

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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**TRIALS OF TIMORESE**

**DILI 'MURDER' TRIALS  
START**

*Remark: This set of trials seems mired in official disinformation quite apart from semi-secrecy in journalistic coverage. Like so many of the trials of East Timorese, this set falls squarely in the same class as the post-Priok incident trials of 1985 in which*

*innocent demonstrators, often maimed and deformed, were charged. The hidden prosecutorial agenda here is to shape 'historical memory.' There is also likely a hidden political agenda intimately tied to internal East Timor politics, about which much can only be guessed but which is of considerable importance for understanding events there, including the November 12 massacre. – John MacDougall*

*TAPOL report, 10 May 1992.*

Five East Timorese went on trial in Dili, East Timor, on 14 April 1992, charged with

the murder of Afonso Henriques, who died when his group attacked Motael Church early on 28 October 1991. Sebastiao Gomes, who was taking refuge in the church along with many other young East Timorese, was also killed in the incident. There is no indication that any trials are planned for people responsible for Sebastiao's murder.

The five on trial are Alexio da Silva, Jacob da Silva, Bonifacio Barreto, Joao dos Santos and Boby Xavier. They are being defended by a team of lawyers from the Legal Aid Institution (LBH) and the Bar Association, Ikadin. The lawyers are: Domi

Yos Atok, Artidjo Alkostar and Nur Ismanto. Apparently, the local 'practice lawyer,' Ponco Atmono is also part of the team.

Press reporting about the trials is thin and, as yet, no documents have reached us. This contrasts with the trials in Jakarta which are fairly well reported in the national press; some documents have reached us within days of delivery in court. This is undoubtedly because of the tight control over visiting and observing the trials in Dili and the ban on foreign journalists going to East Timor.

A report in Jawa Pos on 15 April announced that the five trials had began, presumably on the day before. The five are being tried separately, on the same day, one after the other.

The Jawa Pos report concentrated on the charges against Alexio da Silva who is described as 'the brains' behind the affair, who mobilised the anti-integration youngsters in the church to oppose the pro-integration group which attacked the church.

According to the indictment, the anti-integrationists had gathered at the church the day before and were taken by surprise when a pro-integration group led by Afonso Henriques came and challenged them to come out and have a fight ('adu otot'). "If you don't come out," he said, "we will attack."

The indictment went on to say: "The anti-integration group did not dare to come out, forcing the pro-integration group to attack. But the Alexio group returned to where they had been originally, and planned a strategy for a counter-attack, should the Afonso group again attack."

With the two groups both wanting to win, the prosecutor continued, they began to fight again after a short pause. But this time, the fighting was much more brutal, with sickles and stones being used. As a result two people were killed, Afonso Henriques on the one side and Sebastiao on the other.

The prosecution then read out the post mortem on Afonso which showed evidence of a cracked skull and damage to the brain caused by wounds inflicted with sharp implements. Hence, Alexio was liable to be charged under Article 340 of the Criminal Code, which allows a sentence of up to twenty years for murder.

#### **Boby: 'Afonso's group should be tried'**

The only other report currently available about these trials is from the English-language Jakarta Post on 20 April, about a session in the trial of Boby Xavier, at which the defendant submitted his eksepsi or formal complaint against the proceedings. Boby Xavier told the court that Afonso Henriques and his group were responsible for the incident [a point which is clearly borne out by the indictment] and that therefore they are the ones who should be brought to trial. He also asked for members

of the 'Nationalist Youth' to take the witness stand, and said the court should drop the charges against him.

A member of his lawyers defence team, Artidjo Alkostar said in his eksepsi that the defendant had been subjected to pressure during interrogation, which is against the law. He also said that the incident on 28 October at Motael Church should be seen as a "result of the extended conflict situation in East Timor."

### **THE CAMARA TRIAL: EXCERPTS FROM THE LAWYERS' DEFENCE PLEA**

*From TAPOL, May 14, 1992.*

*On 2 May 1992, Joewono SH and Waskito Adiribowo SH presented their defence plea in the trial of Joao Freitas da Camara, on trial for subversion. The document goes to the heart of the East Timor problem, challenging the legitimacy of Indonesia's integration and upholding the right of their client and his colleagues to organise themselves and express opinions regarding the fate of the people of East Timor. Here are a few excerpts.*

'As human beings blessed with the ability to think, we are obliged to resolve the question of East Timor according to the key pillars of the Republic of Indonesia, decently and without taking decades to do it.'

.....

The lawyers state that their Defence Plea bases its argumentation on a red-and-white book owned by millions of Indonesian citizens, the P4 Manual [for state indoctrination courses, entitled Guidance for Implementing and Serving the Pancasila] which contains the 'three main pillars of the state of the Republic of Indonesia:

1. The 1945 Constitution.
2. MPR Decision No II regarding Guidance for Implementing and Serving the Pancasila, and
3. Chapters from Guiding Principles of State Policy (GBHN) which have not altered from the time of the 1973 MPR [Upper House] session up to the 1988 MPR session.

.....

'It is extremely doubtful whether the Defendant can be tried by an Indonesian court in view of the fact that the Prosecutor:

1. Ignored the stipulations in article 9 of the Criminal Code (KUHP) which reads:

"The validity of articles 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, and 8 of KUHP is limited by exceptions recognised under international law."

In this matter, the limitations are the decisions adopted by the UN General Assembly. [Here, the document lists the seven resolutions of the UN General Assembly from 1975 to 1981. In an

oversight, the 1982 resolution is not listed.]

2. Ignored article II of the Transitional Regulation of the 1945 Constitution: "All existing state organs and regulations remain in force until such time as new ones are introduced in accordance with this Constitution."

The document then lists the series of treaties concluded by The Netherlands and Portugal since 1893 regarding the territory of East Timor.

3. Reveals a shallow understanding of the Societies Law No 8 of 1985, arguing that the Defendant acted in violation of this Law in view of the fact that he was involved in a clandestine organisation named RENETIL. Whereas in fact that Law deviates from the Guiding Principles of State Policy (GBHN).'

.....

