the trials begin, organise a protest action outside the Indonesian embassy or other Indonesian office in your country.

Kindly note: Groups are asked to inform the Portuguese news agency, LUSA, of any action they take. Fax: (351)1-714-5443.

EAST TIMOR TRIALS TO START

Radio Australia 2/24

The trials of four East Timorese in Indonesia is expected to start soon on charges of subversion. If convicted they could face the death penalty.

Jakarta announced last week that 13 civilians, including the four, would face various charges in connection with last November's Dili massacre by Indonesian troops.

Ian MacIntosh reports that speaking to reporters after a meeting with President Suharto, Indonesia's Attorney General said subversion trials against the four, identified only by their initials, were expected to begin at the end of this month or the beginning of March.

He said the four were to be charged with subversion for their alleged involvement in actions against the government, not only the Dili incident. The Attorney General claimed, without elaborating, that they had also received foreign funding and engaged in clandestine activity before the November bloodshed.

It is still not clear whether Australia will send observers to attend their trials. An Australian Embassy spokesperson said that Canberra's position was that they should be given access to proper legal representation and receive free trials.

TIMORESE PRISONER RELEASES (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 28 - The Jakarta attorney's office Friday released 17 of the East Timorese students detained since they took to the streets here in November demanding self-determination for East Timor. Another five are to face trial.

Jakarta Chief Attorney Siregar told reporters the 17, all East Timorese students from several cities in Java and Bali, would be released later Friday and that five others would be put on trial.

Two of the students to face trial have been charged with subversion, which carries the death penalty. Three others face criminal charges of publicly expressing enmity, hate or insult towards the lawful government, which can carry up to seven years jail, Siregar said.

The 22 were part of 70 youths claiming to belong to the Movement of East Timorese Nationalist Students in Indonesia, who demonstrated at a busy Jakarta thoroughfare a week after the November 12 massacre in

Dili, East Timor, which led to the death of scores of civilians.

The demonstrators, who were arrested by the police on the same day, had called on the United Nations to pressure Jakarta into allowing a process of self determination for East Timor, a former Portuguese colony which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Police released all but 22 of the demonstrators in December.

Attorney General Singgih has said that four East Timorese, two each in Jakarta and Dili, will face trials on subversion charges for their involvement in the Dili massacre. Nine others, also from the two cities, will face criminal charges.

BANDUNG STUDENTS RELEASED (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 26 - Indonesian authorities have granted the conditional release of four of six students jailed for involvement in a protest against a senior minister in August 1989, press reports said here Wednesday.

The Pelita daily said the four students of the prestigious Bandung Institute of Technology (ITB) were Tuesday released from the Sukamiskin jail in nearby Bandung where they have been held since separate courts there jailed them for three years each in early 1990.

A series of trials that ended in Bandung in 1990 found that the six students were actively involved in the August 5, 1989 protest, when 200 ITB students demonstrated against a visit by Home Affairs Minister Rudini.

The students brandished posters, burned tyres and jeered Rudini, saying he had failed to live up to promises to champion the poor and was using the visit for his own political purposes.

The courts found the six students guilty of trying openly to spread enmity and hatred against the government and of publicly insulting it, sentencing five of them to three years each, while one received a 39-month term.

The daily said that under a decree of the justice minister, the four would be on probation until July 9 and were under an obligation to report periodically to the High Court.

Releases, on similar conditions, are also planned for the other two ITB students.

The two, held at a different prison, would be released in the next few days, it said.

BIG DILI TRIALS SOON (REUTER)

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, March 1 - Leaders of an anti-Indonesia demonstration in East Timor in November which ended in an army massacre of civilians will go on trial next week, a local court official said.

Official Hyronimus Godang told reporters on Saturday that Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha and Francisco Miranda Branco would be charged with subversion, which carries a maximum penalty of death.

Police said Da Cunha Saldanha led a demonstration to Santa Cruz cemetery in the East Timor capital Dili on November 12 which the government says led to the army shooting.

Officials said six other East Timorese will be tried in Dili on lesser charges linked to the demonstration, which was held in memory of a Timorese separatist.

Indonesia last week banned foreign journalists from the former Portuguese colony before the arrival of a "peace boat" which plans to sail there from the north Australian port of Darwin.

TRIALS OF MILITARY OFFICERS

SOEHARTO PROMISES PUNISHMENT (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 7 - Indonesian President Suharto told a group of German politicians that soldiers responsible for killing scores of people in East Timor in November would be brought to justice, the German Embassy said Friday.

Suharto told the five-member German delegation led by Bundestag vice president Hans Klein that "no matter who they are, those found responsible for the shooting will be dealt with by the courts," according to a communiqué issued at the end of the group's six-day visit to Indonesia.

Klein said he respected "the personal initiative by President Suharto to investigate the events of November 12, 1991, in Dili and to clarify the still unanswered questions," it said.

E.C. URGES MILITARY TRIALS (REUTER)

Reuter, Lisbon, Feb 13 - The European Community urged Indonesia on Thursday to bring to trial all those responsible for an army massacre in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor three months ago.

The 12 EC member states welcomed Indonesia's official inquiry into the incident.

An EC statement released in Lisbon said the Community was encouraged by Jakarta's criticism of the armed forces, its dismissal of two senior commanders responsible for East Timor and its decision to undertake further investigations.

The EC urged Indonesia to identify those responsible and bring them to trial and give "clear information about the number killed and the fate of those still missing."

It also urged Jakarta to treat humanely all those arrested after the shooting, release those not involved in violent activities and give a fair trial to those brought to court.

The EC backed what it termed the "constructive Portuguese proposal" for direct talks with Jakarta.

The EC has already called for an independent inquiry into the massacre but it has not imposed any EC-wide sanctions.

MILITARY COUNCIL DECISIONS (REUTER)

Reuter. 27 February 1992.

This briefly summarises the results, announced today by General Edi Sudradjat, army chief-of-staff, of the Honorary Military Council set up in December to ex-

amine the army's handling of the 12 November incident.

[As a trailer, the six senior officers disciplined are Sintong Panjaitan, Warouw, his deputy, the assistant for intelligence, the commander of Section C and the Dili Kodim commander. They are held responsible not for the shooting but for being neglectful and letting the situation in East Timor get out of hand. The eight soldiers to be court-martialled are those who commanded the shooting and acted excessively. We have the original document and will post parts of it in the next 24 hours and a more complete translation later on.]

According to Reuter, of the six, three (not identified by name) have been dismissed from the army, two have been removed from active duty and one is temporarily off active duty. *[The report itself indeed does not say which officer obtained which punishment.]*

Eight (unnamed) soldiers are being court-martialled, four junior officers, three NCOs and one private. In addition, another five officers are under investigation.

Reuter commented that the announcement should help appease Indonesia's major aid donors who have demanded that soldiers should be punished for their role in the shooting.

MILITARY COUNCIL REPORT (FULL TEXT)

The following is the unabridged translation of the statement made public in Jakarta on 27 February 1992 by Army Chief-of-Staff General Edi Sudradjat on "Results of the Honorary Military Council and the Plan for Further Action."

1. As is known, in furtherance of the Instruction of the President as Supreme Commander of ABRI [the Indonesian Armed Forces], the Army/ABRI Chief-of-Staff established an Honorary Military Council (DKM) to examine the 12 November 1991 Incident more thoroughly.
2. An Honorary Military Council is a normal thing in the life and tradition of the Army/ABRI, which is set up as a temporary body to examine and evaluate something that has been done and/or not done by a person or several officers in relation to their duties and competence and also to call them to account.
3. It was the task of the DKM which was headed by Major-General Faisal Tanjung to undertake a more thorough investigation, study and evaluation of the policy of and steps taken by the local Command in its handling of the 12 November 1991 Incident, in order to discover the truth so as to be able to draw lessons for the guidance of the Army/ABRI.
4. The DKM [Dewan Kehormatan Militer] worked from 2 January until 20 February

1992. Its method of work and activities were as follows:

- a. Examination of documents (including the advance report of the National Inquiry Commission).
 - b. Examination and collection of statements.
 - c. Meetings/interviews of 51 persons.
 - d. On-field inspection and reconstruction of the incident.
 - e. Investigation of 6 Investigated Officers [Perwira Terperiksa], including the summoning of 18 witnesses.
5. The Investigated Officers were Officers of the Local Command, the former:
- a. Udayana Regional Military Commander [Major-General Sintong Panjaitan].
 - b. The Commander of Kolakops, the Operational Command of East Timor [Brigadier-General Rudolf Warouw].
 - c. The Deputy Commander of East Timor Kolakops [Colonel J.P. Sepang].
 - d. Kolakops Assistant for Intelligence [Colonel Gatot Purwanto]
 - e. The Commander of Section C. [Colonel Binsar Aruan]
 - f. The Commander of 1627 Military Command/Dili [Lieut. Colonel Wahyu Hidayat]

[Note: The original document does not give the names of the officers.]

6. The DKM completed its task and reported its findings to the Army Chief-of-Staff. The DKM's findings were reported by the Army Chief-of-Staff to the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and directly to the President. In broad lines the findings of the DKM are as follows:
- a. Operasi Teritorial [Territorial Operation] in East Timor, in force as the basic operation since 1989, was aimed in general at improving the welfare of the people, the specific aim being to help and encourage the East Timorese people to adopt a more dynamic attitude and become more productive so that their standard of living could improve.
 - b. However, in its implementation, it is clear that it was utilised by the GPK [Gerombolan Pengacau Keamanan, Security Disrupter Gang, the term used officially for the East Timor resistance] to their own advantage, especially in Dili. The persuasive approach adopted by the local Command in fact provided the opportunity for the GPK to foster anti-integration feelings, particularly among the youth in Dili. The persuasive approach based on the theme of "Love" was in fact used as an opportunity for the GPK to enhance its influence and mobilise the masses in furtherance of its po-

litical interests. Subsequent developments opened the way for the GPK to make its presence known to the outside world by conducting an escalated series of demonstrations or mass actions starting in 1989, giving expression to overt anti-integration attitudes, even unfurling Fretilin posters and flags, leading eventually to the burning of a motor-bike and attack on officials, and even pulling down the Red-and-White flag. The attitude adopted by the GPK (especially in Dili) was one reason why the emotions of some members of ABRI exploded, besides other factors that were deliberately created by the GPK. It was this uncontrollable explosion of emotions that caused some soldiers to act improperly.

- c. It should have been possible to know in advance that the 12 November 1992 Incident would occur because indications and preparations for this were already evident several days beforehand. It is greatly to be regretted that the local Command failed to take the appropriate measures and actions.

7. After carefully examining the findings of the DKM, the Army Chief-of-Staff has taken the following actions:

There are three kinds of mistakes and/or offenses committed by the local Command and by those implementing (the action), in their handling of the 12 November 1991. The following measures have therefore been taken:

First: Because of their mistakes and neglect, the following punitive actions have been taken with regard to the six "Investigated Officers": three Officers "have been dismissed from military service" and two others "are no longer being given posts within the structure of the Army/ABRI but are still on active service," while one Officer is for the time being not being given a post in the Army structure but is still on active service.

Second: Errors which are the responsibility of Command, namely the Commanders who were in command and who were in control of things on the spot as well as members who committed offenses against military ethics and discipline in the form of actions that were improper, tending towards criminal acts. These errors and/or offenses will henceforth be handled by handing them over to Military Courts in conformity with the procedures in force. The following are being taken to Military Courts: four officers, 3 non-commissioned officers and 1 private.

Third: Errors committed by officers who did not feel called upon to take actions that they should have taken. There are five officers who need to undergo further investigation in order to examine whether it is indeed true that they did not take actions that they should have taken.

8. These are the findings and steps taken by the Army/ABRI in handling the 12 November 1991 incident, which are basically "an internal correction within the body of the Army/ABRI towards actions by its members." These corrections in essence reflect the "sense of responsibility" of the Army/ABRI towards everything that has been done.

[Note: Apart from anything in square brackets, all bracketing and quotation marks follow the original document.]

ARMY PUNISHES OFFICERS (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Feb 27 - The Indonesian army said on Thursday it had punished six senior officers for last November's massacre of civilians in East Timor, in what diplomats said was an attempt to calm international outrage.

Army chief General Edi Sudradjat said three of the six officers had been dismissed, two were taken off active duty and another had been temporarily suspended. Eight other soldiers of lower rank would be court-martialled, he said.

Diplomats said Thursday's announcement was an attempt to calm international anger over the killings. The punishments were the most severe meted out to the powerful military since it brought President Suharto to power 26 years ago.

"We have learnt a big lesson," a solemn Sudradjat told reporters as he announced the findings of a special military council investigating the massacre. He said the punishments were part of steps to correct indiscipline.

But he also came out strongly against a softer line taken in East Timor since 1989 to handle separatist sentiment. Sudradjat said this had given the rebels a chance to embarrass Indonesia.

Sudradjat's view underlined a hard-line approach to East Timor, closed to journalists on Wednesday before the approach of a Portuguese vessel carrying protesters.

"How are we going to make sure human rights improve there?" questioned one European diplomat, concerned that the new tough approach could mean a rise in human rights abuses.

Sudradjat said the two most senior officers punished were Major General Sintong Panjaitan, military commander of eastern Indonesia, and the East Timor commander Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw. He declined to say how they had been punished.

Four other officers against whom action had been taken were Warouw's deputy and his number three, East Timor's military intelligence head and the commander of Dili.

The eight others, including four junior officers, are being tried in a military court on criminal charges related to the shooting.

"The officers directly in control in the field and their men had violated the ethics of military discipline and will be brought to the military court," Sudrajat said.

Five more members of the military, which includes the police, are being investigated.

Diplomats said the military council's findings would probably placate most donor countries.

Thirteen East Timorese civilians have already been charged over the incident.

UPI, Jakarta, Feb 27 - Three Indonesian officers were dismissed and three more given military sanctions for their role in the East Timor massacre in November which left more than 50 people dead.

The military council which handed down the cases, however, said that troops were under pressure during the incident and that "the uncontrolled emotion of the demonstrators had resulted in the military officers overreacting."

A statement from the council said the massacre could have been averted because the preparations for the funeral and the size and scale of the demonstration had been known to the military several days before.

"It was regretful that the steps and appropriate actions was not taken by the local commander," the statement said.

PUNISHMENT STINGS ARMY (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, Feb 28 - Indonesia's powerful military, struggling to preserve its dominant role in government, has been dealt a stinging blow by the punishment of six senior soldiers for their role in the East Timor massacre.

Analysts said on Friday the stain on the military's honour comes at a sensitive time when Indonesia is preparing for general elections in June and a presidential poll next year for which President Suharto is expected to stand again.

The army said on Thursday it had punished six senior officers, including two generals.

"For the time being, the military will accept it but the long-term implications will become clear only towards the end of the year," said Yuwono Sudarsono, a professor of politics at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta.

Most members of Suharto's cabinet are from the military. The military's standing among rural people is still considered to be high, although educated Indonesians have been embarrassed by the East Timor incident, diplomats say.

Sudarsono said the punishment of the soldiers could damage armed forces commander Try Sutrisno's chances of succeeding Suharto.

Try is the only obvious military candidate for the vice-presidency - an important post because if Suharto does stand for an-

other five-year term it is likely to be his last, Sudarsono said.

Senior military sources said the military's choice for the vice-presidency would become known only after the general election.

Sudarsono said he wondered whether the army's factions would be able to agree on a single candidate.

Western diplomats said a retired general could be an acceptable candidate in the wake of this setback to Try, whose image was tarnished by his impassioned insistence in parliament that few had died in Dili.

"The critics ask, how can the military ensure stability when they handled a small disturbance in East Timor so badly?" a foreign military attaché said.

The question strikes at the heart of the military's defence of its dual function role.

Senior military officers say Suharto needs the military in the next 12 months, using its grassroots influence to secure political stability in the run-up to the June 9 polls.

US APPLAUDS PUNISHMENT

Reuter, Washington, Feb 27 - The United States is encouraged by Indonesia's efforts to make amends following a massacre of civilians in East Timor last November, State Department spokesman Richard Boucher said on Thursday.

"We've been encouraged by the Indonesian government's serious efforts to make amends for what it acknowledges was an excessive use of force by local military units," Boucher said at a briefing.

PUNISHMENTS SATISFY DUTCH, UK

Reuter, The Hague, Feb 28 - The Netherlands said on Friday Indonesia had lived up to its promises by deciding to sack and suspend army officers responsible for a massacre of civilians in East Timor last year.

The Dutch government said in a statement it was satisfied with the action.

The measures against the soldiers showed that the Indonesian authorities had responded to the inquiry's report that some troops in Dili acted outside their authority, the Dutch said.

The Netherlands, which ruled Indonesia for 350 years until 1945, briefly suspended aid in reaction to the massacre.

Britain said on Friday it was also encouraged by the Indonesian army's action against the soldiers but that it was concerned about several East Timorese still in detention.

"We are encouraged by this further demonstration of Indonesia's commitment for effective follow-up," a British Foreign Office spokesman said.

"We will continue to monitor the situation closely to see that the Indonesians live up to their undertakings and to remind them

of our continuing concerns about the East Timorese detainees and the fate of the East Timorese still missing."

A British official said 13 of an initial 56 East Timorese civilians arrested remained in detention.

JAPAN PRAISES INDONESIAN MEASURES (JAPAN TIMES)

March 1, 1992 [reproduced in full]

Tokyo welcomes the Indonesian army's decision to punish army officers who were in command during last November's shooting of civilians in East Timor, a Foreign Ministry spokesman has announced.

"We believe that those measures taken against the military personnel involved are, basically, developments in the appropriate direction," spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa told foreign correspondents.

The spokesman was speaking in reference to remarks made Thursday by Indonesia's chief commander of the army, Gen. Edy Sudrajat, who said six senior officers in charge during the Nov. 12 incident in the East Timor capital of Dili will be punished for not taking "appropriate measures and action."

Eyewitness reports indicate that more than 100 people were killed when troops opened fire on a crowd of more than 2,000 mourners, while a government commission report said only about 50 were killed.

Three of the officers are to be fired, while two others will be removed from active duty and the remaining officer will be temporarily suspended, according to the Indonesian general.

JAPAN LAUDS PUNISHMENT (REUTER)

Reuter, Tokyo, Feb 28 - Japan welcomed on Friday the disciplining by the Indonesian army of soldiers involved in the massacre of civilians in East Timor last November.

"We believe that those measures taken...are basically developments in the appropriate direction," Foreign Ministry spokesman Masamichi Hanabusa told reporters.

Aid donor nations had demanded that Indonesia act on a government commission report which partially blamed the military for the killings.

Japan has said it will maintain aid to Indonesia.

U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION MEETS IN GENEVA

PORTUGAL ESPOUSES EAST TIMOR'S CAUSE (GUARDIAN)

The Guardian, 14 February 1992. Byline: John Gittings. Article reproduced in full.

Portugal is preparing a fierce assault on Indonesia's occupation of East Timor at the UN Human Rights Commission now meeting in Geneva.

But Lisbon's ex-colonial conscience has only been fitfully aroused in the 17 years since Jakarta seized the territory. If it were not for last November's massacre in the capital Dili, many critics believe, its official concern might have lapsed yet again.

Advisors close to President Mario Soares insist Portugal is fully committed to seeking genuine self-determination for the East Timorese. They reproach Portugal's EC partners with failing to regard East Timor as more than "a problem of human rights."

"For six years Portugal has carried out the struggle by itself, only joined by international pressure after the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery," says a senior official who admits, nevertheless, that Lisbon has a lot to answer for to the Timorese.