The lawyers then enter in a lengthy refutation based on the GBHN of the Subversion Law used as the basis to charge the Defendant, arguing that 'the continued enforcement of the Subversion Law is a far more serious act of subversion than anything that the Defendant has done, as it deviates from the Guiding Principles of State Policy. The Supreme Court should review both the Subversion Law and the Societies Law.'

The lawyers argue at length against the court's position that it is not the responsibility of the Supreme Court to review laws, quoting from a number of state documents.

.....

'The first paragraph of the 1945 Constitution reads:

"That freedom is the right of all nations and therefore colonialism must be eradicated from the face of the earth because it does not conform with humanity and justice."

'This right also belongs to the East Timorese nation. Hence on 28 November 1975, they proclaimed their independent state called the Democratic Republic of East Timor, as was stated by the witness Fernando de Araujo on 20 April 1992 and by the Defendant on 22 April 1992, but that independence was wiped out by the Armed Forces of the Republic of Indonesia on 7 December 1975. Five days later, the United Nations adopted a decision calling on the Indonesian army to withdraw, a decision which the Government of the Republic of Indonesia ignored.

'The motivation of the judges in twice refusing to allow defence counsel to ask questions about the period prior to "integration" is not known.... One thing is clear - the date [of the invasion], 7 December, reminds fighters for Indonesia's War of Independence of the name of a Dutch army division, the Seventh December Division, whose task was to wipe out the 17 August 1945 Proclamation. Hopefully, the similarity of dates is a pure coincidence.

Note: The division was named the 7 December, which was the day of the speech by Queen Wilhelmina in London in 1940, when that colonial power was overrun by the Nazi German army.'

.....  
Turning to the Prosecutor's charges that the Defendant: set up a clandestine organisation (RENETIL), held illegal meetings, organised a demonstration without a permit and drew up petitions and the like, the law-avers argue firstly that 'it is not RENETIL which violated the law; the Societies Law No 8, 1985 is a violation of the state's Guiding Principles.'

They further argue that in the case of East Timor, 'the security forces, in Dili and Jakarta, have taken measures which are only permissible during a State of Emergency (which has not been declared)... Hence, it is not the Defendant who is guilty of holding meetings and demonstrations but others who abuse the provisions of the 1959 Law on States of Emergency. Not only that, article 12 of the 1945 Constitution has been violated because... in order to take such measures, it is necessary first of all to proclaim an area to be under a State of Emergency.'

.....  
'Regarding the question of Citizenship: 'The Defendant is considered to have manipulated state regulations regarding citizenship.

'In fact, our eksepsi [procedural objections] submitted by the defence counsel did not deal with the enforcement of criminal charges against the Defendant who regards himself as a Portuguese citizen. The lawyers are well aware that these charges can be made against foreigners. What we did say was that the reference to the Defendant's citizenship is not as straightforward as article 143, para (2) of the Criminal Code suggests. The Defendant regards himself as a Portuguese citizenship whereas the Prosecutor regards him as an Indonesian citizen.

'The Prosecutor argues that the Defendant (and all other persons resident in the territory of East Timor) have, since East Timor's "integration" into the Republic of Indonesia,

1. automatically become Indonesian citizens unless they declined to do so.

2. that the Defendant is an Indonesian citizen, according to his identity card (as stated in the column headed, citizenship).

'This conflicts with article 26 of the 1945 Constitution. There is nothing in the Constitution which states that by virtue of integration, the inhabitants of that newly integrated territory automatically became Indonesian citizens.

'Clarifications attached to the Constitution differentiate between nation, citizen and inhabitant. Article 1 to 13 of Law No 3, 1946 stipulate what is meant by citizen, and only in article 14 is anything

stipulated (not regulated) about what is meant by inhabitant....

'It is very wrong to regard a person as being an Indonesian citizen on the basis of his/her identity card. Besides being extremely dangerous, this also conflicts with the duties of the Court whose task is to uphold Law, not uphold administration. An identity card is issued for purposes of identification (to be shown), it is evidence of nothing!'

.....  
'According to his statement in Court on 22 April 1992, the Defendant was an official of the proclaimed Democratic State of East Timor.... Even though he was only an official in the sphere of political information, it was his duty to defend that independence, all the more so after illegal actions, both physical and non-physical, had been taken against his state in 1975, a fact recognised by the world body called the United Nations. Hence, everything done by the Defendant since 1975 can be justified according to article 49, para (1) of the Criminal Code which reads:

"Anyone who acts in order to defend his/her person, dignity or possessions or those of others against attack made in violation of the law may not be punished."

'That which the Defendant was defending was the person, dignity and possessions of the people of East Timor which obliterates the basis for any punishment.'

.....  
'The clarification on page 14 of the P4 Manual regarding the 1945 Constitution with regard to the DPR [Legislative Assembly] reads: "...If the DPR deems that the Head of State has violated the Guiding Principles as laid down in law or by the MPR, it may be convened in special session to call upon the President to give account.

'In the case of the Defendant specifically and the case of East Timor generally, violations of the Guiding Principles have been committed.'

After listing a number of decisions in various state documents which have been violated, the Defence Plea states:

'The legal defence team requests this Court, through the intermediary of the Supreme Court, to suggest to the DPR that the MPR convene a Special Session attended by all persons who were sworn in as members of the 1978 MPR.

'May this young nation of ours not disregard scientific thought so as to avoid the fate of the VOC [the Dutch East Indies company]. This Defence Plea has set out on the one hand to seek the acquittal of the Defendant which would certainly project a good image of our judicial system abroad, while at the same time help the Government of the Republic of Indonesia in its negotiations with Portugal. And last but not least, to promote development of the rule of law specifically, and national development in general.'

*Translated by TAPOL, 14 May 1992*

## PROSECUTORS WANT 15 YEARS FOR BRANCO

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, May 14 - Indonesian prosecutors on Wednesday demanded a 15-year jail term for an East Timorese charged with organising a demonstration which led to an army massacre of civilians.

State prosecutor I Ketut Swara accused civil servant Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, of subversion and joining an organisation supporting the pro-independence Fretilin guerrilla movement in East Timor.

He said Miranda Branco had taken part in illegal meetings to plot an anti-Jakarta march to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony, on November 12.

Up to 180 people were killed when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on mourners at the cemetery, sparking an international outcry.

Jakarta annexed the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1976 but its rule is still not recognised by the United Nations.

Another 11 East Timorese are on trial in Dili and Jakarta.

One East Timorese student has been sentenced to six months in jail for protesting against the army shooting.

## BARRETO GETS SIX MONTHS

Reuter, Jakarta, May 12 - A Jakarta court has sentenced an East Timorese student to six months in jail for protesting against an army massacre of civilians in the former Portuguese colony, the official Antara news agency said on Tuesday.

Dominggus Barreto, 29, a law student at a central Java university, was found guilty of joining a demonstration in Jakarta on November 19 to protest at the army shooting of mourners in the East Timor capital Dili a week earlier.

Up to 180 people were killed in the incident.

"The defendant was found guilty of spreading hostility and insulting the Indonesian government by joining the demonstration," Antara quoted judge Mangkudiningrat as saying.

Four other demonstrators are still on trial in Jakarta, two charged with subversion which carries a maximum penalty of death.

The judge said Barreto's sentence was light because he protested only against the shooting and was not against East Timor's integration with Indonesia.

Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976 but its sovereignty is not internationally recognised.

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## DA SILVA GETS 30 MONTHS

AFP, Jakarta, May 19 - A court Tuesday sentenced an East Timorese student to 30 months in jail for joining a protest in Jakarta against a massacre of civilians by Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony, lawyers said.

The Central Jakarta court jailed Virgilio da Silva Gutierrez, 28, for 30 months after he was found guilty of taking part in a demonstration in Jakarta on November 19 to protest the shooting in Dili, the provincial capital of East Timor, his lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute (LBH) said.

Da Silva, a East Timorese technical engineering student at a university in Malang, East Java, has already spent six months in jail after being arrested for "expressing hostility towards the government" and will serve two more years.

The sentence was the harshest yet handed down to students who took part in the peaceful demonstration, during which they submitted a petition to the U.N. mission and the Australian embassy protesting the massacre and Indonesia's rule over East Timor.

Another East Timorese, Domingus Barreto, 29, a law student at a university in central Java, was sentenced to six months in prison for disrupting public order by taking part in the protest.

The prosecutor had called for a three year sentence for da Silva, who, unlike Barreto, had expressed no regret for having taken part in the protest. The charge carried a maximum sentence of seven years.

Da Silva, who has said he will appeal, earlier told the court he was against Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and that the shooting of scores of civilians by Indonesian troops on November 12 had only strengthened his opposition.

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## LIFE SENTENCE DEMAND FOR SALDANHA

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, May 20 - State prosecutors on Wednesday demanded a life sentence for an East Timorese accused of organising an anti-Indonesian demonstration that preceded an army massacre last November.

State prosecutor Supardi charged Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, a former employee at the main hospital in the East Timor capital of Dili, with subversion.

He was accused of leading an organisation supporting the dwindling Fretilin guerrilla movement opposed to Jakarta rule.

The prosecutor said Da Cunha Saldanha had organised an anti-Indonesia demonstration in Dili on November 12 that led to the army shooting.

Another seven East Timorese are on trial in Dili on charges linked to the shooting and three others are being tried in Jakarta over a

subsequent protest. Two have been jailed for protesting against the army's shooting.

Jakarta is to court-martial several army officers for their involvement in the shooting.

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## CORDOSO GETS 10 MONTHS

Reuter, Jakarta, May 21 - A Jakarta court on Thursday sentenced an East Timorese student to 10 months in jail for joining a protest against last November's army massacre, the official news agency Antara reported.

Agapito Cordoso, 25, a student at a Bali university, was found guilty of spreading hostility and insulting the Indonesian government by joining a demonstration in Jakarta on November 19.

The demonstrators were protesting against the shooting of mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili, which killed up to 180 people.

Antara quoted judge Setyo Harsoyo as saying Cordoso had attended some illegal meetings to plot the protest.

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## MORE DILI SENTENCE DEMANDS

Reuter, Jakarta, May 22 - Indonesian state prosecutors have demanded up to 10 years in jail for two East Timorese organisers of a protest which led to an army massacre in November, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation said on Friday.

Juvencio de Jesus Martin, 30, and Jacinto Raimunda Alves, 34, are charged with organising an anti-Indonesia march to a cemetery in the East Timor capital Dili on November 12.

Up to 180 people were killed when the army opened fire to stop the demonstrators.

Prosecutors demanded that de Jesus Martin be jailed for 10 years and Alves for eight, a spokesman for the aid foundation said.

He quoted the prosecutors as telling a court in Dili on Thursday that both defendants had been active in an organisation supporting the separatist movement Fretilin.

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## ARAUJO GETS NINE YEARS, TALKS REJECTED

Reuter, Jakarta, Menuk Suwondo, May 25 - An Indonesian court sentenced on Monday an East Timor student to nine years for subversion, the heaviest sentence so far on charges linked to an army massacre in the former Portuguese colony last November.

"He was found guilty of undermining the Indonesian government and disgracing the nation in the eyes of the international

community," high court judge Wahono Baoed said in his verdict.

Fernando de Araujo, 26, was the first East Timorese to be sentenced on subversion charges since last November's incident when troops fired into a crowd of mourners in the local capital of Dili, killing up to 180 people and creating an international outcry.

A further nine East Timorese await trial in Jakarta and Dili, three on charges of subversion.

De Araujo was accused of heading an organisation supporting an East Timor guerrilla movement and of plotting a demonstration in Jakarta on November 19 to protest against the army killings.

"Even though the defendant was not present at the demonstration he was actively masterminding it," the judge said.

He said he gave a lighter sentence than the 15 years demanded by the prosecution because de Araujo was young, had no previous record and had behaved politely.

As soon as the judge finished reading the verdict, de Araujo stood up and raised a victory salute.

"I want to say once again that I am not Indonesian," he said. He said he would appeal.

"It is unethical that (the sentence) is imposed on an East Timorese who is fighting for his rights and freedom. The East Timor problem is an international problem," he told reporters after the trial.