The sight of Timorese women in the Santa Cruz cemetery while the Indonesian army gunned down the demonstrators shook Portuguese opinion more than any other news since 1975. "You must understand," a pro-Timor activist explains, "they were praying in Portuguese."

A foreign ministry official who has been active in talks with Indonesia points out the political significance. "When we left East Timor only 40 per cent of the population was Catholic. Now the figure is close to 90 per cent. Religion is the language of resistance."

More than 20 popular organisations in Portugal, including many trade unions and youth movements, are coordinating a new campaign for Timorese independence. A convention on East Timor, with international supporters including Danielle Mitterand, will be held in March.

If the government is doing enough now, there is deep cynicism about its tactics before the Dili massacre. The crucial question is whether Portugal should have cancelled a parliamentary mission due – after six years of negotiations with Jakarta – to visit East Timor.

Indonesia at the last moment objected to three journalists on the list. It withdrew its objections to two with Portuguese nationality, but insisted on banning the Australian-born Lisbon journalist, Jill Jolliffe.

The mission's cancellation, informed observers believe, led directly to the massacre. The desperate East Timorese, who had been planning for months to meet the Portuguese, decided to stage their demonstration any-how.

Senior officials say Indonesia would have found another pretext to sabotage the mission if Ms Jolliffe's exclusion has been accepted. They concede however that their hand was forced when the president of the parliamentary assembly publicly announced that the visit was off.

One of Portugal's senior journalists, Adelino Gomes of Publico, has written almost every day at length on East Timor since the massacre. His earlier research had already shown deep ambiguity in Portugal's position. It was seven years (1975-1982), he says before the Portuguese president mentioned East Timor in official discourse. Lisbon's talks with Jakarta in the mid-80s were limited to human rights, and Mario Soares (then Prime Minister) still believed that the East Timorese resistance organisation Fretilin was Marxist.

For another seven years (1984-91), Lisbon's goals vacillated between "self-determination for the Timorese people" and "almost nothing" – a cultural centre, compensation for Portuguese losses and its expenses in looking after refugees."

The 3,000 refugees now in Lisbon expect better from Portugal, and government officials claim they may still get it.

"East Timor's human rights touches our hearts," says the foreign minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro. "But the need for self-determination touches our brains." He warns Jakarta that Portugal will get "even tougher" if there is no real progress.

But what sort of progress? Lisbon sticks to the original 1982 formula that there should be negotiations between Indonesia and "all interested parties" – interpreted to mean the East Timorese. But these could include pro-Jakarta stooges as well as Fretilin and neutral figures such as Bishop Belo of Dili.

It is far from a clear call for independence. Privately some Portuguese officials say that real self-determination may only have a "1 per cent chance."

They also point to the complicating effect of divisions in the exiled community. But a new generation of young East Timorese – represented by those who marched in Dili on 12 November – is impatient with these divisions.

Domitiano [probably Donaciano] Gomes, aged 20, who was tortured in Dili before fleeing to Lisbon, says his generation will liberate their country first, then choose the party to rule it. For them Xanana Gusmao, the resistance leader, is not a political figure but a national hero.

"Before we struggled alone and we died alone," he says with passion. "Now all the eyes of the world are upon us."

For the time being, that is so, thanks to those who died and the foreign journalists who were able to report or film their deaths.

But how long will it be, the critics ask, before another massacre somewhere else in Asia overlays this one, and Portugal is tempted to negotiate a more discreet solution?

CLASH AT U.N. HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (AFP)

AFP, Geneva, Feb 14 - A Portuguese official on Thursday slammed Indonesia's human rights record, while his Indonesian counterpart on a United Nations commission described his statements as "ridiculous."

The clash at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights came after the Portuguese official stated that torture was "a widespread phenomenon in Indonesia and East Timor."

The Portuguese delegate expressed "surprise" at a claim by his Indonesian opposite number that soldiers involved in the massacre had been brought to justice.

"To our knowledge... only the innocents were jailed," the official said.

The Indonesian representative on the commission retorted, referring to Portugal: "It is ridiculous for a country which held the worst record in the modern history of colonialism to speak out about right, self-determination and how to approach human rights."

The Indonesian representative also criticised two American journalists who reported on the massacre, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, saying they had originally entered the country with tourist visas.

Copies of Amy Goodman's and Allan Nairn's UNHRC testimonies are available from ETAN/US (see masthead).

BLAMING THE VICTIMS: JURISTS CRITICISE INDONESIA'S RESPONSE

The following press release was issued in Geneva on 21 February 1992 by the International Commission of Jurists:

The Indonesian government is "blaming the victims" of a November 1991 massacre in East Timor in which Indonesian security forces killed between 100 and 200 persons, according to the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ).

In a report presented today to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, which is meeting in Geneva, the ICJ cited numerous eyewitnesses who stated that the killings were not the result of provocation by a violent crowd as claimed by the Indonesian authorities, but rather a deliberate and pre-meditated use of force against peaceful demonstrators.

Attention was focused on Dili, East Timor, last 12 November when the security forces opened fire on demonstrations seeking independence for the former Portuguese colony, which has been occupied by Indonesia since 1975. Although the Indonesian authorities assert that the dead numbered "about 50," independent evidence suggests that between 100 and 200 persons were killed.

In the days following the massacre, according to the ICJ report, Indonesian Commander-in-Chief Try Sutrisno stated that pro-independence demonstrators "had to be shot" and "would be shot." Nevertheless, in response to a mounting international outcry, the government appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the incident. The Commission released an advance report in December 1991, claiming that a violent crowd consciously provoked the security forces into spontaneously over-reacting. It also asserted that the shootings were not ordered by the army nor reflective of government policy.

According to ICJ Secretary-General Adama Dieng, the Jurists' report "finds that eyewitness testimony contradicts the Commission of Inquiry on every key point." All the eyewitnesses interviewed by the ICJ stated that the demonstration was peaceful and controlled until, without warning or provocation, Indonesian security forces fired on the crowd. None of the witnesses saw demonstrators carrying weapons. Witnesses also reported that the security forces acted in a pre-meditated and disciplined manner throughout the incident.

Although the ICJ was not given permission to visit East Timor, it interviewed eyewitnesses in Australia, Great Britain, the Netherlands and the United States.

The ICJ report concluded that the Commission of Inquiry "failed to meet internationally recognised standards of impartiality, credibility and technical competence."

Moreover, the ICJ criticised the Indonesian government for failing to take action against those responsible for the killings. The report notes that "while no military officer has yet been tried, dozens of Timorese who participated in the demonstration remain in detention."

Commenting on the visit to Indonesia last week of the UN Secretary-General's Personal Envoy, Amos Wako, Mr Dieng said he was "pleased that the Envoy was received by the Indonesian authorities, but we frankly do not see such diplomatic contacts as a substitute for a full and impartial investigation of the Dili massacre nor for a comprehensive study of the human rights situation on the occupied island."

In 1975, Indonesia invaded and occupied East Timor, part of an island off the north coast of Australia. Since that time, human rights organisations have documented massive abuses. From 1975 to 1980, more than

100,000 Timorese out of a population of 700,000 were reportedly killed. Since 1980, another 100,000 are estimated to have died.

ICJ LAMBASTES INDON. (AFP)

AFP, Geneva, Feb 20 - A panel of international jurists Thursday lambasted the Indonesian Government for "holding the victims responsible" for the East Timor massacre, in which the army killed dozens of people last November.

The International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) said an Indonesian inquiry into the army's killing of civilians at a funeral in the Timor capital Dili "failed to meet internationally-recognized standards of impartiality, credibility and technical competence."

Amos Wako, the Kenyan attorney-general who was appointed by the U.N. Secretary General to head a fact-finding mission to Indonesia, handed over a report to Boutros Boutros-Ghali on Wednesday, U.N. sources announced here.

Wako hailed the ICJ visit to Jakarta and East Timor last week, but said that "such diplomatic contacts (are not) a substitute for a full and impartial investigation" of the situation in the former Portuguese colony, which was annexed by Indonesia in 1975.

He did not comment on his own report to Boutros-Ghali.

The European Community, at a meeting of the United Nations Human Rights Commission here Thursday, declined to endorse a Portuguese proposal to condemn Jakarta for its handling of the East Timor situation.

But speaking for the EC, Portuguese ambassador Goncalo de Santa-Clara Gomes said he favoured a "fair and acceptable international solution, in line with the legitimate wishes of the East Timorese."

JAPAN UNDER INCREASING CRITICISM IN U.N. (ETNA)

Press release issued in Geneva by ETNA, the East Timor News Agency, on 24 February 1992.

Over lunches and dinners with Latin American diplomats and in the corridors of the Palais des Nations, the usually low-key and discrete Japanese diplomats try to impress everyone who cares to listen that the way "to help the East Timorese" is not by having a resolution adopted in the Commission of Human Rights.

Japan, the largest aid donor and investor in Indonesia, is certainly a key Indonesian ally in the battle this month in the Palais des Nations over a resolution condemning the massacre of unarmed civilians on November 12, 1991, in Dili, East Timor.

Being an Asian country, Japan sits in the Asian regional group. But being an industrialised country, it also sits in the WEAO (Western European and Others) group. A western diplomat commented to ETNA, on

condition of anonymity: "Japan finds itself in a difficult balancing act, trying on the one hand to show that it cares about human rights, but on the other, it also has to show solidarity with its Asian partners such as Burma, China, Indonesia, Sri Lanka, the worst violators of human rights in the world."

Hoping to get along well with both worlds, Japan tries desperately and sometimes not so discretely to block resolutions which would force it to take a clear stand. Hence, the powerful, diminutive Japanese ambassador, Mr Katsumi Sezaki, prefers to have "consensus decisions on most situations such as East Timor which would provide Japan with the perfect win-win situation," a human rights expert commented to ETNA.

However, in the view of many, there is an increasing frustration with the WEAO group over Japan's dual membership, with one diplomat accusing the Japanese of spying in the Western group and informing the Asians about the tactics of the Europeans. "The Japanese will have to take a stand. We cannot go along with their selfish approach," the same expert said.

Some NGOs and government delegations are beginning to look seriously into Japan's own human rights record both over its "horrendous treatment of migrant workers as well as its own national minorities."

AUSTRALIAN DIPLOMATS LOSE THEIR COOL (ETNA)

Press Release issued in Geneva by ETNA, the East Timor News Agency, on 24 February 1992.

Australian diplomats seem to be losing their cool. Ambassador Walker and his deputy, the ever charismatic and energetic Bill Barker, seem to be outmanoeuvred by the Portuguese every step of the way.

While Walker and Barker were hoping to have a mild alternative resolution on East Timor tabled before the European Community's draft resolution could be tabled, the Portuguese delegation anticipated their move and outmanoeuvred the Australians. The Australians seemed incensed and accused the Portuguese of being "discourteous." Some terse words were overheard between the Australian and Portuguese delegations.

Jose Luis Guterres, Fretilin Representative to the United Nations in New York, who with Jose Ramos-Horta is lobbying at the Commission, said with a mixture of anger and bewilderment at the Australian behaviour: "Of course I would understand that Australia would be very active if it were to be the target of a resolution, let's say, dealing with aboriginal deaths in custody. However, this draft has nothing to do with Australia, so it really confirms that the Australians are once again too

eager to court favours with Indonesia. Why else would Bill Barker go round lobbying against this draft?"

There is a growing and widespread unhappiness among human rights activists over this behaviour which is seen by many as inconsistent with Australia's claim to stand for human rights irrespective of the regime involved. As one African human rights activist put it: "I though Australia would be like Sweden, but having learnt of its behaviour towards East Timor, Indonesia and Bougainville, not to mention its abhorrent treatment of Australian aboriginals, we are beginning to perceive that Australia is one of the more cynical delegations in this Commission."

ALLEGED COLLABORATOR OF INDONESIAN SECURITY FORCES ATTENDS UNHRC (HORTA)

Press release issued in Geneva, 24 Feb. 1992, by ETNA (East Timor News Agency)

Jose Ramos-Horta, Special Diplomatic Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), who is attending the 48th session of the UN Commission on Human Rights, has lodged a complaint with United Nations officials in Geneva and the Swiss police authorities over the presence in the Indonesian delegation of an alleged collaborator of Indonesia's security forces in East Timor.

Mr Ramos-Horta expressed his anguish that Mr Guilherme Dos Santos, an East Timorese collaborator with the Indonesian security forces, was highlighted in a statement he made to the *Jakarta Post* [1/31/92] in which he said: "The government should detain and interrogate the 220 East Timorese students who had asked US President George Bush to send forces to the province."

The call by Mr Dos Santos for the arrest of the students has caused revulsion in East Timor. A priest in Dili, contacted by ETNA, said: "For him to call on the authorities to arrest students for having written an innocent letter to the American president is just criminal."

Mr Ramos-Horta, speaking to a group of students in Geneva during the weekend, considered Indonesia's decision to include Mr Dos Santos in its delegation as a "demonstration of their true colors. They make a mockery of the Commission. We might next have Pol Pot leading a Cambodian delegation to the Human Rights Commission."

CANADA BACKS INDONESIA AT UNHRC (SOUTHAM)

By DAVE TODD. Filed Feb 26, 1992 by Southam News Service, Ottawa.

GENEVA: Canada told the United Nations Human Rights Commission on Tuesday that it supports Indonesia's explanation of a massacre committed by its troops in East Timor last November.

But many of the world's leading human rights organizations consider the Indonesian government's report a travesty of justice, and say the inquiry that it produced failed to meet even minimum UN standards for the investigation of such atrocities.

Dozens of Timorese pro-democracy demonstrators were shot dead in the former Portuguese colony's capital of Dili last Nov. 12. The incident occurred during a funeral procession for a slain supporter. The event was televised around the world because of the rare presence of a British camera crew that was filming a documentary.

"The interim report of the Indonesian commission of inquiry (into the massacre) and the prompt response of the Indonesian government are very encouraging," said Anne Park, Canada's chief delegate to the UNHRC's annual session in Geneva.

However, the Indonesian government has announced further efforts to shield East Timor from outside scrutiny, closing the island to foreign journalists "indefinitely," the British Broadcasting Corp. reported today.

Amnesty International said Feb. 6 that the official Indonesian report on what happened, now praised by Canada, contains a "most shocking" conclusion that unarmed demonstrators were responsible for provoking Indonesian soldiers into committing the killings.

The Canadian government's statement Tuesday raises no concerns about any of the contents of the official Indonesian version, noting only that "we shall await with strong interest the actual implementation of this report, and the assurance that the military personnel responsible will be brought to justice."

However, Indonesia's conclusion that the Dili massacre was the result of Indonesian troops flaring out of control, as opposed to a planned attack, is sharply disputed by surviving victims of the shooting, backed up by what foreign journalists' cameras recorded.

Portugal's foreign ministry whose representative in Geneva has lobbied Canadian officials hard considers the Indonesian report to be "a desperate attempt" to cope with international criticism, one clearly aimed at salvaging the country's national reputation and retaining its \$5 billion a year in foreign aid intact.

Only hours before Canada's Park spoke, Indonesia's representative to the UN Human Rights Commission insisted once again that

last November's East Timor massacre had been instigated by agents provocateurs bent on wrecking Indonesia's international reputation.

Canada described the Dili massacre Tuesday as a "tragedy."

"Developments on this matter and on the situation of human rights in Indonesia need to be watched very closely," Park said.

The Canadian statement made no reference to reports that in the wake of the Nov. 12 massacre in Dili, the International Red Cross was, for many days afterwards, denied access to hospitals where wounded survivors were interrogated by the Indonesian military.

Another issue, which human rights groups have stressed at the 1992 UN Human Rights Commission session, is that Western governments have ignored the actual composition of the Indonesian government's committee of inquiry.

Its chairman is a former general who, at the height of his career, was a "Red Beret" commander of the unit responsible for committing some of the worst human rights atrocities in the early years of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, which began in 1975.

The Indonesia report, issued in December, has so far produced the sacking of two generals who were in charge of East Timor operations. But last week the Indonesian attorney general's office began laying subversion charges against people it accuses of causing "anti-Indonesia protests" in East Timor.

JOURNALISTS BARRED FROM TIMOR

ASIA WATCH BLACKLISTED (FEER)

Far Eastern Economic Review. 20 February 1992. Intelligence briefs, unabridged.

MARK OF DISPLEASURE

Sidney Jones, the executive director of the New York-based human rights group Asia Watch, has been barred from entering Indonesia after a recent visit to the country. Sidney Jones was informed on 8 February when departing from Jakarta's Sukarno-Hatta airport, that she had been placed on the Immigration Department's blacklist. In the past year, Asia Watch has published reports critical of Indonesia's human rights record in the north Sumatra province of Aceh and in East Timor, the former Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

PETER S. GOODMAN EXPULSION AND ARTICLES

U.S. JOURNALIST FORCED TO LEAVE EAST TIMOR (AP/AFP)

AP and AFP. 19 Feb. Slightly abridged.

A Jakarta-based American freelance journalist said Wednesday that he was forced to leave East Timor because he did not have a travel permit.

Peter Simon Goodman was covering the visit of a UN envoy, Amos Wako, who arrived in the East Timorese capital of Dili Thursday. Wako came to investigate the Nov. 12 incident at a Dili cemetery in which Indonesian troops opened fire on demonstrations, killings dozens.

Goodman told The Associated Press that Indonesian immigration officials questioned him at his hotel last Friday and told him to leave East Timor. Goodman, who writes for the *Japan Times* and other newspapers, said he did not argue and obeyed the order to leave the former Portuguese colony.

"I have been honest from the beginning, saying that I have come to East Timor to write about the area," he said.

The Information Ministry, while claiming East Timor open to visitors, has advised reporters to obtain travel permits for their own safety.

Meanwhile [according to AFP], the Kompas daily also said that Indonesian authorities in Dili had last Tuesday asked journalist Peter Goodman, a free-lancer accredited as correspondent for *Japan Times*, to leave Dili the same day. Goodman had been in East Timor since a 24-hour visit there last week by Amos Wako, a personal envoy of the UN Secretary General.

Kompas said that officials of the local immigration and information office prevent Goodman from leaving his hotel in Dili for a trip to Same in central East Timor.

Goodman, who has been in Indonesia for about six months, also writes for several other foreign publications, including *The South China Morning Post*, *The Australian*, and works for a US radio station in Boston, Kompas said.

During his stay in East Timor, he tried, to no avail, to meet with Governor Carrascalao, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and East Timor Military Operational Commander, Brig-Gen Theo Syafei.

REUTER

Reuter, Jakarta, Feb 19 - An American journalist said on Wednesday the Indonesian government had expelled him from East Timor while he was covering the aftermath of an army massacre in November.

"I asked them if East Timor was closed and they said no, but I needed a permit to enter," said Peter Goodman, a 25-year-old New Yorker based in Jakarta who reports

for *The Japan Times*, *The Australian* and several U.S. newspapers.

A stream of foreign journalists has visited the former Portuguese territory without special permission since soldiers killed scores of civilians on November 12.

It is the first time that a foreign journalist based in Indonesia has been told to leave East Timor since it was opened up in 1989.

"There is no clear statement but a permit is necessary... the regulation stands and they will enforce it now," a foreign ministry spokesman said.

DPA ON GOODMAN EXPULSION

DPA, Jakarta, Feb 19 - Indonesian authorities have ordered a Jakarta-based U.S. journalist out of East Timor.

Freelancer Peter S. Goodman said he left Dili Tuesday after immigration officials had demanded he produce a travel permit. They insisted such a permit was compulsory for foreign journalists visiting East Timor.

There has been confusion about the need for travel permits in East Timor since the Indonesian government declared in 1989 it was open to visitors, including foreigners. Officials began to demand permits from journalists following bloodshed last November.

EAST TIMORESE DEFY TERROR TACTICS IN THE FIGHT TO BE FREE (GOODMAN, TELEGRAPH)

The London Daily Telegraph. 28 February 1992. Dateline: Dili. Byline: Peter Goodman. News item unabridged.

Comment: Peter Goodman is the freelance US journalist who was expelled from East Timor earlier this month. The Daily Telegraph, broadly speaking, expresses the views of the Conservative Party. Just before Ali Alatas visited London, it published a long article in its 'Personal Opinions' Column by Margaret Coles, giving a very sympathetic account of the East Timor question. (We did not post it at the time because of pressure of work.) It is very significant that a right-wing newspaper is giving such sympathetic coverage to East Timor.

[Intro] Indonesian troops are still cracking down hard in East Timor in the wake of last year's massacre. Peter Goodman reports from Dili.

When Portugal abandoned its East Timor colony in 1975 after more than four centuries, civil war broke out. A nominally-Marxist guerrilla force gained the upper hand and neighbouring Indonesia invaded, fearing a local Cuba in the making. East Timor was formally integrated as an Indonesian province in 1976 but the process has been anything but smooth.

Battling pro-independent guerrillas continuously, Indonesian forces have been ruthless. Up to 200,000 East Timorese, roughly one third of the population, have

died since the invasion, according to Amnesty International.

Jakarta has saturated the dirt-poor East Timorese with development projects of late to try to win over the population. But hatred for Indonesia remains strong among East Timorese, who view themselves as culturally distinct from the rest of the archipelago. The Nov. 12 incident, in which soldiers fired on unarmed demonstrators, killing at least 50 people, has renewed international interest in their plight.

"Two weeks ago, the soldiers came in the middle of the night," whispered an 18-year-old man in the stifling heat of his plywood house at the base of the mountains which rise above Dili, the dusty port that is the capital of East Timor. "They took my brother away for questioning. We have not seen him since."

His dark Timorese features and tightly-curved black hair seem more African than Asian. The young man glanced towards the window, a hole sawn out of the wall, and surveyed the scene outside. There was no one around so he continued his whispering: "We are afraid that he is dead," he said.

This young man believes his brother has become a casualty of intensified security operations by Indonesians after the massacre.

Dili is dominated by fear, the streets devoid of activity throughout much of the day. On one recent morning, virtually everyone had a quick look about to see who else might be in the area before saying so much as good morning to a foreigner.

At least 10,000 Indonesian troops remain in East Timor and Dili has the air of a city under siege.

On a steamy morning earlier this month, 500 soldiers in 20 lorries stood in formation in a field in central Dili. All carried full packs and M16 assault rifles slung over their shoulders. Their commander addressed them loudly while he stood beneath a flagpole, the red and white of Indonesia lifted by a gentle breeze. Most East Timorese walking by did not even dare look.

While none of the dozen or so soldiers at ease on the sides of the field cared to say where the men were going, several East Timorese said troops have been entering villages frequently of late.

"They go from house to house, warning people not to make trouble," said an elderly East Timorese as he sat beneath an enormous banyan tree on the edge of the crumbling broadwalk that fronts the harbour. "The soldiers come and beat people up. Many are taken away for questioning and often disappear. The military has killed many in the last few months."

Despite the climate of fear and an already rich legacy of suffering, East Timorese aspirations for independence remain extraordinarily high, as does the willingness of many to continue the struggle.

"So many of our people have been killed already," said a 20-year-old man as he stood in the cemetery where the troops opened fire on Nov. 12, a broad sea of crosses emblazoned with black ink. He lost a brother that day and was himself beaten by Indonesian police when they detained him afterwards, he claimed. "Even if we die as well, it does not matter. If we give up the fight, we lose everything that is important to us."

EAST TIMOR TENSE, ARMY GETS TOUGH (GOODMAN, NEWSDAY)

by Peter S. Goodman, New York Newsday, February 29, 1992 page 14.

Dili, East Timor, Indonesia – "The soldiers came in the middle of the night," the 18-year-old man whispered in the stifling heat of this dusty port town. "They took my brother away for questioning. We have not seen him since." After a quick survey outside a window of his plywood house, he continued. "We are afraid he is dead."

The young man spoke earlier this month on condition that his name not be revealed. Like so many others in the capital of East Timor, the former Portuguese province that Indonesia annexed in 1976 and has been struggling to assimilate ever since, the man's family is a casualty of intensified security after an incident Nov. 12, when a memorial procession for a slain anti-Indonesian activist turned into a pro-independence demonstration and soldiers opened fire, killing at least 50 people. Reports put the toll as high as 200.

Since then, tensions have been high, fueled by local anger and international outrage, and the government recently closed East Timor to foreign journalists, in advance of the arrival next week of a Portuguese ship carrying human-rights activists.

The outcry – several nations protested and three cut off aid – and Jakarta's effort to calm it have changed little here. Residents said soldiers still enter homes, beating, torturing and killing those suspected of involvement in the pro-independence movement.

Indonesia took over East Timor – pushing across from its half of the island – after Portugal abruptly terminated four centuries of rule, prompting a civil war in which a Marxist group gained the upper hand. Indonesia has been challenged by pro-independence guerrillas and their support base. As many as 200,000 East Timorese, about a third of the population, have died under Jakarta's rule the human rights group says.

Since the Nov. 12, massacre, Indonesia has labored to restore its international image. A commission appointed by President Suharto investigated and said the military had used excessive force. Gen. Edi Sudradjat, army chief of staff, said yesterday that three other officers had been dismissed and four

others will be tried in military courts, along with four soldiers involved in the shooting.

The public rebuke of the military was virtually unprecedented, and western governments have praised Jakarta's follow up, while expressing hope for a full judicial process. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas visited Washington last week on a world tour to assure officials that Jakarta has learned from the massacre and intends to prevent further incidents.

The closing of East Timor to journalists, however, raised new doubts. As many as 10,000 Indonesian troops are stationed here, and residents say brutality remains a daily occurrence.

"It's very bad here now," said one man. "The police are everywhere." The man, who, like other residents feared to have his name published, said soldiers had to use electric shocks to try to induce him to name people involved in planning anti-Indonesian activities. Another man said several of his relatives were killed on Nov. 12 and that some family members "have disappeared."

Many Dili residents said that before a recent visit by a United Nations special envoy, Amos Wako, soldiers threatened would-be demonstrators with "extreme consequences." The two-day visit passed without incident.

Two weeks ago, according to unconfirmed reports, troops entered villages near the capital and took 100 to 180 teenagers to the mountains for "professional training." None of the youths has been heard from since.

Military officials in Dili refused to comment and declined to meet with this reporter, who was forced to leave East Timor – the last foreign journalist to visit the province before it was closed.

Indonesia is a tapestry of hundreds of cultures and languages across more than 13,000 islands. Jakarta has historically feared that if one thread came loose, the whole nation could quickly unravel.

Nevertheless, the East Timorese remain committed to independence. "So many of our brothers have died already," said a 20-year-old man, standing in the cemetery where troops opened fire Nov. 12. He lost a brother that day and said he was beaten by police. "Even if we die as well, it does not matter. If we give up the fight, we lose everything that is important to us."

GOVERNMENT TO CURB JOURNALISTS ENTERING INDONESIA AS TOURISTS (JAKARTA POST)

20 February 1992. Abridged.

Indonesia is seeking an effective way to curb the increasing number of foreign journalists who enter Indonesia as tourists, following the incident in Dili, says a senior minister.

Coordinating Minister for Politics and Security Affairs, Sudomo, said the Nov. 12

incident had prompted many journalists to enter the country illegally (sic). They come in as tourists and in so doing abuse the free-visa facilities provided by the government.

"We are aware of the importance of tourists for generating foreign exchange. But national stability is no less important," Sudomo told reporters after a two-hour meeting with armed forces commander-in-chief, the attorney-general and the home affairs minister. Journalists who came incognito had brought disadvantages for Indonesia, he said.

"A working group of officials from the armed forces, the Defence and Security Ministry, BAKIN, the Justice Ministry, and the Tourism Ministry is seeking an effective way to monitor their entrance," he said.

According to an immigration official, a foreign journalist who wants to work here should obtain a recommendation from the Manpower Ministry and the Information Ministry as well as clearance from BAKIN, before applying for a visa.

EXPECTING SHIP, TIMOR CLOSED TO JOURNALISTS (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta. 26 February 1992. Item summarised.

East Timor has been declared temporarily off-limits to foreign journalists, a week before a Portuguese peace boat plans to visit Timor. Applications for permits to visit East Timor needed by foreign journalists and Indonesians working for the foreign media were 'suspended,' the Department of Information announced. Only Dili-based journalists of the Indonesian media were allowed in East Timor.

The boat, expected to arrive in Dili early in March, according to AFP, will first stop in Darwin.

The Indonesian government this week declared its waters closed to the boat, blasting the planned visit as "provocative" and "politically motivated." It was in line with "neither peaceful travel nor innocent passage" and was "designed to instigate confrontation, aggravate tension, induce divisiveness and incite disturbances."

East Timor military commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei warned that passengers would be arrested if they tried to land.

REUTER:

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Feb 26 - Indonesia said on Wednesday it had banned journalists from its troubled province of East Timor, where a shipload of protesters is scheduled to arrive.

"East Timor is closed to journalists for the time being. I don't know the reason," a government official said. The ban applied to local and foreign reporters, he said.

The Indonesian embassy in Australia had declined to give visas to journalists planning to join the ship.

A Jakarta-based U.S. journalist was expelled from East Timor last week on the grounds that he did not have a permit to enter. Previously, foreign journalists had visited the territory freely.

In Tokyo, three Japanese students and a Portuguese professor planning to sail with the Lusitania Expresso said there were determined to make the trip despite Jakarta's ban.

"I'm happy to die if I had to, if I could spread the message around the world that I was dying for the freedom of East Timor," one of the students told reporters on Tuesday.

Local residents say there is still strong resentment, especially in the capital Dili, against Jakarta rule and against the presence of more than 10,000 soldiers.

See also "Alatas: 'Ban on Foreign Journalists a Temporary' Measure" in the Hague part of Alatas' itinerary on page 23 above. This is an IPS article dated 27 Feb., in which "Minister Alatas told journalists that he was not yet fully informed, but said he is sure that the measure was only for 'the time being'."

U.S. SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEARING

February 27, 2:30 pm
EVENT: SENATE FOREIGN
RELATIONS COMMITTEE meeting;
Sen. Claiborne Pell, D-RI, chmn –
SUBJECT: Hearing on the crisis in East
Timor and U.S. policy toward Indonesia
LOCATION: SD-419 Dirksen Senate Office
Building
PARTICIPANTS:
Kenneth Quinn, State Department (Did not
show)
The Right Reverend Paul Moore, retired
Episcopal Bishop of New York
Allan Nairn, freelance writer, *New Yorker*
Representative of Asia Watch (Sidney
Jones)
Representative of Amnesty International
(Geoff Robinson)
CONTACT: 202-224-4651.

ASIA WATCH SENATE TESTIMONY

Testimony by Asia Watch, Sidney Jones, Executive Director. Prepared for delivery before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee February 21, 1992 [The hearing was postponed until Feb 27.]

My name is Sidney Jones. I am the Executive Director of Asia Watch and an

Indonesia specialist by background. I have been to Indonesia every year for the last 15 years, I speak the language fluently, and I have a deep affection for the country – which I am now banned from entering.

I recently returned from a four-day visit to East Timor. The intention was not to conduct a human rights fact-finding mission, as the Indonesian government did not grant me permission to go there officially. I got on a plane, as anyone can, and went as a tourist to look at the place on which I have written human rights reports for years.

East Timor remains open (at least to tourists; foreign journalists need a travel permit.) There was no difficulty getting in or out. But from the moment my colleague and I arrived in Dili, we were photographed and followed. The surveillance continued when we returned to Jakarta and ended only when uniformed officials took me out of passport control at the airport as I was leaving to return to New York and informed me I was blacklisted and would not be permitted to return.

Although we were not in a position to do extensive interviewing, we were able to learn a fair amount from conversations with clergy and others in East Timor, from talks with East Timorese and lawyers in Jakarta, and from the Indonesian press. Based on those sources, I would like to stress three points:

–First, despite all the steps, indeed unprecedented, that President Suharto has taken to respond to international outrage over the Dili massacre, none of the fundamental questions about the massacre has been answered. Only 19 bodies of the much larger number of demonstrators killed by Indonesian troops have been found, and those responsible for murder have not been prosecuted. No one should mistake form for substance. We acknowledge that Indonesia's establishment of the National Commission of Inquiry was an important recognition of the need to address human rights abuses. We do not believe that the Commission report effectively addressed any of the outstanding issues.

Likewise, it is important that President Suharto recognized the need to appoint an Honorary Military Council to investigate military behavior and recommend disciplinary measures against soldiers. But we don't believe the pressure on Indonesia should be lifted until there is a full accounting for those dead and missing, including criminal prosecutions of those responsible. The Indonesian government has accused us of pre-judging the issue by urging continued pressure. We say that by putting 13 civilians on trial before a single soldier has been charged, and by blaming the demonstrators for the massacre, the Indonesian government itself has done the pre-judging.

–A second point is that President Suharto took the steps he did after the Dili massacre only because of international pressure. The East Timor massacre was not an aberration;

similar massacres took place in Jakarta in 1984 and in south Sumatra in 1989, not to mention the hundreds and perhaps thousands of civilians killed in the special region of Aceh, on the northern tip of Sumatra, between 1989 and the present. But there was no international outcry and therefore no pressure to investigate or halt abuses. The Indonesian response to the killings on November 12 proves that pressure works. The US policy response thus should be the beginning of a long overdue effort to press the Indonesian government on human rights violations more generally.

–Finally, while the measures taken by President Suharto, widely praised abroad, appear to have had a major impact on the balance of power in Jakarta, they have had no visible impact on the human rights situation in East Timor. The unchecked power of the military is palpable from the moment you set foot in Dili, from the sheer saturation of the place by soldiers to the fear that registers the moment you start talking with anyone to the fact that officers occupy almost all the choice houses along the waterfront. In one neighborhood we visited, every night from November 12 through December, soldiers would come in by trucks and make the rounds of every house around midnight, banging the door with a piece of wood to wake up the residents and do a headcount. These checks continue to the present, though not every night. For the first week after the massacre, all schools and most shops in Dili were closed, as people were too terrified to go out on the streets. In one school we visited, attendance was still not back to normal. In one restaurant in Dili, a waiter came up to us and said he would like to talk, but he would get in trouble if he did so, and that while it was possible to exchange words in the restaurant, anyone who tried to talk to a foreigner on the streets would be immediately questioned. If this was the situation in early February, imagine what it must have been like immediately after November 12.

EXECUTIONS AFTER NOV. 12

The fear has implications for the ability to gather evidence on human rights abuses. After the initial shooting on November 12, additional executions were reported of four kinds:

- "finishing off" of the wounded by soldiers at the site of the cemetery within hours of the massacre;
- killing of those who tried to flee Dili that day or night and were stopped at checkpoints;
- killing, including by denial of medical care, that may have occurred at the military hospital R.S. Wirahusada where no one had access to the wounded for more than a week;
- and finally, execution of witnesses to disposal of bodies.

We were able to confirm the first kind of killings. We talked with one member of the

clergy who had gone to the scene of the massacre at 9 a.m., one hour after the shooting to look for missing seminarians. He saw one severely wounded young man being roughly dragged by the legs along the ground to a truck piled with corpses. A soldier kicked and beat the man until he stopped moving, then threw him on the truck. When the priest tried to intervene, one soldier said, "But father, these are just Communists." The same priest saw other bodies, some still moving, buried under corpses and told us that if they had not died from their wounds, they would have surely suffocated in the truck.

The second, third and fourth kinds of reported killings have not been proven by hard data, but under the circumstances prevailing in Dili, such proof would be nearly impossible to obtain.

A few points are worth noting here. The National Commission report itself noted that some 90 people were missing more than six weeks after the massacre. What happened to them? Ninety people do not usually disappear without a trace, but soldiers had every reason to believe they could act with impunity. No disciplinary measures were taken against individual members of the security forces in the first weeks after the shooting. On the contrary, the initial official version of the killings was that Fretilin had staged a violent demonstration involving the killing, later amended to wounding, of two soldiers. As remarks of army commanders in Jakarta make clear, there was no sense of remorse for what happened. Instead, the overwhelming sentiment within the army seemed to be a determination to wreak vengeance on those who took part in the demonstration. If a few people disappeared trying to flee Dili to avoid arrest, who was going to ask questions?

None of the wounded were allowed to receive treatment at the civilian hospital after the massacre; those who sought entry there were transferred to the military hospital by trucks. No one but military personnel knew for sure how many people were at that hospital; no one but military personnel and hospital workers were allowed in to see them during those first critical days after the shootings. There are reports of people being taken by trucks from the hospital morgue up to the night of November 15. What efforts were made by the National Commission of Inquiry or the Honorary Military Council to interview hospital workers in confidence, and what convincing guarantees could they give that these workers would be protected against reprisals?

Finally, there is the persistent report of a family having been executed after witnessing the dumping of bodies near Tibar. Asia Watch mentioned their names in a December 12 report, noting that it could not confirm the allegation. The story was repeated to us when we were in Dili, and we understand that the report was given to the National

Commission as well. What efforts were made to interview other residents of that neighborhood about the current whereabouts of the family? Given the fear of saying anything against the army, what assurances could be given to such residents that they could safely give evidence?

I was skeptical of accounts of post-massacre killings before going to East Timor. I am much more inclined to believe them now. In a place where the only checks on the military are a relatively powerless governor and a beleaguered Catholic church, where fear prevented many witnesses from giving testimony to the National Commission of Inquiry and still prevents ordinary conversations on the street, I began to understand why we weren't getting proof.

ARRESTS AND TRIALS SINCE NOVEMBER 12

Arrests did not stop with the November massacre. Just before Christmas, one priest working in a seminary in Fatumaca had been planning to drive to Dili in a truck, and offered to take about 30 boys from school who wanted to go back for the holidays so they would not have to pay for the bus. They left about 4 a.m. and were stopped at a checkpoint just outside Baucau. The soldiers did a thorough search of the students and found knives and some notebooks with anti-Indonesian slogans. Five boys were arrested and spent Christmas in detention in Baucau where they were reportedly beaten and forced to say that the priest had put them up to carrying weapons. They appear to have been detained for about a week and still have to report regularly to police. The boys apologized to the priest after they were released, saying they had no choice but to implicate him.

This may be part of a broader effort to intimidate the church leadership. In January, a former Fretilin fighter named Afonso Rangel who served three years in prison, testified that he had asked a woman employed at the regional military command to steal certain intelligence reports which he then gave to Bishop Belo, the outspoken Bishop of Dili, to smuggle out to resistance supporters in Australia. According to the press, his testimony in court contradicted his original interrogation deposition. At least one person named in the testimony whom Asia Watch interviewed said key elements of it were just not true. There is concern that Rangel may have been put up to accusing the Bishop as a kind of warning to the church. The Indonesian press also commented that this case may have been used as a way to test public reaction in Dili before proceeding with the much more explosive trials relating to the November 12 demonstration.