The London-based Amnesty International human rights organisation in a statement earlier in the day accused Jakarta of justifying suppression of non-violent opposition to its rule on grounds that its annexation of East Timor was legal.

"Since the military invasion of East Timor in 1975, evidence has emerged of gross and systematic human rights violations by the Indonesian security forces...it is a matter of concern that protest against such violations...have been construed by the authorities as evidence of subversive activity," Amnesty International said.

An East Timorese rebel leader recently urged Jakarta to agree to talks over the disputed territory and said his side would not insist on preconditions.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Monday there was no change in Jakarta's position and it would refuse talks with Portugal over the issue if Lisbon insisted on including East Timorese rebels.

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## CAMARA GETS 10 YEARS PRISON

Reuter, Jakarta, May 26 - An Indonesian court on Tuesday sentenced an East Timorese student to 10 years in jail for organising a protest against an army massacre of civilians in the former Portuguese colony last November.

On Monday, another East Timorese was imprisoned for nine years, also on charges of

subversion related to the November incident when Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of mourners, killing up to 180 people.

The two sentences are the heaviest so far imposed on East Timorese in relation to the killings, which the government says were provoked by an anti-Indonesian demonstration in the East Timor capital Dili.

Joao Freitas de Camara, 37, a student at Jakarta's Roman Catholic university of Atma Jaya, was found guilty of undermining the Indonesian government by organising a demonstration in the capital on November 19.

"The defendant's activities are related to his political struggle to free East Timor from Indonesia. He is found guilty of fighting the legal government," High Court chief judge Sarwono said in his verdict.

The prosecution had demanded 15 years for De Camara.

"I don't accept the sentence and I will appeal. I'll keep on fighting to get Indonesia out of East Timor," De Camara told reporters after the sentencing.

Another eight East Timorese are awaiting trial in Dili, two more on charges of subversion, which carries a maximum death penalty.

**AFP, Jakarta, May 26** - An Indonesian court Tuesday handed down a 10-year jail sentence to a man convicted of subversion for trying to separate the former Portuguese colony of East Timor from Indonesia.

A council of judges at the central Jakarta court found Joao Freitas da Camara, 37, guilty of separatist activities and sentenced him to 10 years in jail minus the period he spent in detention since his arrest in November.

"I don't accept the decision of the court, it's against international law, unfair and unjust," Freitas told journalists after leaving the courtroom.

"I want to appeal to the United Nations and the European Community to press the Indonesian government to get out of East Timor," he added.

Defence lawyers said they were considering an appeal. They must reach a decision within a week. The prosecution had sought 13 years' imprisonment.

The court said Freitas, a former student at a private university here, headed the Jakarta chapter of the National Resistance of East Timorese Students (RENETIL) - a youth movement fighting for self-determination in East Timor, which Indonesia unilaterally annexed in 1976.

The United Nations still views Lisbon as the legitimate administrator of East Timor.

The court found that Freitas organized and led an anti-Indonesian demonstration and led a 70 East Timorese students in Jakarta on November 19 to protest the shooting of scores of civilians in Dili, East Timor a week earlier.

The demonstrators handed over a statement in Portuguese demanding self-deter-

mination for the East Timorese people and the complete and immediate withdrawal of Indonesian forces and administration from East Timor to the U.N., Japanese and Australian missions here.

Freitas has been under police detention since.

The court said Freitas had relayed information from East Timor to the outside world through his international press and diplomatic contacts in Jakarta.

Freitas said during the trial that because the United Nations still viewed Portugal as the administrator of East Timor, he was therefore a Portuguese citizen and objected to trial under Indonesian laws.

Bali-based RENETIL chairman Fernando de Araujo was jailed for nine years by a separate court in central Jakarta on Monday, while three other East Timorese students who took part in the November 19 demonstration have been handed between six and 30 months of imprisonment.

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## PORTUGAL CRITICIZES TRIALS

AFP, Lisbon, May 27 - Portugal hit out at Indonesia on Wednesday for the way it was conducting the trials of people arrested in East Timor when troops massacred demonstrators in Dili last November.

The foreign ministry issued a statement complaining that the trials were taking place "without minimum guarantees of impartiality and defence for the accused."

Two heavy prison sentences had already been passed. There was a "shocking contrast" between the condemnation of people carrying out non-violent political actions in support of internationally recognised rights for the Timorese people, the ministry said, and the absence of proper punishment for the soldiers responsible for "unjustifiable violence."

The November shooting killed at least 50 people, according to official figures, and 90 more are missing.

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## UDT/AUSTRALIA CONDEMNS SENTENCES

*Press release, UDT (Timorese Democratic Union), Australian wing. Unabridged. 29 May 1992*

*Remark: The Australian UDT apparently operates separately from the wing in Portugal.*

### Call For Justice

The Timorese Democratic Union (UDT) president, Joao Carrascalao has condemned the Indonesian military government over the harsh sentences imposed on the East Timorese on trial for subversion, as a result of the Santa Cruz massacre on the 12th November 1991 in Dili, East Timor.

The UDT president said the jailing shows that the Indonesian military government is a dictatorship with a servile and politicized judiciary, which serves its own ends by imposing harsh sentences on Timorese dissidents while at the same time ignoring jail terms for the Indonesian military personnel who directly carried out the Santa Cruz massacre of the 12th November 1991 in Dili, East Timor.

The UDT president asked which is the worst crime: being dissidents after an estimated one third of your countrymen have been massacred over a seventeen year period since the Indonesian invasion or being murderers, as are the Indonesian military personnel involved in the Santa Cruz massacre of the 12th of November 1991 in Dili.

The UDT president calls upon the Indonesian people to force the Indonesian military dictatorship with a servile and politicized judiciary, to be true to the principles of the Pancasila, which they have repeatedly broken.

The UDT president calls upon the nations of the world community to join in solidarity with the East Timorese people and voice their outrage over this injustice.

Senator Vicki Bourne, the Australian Democrats parliamentary foreign affairs spokesperson, supports the call for justice by the Timorese Democratic Union. Many other prominent Australians also support this call for justice.