These trials are critically important. Although to Asia Watch's knowledge, no soldiers are under arrest and no courts-martial have begun, subversion trials have started in Dili and Jakarta of four East

Timorese pro-independence activists who are accused either of masterminding the demonstration or taking part in a peaceful protest of East Timorese students in Jakarta one week later. They are the first East Timorese ever charged with subversion, an offense which carries the death penalty, although that penalty is unlikely to be imposed. Nine others are expected to be tried on the broad charge of "spreading hatred" which carries a 7-year sentence. The Indonesian government has said it will free 43 others detained for the last three months because it had insufficient evidence to prosecute, but as of today, they remain in police custody.

The two on trial in Dili are Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, and Francisco Miranda Branco, 41. The government claims it has a 600-page dossier against Saldanha, an employee of the governor's office. Joao Freitas Camara and Fernando Araujo are the two on trial in Jakarta. Both have been kept in solitary confinement since their arrest. For the first month of detention, Joao was allowed no change of clothes and no access to friends, family or his lawyer. He and Fernando continue to have restricted access to friends and lawyers.

There is concern that information extracted under duress will be used to build a case against these and other detainees. All were interrogated by the military without lawyers present, and there are credible reports that many of those in Dili were tortured. Firsthand accounts have reached us that East Timorese detained the day of the massacre were beaten or tortured and then released. There is no reason to believe that those kept in detention for further interrogation enjoyed better treatment.

Other arrests that have taken place since the massacre indicate that tension remains high. On February 2, what the Indonesian press described as a brawl broke out between two groups of young people in a market area of Dili. The press described it as a fight between youths of rival villages which erupted when one group began staring at the other. In fact, the incident appears to have been similar to the October 28 clash at the Motael Church in Dili when pro-government, army-backed men on motorcycles appear to have provoked a confrontation with pro-independence youth, and one from each side was killed. In this later case, one person was killed and four youths were detained.

HOW CAN THE U.S. HELP?

1. International Military Education and Training (IMET) and Economic Support Fund (ESF) assistance to Indonesia should be suspended until the US is satisfied that there has been a full accounting for all of those killed and missing after the November 12 massacre in Dili and that soldiers responsible have been prosecuted. There is no indication whatsoever that IMET aid has

contributed to the professionalism and humanitarian values of the Indonesian army, as the State Department asserts. Let me stress again: the Dili massacre was not an aberration. Look at the attention given to Aceh in the latest State Department country report. The question is not what training officers receive here, but what they do with it when they return, and there is no indication that officers trained here are any less willing to condone abusive behavior than other officers.

Indonesia only receives a small amount of IMET and ESF aid. The impact of a cut-off, if it were to come to that, would be primarily symbolic, but we strongly believe in the importance and effectiveness of symbolic gestures. I might add that I emphatically disagree with the approach suggested by the General Accounting Office (GAO) report on the Dili massacre released Tuesday, to amend the Foreign Assistance Act to allow training of the Indonesian national police in crowd control. These police are part of the armed forces, and they are responsible for torture on a routine, systematic basis. Their role in practice is to get information from suspects by any means possible and to administer summary punishment as they see fit. To give them any additional training with US funds as long as the structure in which they operate remains unchanged would be utterly irresponsible.

To sum up, the provision of IMET and ESF should be made contingent on:

- a full and credible accounting by the Indonesian government of what happened to the bodies carted away by army truck from the scene of the shooting and from the military hospital.
- criminal prosecutions for murder of soldiers and officers involved in the massacre and deliberate killing of the wounded afterwards.

- the initiation of an investigation by the government into military abuses in Aceh, a full and credible accounting of what happened to the known disappearance cases there, and a halt to the current army practice of summarily executing suspected guerrillas rather than taking them into custody.

2. Our embassy in Jakarta should send observers periodically to the trials in Jakarta and Dili, to send the message that the US is carefully monitoring the follow-up to the massacre. If and when courts-martial start, a civilian member of the embassy should seek to attend those as well. I understand that an embassy representative occasionally attended the political trial of General Dharsono in 1985, so there is a precedent for this. Congress could request a detailed report from the embassy on the trials, the nature of the evidence produced in court, who attended as spectators and how the trials were conducted. The administration should press the Indonesian government to allow foreign journalists and international human rights organizations access to the trials.

3. Our embassy in Jakarta should coordinate with other concerned diplomatic missions to ensure that there is a fairly constant round of diplomatic visitors to East Timor attending the trials and visiting parish priests in Bobonaro, Suai, Ermera, Fatumaca and Dili, among other places. Visitors should try to get a sense from those affected of surveillance and control measures in use by the Indonesian army.

4. At the United Nations Commission of Human Rights meeting in Geneva, which Assistant Secretary Richard Schifter is attending at the moment, the US should back any responsible resolution condemning human rights abuses by Indonesian security forces in East Timor, Aceh and elsewhere.

5. The Indonesian government should be strongly encouraged to take other measures, such as:

- ensuring that all commanders down to the KODIM (district) level receive training in human rights and humanitarian law from non-governmental organizations;
- allowing access to Indonesia and East Timor by non-governmental human rights organizations such as Asia Watch, Amnesty International and the International Commission of Jurists;
- inviting members of the United Nations Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to Indonesia and East Timor to discuss the problem of disappearances and what steps should be taken to search for the missing and prevent such abuses in the future.

- repealing the broadly worded Anti-Subversion Law under which hundreds of people have been arrested for peaceful political or religious activities;
- ensuring that all military command posts, from the subdistrict level on up, keep records of detainees that are regularly transmitted to a central register which can be checked by families, lawyers and others concerned about the fate of detainees.

Comment on Asia Watch statement by C. Budiardjo, TAPOL:

According to this statement, two East Timorese in Dili and two in Jakarta are now on trial for subversion. These trials have in fact not yet begun. The Attorney-General announced last week that they would be charged for subversion but no date has yet been set for the trials to begin. The trials may begin very soon.

ALLAN NAIRN'S TESTIMONY

This is available on paper (15 pages) from the East Timor Action Network/U.S. (see masthead). It will be circulated by computer as soon as practical.

Amy Goodman's testimony, submitted in writing, is essentially the same as that she gave at the U.N. Human Rights Commission in Geneva. This is also available on paper from ETAN/US.

U.S. SENATE HEARING ON TIMOR (AFP)

AFP, Washington, Feb 27 - The United States said Thursday that it was "encouraged" by the Indonesian Government's announcement of military sanctions against officers found guilty of mistakes in the November massacre of civilians in East Timor.

The measures were also welcomed by human rights groups here who have been active since November in calling for international pressure to ensure that Jakarta carried out a full investigation of the incident and punished those responsible.

Executive Director of New York-based Asia Watch, Sidney Jones said that it was "the first time in Indonesia that there has been any prosecutions for human rights abuses."

But she said that several "fundamental questions" remained unanswered such as "exactly what happened to the dead and missing" and what the charges would be against those officers found guilty.

Both Jones and Geoffrey Robinson of London-based Amnesty International gave testimony later Thursday before the U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

They called for sustained U.S. pressure on Indonesia and support for international talks aimed at bringing independence to the former Portuguese colony which Indonesia annexed in 1976.

U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT AND SENATE HEARING (IPS)

Washington, Feb 27 (ips) - The U.S. State Department said here Thursday it was "encouraged" by recent dismissals of several senior Indonesian military officers following the report by a commission which investigated the November massacre of about 100 people in East Timor.

But the department's praise was immediately undercut by the chairman of the Senate foreign relations committee which heard Thursday from representatives of human rights groups and a U.S. reporter who was beaten by Indonesian troops during the massacre.

"Let us be clear, Indonesia's occupation of East Timor is illegal," said Senator Claiborne Pell who opened the hearing. "Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975 is just as illegal as Iraq's invasion of Kuwait."

He added that Washington should not recognize Indonesia's claim to East Timor "unless the East Timorese declare in a United Nations-supervised referendum their wish to be Indonesian."

The hearing was the first on Indonesia since last November's massacre. It was originally scheduled for last Friday when the Indonesian foreign minister was in Washington but had to be put off until Thursday.

State Department spokesperson Richard Boucher told reporters Thursday that the Indonesian chief of staff had announced that six senior officers will be disciplined for their responsibility in the massacre, of whom three will be dismissed.

He said eight other officers and enlisted men will be court-martialed, and five more officers remain under investigation in the case.

"We've been encouraged by the Indonesian government's serious efforts to make amends for what it acknowledges was an excessive use of force by local military units," he said.

But Pell mocked the army's disciplinary actions. He said the dismissal of officers was unlikely to gain more support for Indonesia in East Timor when the Indonesians planned to put on trial for subversion 13 Timorese in connection with the massacre. Four of the Timorese face the death penalty if convicted.

Pell, who is sponsoring a congressional resolution calling on U.S. President George Bush to exert more pressure on Indonesia to cease alleged abuses of human rights on East Timor, also denounced the this week's ban by the Indonesian authorities against foreign journalists in East Timor.

ASSORTED ARTICLES IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

ABILIO ARAUJO PRESS CONFERENCE IN LISBON

Publico, 15 January 1992. Original Language: Portuguese Dateline: (Lisbon) Byline: Adelino Gomes. Text: Full

Brief Remarks: The article summarizes highlights from a press conference given in Lisbon by Fretilin leader Abilio Araujo.

Comment: other exiled Timorese resistance leaders do not agree with Araujo, and feel that the leadership must come from inside the country.

FRETILIN APPEALS IN LISBON FOR A WIDENING OF THE NATIONALIST CONVERGENCE

The head of Fretilin's external delegation, Abilio Araujo, invited persons connected with the old Apodeti party – the party supporting integration with Indonesia – to join the Nationalist Convergence, which should become "the sole organized and representative voice of the Timorese people." "They have been receptive to our contacts," he said, although excusing himself from giving names. Abilio Araujo – who acknowledged the existence of divisions within Fretilin, similar to what has happened within UDT – was delighted by the Pope's references to Timor last weekend, and hailed

the President of the Republic and the Governor "for the interest which they have shown." Considering that Portugal purports to be "the natural advocate of the Timorese cause," the Fretilin leader appealed to the authorities in Lisbon to facilitate "the participation of Timorese in the political dialogue" with an eye towards self-determination.

CRITICISM OF PARTS OF THE RESISTANCE

In his New Years message "addressed to the people of East Timor" – a long document of 15 pages – the highest external leader of Fretilin condensed a collection of ideas concerning the cancellation of the parliamentary visit, the role of the Church and of Bishop Ximenes Belo, and what he called a "crisis in the Timorese party system."

Referring to the cancellation of the representatives' visit, to the incidents at Motael, to the Santa Cruz massacre, and to the subsequent imprisonments (in Timor as well as in various Indonesian cities), Abilio Araujo maintained that "the sectorial balance was deficient" and spared no criticisms of the "strategy of social agitation or of the pre-insurrectional climate advocated by parts of the resistance in Timor," which he noted as being "responsible for the exaggerated depictions of the clandestine front, in East Timor and in Indonesia, victims today of even fiercer repression."

In contrast to other leaders who have not concealed their criticisms of Monsignor Belo, the representative of Fretilin in Portugal understood the reasons that led the "esteemed pastor" to appeal to the representatives not to come to Timor. The Church in Timor acts "as a factor of social cohesion," said Araujo.

Araujo referred in detail to the "crisis of identity and of basic indefiniteness" of UDT, divided into two factions – one in Australia [headed by Joao Carrascalao and Domingos Oliveira] and the other in Portugal [led by Paulo Pires] – which have engaged "in a war of expulsions and counter-expulsions, both seeking the recognition of Fretilin."

Araujo confirmed the existence also of a legitimacy dispute within Fretilin, between the old administration, laid out in 1984, over which he presides, and a Directory Committee, recently formed in the interior, which gained public attention last week with the arrival at Belem and S. Bento of signed messages, in their names, from two legendary guerrilla commanders – Hodu and Huno, high officials in Fretilin. "There are no differences between us in strategic terms," declared Abilio Araujo, underscoring the unity of all tendencies in such matters as the referendum on self-determination, independence, democracy, pluralism and a multiparty parliamentary system.

HELICOPTERS AND ARMOURD CARS HUNT FOR XANANA

"Pacification of the territory, demilitarization, and the reconciliation of the Timorese are the cornerstones of a solution to the problem," said Abilio Araujo, referring back to a plan which he himself presented last October which approves Portugal's return to the territory to conclude the process of decolonization that was interrupted by the invasion, and the inclusion of Timorese in the Portuguese and Indonesian delegations which would negotiate an appropriate solution to the situation under the auspices of the U.N.

This plan gives special salience to the figure of a High Commissioner – an entity which the President of the Republic does not see in the same light – but to which Araujo continues to be attached, having yesterday put forth for the first time in public, as "having a profile adequate to the post," the name of the director of Gulbenkian and the former Minister of Foreign Trade for the A.D., Vitor Sa Machado.

Abilio Araujo reported that operations with armoured cars and helicopter-transported forces have occurred in the central mountainous region since the date of the massacre – in the area where the Indonesian military thinks it will find Xanana Gusmao and the commander Ma' Huno – and in the Eastern Tip, where the population serves as a shield in encirclement operations.

Information received by Araujo and due to which the Indonesian Minister of Transportation found himself in Macau participating in a colloquium was, however, denied by an official source in LUSA who acknowledged only the presence in the territory "at the invitation of a private enterprise" of three Indonesian citizens who were participating in a seminar on water treatment.

SUDOMO: GOVERNMENT WILL ISSUE REGULATION ABOUT NGO'S

Pelita, 30 January 1992. News item summarised.

Admiral (ret'd) Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Political and Security Affairs, has announced that an implementary regulation will soon be enacted placing NGOs within the terms of Law No 8 on Social Organisations of 1985.

He said the purpose was not to turn them into 'yes men' but to have them regulated under the 1985 law. "Everyone under the sun must want to be regulated by that law. If an NGO doesn't want this, then it will have to dissolve."

He said that up to the present, many NGOs were breaching the conditions laid down in the 1985 law, for instance in receiving funds from abroad without first con-

sulting the government. The law stipulates that social organisations can be disbanded if they violate the regulations. This includes receiving money from abroad and helping foreign bodies without the knowledge of the government. They can also be disbanded for doing things that disrupt the public interest.

WOLF AND HALL SAY INDONESIAN AID COULD BE CUT OFF UNLESS HUMAN RIGHTS ABUSES CEASE

Press release from U.S. Representative Frank R. Wolf. 4 Feb. 1992. Unabridged.

Concerned with continuing reports of serious human rights violations against the people of East Timor, Indonesia, US Representatives Frank R. Wolf (Republican - VA) and Tony P. Hall (Democrat - OH) have written to the Indonesian ambassador, His Excellency Abdul Rachman Ramly, urging that human rights abuses cease immediately to forestall a cut off on US aid and trade benefits to that nation.

Wolf and Hall have been following developments in East Timor closely since the incident last fall in which Indonesian security forces gunned down citizens who were marching peacefully in a funeral procession. Since then several human rights organisations have reported further abuses and gross violations against the East Timorese, including arbitrary arrests, severe beatings, torture, rape and murder.

Wolf and Hall are also concerned with reports that at least 14 East Timorese face subversion charges, which could carry the death penalty.

"By all accounts, those charged with subversion and those mercilessly shot down last November were unarmed and did not engage in any violence," said Hall. "It is abhorring that these people now face such serious charges – and possibly death – simply by expressing their political beliefs."

"If the East Timorese prisoners of conscience are not soon free and the human rights abuses do not stop," said Wolf, "Congress may very well decide to cut off all forms of US assistance to Indonesia, and such action would be very unfortunate for the peoples of that nation."

AUSTRALIAN ATTACHÉ: TERRITORIAL OPERATIONS GOOD FOR THE EAST TIMORESE (SUARA PEMBARUAN)

Suara Pembaruan. 5 Feb. 1992. Dateline: Dili. Abridged. Original language: Indonesian

Australia's military attaché to Indonesia, Brigadier-General David Gross, regards the Indonesian armed forces' Territorial Operations (Opster) in East Timor as being

of great value for the East Timor people, especially those in more remote regions. He saw the operation in one area in particular, Iralafae, Lautem district. "It looked good," he said, "as it deals with basic requirements like clean water."

The following interview took place with our correspondent:

SP: Your discussion with the governor went on for 5 hours. What did you discuss?

DG: It was just a chat, a courtesy visit. I gave him my impressions of Opster.

SP: Did you meet the military commander?

DG: Yes, that was also a courtesy visit.

SP: What about Bishop Belo?

DG: I don't know whether he will have time to receive me. I am due to have a meeting tomorrow.

SP: Did you come to East Timor just to take a look at Opster?

DG: I have been military attaché in Indonesia for a year and a half and haven't visited East Timor till now. I wanted to take a look at development going on here and Opster was one of the things I wanted to see.

SP: What is your impression of Opster?

DG: I think it is very good indeed. It is a very correct type of activity for the East Timorese, especially those living in the countryside. In my opinion, this operation should continue. The armed forces and the people cooperate and the people are the ones to benefit. It deals with basic needs like water and foodstuffs. It's very useful indeed for the more needy people. I hope this will continue.

INDONESIAN GENOCIDE IN THE CONTEXT OF THE QUINCENTENNIAL OF COLUMBUS' VOYAGE

By Lisabeth Ryder, UCLA, 6 Feb 1992.

When Columbus set sail he was heading for the "Spice Islands" in the "East Indies" – which is present day Indonesia. The Spice Islands are the Moluccas, on the eastern end of the archipelago. In fact the Moluccas are approximately 50 km of the tip off the New Guinea Island.

Just after Columbus' voyage, the Spanish, Portuguese, English and Dutch all converged on the Moluccas, the only source of cloves, nutmeg and mace, and waged war to control the monopoly. During this period, populations of whole islands were decimated as the Dutch patrolled the area cutting down spice trees to keep the price up. The entire population of Banda was devastated and the island was repopulated by the Dutch from a neighboring island.

The Dutch, during their rule 1500-1949, exploited the indigenous aristocracy and

Chinese merchant class to control the indigenous peasants indirectly. Europe industrialized on the plunder from Asia (especially England, whose early leadership in industrialization was paid for by gold plundered from India).

The history of the islands is a continual process of genocide, it seems, right down to the present century. Sukarno was the leader of the revolution which ousted the Dutch after the end of World War II. The coup of 1965 is supposed to have been US backed, and placed a regime in power headed by the military leader Suharto (still in power today). The forces, goals and relationships set up under colonialism motivate the genocides occurring today.

The resources have changed over time but the methods have not. In the 60's the Indonesia regime invaded Western New Guinea and perverted the right of self-determination in oil and timber rich West Papua (they named West Irian, or Irian Jaya). The text books for Indonesian children talk about Irian as a vast empty wilderness (sound familiar?). And the indigenous Melanesian people in Irian are having their rich agricultural land usurped and given to Javanese transmigrants.

More information can be found in the following books:

The war against East Timor by Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong. Published: London : Zed Books ; Totowa, N.J.

West Papua, the obliteration of a people. By Carmel Budiardjo and Liem Soei Liong. Published: London (8a Treport Street, London, SW18 2BP) : TAPOL, c1983.

Colonial policy and practice; a comparative study of Burma and Netherlands India. By Furnivall, John Sydenham. Published: New York University Press [1956]

On December 7th of 1975, Indonesia invaded the previous Portuguese colony of East Timor, cutting short their decolonial process and usurping their right to self-determination. In the ensuing war, Indonesian forces employed a "Slash and Burn" strategy, devastating crops and endangering the food supply. One third of the indigenous population, who are Melanesian – not "Asian" – , approximately 200,000 people, were killed in the years following 1975 from military exercises as well as famine.