Australian contacts:  
UDT - Joao Carrascalao - Ph (02) 2173382  
B/H, (02) 8235616 A/H

UDT - Domingos Oliveira - Ph (09)  
3843073 A/H

Australian Democrats - Senator Vicki Bourne

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## REPRESSION IN TIMOR

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### ARMY PREVENTS PROTEST AT MASS (JAWA POS)

*Jawa Pos. 28 April 1992. Original language: Indonesian. Summarised.*

*There has been no independent confirmation of this attempt to stage a protest. It does seem that despite the harsh clampdown, pro-independence forces are still well organised.*

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### FRETILIN PLANS TO SABOTAGE MASS LED BY VATICAN AMBASSADOR FOILED

Plans by the GPK-Fretilin to sabotage a Mass led by Pro Nuncio Mgr. Pietro Sambi at the Dili Cathedral were foiled by security forces who had got wind of it a week before.

Our source said: "Fretilin remnants failed to enter the town. They even failed to leave their hideouts. They certainly knew that our security forces had blocked all the roads into the town."

A few days before the Sunday Mass, security forces in East Timor intensified patrols and guarding, outside and inside Dili, because of a leak about these plans.

The intelligence had discovered that illegal meetings of Fretilin activists were discussion plans to unfurl banners and shout slogans during the Mass. They were intending to truck in Fretilin sympathisers from outside town.

Although this plan was foiled, several youths did succeed in staging a small demonstration after the Mass, as the Vatican ambassador, accompanied by Bishop Belo, was leaving the Cathedral. As he was getting into the car, several young people made the 'V' sign whilst others started shouting very loudly, mentioning someone's name. This small action continued from the time the ambassador came out of the church until he departed. Because of the action, all those who attended the Mass rushed home.

One security officer spoke of his 'tremendous relief that nothing happened. I could hardly sleep the night before because of this. Thank goodness, everything went okay. We were able to implement the Commander's instruction to safeguard tranquillity during the Mass.'

In his sermon during the Mass, ambassador Sambi made a plea for peace and love. He spoke in Latin which was translated into Tetum by Bishop Belo.

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## DECEPTION AND HARASSMENT OF EAST TIMORESE WORKERS (ASIA WATCH)

*Courtesy of Asia Watch, May 15, 1992*

In early September 1991, the Indonesian military forced the country's leading newsweekly, *Tempo*, to kill a story scheduled for the September 7 issue about the plight of young East Timorese workers who had been promised training and high-paying jobs by President Suharto's eldest daughter, Siti Hardijanti Hastuti, better known as Mbak Tutut. Instead of being trained and sent to an industrial development on Batam Island between Sumatra and Singapore, as they expected, they found themselves working as unskilled labor for far less than the minimum wage in factories in Semarang, Central Java; Bogor, West Java; Surabaya, East Java; and Jakarta. When some tried to protest, they were interrogated and in at least one case, detained and beaten, by military officers who accused them of being political activists. When they were unable to persuade the president's daughter to address their grievances, the young workers, many of them teenagers, tried to bring their case to the attention of members of the national parliament. It was when *Tempo* tried to cover the story of that appeal that two officers from the armed forces' Information Center stepped in and warned the editor.

Asia Watch has recently obtained documents, some of them written by the workers themselves, which set out their experience in detail. The documents are important because they reflect several factors which have fueled the nationalist movement in East Timor. These factors include the lack of jobs and other opportunities for young East Timorese in East Timor (which made the initial offer of Mbak Tutut attractive); the tendency of many businesses in Jakarta and elsewhere in Indonesia to regard East Timorese as cheap labor that can be easily exploited, an attitude that may have racist overtones; and the way in which almost any East Timorese, inside or outside East Timor, is regarded as a potential political threat by the military, to be put under constant surveillance accordingly.

### The Offer

The documents obtained by Asia Watch describe what happened to the young people after they arrived in Jakarta. But the problem began in Dili, in December 1990 when Mbak Tutut visited East Timor on behalf of her private foundation called Yayasan Tiara. Over the radio, in public meetings, and in door-to-door recruiting, Yayasan Tiara offered to send East Timorese youth to the industrial development site of Batam Island at salaries of between Rp.250,000 and Rp.300,000 or US\$125 and US\$150 a month. In addition, they would be given three months training in Jakarta before heading out to Batam. With a high unemployment rate and few prospects in Dili, over 600 East Timorese youth signed up. There were reports, which Asia Watch has not been able to verify, of Tiara officials together with the local military working from lists of young people who had been arrested in the course of political demonstrations from late 1989 on, and making a particular effort to recruit them as a way of getting "troublemakers" out of East Timor.

### The First Wave

When the first group of 132 left Dili on March 27, they were given a formal send-off with Governor Mario Carrascalao, Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo and senior local officials in attendance. The Yayasan Tiara pledge of jobs in Batam was repeated in front of the youths and their parents.

When they arrived in Jakarta on March 29, they were housed in a complex on the grounds of a tourist site called Taman Mini Indah Indonesia, what in the United States would be called a "theme park." Officials from the central office of Yayasan Tiara came to meet them and explained that the Batam plans were cancelled because the youths lacked the necessary skills. Instead, they could go to a site in the North Moluccas called Simanggole. The East Timorese refused; one said they felt "cheated and sick" at the deception.

The next day, Mbak Tutut came out to Taman Mini and met with the group. This

time, she offered to send them to a textile factory in which the first family has an interest, PT Kanindotex in Bawan, outside Semarang, Central Java. Two East Timorese who have long collaborated with the Indonesian government, Francisco Lopes da Cruz and Clementino dos Reis Amaral came to Taman Mini as well to take part in a kind of welcoming ceremony, and the young people, thinking they might get a sympathetic ear from fellow East Timorese, poured out their grievances. Lopes da Cruz responded by telling them he did not want to get mixed up in their difficulties and had no authority to deal with the problem.

The group decided to make the best of a bad situation, and some agreed to go to Semarang while others went to a poultry farm near Bogor, West Java, where they were made to clean chicken cages. Five of the Bogor group returned to East Timor rather than stay on. Those who went to the textile factory were also given jobs as menial laborers, hauling things to place on trucks. Their salary was Rp.10,500 (US\$5.25) a month, for a nine-hour workday, 8 am to 5 pm. It was supplemented for the first three months by a subsidy from Yayasan Tiara of Rp.22,500 a month. The young people had been told that the total, Rp.33,000 (\$16.50), would include food and lodging provided by the factory, but as it turned out, the company deducted the expenses from their pay. Moreover, the lodging was some distance from the factory, so that each worker had to pay an estimated Rp.600 (30 cents) a day in transportation.

By May, there had been several "clashes" in the factory between the East Timorese and other workers and guards, the result, one worker said, of their "deep disappointment and frustration." Sometime that month, an official of Yayasan Tiara came to the factory with a prepared statement that he wanted the East Timorese to sign. The gist of the statement was that everything had proceeded according to plan, everyone was satisfied and there were no significant problems. The official told the workers that their only chance of having their grievances addressed was to sign to statement, so most did. Later that month, however, 18 of the original group in Kanindotex resigned and went to Jakarta to seek redress. Later, another 65 signed a letter to Governor Carrascalao, protesting what had happened (see Appendices).

### The Second Wave

The second wave consisted of 283 young men and women ranging in age from 15 to 25. Their transportation and employment was arranged not by Yayasan Tiara but by the Ministry of Manpower, although they were given the same promise of jobs in Batam and salaries of Rp.200,000 and more. They arrived by boat in Surabaya, East Java, on June 6, 1991. About half stayed in Surabaya, 40 were assigned to Bali and 100 were sent to Jakarta.



The Jakarta group was placed in the Balai Latihan Kerja, or Training Center, in Cijantung, West Java near a complex run by the army Special Forces (Kopassus). The Training Center itself was run by one Col. Sutrisno. For two weeks, the youths were given training, not vocational training, but what amounted to military drills: exercises, marching in formation, saluting and so on. They were then placed in factories without having received any preparation whatsoever. They received the Jakarta area minimum wage (Rp.2100 or \$1.05 a day) and the Ministry provided lodging for the first year in what the youths describe as a "pitiful" place.

Like the first group, the second felt cheated but were afraid to voice their complaints. Eventually, on August 3, two young men, Luis Maria Lopes, 22, and Nuno V. Pereira Saldanha, 19, confronted Col. Sutrisno with their grievances. Sutrisno said he would study the problem and told them he would meet with them again on August 9. But the day before the scheduled meeting, Luis and Nuno were picked up from their workplace and taken to the Training Center, together with a third youth, Armindo Goncalves. They were interrogated by two Kopassus officers, identified by the youths as Corporal Suyatman and Sergeant Iatkan. The next day, ten other Timorese were taken to Cijantung, and after seeing them depart, three others left of their own accord to go to Cijantung in a gesture of solidarity.

There were then 16 youths at the Training Center. Thirteen of them were lined up in the area used for flag-raising ceremonies and were beaten and kicked by three soldiers in front of many witnesses. (For some reason, Nuno and Luis were two of those who were spared the beating, despite the fact that they had brought the original complaint.) The soldiers included Sergeant Iatkan and Sergeant Marjoko from Kopassus as well as a Marine officer, Sergeant Nursansi. Then they were interrogated by Colonel Sutrisno, accused of being political activists, and threatened with electric shocks if they did not answer properly.

After the interrogation, according to the workers, Colonel Sutrisno decided that five of the group who had reported sick since August 1 would be sent back to East Timor: Armindo Goncalves, Latif Daeng, Erhan, Charles Batelo and Jelaso. They were ordered to remain at the Kopassus complex in Cijantung, but escaped and made it back to their lodging in North Jakarta on August 13. The same day, however, they were apprehended by Kopassus and taken back to Cijantung where they were put in a single room, but not, apparently under heavy guard. Luis and Nuno went into hiding after hearing there was a search on for them.

On August 18, Armindo and Latif made a quick trip up to Jakarta from Cijantung to tell their friends they would be sent back to East Timor on August 20. When August 20

arrived, the departure was again postponed, and four of the five requested permission to visit their friends in North Jakarta again. The fifth, Erhan, had been released after relatives of an army officer took responsibility for him.

On August 30, 29 youths representing 355 of the East Timorese who had been lured from Dili by false promises of good work and high wages appealed to the national parliament for the promises to be met. Nine months later, some were still living, unemployed, in Jakarta.

### Conclusions

Economic conditions in East Timor ensure that there will be continue to be many volunteers for jobs in Indonesia. But when young East Timorese are lured away by false promises to work at menial jobs with substandard wages, it becomes tantamount to forced labor. Not a single worker freely chose to work cleaning chicken cages or hauling crates or any of the other unskilled jobs assigned them. All were deceived by a private foundation working in conjunction with a government ministry, and they faced intimidation, detention or destitution if they protested or walked out.

This group managed to get attention, in part because of Mbak Tutut's involvement in the deception, in part because of the courage of those willing to protest their treatment, and in part because many of the workers had access to Jakarta. Many other East Timorese are working in Kalimantan, Sulawesi and elsewhere; who knows what they were promised or what conditions they find themselves in.

When any workers are hired, in East Timor or anywhere in Indonesia, they should be given a contract containing all the relevant information about the work involved so they can make an informed decision about whether or not to take the job. The contract should specify the rate of pay, hours of work, benefits and the name of the factory to which the worker will be assigned. The workers should be guaranteed the minimum wage with additional compensation for work beyond eight hours. And if they are either unable or unwilling to continue the work, they should be allowed to return to East Timor at any time, without being penalized.

### APPENDIX I: STATEMENT OF EAST TIMORESE

We, the undersigned, are the youths brought from East Timor, and we hereby state that we wish to be returned immediately to our homes in East Timor if the following demands are not met:

1. Our salaries should be raised in accordance with a humane standard of living.
2. We should be moved to another workplace in accordance with our aspirations.

3. Force should not be used as a method of guidance.
4. We should not be accused of being political activists.
5. We should be in the hands of training professionals and not the military.

With this we list our names as follows without being forced to do so by any outside party and the list can be used as necessary.