Recent massacres in East Timor have prompted concerned people to form a East Timor Action Network since US military hardware and aid is being used by the US sponsored Suharto regime to kill these people. Below is included a bulletin and contact numbers for those who wish to oppose an ongoing genocide and show solidarity with the continuing victims of 500 years of colonialism since 1492.

AUSSIE TV ON TIMOR

Extracts from Australian television news broadcasts, forwarded by peg:sahabat:

8 FEB 1992. ABC-TV NEWS SYDNEY. CRAIG MCMURTRIE

Accompanied by pictures of the rainy Port Botany (Sydney) docks, and later some file vision of Ali Alatas and of the massacre.

- Studio Newsreader intro: Indonesia is bracing itself for the visit tomorrow of a special U.N. envoy over the Timor massacre. The visit comes as Jakarta continues to shrug off criticism of its enquiry.

And it comes as Sydney waterside workers have again put Australia's relations with Indonesia to the test. At Port Botany today they disrupted the unloading of a container ship carrying Indonesian cargo.

- Craig McMurtrie [reporter]: The Singapore-registered (unintelligible - "Anro Timosek"?) arrived at Port Botany to be greeted by dismal weather and a deserted dock. 100 waterside workers refused to unload the container ship because it's carrying Indonesian cargo. They're protesting at what they call the cover-up of the Dili massacre.

- Jim Donovan - New South Wales Waterfront Workers' Union: One would hope that the truth should come out of what took place in Dili, and if it doesn't then we'll continue to take the actions to make sure that it does come out.

- C.M.: The union is also concerned about Australia's response to the massacre, but by mid-afternoon its members relented.

It's not the first time waterfront workers have taken action over the Dili massacre - late last year the Seamen, Firemen and Deckhands Union [unclear - one union or a group?] refused to bring an Indonesian ship alongside, here at Port Botany.

But as international criticism grows, Indonesia is hitting back. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas has condemned an Amnesty International report attacking Jakarta's investigation of the massacre.

- Ali Alatas: I was deeply disappointed with the report because of its sweeping, sweeping, rejection of everything that we have been trying to do to find the facts of the matter and in order to overcome a very difficult and tragic event.

- C.M.: The focus of the Dili row is now shifting back to Jakarta with tomorrow's visit of U.N. special envoy Amos Wako.

9 FEB 1992. SBS-TV NEWS CANBERRA. ALAN SUNDERLAND

Accompanied by pictures of the embassy, the priests preaching, the people present (mostly Timorese-looking) praying and cementing the lightstand with the candle in it into the ground between the footpath and the roadway, directly in front of the

grand-looking Indonesian Embassy building. It all looked very peaceful (if cold and wet).

- Studio Newsreader intro: East Timorese demonstrators have mounted a new protest outside the Indonesian embassy in Canberra, defying a Federal Govt. ban. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans ordered the removal of more than 100 white crosses from outside the embassy weeks ago after deciding they offended the dignity of the Indonesian presence in Australia.

- Alan Sunderland [reporter]: About 70 Timorese demonstrators, most of them from Sydney, gathered outside the embassy at lunchtime today. Braving the cold, rainy weather, they quickly erected a large metal candle holder, cementing it into the ground where the white crosses had been a few weeks earlier.

Describing the candle as a traditional Timorese symbol to remember the dead, members of the Timorese community then held a short memorial service to honour those killed in the November Dili massacre.

- Father John Armstrong - Catholic Church, Queanbeyan [near Canberra]: We come today to pay tribute to those who have died; to place ourselves in the presence of God, and in the presence of each other.

[praying]

- Bishop Pat Power - Aux. Catholic Bishop, Canberra: The people who lived in darkness have seen a great light. On those who live in the land of the shadow of death, a light has shone.

[hymn singing]

- A.S.: The demonstrators who say they have the full support of Australia's 5,000-strong Timorese community, maintain that the Federal Govt. was wrong to remove the original crosses from outside the embassy, and the candle should be allowed to stay.

- Ines Almeida - East Timorese community: We intend to keep it as long as East Timor is not free. As long as East Timor is not independent we'll continue to pressure.

- A.S.: Late this afternoon, Police said they'd received no instruction to remove the candle.

9 FEB 1992 ABC-TV NEWS CANBERRA, BRENDA CONROY

- Studio Newsreader intro: Australia's East Timorese community has rebuilt its protest outside the Indonesian Embassy in Canberra. 124 crosses commemorating the Dili massacre were taken away by police a fortnight ago, so protestors have now set their demonstration in concrete.

- Brenda Conroy [reporter]: Australia's East Timorese community is "digging in" outside the Indonesian embassy, building a new memorial to their countrymen shot by Indonesian soldiers in Dili last November.

Their first protest of 124 crosses was seized by police on orders from Foreign Affairs Minister, Senator Gareth Evans. He said it contravened the international con-

vention prohibiting offensive demonstrations outside embassies.

But the East Timorese challenged that in the courts and now Sen. Evans is rewriting his order. The protestors say that means their protest was legal, so today they came back - setting their new memorial in concrete.

- Ines Almeida - E Timorese protester: We feel very angry and outraged by the Aust. Govt. attitude towards what we call a peaceful demonstration.

- B C: Police say they have no plans to remove the candle yet - they're awaiting instructions from the Federal Govt.

ACEH: INDONESIA'S FORGOTTEN TERROR (INDEPENDENT)

Independent on Sunday. 9 February 1992. Byline: Margot Cohen, a freelance journalist based in Jakarta. Unabridged.

[The article is illustrated by a photo of Tiwaha, the mother of Mohamad Jafar (mentioned in the article), and baby boy.]

[Intro: In north Sumatra, large numbers of people are disappearing. Margot Cohen in Banda Aceh charts the horror overshadowed by the East Timor massacre.]

Silence cloaks the mass disappearances, unmarked graves and fatherless children in Indonesia's northern province of Aceh. It is a silence born of fear, resignation and secrecy.

As a three-year military campaign grinds to a close in time for elections in June, most Acehnese remain reluctant to speak openly of the excesses aimed at the 3.4 million local people. Unlike East Timor, Aceh has had no dramatic British television reports or wounded American journalists to bear witness. The corpses have appeared one by one, receiving clandestine burials from Muslim villagers. The military has never released figures on the numbers of Acehnese arrested or killed. The local press has been warned against probing too deeply.

International human rights groups, Indonesian soldiers, Acehnese intellectuals and villagers estimate that the death toll ranges from several hundred to more than 2,000 victims.

No-one knows whether most of them were hard-core rebels, sympathisers, or apolitical peasants caught between sides. The military maintains that only rebels resisting arrest have been killed, and denies accusations of murder or torture. It blames the separatists for attacks on civilians.

Prospects for an investigation into the killings appear dim, given the lack of domestic and international pressure on President Suharto's New Order government. Some Indonesian officials recognise that East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that Indonesian invaded and conquered in 1975, is an international concern, but insist that

Aceh is an "internal" matter. In rushing to congratulate the President on a December report chastising the East Timor-based troops, the diplomatic community has let other human rights issues drop.

For Abdurrahman Ed, a 57-year-old illiterate rice farmer in the remote Acehese village of Teungoh Reuba, life is far from normal. Fishing in a worn plastic bag, he pulled out a black- and-white snapshot of his only son, 28-year-old, Mohamad Jafar. Jafar was detained by the military in August 1990, suspected of helping the rebels. Two witnesses said they saw Jafar beaten with wood and electric cable, blindfolded and loaded into a car. Nothing has been heard of him since.

"Is Jafar alive, or not? If not, it should be report," said Mr Ed, squatting on the floor of a thatched house with no running water or electricity. Down a muddy path, Jafar's own wooden house stands empty, his rice thresher gathering rust and cobwebs. Jafar's 20-year-old wife, Siti Gade, must now work all day in the fields, leaving her three small children in the care of a relative.

While most families in Aceh cling to anonymity for fear of military reprisals, Mr Ed dared to confront the authorities directly. With the help of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, which had supported him in a previous land dispute, he appealed to the armed forces commander, General Try Sutrisno, and the governor of Aceh, Ibrahim Hassan, in a letter dated 15 November. So far, he has had no reply.

Inquiries through unofficial channels have also been frustrated. One East Acehese woman – who prefers to remain unnamed – spent four months looking for her husband, who was seized by the military last April near the town of Peureulak. Whenever she got word of a corpse abandoned along a road or stream, she rushed to the scene. Eventually she gave up, concentrating on the four small children she must bring up alone.

Usually, people in Aceh do their utmost to help bereaved relatives. But in some areas where military surveillance has been particularly intense, anyone who helps a relative of a suspected rebel falls under suspicion. "You see the kids, malnourished, thin," said a local aid worker. "But you cannot do anything, you just look. It's hopeless."

Military and civilian officials accuse the rebel movement, which calls itself Aceh Merdeka or "Free Aceh," of cruelty. The movement whose network reaches from Sweden to Malaysia to Libya, boasts a core of Acehese guerrillas well-versed in terrorist tactics. In 1989 and 1990 they harassed and killed some Javanese migrants who resettled in Aceh as part of a government plan to reduce population pressure on Java. They burned government schools, calling them tools of Javanese colonialism, and complained that the girls' short-skirted uniforms insulted Islam.

One soldier based in Banda Aceh recounted that a fellow soldier had been buried alive, and a pregnant woman smashed to death along with her foetus.

Most villagers have had little sympathy for these violent methods, especially when the military counter-attacked with curfews and constant surveillance. Yet, the goals of the movement – articulated in two previous rebellions in the 1950s and the 1970s – still hold a certain appeal, especially for underemployed Acehese youth.

Free Aceh supporters point out that their land is bursting with natural resources, yet many villagers are impoverished and educational opportunities are limited. (Aceh provides 15 per cent of Indonesia's exports, including roughly US\$3bn (1.4 bn) worth of oil and gas.) They accuse the big industries in the city of Lhokseumawe of favouring Javanese and foreign workers over Acehese. With a separate state they could reclaim the province's abundant resources, they argue, and everyone would be rich. In addition they could impose the full force of Islamic law, which might befit a land historically known as "the terrace of Mecca."

Government, military and Muslim leaders in Aceh have collaborated closely in an effort to dispel such visions. A breakaway Aceh could seriously threaten Indonesia's delicate union of diverse islands and ethnic groups. To satisfy local demands, the central government has allocated 709bn rupiahs (200mn) this year, to develop Aceh, more than any other province will receive.

But as Indonesia has learned in East Timor, development funds can often fail to blot out memories of human rights abuses. And for some Acehese, East Timor's current high profile has only sharpened their sense of injustice.

They see East Timor's governor speaking out against the killings, while their own governor remains silent. They see East Timor's military commanders disgraced, while the military officer responsible for Aceh, Major General H.R. Pramono, is in line of a promotion.

Yet it remains unclear who would come forward if any inquiry were to be launched. "I wouldn't want to be involved," said one Banda Aceh businessman, whose younger brother disappeared last year. "Here, there are no guarantees."

COMMISSION OF INQUIRY NEEDED FOR ACEH (ASIA WATCH)

By Asia Watch [Introduction only]

As the international community condemned the massacre in East Timor on November 12, 1991 and pressed the Indonesian government to account fully for the killings, other human rights abuses attributed to the Indonesian military went largely ignored. In Aceh, for example, where as many as 1,000 may have died since mid-1989 in a combination of separatist guerrilla

attacks and army reprisals, disappearances remain unresolved, suspected guerrillas continue to be shot on the spot rather than taken into custody, large numbers of people are believed to remain in unacknowledged detention and trials which violate international norms of fairness continue to take place. Asia Watch also remains concerned for the well-being of the few dozen refugees who returned "voluntarily" to Aceh after fleeing to Malaysia in 1991. No international organization had access to these people before they left Malaysia to ensure that they indeed were returning of their own accord or after their arrival back in Aceh, to ensure that they faced no reprisals.

In sharp contrast to the sacking of several army officers for failing to prevent the killings of unarmed demonstrators in East Timor, eleven Indonesian officers in Aceh, including nine members of the army special forces, Kopassus, were given special promotions in January 1992 for their role in suppressing the conflict with a ruthlessness that involved large number of extrajudicial executions, arbitrary detention and torture of civilians. With no significant exile population or interested external parties to focus attention on Aceh, no direct involvement of the United Nations, and no spectacular incidents in recent months to attract the local and international media, there has been no international pressure on the Indonesian government to account for deaths and disappearances over the last two years or investigate the behavior of the armed forces in Aceh. The much-needed attention to the East Timor massacre and its aftermath should not obscure other violations by the Indonesian army. In particular, a full and impartial investigation into abuses in Aceh should be set in motion.

JERRY BROWN & PERTAMINA (LBO)

Left Business Observer, 10 Feb 1992.

INDONESIAN CONNECTION.

Next stop after Lorenz' book was a call to someone who's been following Brown for 20 years, Sacramento Bee political columnist, Dan Walters. Walters offered the following as the perfect Jerry Brown anecdote. At first, Brown opposed Proposition 13, the 1978 property tax- limitation initiative that has contributed a lot to California's current fiscal crisis. But when it passed, Jerry declared himself a "born-again tax cutter." Localities, stripped of \$7 billion in revenue almost overnight, hacked away at services. When the legislature passed an emergency \$30 million appropriation to keep some local libraries open, the born-again Brown vetoed it. Days later, however, Jerry quietly allowed a \$30 million tax break for the horse racing industry to become law. Millions for bookies, nothing for books, as

Walters put it. But it wasn't just horse racing; Jerry's administration was a font of goodies for Hollywood, booze merchants, and Indonesian oil interests, too.

The last connection is interesting, given Brown's current speechifying about human rights. His father, Edmund G. "Pat" Brown Sr., has lawyered and lobbied for the Indonesian state oil company, Pertamina, since the 1960s, when he first buddied up to the country's savage military regime (recently famous for yet another massacre in East Timor). Indonesian oil made the Brown family rich. Though Jerry refused any direct partnership interest, Pertamina contributed \$70,000 to his first gubernatorial campaign, and insofar as he lives off subsidies from his father, continues to keep him in crusades. Jerry's administration also issued a couple of regulations that had the effect of assuring that Indonesian oil continue to be burned in California power plants. [For full details, see Walters' column in the October 15, 1990 Bee.] But when asked what he thought about the Indonesian regime by WBAI's Amy Goodman, who was recently injured by the Indonesians in East Timor, Brown professed to know nothing of the situation.

OPPOSITION DOUBTS UK GOVERNMENT COMMITMENT TO AID CONDITIONS (FINANCIAL TIMES)

12 Feb 1992 Letter to the Editor

Sir, Lynda Chalker, you report, says that, "where human rights are systematically abused, or where aid is feeding corruption rather than mouths, we shall have no alternative but to cut it" (Chalker coy of making aid commitment, February 7). Coming two days after the Indonesian foreign minister's visit to Britain, The statement could not have thrown into starker relief the yawning gap between the Conservative government's many words on "good government," and its lack of action.

Last November's Dili massacre by the Indonesian army in East Timor, horrific enough in itself, hardly came out of the blue. It was, in Amnesty International's recent words, part of the "long-standing and continuing pattern of human rights violations in East Timor and Indonesia." It was a pattern that I witnessed first hand when I visited three years ago, and one that continues. The Indonesian reaction to the Dili massacre has itself consisted of yet further violations, including imprisonments, torture and extrajudicial executions. If this does not measure up to Lynda Chalker's yardstick of "systematic abuse" of human rights, I fail to see what does. And yet she and the prime minister still refuse to withhold British aid to Indonesia which last year grew to 22.7m.

While the intense pressure of world opinion has forced the British government to

make disapproving noises about the massacre, they have bent over backwards to accommodate the Indonesians. Lynda Chalker, for example, gave dangerous credence to the Indonesian government appointed national commission of inquiry by describing it repeatedly in parliament as "independent." Dominated by high-ranking military and government figures, the commission was discounted from the outset by genuinely independent observers like Amnesty, which this week stated that it was "fatally flawed and that its findings are unacceptable."

The truth, of course, is that, while the pious rhetoric of "good government" has grown of late, short-term commercial and political expediency continue to dictate government policy in practice - just as it did when it allowed the sale of arms to Saddam Hussein's Iraq or supported the factions fighting side-by-side with Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

Ann Clwyd, Shadow minister for overseas development and co-operation, House of Commons, London SW1A 0AA

"WINDS OF CHANGE" IN THE AIR, SAYS GUERRILLA EXILE (IPS)

Amsterdam, Feb 12 (IPS/Bob Mantiri) - The "winds of change" which have swept over the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, will one day reach the Indonesian archipelago, an East Timorese resistance leader in exile has predicted.

"Incidents like in Dili and other parts of Indonesia, where the army had to suppress pro-independence feelings, are just signs that Indonesia is undergoing the same process like in the former Soviet Union and Yugoslavia," said Paulino Gama, commander-in-chief of the guerrilla army of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) of East Timor.

The 38-year-old Gama added: "against that background it is a logical development that in the near future East Timor will be free and independent."

The interview with "Commander Paulino" as he is sometimes called took place somewhere in a European city. He asked IPS not to disclose his whereabouts since he tops the list of the most wanted men in Indonesia. "The Indonesian intelligence has offered a high reward for my capture," he claimed.

The resistance movement smuggled him out of the country last year, after he was released from a four-year prison term, served in a re-education camp. "I was brainwashed every day. After four years the intelligence people thought they had destroyed my patriotism, but they only enhanced it," Gama stressed.

The guerrilla-leader, who had lived in Baucau on the eastern side of the island,

disclosed that Indonesian soldiers had killed sixteen members of his family, including his wife and son.

Most of the East Timorese leaders fled the island after Indonesia invaded the Portuguese colony and annexed it as its 27th province, but Gama, who said he led the fight back between 1975 and 1985, did not.

"We chose the jungle. we fought and are still fighting with rusty rifles, which was left by the Portuguese colonial army, and with primitive weapons like spears and bows and arrows," Gama said.

But after ten years of isolation in the jungle and no hope of beating the Indonesian army, the guerrilla-leaders decided to change their strategy. "We came to the conclusion that our struggle for independence must be brought under the attention of the international community," he said.

In January 1985 he duly surrendered to the Indonesian troops near the village of Manotutu in what he described as a "strategic move."

Gama said that dressed in a guerrilla-uniform and accompanied by his body guard, he went to a roman catholic priest and a member of the regional parliament and asked them to accompany him to the headquarters of the Indonesian army where he surrendered.

"There I was surrounded by high-ranking officers of the local command. they asked me why I surrendered. I answered, 'I am sick of fighting and I don't want to risk the life of the villagers anymore. So if you want to kill me, go ahead.'"

Looking back now, Gama believes surrendering was the right thing since he is now able to "tell the world" about the situation on the island.

"Now I am lobbying in Brussels, Geneva, Paris, Lisbon and other European capitals for support for the national resistance movement," Gama said.

"On the military front we keep the Indonesian army busy with guerrilla warfare and in the diplomatic arena we are continuously exposing the human rights records of the (Gen Tni) Suharto government. by doing so we keep Jakarta under international pressure," Gama said.

According to Gama the NRM is the only freedom movement which is fully backed by the East Timorese people.

"Our people are not backing Fretilin anymore, because that front's ideology is based on Marxist-Leninism. That is against our culture. The ideology of our movement is founded on our national heritage, our cultural identity," Gama explained.

The importance of Fretilin as a resistance movement within East Timor has somewhat diminished in recent years. This is largely because the guerrilla war has moved from the jungle and the mountains to the villages.

To attract the younger, urban generation, unable to identify with the colonial past, some members of the Fretilin leadership felt

there was a need to change the Marxist ideology of the resistance group.

The restructuring of the resistance movement caused a split in the leadership and in 1989, the NRM was formed with Xanana Gusmao as its leader.

In reference to the Dili incident last Nov. 12, when Indonesian troops were reported to have shot dead 50 demonstrators, Gama said: "They will go down in our history as martyrs, who are paving the way to our freedom."

"The massacre in Dili,... he added was a means of "suppressing the urge for freedom among the East Timorese people."

TIGHT MONEY HITS INVESTMENT (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Menuk Suwondo, Feb 12 - Indonesia's clamp on the supply of money to fight inflation, coupled with poor infrastructure, has reduced investment in the country, Chairman of the Investment Coordinating Board Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo said.

He told parliament that approved domestic investment last year fell sharply to only 804 projects from 1,329 in 1990 while foreign investment dropped to 376 projects from 432.

"The fall was due to the government's tight money policy and a lack of infrastructure. The situation has made businessmen more selective in their investment," he said.

The tight money policy, in force for nearly two years, has sent interest rates soaring while more recent controls on foreign borrowing have made it much harder for local companies to get funding from overseas.

E.C. TWELVE STATEMENT

Full document, as filed by Agence Europe, Brussels, on 14 February 1992.

[Comment: The lowest common denominator, as typified probably by Netherlands and the UK, seems to have set the tone of this statement. They cant even get some of their facts straight. And no-one seems to have taken a blind bit of notice of Amnesty's assessment of the Indonesian inquiry report. Not a murmur of the steadily worsening human rights situation in East Timor. What a disappointment!]

"The Community and its Member States, recalling their Declarations issued on 13 November and 3 December 1991, on the violent incident which occurred in Dili on 12 November have continued to follow very closely the situation in East Timor.

"The Community and its Member States are encouraged by the prompt response which the summary report of the National Investigation Commission elicited from the highest Indonesian authorities, especially their criticism of the actions of the armed forces, the decision to dismiss [sic] the two

senior commanders responsible for East Timor and to proceed with further investigation into the actions of the armed forces on 12 November and into the fate of those unaccounted for. They welcome the condolences expressed by the President of the Republic of Indonesia to the people of East Timor and his commitment that such an incident must not happen again.

"Although they view favourably these developments, expressing the hope that they will be followed by concrete and effective steps to improve significantly the human rights situation in East Timor, the Community and its Member States remain concerned about other aspects of the question. Referring to the measures already taken by the Indonesian Government, they hope that further investigations will result in all those responsible being identified and, where appropriate, disciplined or brought to trial, and that these investigations will also produce clear information about the number killed and the fate of those still missing.

"They welcome the involvement of the United Nations in this process and the appointment of Mr Amos Wako, as the personal representative of the Secretary General of the United Nations, to undertake a visit to Indonesia and to East Timor in November and look forward to a report on his visit.

They note with satisfaction that the Indonesian authorities have indicated their willingness to cooperate fully with him.

"The Community and its Member States call on the Indonesian authorities to ensure that all the East Timorese arrested on the occasion of the Dili shooting are treated humanely, that those not involved in violent activities are released without delay, and that those brought to court are assured of proper legal representation and fair trials.

"The Community and its Member States support the endeavours by the Secretary General of the United Nations to achieve a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor, with full respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the East Timorese. They support the start of a dialogue without preconditions between Portugal and Indonesia under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary General, as contained in the constructive Portuguese proposal."

INTERNATIONAL EAST TIMOR SOLIDARITY MEETING

PRESS RELEASE, 17 FEBRUARY 1992. ISSUED IN GENEVA.

Representatives of East Timor solidarity groups from thirteen countries held the twelfth annual consultation in Geneva from 14 to 16 February. Participants came from Indonesia, Australia, Japan, the United

States, Canada, Belgium, France, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom.

The meeting was held to coincide with the annual session of the United Nations Human Rights Commission. Several participants in the meeting, including four eyewitnesses to the November 12 Santa Cruz massacre in East Timor, testified at the Commission. The meeting urged the Human Rights Commission to pass a resolution condemning Indonesia and support a full, independent inquiry into the event, before, during and after the bloodbath. Members of the meeting will be lobbying their governments in Geneva and at home.

Two East Timorese, Jose Ramos Horta, special representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), and Mari Alkatiri, deputy chief of the Fretilin External Delegation, addressed the meeting on the current situation and strategies of the East Timorese resistance.

For the first time, a member of the Indonesian opposition from within Indonesia participated in the meeting and outlined conditions in Indonesia and perspectives of the struggle for democracy there.

The meeting reaffirmed its support for peace talks without preconditions, as proposed by East Timorese resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. It welcomed the Portuguese government initiative in urging the restarting of UN-supervised negotiations including Timorese representatives. The composition of the Timorese delegation should be decided by the resistance leadership inside East Timor.

Promoting peace talks and the release of political prisoners were the top priorities of a plan for 1992 activities. The meeting was worried about the fate of more than 60 young Timorese arrested after peaceful demonstrations in Dili and Jakarta in November.

In response to a message from Xanana Gusmao, the meeting expressed support and greetings to him and to the Timorese resistance and, to strengthen communications, conveyed the results of our discussions.

REPORT OF EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK - U.S.

To the International Consultation of Solidarity Groups, Geneva, 14 Feb. 1992

Following the Nov. 12 Santa Cruz massacre, East Timor received more attention in the U.S. than it has for many years. Especially in the Northeast and New York (where witnesses Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn live), many people who had not heard of East Timor for a long time were reminded of the need to work on it. With the U.S. being Indonesia's largest weapons supplier, we realized that we had to mobilize popular sentiment to pressure the U.S. government

to cut aid to Jakarta and to support Timorese self-determination.

Initially with PeaceNet and other computer networks, and expanding through human activist networks, we developed a decentralized, grassroots, national coalition of people and autonomous groups. A conference at Cornell University in early December drew over 200 people, and other public meetings have been held at about a dozen universities and communities in New York, Connecticut, New Jersey, and New England. Many more (including Harvard and Brown Universities) are planned.

After repeatedly requesting a meeting with the Indonesian U.N. Ambassador, we picketed his Mission on December 10 (Human Rights Day). The Indonesian officials were very upset, we were encouraged by the effectiveness of a relatively small, simple event.

Two organizing meetings in 1992 have attracted people from five states and have helped ETAN/US to coordinate and grow, and we are discovering many people with long experience on Timor and Indonesia. As word of our existence gets around, people are coming forth who once worked on East Timor, and had become discouraged or moved on. They recognize that now is the time to demand that the U.S. and Indonesian governments end the occupation.

Years before ETAN/US was formed, a few people had been lobbying the U.S. Congress and mainstream media, and that work paid off with good editorials in the New York Times, Washington Post, and other papers. The U.S. Congress passed a non-binding resolution criticizing Indonesia in the closing days of the 1991 session, and 52 (out of 100) Senators signed a bipartisan letter to President Bush urging a change in U.S. policy towards Indonesia. There will be hearings on East Timor soon in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the next few weeks, and legislation may be introduced to curtail U.S. aid to Indonesia.

ETAN/US is working in several areas:

- * Continuing to build our network, drawing on previously-active and new people. We have done several mailings and written article for progressive publications. WBAI/Pacific radio did many hours of programming.
- * Organizing more community meetings, including one in New York in April.
- * Keeping in contact and strengthening working relationships with North Americans who are working on East Timor through lobbying and mainstream media. While ETAN/US is a broad, multi-sectoral, grassroots effort, we appreciate those who work in more rarefied areas.
- * Encouraging the formation of decentralized local groups to work on East Timor, and providing local organizers with impetus, resources, and ideas. Several such groups have already been formed, and the

potential exists for one in nearly every city that has a public community meeting.

- * Building a rapid response network. The first test of this will be Alatas' upcoming visit.
- * Researching and documenting the true extent of U.S. governmental and quasi-governmental support for the Suharto regime.
- * Researching and pressuring U.S. companies which do business with Indonesia, including Reebok, Nike, McCormick spice, and others.
- * Organizing protests at visible symbols of the Indonesian government. The most obvious ones are connected with investment and tourism. On February 24-25, there will be an action at a Indonesian trade/tourism show in Los Angeles.
- * Distributing information and media on East Timor. We have reprinted nine volumes (about 350 pages) of NGO and press reports since November 12. We are developing an introductory packet, and will be selling and renting videos, audio tapes, books, pamphlets, and other materials. A Resource and speakers list will be printed shortly. We are encouraging letters to the editor, op-ed pieces, and other use of existing media, locally as well as in the U.S. and Indonesian national press.
- * Outreach to natural constituencies. We have good contacts in academia, peace and justice movements, the Portuguese-American community, and environmental groups; and will reach out to labor, Christian, human rights, and others.
- * Pressuring government officials from the grassroots. One of our Portuguese student members met with President Soares and presented him with 300 pages of recent material on East Timor. Although ETAN/US's main focus is not lobbying, we will provide local support for Washington-based efforts.
- * Participating in and strengthening international links like the meeting this weekend. We are considering joining the International Federation on East Timor, and will try to support activities at the U.N. in New York later this year.

ETAN/US, formed with strong encouragement from our neighbors to the north, is a rapidly growing, enthusiastic movement.

While we may not be able to fully implement all the ideas listed above, we will try.

We are grateful for advice, criticism, and contacts from those who have been in this struggle far longer than we.

Charles Scheiner, East Timor Action Network / U.S., P.O. Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA. Tel +1/914-428-7299 fax +1/914-428-7383

ANGER OVER SALE OF NAVY VESSEL TO INDONESIA (UK INDEPENDENT)

17 Feb 1992. By Mark Watts. Full text.

Britain is to sell a Royal Navy ship to Indonesia despite concern about human rights abuses in the country and its forcible occupation of neighbouring East Timor.

A television documentary last month showed Indonesian troops killing scores of mourners at a funeral procession in East Timor last November. Estimates of the number of people killed vary from 50 to 180.

The British government was about to announce the sale of the support ship 'Green Rover' in January but decided not to do so after the 'First Tuesday' documentary was screened on ITV.

Lord Avebury, chairman of the parliamentary human rights group, said: "If the announcement had been made at the time of the 'First Tuesday' programme there would have been a public outcry, but even with the lapse of time of a few weeks there will still be absolute outrage."

He will raise the issue with Douglas Hurd, the Foreign Secretary. Another member of the parliamentary human rights group, the Labour MP, Alice Mahon, will also highlight the sale in the Commons this week.

Lord Avebury, Ms Mahon, Ann Clwyd, Labour's shadow overseas development minister, and the European Parliament have called for a ban on arms sale to Indonesia.

The government claims the amount of arms Britain sells to Indonesia is small and says all sales must have an export licence. Lord Cavendish of Furness, a government whip in the House of Lords, told Parliament in November: "Exports of defence equipment to Indonesia are currently extremely modest, amounting to 3.5m in the current year."

The 'Green Rover' contract alone is worth about 11m. The ship, a 7,200-tonne 460ft vessel, will go to Swan Hunter, Tyneside, in April for a four-month refurbishment.

The Minister of Defence confirmed the sale. A spokesman said: "The sale of defence equipment is considered on a case by case basis; we take all relevant factors into account. That includes the issue of Indonesian occupation of East Timor."

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

TORIES DEFEND INDONESIA ON KILLINGS (LETTER TO LONDON TIMES)

17 Feb 1992. Letter reproduced in full.

Sir,

Lord Avebury's comments (February 4) on the visit of the Indonesian foreign secre-

tary should not go unchallenged. He is a longtime opponent of the Indonesian government and has chosen to put the worse interpretation on the shootings in Dili on November 12, 1991.

The independent commission which investigated the shootings found that "a number of foreigners took an active part" in the demonstration. It had been reported that "some foreigners who claimed to be independent journalists" had been seen "waiting before daybreak with their video equipment at certain places as if they had known before that there would be a protest march that day."

The commission concluded that "about 50" people were killed, not "more than 100 young people" as Lord Avebury put it. After it reported, the two generals responsible for security in the region were dismissed from their posts. It severely criticized the actions of a number of security personnel which, it said, exceeded acceptable norms and their failure to implement proper riot-control procedures, causing deaths and other casualties.

As far as one can tell the commission seems to have done its honest best, and whilst we all condemn the incident and those responsible this is hardly a case of Indonesia continuing "to defy the rule of international law."

Yours faithfully,

Richard Alexander, leader, all-party parliamentary delegation to Indonesia, April 1989)

Patrick Nicholls, Joint Secretary, All-Party Indonesia Group,

House of Commons, 6 Feb 1992.

GAO REPORT ON TIMOR MASSACRE RELEASED

The General Accounting Office (GAO), the investigative arm of Congress, has released the following document:

Security Assistance: Shooting Incident in East Timor, Indonesia GAO/NSIAD-92-132FS - February 18, 1992

To obtain copies of GAO reports or testimony, the news media only may call 202-275-2812. Others should contact GAO's document distribution center at 202-275-6241.

GAO reports are currently free to the public. You may ask to be placed on any of several GAO distribution lists.

Comment: The report is terrible, from the Timorese point of view. Although the investigator went to East Timor, she refused to talk to any Timorese people. She refused to check reports of arrests and killings after November 12, saying they could not be confirmed. Most of the Indonesian Government's assertions are taken as truth.

The best hope is that this report receives as little attention as possible.

MORE KILLINGS IN EAST TIMOR (ASA)

Asian Student Association News, Feb 19. Courtesy New Liberation News Service

In order to woo back foreign aid investment, cut off by Canada and the European Economic Community following the November 12 massacre in East Timor, the Indonesian government recently released a preliminary report blaming the military of using "excessive force."

There are indications that western governments will take this as a good enough excuse for the resumption of aid and investment, and return to their shortsighted policy of business as usual."

It is important to emphasize that the November 12 massacre was not an isolated event. It was part of a pattern of massacres, disappearances, killings and other heinous human rights abuses committed against East Timorese by the Indonesians. Some 300 people were arrested after the November 12 massacre. A few days after the massacre, it was reported that 60 to 80 East Timorese, including many witnesses of the November 12 massacre, were shot by the military.

Students are the major targets. A majority of those killed in the November 12 massacre were students in their early twenties and even younger. Students who protested against the massacre in Jakarta were also arrested and charged for subversion. If convicted, they will be executed by the Indonesian government.

The recent report released by the Indonesian government was a complete whitewash. Therefore, ASA calls for further actions from our members and friends on East Timor to support the right of self-determination of the East Timorese people; stop all the killings and arrests, and for the immediate withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor.

EAST TIMOR UPDATE

The November 12 massacre of some 200 people in Dili by Indonesian soldiers highlighted once again the brutality of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor since its invasion in 1975.

Numerous protest actions against the massacre took place in Asia. In Australia, there was a memorial service for Kamal Bamadhaj, a Malaysian student studying in Sydney who was amongst those shot dead on November 12. Kamal was a student activist in the Network of Overseas Student Collectives in Australia (NOSCA), an ASA member. Kamal participated in a number of ASA activities in Australia last year.

Around the clock pickets were set up at the Indonesian Consulate and Australian trade unions have resolved to black ban the

consulate. This includes the cutting off of the supply of water and the suspension of mail delivery to the consulate. On December 7, the 16th anniversary of the invasion of East Timor by Indonesia, there was a rally and overnight vigil.

In Malaysia, Kamal's home country, there was also a memorial service. Tian, who helped organize ASA activities in Australia last year, was arrested by Malaysian police for displaying a postcard "Stop the Killings in East Timor."

In Japan, there were also a number of demonstrations. A speaking tour of 2 East Timorese activists is currently being organized which will bring them to 40 Japanese cities.

In Hong Kong, there were two demonstrations. The one on December 6 by a number of the East Timorese community who are living in nearby Macau who came to Hong Kong in support of the demonstration. There was also a demonstration in the Philippines.

ASA will continue to campaign against this illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and will be focusing in particular on Japan and Australia for their economic and military links with the Indonesian regime.

Several Australian companies will soon begin exploration in the Timor Gap after an agreement signed recently by the Indonesian and Australian governments. This was despite Australia's condemnation of the November 12 massacre. Japan is the biggest foreign aid donor and the biggest foreign investor in Indonesia. STOP PRESS: ASA received information that 8 students arrested in Jakarta for protesting against the East Timor massacre have been sentenced to death under Indonesia's Subversion Act. All those arrested are also reportedly to be badly tortured. 5 of the 26 presently detained in Jakarta are reported to be missing while in police custody.

ASA News is the publication of the Asian Students Association. They can be reached at 511 Nathan Rd 1/F, Kowloon, Hong Kong; (852) 388 - 0515.

INDONESIAN INVESTMENT DISINCENTIVES (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, Feb 19 - A shortage of management talent and a surfeit of government red tape are the biggest hurdles to doing business in Indonesia, a local American Chamber of Commerce (Amcham) survey said.

The survey of 131 members said these two problems were significantly worse than others such as poor infrastructure, tight credit and preference given to domestic businesses.

The survey differs from the government's view which is that tight domestic money

policy and poor infrastructure are the main deterrents to investors.

Foreign business people complain that despite government attempts to reduce the amount of paper work, getting approval to do anything involves tortuous bureaucracy and often bribery.

MORE DETAILS ON THE SITUATION IN EAST TIMOR AFTER 12 NOVEMBER MASSACRE (CNRM)

Press release by the National Council of Maubere Resistance, 19 February 1992, Geneva, Switzerland.

Extracts of a document compiled by one eyewitness smuggled out of East Timor. This seems to be the most comprehensive account of what happened in Dili in the days following the 12 November massacre of East Timorese civilians by the Indonesian forces.

- * 189 were killed at Santa Cruz cemetery.
- * 36 were buried collectively in Hera.
- * A large number were buried in Taci-tolu and Tibar.
- * More than twenty were cremated in a 'tank' in the military hospital in Lahane.
- * A large number of young people, boys and girls, were raped and killed.
- * On 14 November, at 23.30, four boys and three girls were murdered in Fatu-ahi. This was witnessed by many people in the area.
- * On 15 November, around 23.00, five young people were murdered in Kai-koli, Dili. The bodies had been cut in pieces and stacked into five bags and thrown into the water. Witnesses reported this to the local International Red Cross delegate.
- * On 27 November, at 19.30, nine youths were killed and their bodies carried to Hera.
- * On 28 November, it had rained heavily. A box containing 20 human hearts was found by local people in the river near the Salesian Mission Bispo Madeiros. It had been washed down the river from the hospital backyard following the torrential rain.
- * On 30 November, 11.35, Indonesia military cut off the ears of a 19-year old because he did not have an identity card.

The afore-mentioned document also refers to a number of detention centres in and around Dili where prisoners are being held and tortured:

1. Be Mos
2. Police Sector, West Dili
3. Headquarters of Poliwil, regional police HQ, Comoro
4. HQ of Polres, the district police
5. Kodim, the district military command
6. Nusra Bhakti, the military intelligence HQ

7. Senopati II, Colmera, red berets barracks
8. Senopati I, Farol, red berets barracks
9. A house near the new building of the college at Fatumetan.

OECF (JAPAN) FUNDS SCHOOL BUILDINGS IN TIMOR

Jakarta Post, 19 February 1992. News item abridged.

More than Rp 3.5 billion out of Rp 14.5 billion (some US\$7.7 million) allocated for school building projects in East Timor since 1990 has been obtained from the Japanese Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund (OECF), says an official.