Jakarta, August 21, 1991

### NAME PLACE AND DATE OF BIRTH

Luis Maria	Maubisse, 15.9.67
Nuno V.Pereira Saldanha	Dili, 25.11.71
Joao de Araujo	Aileu, 4.7.74
Agostinho D.A.	Ainaro, 15.8.69
Mario da Costa	Ermera, 6.1.70
Afonso D. Marafal	Lospalos, 13.2.67
Hermangildo Agapito	Balibo, 3.3.66
José da Costa	Same, 17.7.69
Marcos F.S.	Aileu, 20.3.69
Santina da Costa	Ainaro, 10.4.74
Adelino Saca	Aileu, 18.8.69
Zacarias Lau	Suai, 3.6.70
Joao Alves	Aileu, 15.6.70
Germano F.	Dili, 1.7.72
Aleixo Monteiro	Lospalos, 15.6.69
Marculin O	Aileu, 30.2.75
Daniela P.	Ainaro, 1.10.73
Amelia B.S.	Baucau, 10.10.69
Victor A. Pereira R.	Dili, 17.12.72
Fernando H. Barada	Dili, 3.5.72
Aniceto Bras	Oekusi [sic], 14.10.69
Aderito Mendonca dos Reis	Ainaro, 25.11.77
Marculino Augusto	Bazartete, 17.2.72
Duarte Freitas	Lospalos, 4.7.73
Alberto Bere	Laclubar, 20.4.73
Custodio Doutel Soares	Bazartete, 24.4.70

### Drafters of this statement:

Head of the group: Luis Maria Lopes  
Saldhana

Deputy Head: Nuno V.Pereira

### APPENDIX II: LETTER TO GOVERNOR CARRASCALAO

Bawen, August 23, 1991

To: The Governor of East Timor in Dili

We, the undersigned, young men and women who were given jobs by the central Jakarta office of Yayasan Tiara at the textile company, PT Kanindotex on Jl. Bawen, Kilometer 32 in the village of Harjosari, Semarang, Central Java, wish to convey the following.

- a) that we in Dili, East Timor were offered and promised by Yayasan Tiara through a selection process that we would be given jobs on Batam Island with a salary of between Rp.250,000 to Rp.300,000 together with education and training in technical skills so we could develop our expertise and careers. We were also promised other benefits.

- b) that the explanation given us by Yayasan Tiara was clear and the promises explicit; they were witnessed by us, our families and the people of Dili on several occasions including in a program convened on December 27 in the Radio Republik Indonesia auditorium in Dili and in the farewell ceremony given when we left Dili on March 27 in the Rising Sun (Matahari Terbit) building in Dili and in announcements that were made by village officials and by KNPI (Indonesian National Youth Committee) of East Timor.
- c) that after we came to Jakarta for "further processing," imagine our disappointment when Yayasan Tiara very openly refused, in fact renegged on all its promises, said we were not going to Batam Island, and gave contradictory reasons and explanations for why we had come.
- d) that after several days in Jakarta full of frustration and controversy between participants and the Yayasan and deep feelings of apprehension, we were forcibly assigned to several areas in West Java and Central Java without one definite plan or one program that could upgrade the quality of our education as had been promised before: that is, appropriate work and useful technical training.
- e) that after five months, we were sent to work in the Kanindotex factory as menial labor with a salary of Rp.10,500 a month which has just been raised to between Rp.10,000 and Rp.20,000 depending on achievement and work experience, but this does not even meet basic needs, there has been no training, with working hours that are far too long, and without any meaningful health insurance.
- f) we acknowledge that we have been given a temporary subsidy by Yayasan Tiara of Rp.22,500 a month, which still does not meet daily needs, let alone allows us to pay for education or courses that could be useful to us.
- g) that the incidents of "clashes" and emotional outbreaks that have occurred in the factory where we work are the result of our deep disappointment and frustration over our fate and the unfulfilled promises of Yayasan Tiara.
- h) that around the month of May, we were pressed by a staff member of Yayasan Tiara (East Timor branch) into signing a statement they had drafted. The contents of the statement were to the effect that our predicament had not happened, that everything was fine and there were no significant problems. It was as if to give the impression that everything was going according to plan. Because the statement was basically forced on us and accompanied by threats, that if we refused to

sign, none of our complaints would be addressed, some of us felt forced to sign.

- i) that realizing this situation, we hereby would like to retract our admission in that forced statement brought by the Tiara staff and at the same time convey our regret at the fake promises and the treatment that we have received.

With the above explanation and more that we cannot go into in detail that has happened during the five months we have been in Java, we request with great concern to the Governor that he attend to and resolve our situation, in particular:

1. The promises made by Yayasan Tiara in Dili, East Timor, as the one responsible for our coming here, should be fulfilled and we should not be left stranded without definite jobs or training.
2. We request jobs and training that are both appropriate and will meet our needs, including salaries or honoraria that will raise our physical and mental well-being as well as our professional skills, especially in the field of mid-level technology and industry that is badly needed for the development of East Timor.
3. If this request cannot be met, we ask the Governor to help us find the funding to continue our education in teacher training schools, academies or other vocational skills, remembering that we are still young and have the potential for achievement that will serve the region and the people (Nusa dan Bangasa) well.

We thank the Governor for his consideration.