Bambang Utojo, spokesman of the Ministry of Public Works, told Jakarta Post that the OECF had provided Rp 900 million for the construction of a junior high school (SMP) and four classes of a senior high school (SMA).

The money was allocated last December and the projects will start in the coming fiscal year beginning in April," said Bambang.

OECF provided nearly 2.66 billion in loans for an SMP and an SMA building last year, and this money had all been used for construction, he said.

LEHIGH UNIVERSITY (BETHELEHEM, PA) CONFERENCE MARCH 3

THE HIDDEN GENOCIDE OF EAST TIMOR: EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE MASSACRE

Place: Rauch Business Center (corner of E. Packer Av and Taylor St.) Room # 91 (Basement) Lehigh University Bethlehem, PA 18015

March 3, 1992 7:30 PM

Speakers : Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn - reporters who witnessed the massacre by Indonesian soldiers.

The Right Reverend Paul Moore, Bishop of New York (Ret.)(Protestant Episcopal Church) and his wife,

Brenda Moore, who both visited E.Timor about two years ago, will report about the role of the Christian church as the supporting institution of the hopes of E. Timor people (who are mainly catholic).

The video of the massacre will be shown at the beginning of the session, as well as the videotaped interventions of José Luis Guterres (representative of Fretilin, the pro-independence resistance group in East Timor) and Prof. Benedict Anderson (Aaron Binenkorb Professor of International Studies at Cornell University and an expert on Indonesia and East Timor) at the December 9/91 conference at Cornell University.

At the end of the session, a period will be reserved for questions.

Sponsors: Progressive Students Alliance; Graduate Students Council; Portuguese American Club, Bethlehem; LEPOCO (Lehigh Pocono Committee of Concern)

PROVIDENCE, RI PUBLIC MEETING MARCH 13

Brown University's Watson Institute for International Studies and People Interested in Development Alternatives present:

WITNESS TO SLAUGHTER: A REPORT ON THE SILENT GENOCIDE IN EAST TIMOR

With Allan Nairn, Amy Goodman, Benedict Anderson, Prof. of Int'l Studies, Cornell; Ronald Machtley, U.S. Representative, Rhode Island. Smuggled video tape of the massacre will be shown.

Friday, March 13, 1992, 7 pm sharp.

Salomon Center for Teaching Brown University, Main Green; a reception will follow in Petteruti Lounge, Faunce House.

Co-sponsored by: Office of the Dean of the College; Office of the Chaplains; Dept of Anthropology; Dept of Portuguese and Brazilian Studies; Wayland Collegium; East Timor Action Network

DA COSTA, SYAFEI REMARKS (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, Feb 21 - A captured East Timorese guerrilla leader has acknowledged organising the demonstration there last November which ended in scores of deaths when Indonesian soldiers opened fire, press reports said on Friday.

"I was sick at the time but I was the main adviser," the daily Kompas quoted Jose da Costa, captured in the East Timor capital of Dili last month, as telling local reporters on Thursday.

Da Costa was second in command of the Fretilin guerrilla movement.

Da Costa, presented to the press by the military with his wife and child, said his capture had aborted another planned demonstration for February 5.

In an interview last month, East Timor governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao told Reuters pro-Indonesia extremists with the probable backing of a fifth column within the Indonesian military had been behind the massacre.

A military investigation into the incident is expected to be completed within the next two weeks, but another probe by the government has laid much of the blame on the army.

The newly-appointed military commander of East Timor, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei, who heads more than 10,000 troops there, dismissed the Fretilin threat

and called its leader, Xanana Gusmao, a thief.

"A sergeant or corporal is enough (to deal with him). I never heard of him buying even a bicycle for himself, let alone a car like our officials," he said.

"He burns houses and steals goats. He is a thief, I should not chase him."

Syafei said he would not tolerate Fretilin and called for its remaining members, thought to number fewer than 100, to give up.

His plea was backed by da Costa, according to the official Antara news agency in a report of his news conference in Dili.

"After all, life in the jungle has become very, very difficult while Fretilin leaders staying abroad have always been able to enjoy a nice living," it quoted the captured guerrilla as saying.

DA COSTA COMMENTS (AFP)

AFP, Jakarta, Feb 21 - A guerrilla leader arrested in January in East Timor has called on his comrades to lay down their arms, saying the movement was losing support, the Jakarta Post reported Friday.

East Timor Liberation Front (Fretilin) deputy leader Jose da Costa also told Indonesian journalists Wednesday in his first public appearance since his arrest that he had masterminded the November 12 demonstration in Dili but did not elaborate.

Da Costa was quoted as saying of his detention, "I was neither bullied nor beaten during the interrogation. They (security officials) treated me humanely." Recently his organisation was convinced da Costa had been tortured to make him talk.

Fretilin "had planned to launch another (anti-Indonesia) demonstration on February 5, but failed to do so because I was arrested on January 23," the Jakarta Post quoted da Costa, who remains in detention, as saying in the presence of Dili chief of police Colonel Ishak Kodijat.

"Now is not the time to launch a war (against the Indonesian Army)," da Costa reportedly said. "People's support has subsided and we are short of ammunition. I am fed up with the war."

"We don't know when it will end. Let's have a brighter tomorrow for the sake of our families," said da Costa, whose wife and three-month-old baby were at his side.

Da Costa, 35, said 200 Fretilin guerrillas were still in hiding in East Timor's mountains and jungles and 40 were living in Dili. The Post said he had sent a messenger with a letter urging them to surrender.

Da Costa, whose remarks were translated from the local Tetum language into Indonesian, reportedly also spoke out against a planned trip by some 100 people aboard a ship which has sailed from Portugal for Australia, from where it is due to set out for the former Portuguese colony of East Timor on March 3.

BRIG. GEN THEO SYAFEI: I WILL HUNT THEM DOWN (TEMPO)

Tempo. 22 Feb 1992. Original language: Indonesian. The interview of Theo Syafei, commander of Kolakops, (Operational Command in East Timor), full text.

Comment: The Kolakops commander clearly disputes the KPN conclusion about the troops that opened fire on 12 November. He also confirms that an 'Elang' intelligence task-force was indeed created in late 1990. We reported on this as part of the army's preparations for the aborted Portuguese parliamentary visit.

Q: The news of the visit of Amos Wako (to East Timor) came at very short notice. Did the arrangements for security keep you very busy?

A: No. People here were busy talking about the visit of the Portuguese ship. They paid no attention to Wako, whose visit here was announced so suddenly.

Q: Why didn't you meet Wako?

A: That was not my key task. It was my task to see whether or not there would be a demonstration. If I had stayed with Wako, I would have wasted a lot of time for keeping an eye on the community.

Q: You are considered to be very stern, rather different from your predecessor, Warouw. Why is that?

A: At the present stage, I need to be very firm. The community here must be made to realise that I am responsible for the situation. I have to restore the situation. I have told people here. Fretilin is irresponsible. After their incitements, after all the casualties, where is their sense of moral responsibility? They didn't surrender or do anything else. They washed their hands of it and left.

Q: What else have you done?

A: I have placed four teams in every village, with a strength of 40 to 60 men, for village construction. This is because people in the slum villages (desa-desa yang kumuh) are being incited every night. They are being fed with promises and their hopes are running high; what makes things so fertile are the many people who are out of work. The slum houses will be replaced with decent housing. In those villages where there are no sports activities, I will provide money and equipment. I have asked for a shoe factory to be built, providing 2,000 jobs, as well as a garment factory to absorb 1,000 unemployed. In Dili, there are 8,000 people looking for work, so this would absorb almost half.

Q: What about their political aspirations?

A: If they have aspirations, they should channel them through the PPP, the PDI or GOLKAR. If they are against the present government and regard it as a GOLKAR government, they should vote for the

other parties. It is wrong to see this as a UDT government, and then vote for an Apodeti government.

Q: So, are some organisations going to be banned?

A: No, as long as they are not Fretilin or its underlings. If anyone mentions anti-integration, that's where I draw the line and I will hunt them down.

Q: It is being said that there have been many errors in detection because the intelligence has been given faulty information.

A: It's true that, prior to the 12 November incident, informers were often ridiculed. This means that they were admitting that they were agents or 'intel.' The less agents or 'intel' are known to the public, the more successful their work. There was a special 'intel' task force here called Satgas Elang, but I have disbanded it.

Q: Regarding the Dili incident. What about the troops who were said to be without any command. Do you know who they are?

A: In the armed forces, anything done by an officer is the responsibility of that officer. During (the incident) there were no unorganised troops.

Q: Have you been investigating the discrepancy in the casualty figures of the Dili Incident?

A: I have not extrinsically (sic) or specifically received any instructions about this from the commander-in-chief, but it may be intrinsic.

DUTCH COLUMNIST HITS OUT AT SUHARTO (NRC HANDELSBLAD)

22 Feb 1992. By the paper's leading political commentator, Van Lennep.

Comment: Suharto's crude reprimand of the Dutch government, delivered when he accepted the credentials of the new Dutch ambassador to Indonesia, van Roijen, has infuriated many establishment figures in the Netherlands. Van Lennep, who would normally never comment on the question of East Timor, was clearly cut to the quick.

For some time now I have found the sudden uproar about the 'bloodbath in Dili' when between eighty and a hundred people died in East Timor rather strange. It came after sixteen years during which the population of East Timor fell from 600,000 to 400,000 through murder, disappearances and extrajudicial executions, putting East Timor among the top five in the league of mass atrocities, far exceeding atrocities by Saddam Hussein and Yugoslavia.

Fortunately for them, neither Saddam Hussein nor Serbia get ten billion dollars from the industrial bloc.... But every person killed is an occasion for world opinion - in-

cluding the Netherlands which also supplies aid - to open their eyes about the atrocities of the Indonesian army.

But Suharto is the stumbling block. He wants the flow of money to continue but he has gone on the offensive, in particular against Holland, speculating that he can arouse the guilt feelings of a former colonial power. Unfortunately for him, Portugal which has stood up for human rights in East Timor since the invasion in 1975, has just taken over the presidency of the European Community.

The UN, which has not recognised the annexation, has been approached by the presidency.

On 14 February, Indonesia attacked the UN special rapporteur Prof. Kooijmans - who also happens to be Dutch - about his critical report issued on 24 January. The Indonesians claim the report was leaked before being officially made public and said it was 'outrageous' that Kooijmans did not devote enough attention to the punishment of Indonesian government officials who went too far during the interrogation of prisoners.

The UN has made no reference to the prosecution of such civil servants in Indonesia for the simple reason that nobody has ever been tried on these grounds. Further, the Indonesians complained that (Prof. Kooijmans') report exceeded his mandate in dealing also with the lack of freedom of expression and the freedom to assemble.

May I be allowed to exceed my brief and report about the thousands of cases of torture, executions and disappearances since 1975, basing myself on the Amnesty International report on East Timor issued before the bloodbath, in August 1991.

The report runs to 26 ghastly pages. Those who join a demonstration can be picked up. In a section entitled Torture and Maltreatment, Amnesty reports that iron rods, clubs, bare fists, pieces of wire and bamboo are used to beat detainees; wounds are inflicted with lighted cigarettes, assaults and sexual torture, razor blades, starvation, immersion for long periods in dirty water, electric shocks and death threats. These reports are similar to reports from Aceh and what was formerly New Guinea.

We give the floor to Donaciano da Costa Gomes, a student, who was arrested after the demonstration during the Pope's visit in October 1989. After 40 students managed to find sanctuary at the residence of the bishop of Dili, they were arrested, despite negotiations between the governor and the military commander. They were taken to SENOPATI II, one of the two buildings of the military intelligence in the Farol district in Dili.

"They gave me two kinds of electric shocks. It started at midnight. I think it was the 28th or the 29th of November. I had been under interrogation for 7 hours.... I had to sit on the metal chair and my arms and

legs were chained. They called it the 'the gramophone' because, they said, everybody would start dancing if the handle was turned. I was stripped to my underpants. They said 'it makes you to feel it more intensely.' Then came interrogations and shocks, but this time the shocks were so severe that I fainted after an hour. They took me back to my room.... After this they gave me weaker shocks in a wooden chair using clamps attached to my nipples."

Two weeks later, "We were beaten and immersed in big tanks filled with excrement. Sometimes they opened the doors and let soldiers in, just back from fighting in the mountains, to beat us up. They came very early in the morning, in combat gear, dirty and dusty, to do the bashing. They shouted: 'We were looking for communists but they seem to be in Dili and not in the mountains.'

"Sometimes they put a gun against our temples, ready to shoot. They told us that women were raped in front of other prisoners. One was a woman from Iliomar, a very beautiful woman, whose husband, a guerrilla commander, was killed when he was arrested. She was taken to a special room, raped and became pregnant. Her name was Justina Moniz."

Suharto, a befriended Head of State, who longs for Dutch development aid, felt the need to tell our new ambassador when accepting his credentials: "No country should impose its values on another country." He calls this "the same as the denial of human rights."

Regarding the bloodbath in Dili, one eyewitness said: "After a command, the military started to shoot at the demonstrators from a distance of 10 metres for about five minutes (these were people at a cemetery attending a funeral). The first row of demonstrators fell, after which the military started to look for those still alive. Those still moving were killed with knives."

An irritated Suharto regards reports in the Netherlands about all this as "interference."

LOS ANGELES INDONESIA BUSINESS PROMOTION AND DEMONSTRATION

Business Wire, Los Angeles, Feb 21 - A delegation of 50 Indonesian business executives and government officials will visit Los Angeles the week of Feb. 24 in an effort to promote business between the United States and Indonesia.

Union Bank is a major host to the delegation, which is headed by the Indonesian ambassador to the United States.

The delegation is seeking to offer its markets to U.S. businesses and develop markets in the United States for Indonesian products.

In recent years, Indonesia has undergone substantial industrial expansion and is

seeking to offer its products to world markets.

CONTACT: Union Bank, Los Angeles
Ken Green, 213/236-5017

EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK TO PROTEST AT INDONESIAN BUSINESS FORUM

21 February 1992

For more than sixteen years, East Timor a former Portuguese colony located 400 miles north of Darwin, Australia has been under military occupation by the Government of Indonesia. Since the December 1975 invasion, about 200,000 East Timorese (almost one third of the population) have died as a direct result of the ongoing occupation according to a variety of sources including Amnesty International.

On 12 November 1991, during a funeral procession for a pro-independence activist in Dili, the capital of East Timor, the Indonesian army fired upon thousands of mourners at Santa Cruz Cemetery killing anywhere between 100 and 200 defenseless East Timorese. Many Western journalists, including Amy Goodman of WBAI in New York and Alan Nairn of The New Yorker, were eyewitnesses to the massacre. Recent reports from East Timor by journalists and human rights organizations such as Asia Watch indicate that human rights abuses such as torture, unjustified detention, and extrajudicial executions are probably continuing to take place. All agree that a climate of intimidation and absolute terror exist throughout East Timor.

Despite Indonesian Government statements that they regret what took place in Dili on November 12th and that they have taken steps to correct the "excesses" committed by its troops such as the replacement of the top military officials in East Timor, the Santa Cruz Massacre must be seen as simply one incident in 16 years of Indonesian state terrorism in East Timor. Despite many United Nations resolutions calling upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor and for an internationally-supervised plebiscite of self-determination, the Indonesian Government refuses to budge.

The East Timor Action Network Los Angeles Branch (ETAN/L.A.) along with many human rights activists from the Los Angeles area will be gathering in front of the Westin Bonaventure Hotel in Downtown Los Angeles on Monday, 24 February 1992 from 12-pm to picket the Indonesian Government's Business and Tourism Forum. ETAN/L.A. will also be passing out leaflets to passers-by to begin educating the public about Indonesian atrocities in East Timor and U.S. Government complicity in these crimes. (Please see attached articles.) Finally, ETAN/L.A. will be collecting petition signatures calling upon President George Bush to end all military and

economic assistance to the Indonesian Government and to help bring about a process of decolonization leading to self-determination in East Timor.

REPORT ON DEMONSTRATION AT INDONESIA TRADE/TOURISM PROMOTION IN LOS ANGELES

By Matthew Jardine, East Timor Action Network, Los Angeles

February 25, 1992

We held a demonstration yesterday in front of the Westin Bonaventure, from about 12 noon to 2 pm with, at its height, 12-15 people participating. We handed out about 200 flyers and collected about 25 signatures on the ETAN petition to George Bush. With our megaphone and our visible presence, complete with some very well made and effective posters, we were certainly noticed. The Indonesian consul pulled into the hotel toward the beginning of the demonstration and practically ran into the hotel; he certainly saw and heard us.

What was pleasantly surprising was that a number of people (most of whom were pretty conservatively attired) stopped and talked to us and asked questions; many seemed quite sympathetic to our message. Most people had, not surprisingly, never heard of East Timor. Some were very supportive and encouraged us to continue our efforts. There were, of course, a few who didn't want to give us the time of day, but none gave us any real problems.

A number of individuals who appeared to be Indonesian business and/or government people were very eager to take our pictures. Some didn't hesitate to approach within 5 feet of our group and try to snap a photo. Many of us covered our faces with the posters lest we make the job of Indonesian intelligence any easier.

For the most part the hotel security and the LAPD were very polite and cooperative. Only with about 15 minutes left in the demo did the LAPD (for the 2nd time) arrive on the scene and tell us that we could no longer use the megaphone (LA has a very loosely worded ordinance on amplified sound that leaves the matter largely to the discretion to the police officer on the scene). Apparently the hotel people called the police as they couldn't take our yelling any longer.

Despite our having called many media outlets, no one from the press showed up. However, I had spoken to Amy Goodman on Sunday, and I called KPFK (the LA Pacifica affiliate) newsroom on Monday at 5:30am to see if they could do any last minute publicity for us. Since Monday is a day of relatively little news, they had some available air time for the morning news. I was interviewed on the phone for 4-5 minutes on East Timor and the day's demonstration; the interview was played in its entirety on the 8:30 am newscast and a slightly amended version was broadcast

during the 6 pm newscast. During the newscasts, I was misidentified as the spokesperson for the "New York-based East Timor Action Network" rather than for the L.A. branch. In any case, the publicity for the demo and on East Timor, in general, was certainly an unexpected surprise.

All in all, I would say that the day was a success. Despite the relatively small numbers at the demo, given the fact that it was a Monday afternoon and we didn't have enough time to do adequate outreach, our presence was definitely felt. Many people, for the first time, have heard about East Timor and the Indonesian Government knows that the numbers of people working to stop their gross human rights abuses in East Timor and throughout the archipelago is growing.

I'm looking forward to the next demo. I'm sure that we can get a significantly bigger crowd the next time. Some of us are already talking about some sort of action out in front of the Indonesian Consulate in LA or in front of Garuda Airlines.

INDONESIA NETS \$2.4BN FOR TOURISM IN 1991

DPA, Jakarta, Feb 24 - Indonesia earned 2.4 billion dollars from tourism in 1991, a 17.9 per cent gain on revenues the year before, Minister of Tourism, Post and Telecommunications Susilo Sudarman reported Monday.

Despite the Gulf war, Indonesia did not suffer a decrease in foreign tourist arrivals last year contrary to the experience of other countries in the region.

However, in view of the world ranking, Indonesia was still at the 38th compared with Malaysia as the seventh-largest in the world with 7.4 million tourists visiting that country last year.

France was on the top of the list with 50 million tourist arrivals.

He said Indonesia expected some 2.9 million foreign tourists this year, compared to 2.5 million visitors in 1991.

THE MOOD IN DILI (REUTER)

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, Jonathan Thatcher, Feb 24 - "Soldiers still get angry with me. I tell them it was made in Japan, not Portugal," the driver said of his aged taxi.

The road was visible through the floor as the taxi rattled through the East Timor capital of Dili.

Indonesian steering columns, like its politics, are on the right. The taxi, for some at least, has a sinister air.

"They say my car is communist," the driver said. Then, with a grin, he showed a picture of Pope John Paul dangling from his key chain. "They complain about my key ring too."

One Indonesian soldier - there are more than 10,000 in predominantly Roman Catholic East Timor - had reminded him that President Suharto was his leader not the Pope.

The driver's willingness to joke about life in Dili set him apart from many residents who prefer not to talk to outsiders.

"People are still in shock," said one resident describing the impact of November 12, when soldiers shot and killed scores of civilians.

"The bishop, the governor - they all ask me to stop talking to the press," said one priest who has been under intensive interrogation since the shooting.

Asked if this visit by a foreign journalist would cause any problems, he shrugged. "I hope not."

Only 19 bodies have ever been found, according to official records. Some people joke grimly that East Timorese have gone off fish because the other bodies were tossed into the sea.

Originally, Indonesia's military commander-in-chief Try Sutrisno told parliament that 19 died, a statement greeted with derision.

"People take their birthday or something so they can remember the figure. These people took 19 and 91 (for the year)," said governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, in an interview last month.

Even the huge number 50 displayed outside the bishop's house, to mark the half-century of the Catholic diocese in East Timor, has become a target of jibes.

"The bishop put it there to show everybody the official death count," sniggers one resident.

Everybody has a theory to explain what really happened on November 12, and more importantly why.

For some, usually in the government, it was part of the campaign by a small band of independence guerrillas to turn East Timorese further against Jakarta. Some diplomats speculate that Indonesia does not finish them off in part because the army wants to keep the place as a training ground.

Diplomats say the army was taken aback by the level of resentment against Jakarta that surfaced last year among Timorese too young to remember the invasion in 1975.

Up to a third of the population is estimated to have died from war, starvation and disease since that year.

Others offering explanations for the November massacre, including the governor, doubt the initial army version that the shooting was a spontaneous reaction by soldiers to defend themselves.

Carrascalao supports the theory that some sort of military fifth column, possibly guided by someone with powerful political connections, conspired to use extreme rightists to stir up the crowd of mourners on November 12.

He laments he has no proof but thinks others do.

Some say it was a plot to get all the anti-Indonesians in one group so the army could wipe them out in one go.

Leading members of government are dragged into the theories. One scenario has a senior minister masterminding the shooting while another says it was masterminded to undermine him.

Some Indonesians cannot understand why the East Timorese, historically a fractious group and racially different from the bulk of the population, do not shut up, get on with their lives and be grateful that Jakarta pumps in so much aid money.

"I can't understand it. Why do they want independence?" questioned a senior Indonesian editor.

"The people are crazy here. It's a really awful place," said a government worker from modern Jakarta who had spent nearly one year in East Timor, one of the world's poorest territories.

CHIEF MINISTER OF N.T. (AUSTRALIA) ATTACKED OVER DILI VIDEO (AGE)

By Chips MacKinolty. 24 Feb 1992

Comment: Abridged. The allegation that the 'anti-Indonesian' (sic) demonstrations in Australia received little support from the East Timorese community is untrue.

East Timorese representatives in Darwin have condemned the involvement of the Northern Territory Chief Minister, Mr Perron, in a 30-minute video about the Timor massacre released by the Indonesian government.

The video, released two weeks before the delivery of the Indonesian commission of inquiry report on the 12 November Dili massacre, gives the Indonesian version of the incident.

According to the video, entitled 'New Era of East Timor,' "a number of foreigners were involved inciting the demonstrators," including foreign journalists.

The video says that idle and impressionable young people were involved in Dili. The narration says that "on the way to the cemetery the demonstration became very out-of-control and one officer and one soldier was stabbed." There was no reference to civilian deaths.

Mr Perron features in the video as a leading supporter of closer relations with the Indonesian government.

Mr Alfredo Ferreira, a Fretilin representative in Australia, said yesterday that Mr Perron was a hypocrite.

"He is quite happy to be seen as a very good and reliable friend of the generals who ordered our people shot. He should stand trial alongside those generals. He has condoned the Indonesians' actions against our

people and he is encouraging them," Mr Ferreira said.

He said the video was a complete whitewash of East Timorese history and the November massacre.

The video was produced and narrated by a Darwin cinematographer, Mr Mike Atkinson, in conjunction with Indonesian National Television. It concentrates on anti-Indonesian demonstrations in Australia, suggesting that they were the work of "left-wing politicians and trade unions" with negligible support from Australia's East Timorese community.

BOYCOTT NORTHERN TERRITORY GOVERNMENT! BOYCOTT DARWIN! BOYCOTT KAKADU!

Feb 27, 1992

The Country-Liberal Party Northern Territory government, led by Marshall Perron, has endorsed the Indonesian elite's genocidal actions towards the people of our neighbouring Timorese people.

While the rest of the world was loudly condemning the Indonesian government for the Dili massacre, and the Indonesian elite was desperate for any endorsement, Marshall Perron was on a state visit to Indonesia, and met with President Suharto. Even the United States was making noises about not doing business with Indonesia.

In this climate, Perron arrived and announced a memorandum of understanding in the name of the people of the Northern Territory but really between the Northern Territory and Indonesian elites. The Perron-Suharto understanding did not focus on the protection of human rights and the protection of the environment.

Rather, it spoke of "the strategic and commercial importance of increasing economic co-operation between the two regions for mutually beneficial development and growth."

It constitutes an agreement between those who seek to exploit the resources of the earth to the benefit of a few and at the cost of us all. It sells the lives of little people, so that the members of Perron's and Suharto's families can grow very big indeed. This was not what the Indonesian people sought when they over-turned colonial rule, and there is growing opposition to elitist Jakarta 'independence.'

Perron also appeared recently in an Indonesian public relations video playing the endorsement role once again for the Indonesian elite. The film maker who put this nasty piece of work together was employed by a company which involves the wife of the Speaker of the Northern Territory's Legislative. Keep it all in the 'family,' eh?

The Country-Liberal Party consists of high fliers who have virtually bankrupt the Northern Territory economy with curious deals involving casinos and five star hotels.

The health and education services for the everyday people have had to be drastically reduced to finance these funny money schemes.

The record of these high fliers in systematically opposing the recognition of the rights of Australia's First People is infamous. Much Northern Territory produce is spiritually tainted with the stench of genocide.

The task which confronts us all is to bring the high fliers back to earth. Locked in their high rise suites, they are out of touch with the consequences of the decisions they make. It is up to us to send them the message.

The people in the Northern Territory have been unable to shake off the effects of Malcolm Fraser's experimental self-government in the N.T. for over a decade.

Our brothers and sisters in Timor - our nearest neighbour to the N.T. - call for help. It is time to direct our energies to bringing our house to order.

The best way to reach them is by refusing to trade with them until they bring their behaviour back into line with normal notions of human respect. We must target the faceless Darwin based businessmen who keep Perron in office. They trade on the attractions of the Territory to justify their behind the scenes dealings.

A boycott of Kakadu - the star attraction of the Perron government - would be a good start. a boycott of Darwin for all conferences and conventions would be a good second move.

Support the people, boycott the Northern Territory government.

IPB APPEAL FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE

An appeal to International Peace Bureau groups and other peace organizations

Geneva, 26 Feb 1992.

The world's most violent conflict, in per capita terms, is raging in the tiny territory of East Timor. Since Indonesia invaded in December, 1975, one third of the population have been killed. 250,000 dead out of a population of 680,000. And yet the world has just gone along with it.

On November 12 of last year, a memorial procession for a pro-independence youth killed by Indonesian soldiers assembled in the East Timor capital of Dili. As it reached the cemetery, Indonesian soldiers opened fire, killing up to 200 people. After a brief wave of condemnations, the world again fell silent.

Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other respected human rights groups and church organizations around the world have pointed out that this massacre was just one in a long, almost unending series, of atrocities committed by the Indonesian military dictatorship in East Timor, a territory the

United Nations does not recognize as under Indonesian control.

Pro-independence groups are not wild-eyed communist guerrillas. They are a group of Catholics and nationalists who are only trying to gain their country's right to live in peace and to self-determination as a distinct people. Both rights are guaranteed under the Charter of the United Nations.

Resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao has proposed peace talks without preconditions between Indonesia and the Timorese, under the auspices of the United Nations. The call has been backed by many human rights, labour and church organizations, and was endorsed at the IPB's annual general assembly in Toronto last September. We are now appealing to all peace groups to support the call, by writing to their governments and to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros- Ghali.

We are also appealing for groups to pressure their governments to ban all weapons sales to Indonesia as long as it is engaged in aggressive and brutal wars in East Timor and its other occupied territories like Western New Guinea and Aceh. The United States and Britain are the major weapons suppliers to Indonesia, but all Western countries are guilty to some degree. And all can send a message by announcing weapons sales bans.

East Timor symbolizes all that is wrong with the "New World Order" which supposedly protects the rights of small nations against the powerful. Please consider adding your voice to those calling for peace and justice for East Timor.

The International Federation for East Timor has applied to join the IPB this year, and its member organizations will be happy to provide any additional information you may need.

- East Timor Alert Network PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto, M5S 2T1, Canada.

TIMORESE FLUNKY FOR JAKARTA(RRI, BBC)

RRI, Feb 27, as monitored by BBC (Text) Salvador Jimenez Suarez, a member of parliament from East Timor, describes as correct the Indonesian government's decision to reject the planned entry of the Portuguese ship "Lusitania Expresso" into Indonesian waters, as well as its berthing in Dili, East Timor. Speaking to RRI in Jakarta last night [26th February] he said the ship's voyage is a provocative act by Portugal, which is trying to bring about chaos in East Timor.

[Suarez recording] We all know that Portugal itself abandoned East Timor in an irresponsible manner. Portugal left the province while it was in a chaotic situation. Therefore, the majority of East Timor people prefer to integrate into the Republic of Indonesia, and now Portugal wants to interfere in the province's affairs. Even if they are finally allowed to enter the province, the

Indonesian Armed Forces should be vigilant because East Timor will be dissatisfied and will threaten the safety of those who want to enter Dili.

BOB MUNTZ SPEAKS IN JAPAN (JAPAN TIMES)

Source: *Japan Times*, Feb. 28, 1992

Bob Muntz, an Australian eyewitness of the massacre, is in Japan, to speak in cities such as Tokyo, Sendai, Hiroshima, Osaka and Nagoya. On 27 he spoke at a joint meeting of Amnesty International Diet Group and Diet Members Forum on East Timor in the morning, and at a press conference in the afternoon. Muntz's visit is being reported by various media.

EYEWITNESS TO DILI ATTACK RAPS JAKARTA

An Australian activist on Thursday said the Indonesian government and military should be held responsible for the recent mass killing in Dili in East Timor.

The accusation came from Bob Muntz, a project officer for an Australian-based non-governmental organization who claims to have witnessed the Indonesian army shooting.

He was speaking at a news conference in Tokyo given by the local branch of Amnesty International.

Muntz alleged the Jakarta government's interim report on the case cannot be reliable because it is not objective. He said at least 100 East Timorese were killed while the government report estimates 50 deaths and 91 injured.

According to an Amnesty International report, the incident occurred Nov. 12 when about 2,000 demonstrators gathered at a cemetery in Dili, the capital of the Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976, to commemorate two young Timorese killed in an earlier clash with police.

Indonesian soldiers suddenly fired on them and killed several hundred people, the report says.

The Indonesian government's interim report says the incident started because the demonstrators acted provocatively toward the troops.

"It was impossible to provoke the soldiers because the people were about 80 meters from them," Muntz said. "They suddenly opened fire on unarmed people without any warning."

According to Muntz, the demonstrators, who marched peacefully from Dili to the cemetery, were about to go home when the army fired.

They had no place to hide during the one-hour shooting and over 100 people are thought to have been killed, he said.

Muntz said the interim report was inadequate because the government has not contacted any foreign witnesses to obtain

information about the incident, and international organizations should send fact-finding groups to investigate it.

"The United Nations is the best organization to inquire into the incident internationally," Muntz said. "It would be desirable that each government ask the U.N. to do so."

THE WAR NO LONGER FORGOTTEN

(DARWIN REFUGEES, REUTER)

Reuter, Darwin, Wilson da Silva, Feb 28 - "When I heard on the radio the Indonesians had invaded, I cried," said Alfredo Ferreira. His eyes misted as he looked out of the window of a small brick hall in the far north of Australia, where exiled Timorese meet to dance, sing and weep.

"All of a sudden, I was without a nation," he said.

"They had taken my country from me."

Ferreira, of Timorese and Portuguese parents, was one of East Timor's privileged, a clerk in the Portuguese colonial administration. Now the truck driver is one of 10,000 Timorese in Australia, exiles from one of the world's forgotten wars.

It took an army massacre of between 50 and 180 people in November in the East Timor capital of Dili, less than an hour's flight from Darwin, to return the 16-year-old impasse over Indonesia's rule to international prominence.

Australia is a vital base for the rebels. Letters, tapes and telephone calls are received from a clandestine network in East Timor, and money is funnelled back, ostensibly for humanitarian purposes.

Guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao regularly reports armed actions, or issues orders to supporters in Australia.

Thousands fled. Many like Fatima, who declined to give her full name to avoid endangering her family, are still not free of the memories.

Living in the mountains with rebels for four years, she said she witnessed several atrocities and torture.

Taken captive while pregnant, she said she bore a child in a military hospital but never saw it again.

"They wanted us to say Indonesia was good, that we wanted to join with them - that was impossible. We aren't assassins, we don't kill children," she said softly.

Kim, who also did not want his name revealed, bears bullet scars from rebel battles. He dreams of liberating his land. "What we need is money. We are weak now, but with money we can be stronger."

Some 200,000 people, a third of East Timor's population, have died from fighting, disease and famine since the Indonesian invasion, said Australian anthropologist Pat Thatcher of Melbourne's Monash University.

Thatcher interviewed 800 Timorese in Australia and East Timor, as part of a detailed seven-year study.

"Every single Timorese family I spoke to suffered at least one death because of the invasion," she said.

"They (Indonesians) underestimated the tenacity of the Timorese. These are tough and they're hardy people who live in a guerrilla heaven," she said.

Indonesian forces killed five Australian journalists in the invasion. No Indonesian soldiers have been brought to trial, and

Ferreira said he was apolitical until the invasion.

Now he is a major Fretilin organiser in this northern tropical city. However, Timorese are deeply split.

"I was the first casualty in the battle for independence, but I won't be the last," said Goncalo Pinto, a commercial artist whose chest bears the scars of bullets fired by Portuguese troops early in the 1975 anti-colonial unrest.

Pinto represents the centre-right Timorese Democratic Union (UDT), the separatists who initially took power in 1975 only to be ousted by Fretilin. UDT says Fretilin committed atrocities against unarmed UDT supporters in the civil war.

Fretilin represents mostly educated indigenous Timorese and some of the Mestizo middle-class. UDT is mostly made up of wealthy Portuguese settlers, indigenous Timorese royalty, and the bulk of the educated Mestizo middle class.

The groups meet in separate halls, raise separate funds to promote the Timorese cause, organise separate demonstrations and operate separate clandestine networks.

All recognise Gusmao. Years ago, Gusmao quit Fretilin and merged guerilla forces as a single Timorese resistance.

Danilo Lemos, a Darwin car salesman and once a part-time Fretilin supporter, was galvanised by November's massacre. "If we accept what exists now, then we are all Indonesian. We want our own identity, we are Timorese."

BISHOP BELO INTERVIEW IN INDONESIAN PRESS (AFP)

AFP, Lisbon, Feb 29 - East Timor Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Belo said Indonesia should give East Timor autonomy because of its different historical and cultural background.

"This sounds a political matter, but I have to make it nationally widespread that it would be better if East Timor gains its autonomy," Belo said in a rare interview with Indonesian journalists.

"I hope the Indonesian Government considers and studies the historical, cultural and religious background of East Timor."

Belo said he would not elaborate on the best form of autonomy for East Timor, adding that it required further study.

"But I give three points for the central government to consider. First, the Catholic tradition (and) second, the cultural tradition," the bishop said.

"Third, leadership should be handled to local East Timorese," the Suara Pembaruan daily quoted Belo as saying.

Belo said, however, that the people of East Timor should understand the concept of "one archipelagic nation."

"The problem is we need an explanation that other people from other provinces are not foreigners."

Belo told the reporters that Jakarta's decision to maintain a heavy security presence in East Timor was no longer effective, and that "what we need now is a psychological, social and humanistic approach.

"I do not understand why there are more armies in East Timor when there are no more enemies. Or do civilians stand as the enemies?"

Indonesian forces in East Timor are estimated at between 15,000 and 30,000, while the remaining guerrilla forces of the East Timor secessionist movement Fretilin are thought to number between 200 and 1,000.

EAST WHAT?

(WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL)

Feb 29, 1992

EAST TIMOR. Last fall Indonesia was trying to work out a first visit by a Portuguese parliamentary delegation so that, it hoped, Portugal would finally reconcile itself to loss of its South Pacific backwater. Indonesian colonial power had replaced Portuguese colonial power there, brutally, in 1975. In anticipation of the visit, nationalist feeling surged in East Timor. The agitation led to the army's massacre on Nov. 12 of anti-Indonesia demonstrators and to the consequent and still-current spurt of world concern.

Indonesia's shrewd foreign minister, Ali Alatas, was in Washington the other day to douse the political fires. The Nov. 12 incident, he said, was provoked by a minor losing faction of Portugal's "boys." The authorities are investigating and disciplining the army vigorously. East Timor has already gone through several valid acts of self-determination.

But these assertions by the minister won't do. Resentment over Portugal's bailout of 1974 is not a sufficient reason to keep blaming Portugal now. An essentially military government's investigation of its own army lacks full credibility. The past elections that Indonesia cites as acts of self-determination do not rise to what is required in 1992.

Timor's three-century Portuguese past gives it an identity no less distinct and

strongly felt than what has moved dozens of other territories to nationhood. Yet Indonesia holds its possession fast and is wary of a precedent of unraveling in its vast archipelago. Nor are its neighbors close to mobilizing for East Timor's choice. Australia leans to putting Indonesia back, at a faster pace, on its pre-massacre track of investing resources, opening the place up (it's now again off limits to journalists) and looking for ways to bring along the Portuguese.

At America's distance, it's easy enough both to forget about East Timor and to raise calls for its self-determination. Something of an Asian success story, Indonesia gets little foreign aid of the sort that might be used as leverage. Yet this is the age of decolonizing the colonies of the Third and Communist worlds. The conscious green light that the United States gave Cold War ally Indonesia's original takeover gives Americans an extra obligation.

The administration is still treating East Timor as a human rights issue. Congress does better, seeing it as a political issue. Indonesia's sordid show in East Timor casts a shadow over its future promise.

IRIAN JAYA FAMINE (REUTER)

Reuter, Jakarta, March 1 - Hundreds of people are being evacuated by helicopter from part of the Indonesian province of Irian Jaya stricken by a famine that has killed nearly 150 people, the national news agency Antara said on Sunday.

It quoted Demianus Dimara, head of Irian Jaya's social affairs office, as saying 613 people had been rescued from the Elelim area near Jayapura by Saturday and that the operation was continuing.

The agency said the famine had killed 148 people.

The territory, part of the huge island of New Guinea, was taken over by Indonesia from the Dutch in 1963.