Signed (65 signatures)

cc: Yayasan Tiara (Central Jakarta)  
 Bishop of the Diocese of Dili  
 Gilberto Soares, Elisio Rosario,  
 Domingos Pereira, Natalino Do Carmo,  
 Carlos Pereira da Silva, Cosme Freitas, Julio Pereira Boboasaro, Manuel Napoleon M.,  
 Geraldo Guterres, Celestino dos Santos,  
 Jejuina da Silva, Ana Maria de Orleans,  
 Filomena da Silva, Maria Goreti Gonjaga,  
 Marieta da Silva, Leonito José Cristovao,  
 Joakim Ribeiro, Lourenso dias Marques,  
 Antonio da Silva, Carlos de Deus, Mateus D. De Deus, Marcus da Costa Araujo,  
 Joaquim Alves, Humberto dos Santos,  
 Sebastiao M. Varela, Afonso de Almeida,  
 Silvester M.O., Fernando C., Luis da Costa,  
 Mariano Suriano, Carlos Joaquim Alves,  
 Pedro Manuel Sarmento, Gaspar Pinheiro  
 Alves, Vicente Caldeira, Paul Silvestre,  
 Eusebio dos Anjos Marques, Carlito  
 Martins Varella, Tito Madeirino, Osorio  
 Florindo, Antonio Pereira, Valeri J.T., Artur  
 Sarminto M. Freitas, José Soares, Henrique  
 Gonsalves, Domingos Guterres, Joaquim  
 Vicente, Salustiano M., Justino Henriques,  
 Manuel Nascimento, Diamantino Tade Mau,  
 Justino do Carmo, Antonio de Sousa,

Sebastiao Tanese, Arlindo Rodriguis Pereira,  
 Celestino N. Boerek, Elias Rebelo,  
 Domingos Soares, Armindo M. Lobo,  
 Tomas de Oliveira Soares, Henriques dos  
 Santos, Armando Magno, Justino da Silva,  
 Mateus Ribeiro A., Daniel Dus Reis,  
 Fortonato X.H.

### APPENDIX III: APPEAL TO INDONESIAN HUMAN RIGHTS ACTIVISTS

*Letter sent on May 20, 1991 to the Institute  
 for the Defense of Human Rights:*

Yayasan Tiara sponsored the sending of the first wave of, 132 East Timorese workers. We were supposed to go to Batam, Island, but when we got to Jakarta, that plan was cancelled without any clear explanation. People in the central office of the Yayasan said we lacked the necessary skills so they offered to send us to work in Simanggole (North Moluccas) but we refused, because of the offer from Ibu Tutut herself. The matter was postponed to the next day, March 30, when we met with Ibu Tutut. She offered to send us to a textile factory in Semarang, Kanindotex, in Central Java. That evening, Francisco Lopes of the National Security Council came to see us in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah together with Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a member of the national parliament. In this meeting, Francisco Lopes talked at length about many problems including the problem of East Timor in the international arena, because he had just returned from a human rights conference in Geneva. After his talk, one of our friends asked in front of the directors of the Yayasan about being sent to Batam.

At the moment we left East Timor, the Bishop, the Governor and all the officials of East Timor as well as our parents knew that as soon as we arrived in Jakarta, we would have three months of training in Jakarta and then go to work in Batam Island. But nothing happened as Ibu Tutut had promised, and they offered again to send us to Semarang. But we felt cheated and sick that not only had they lied to us, they had lied to all the officials in East Timor. We told this to Francisco Lopes and look at his response!

He only answered that he did not want to interfere in our problem because he was a member of the National Security Council and had not been sent from East Timor, so he did not have the power to resolve our problem. Because Francisco Lopes was an East Timorese, we had had no objection to telling him about our problem, but his answer was not in line with our desires or aspirations and we did not accept it. But we agreed to work in the Kanindotex factory.

Why did the 18 of us resign and return to Jakarta? Because of the conflict between ourselves and Yayasan Tiara over the promises that we would be sent to school at the same time that we were working, but

this did not happen. Moreover, our working hours were 8 to 5 and we worked as menial labor, carrying things to put on top of trucks, and our salaries were only Rp.10,500 a month, with the added subsidy from Yayasan Tiara of Rp.22,500 so that we go Rp.33,500 a month. But the subsidy was only for the first three months. Even with the subsidy, this was not enough to pay for our education or help our parents. They then lied to us again. First, the president of Kanindotex, Robi Jayadi, and Ibu Tutut promised that the funds for room and board would be taken care of by the factory, but it turned out our salary was cut to pay for room and board.

So what they had promised in Taman Mini on March 30, 1991 was not fulfilled.

So with our salary of only Rp.33,000, not including transportation of Rp.600 a day because of the distance between our lodging and the factory, the 18 of us decided to protest, and we were sent back to Jakarta to settle the problem.

The crux of this problem is our education and helping our parents and younger siblings because we wish to become useful after we return to East Timor to develop East Timor.

All the above problems we turn over to your organization which we deeply respect.

Signed,

Timoteo Miranda F. Soares, Enas José Dias C. Monteiro, Manuel Faria, Aventino Ximenes, Abel Fatima, Manuel Pinto Soares, Helio Freitas da Silva, Abel Soares Pinto, Venancio Pinto, Laurente Soares Freitas, Macario da Conceicao, Cipriano Brites, Francisco da Cunha, Mario Canelas, Joana Lopes (f), Albertina Neves (f), Regina de Jesus R. (f), Palmeira de C. Martins (f)

Represented by: Timoteo Miranda F. Soares

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## EAST TIMOR OFFICIAL DEMANDS RESIDENT AS GOVERNOR

*Scanned from FBIS: Hong Kong AFP in English 13 May 92*

Jakarta, May 13 (AFP)—The speaker of East Timor's legislature has said that the former Portuguese colony would reject any attempt by Jakarta to impose a new governor from outside the province, a newspaper said Wednesday.

"In principle, we reject any non-East Timorese candidate for governor, the Jawa Pos daily quoted East Timor's House Speaker Guilherme dos Santos as saying in the provincial capital of Dili.

"We have our own candidates... Give us a chance to play politics. Do not violate the rules of the game. Do not spoil the process of candidacy," dos Santos said of the governor, chosen by the president from three candidates selected by the provincial parliament.

Home Affairs Minister Rudini last month said that East Timor should accept a

governor who was not a native of the region, a Portuguese colony for some 400 years before Jakarta declared it the 27th province of Indonesia in 1976, a year after it invaded.

The United Nations has not recognized the annexation of East Timor and regards Portugal as the legitimate administrator.

The present governor, Mario Viegas Carrascalao, is scheduled to end his second five-year term in office in September and is barred by law from a third term.

In March dos Santos called on Jakarta not to dictate its choice for the governorship. "Never tell us who should be named the next governor, otherwise it will hurt East Timor," he said.

Carrascalao said last month that there were 15 possible candidates for the governorship, 13 of them native East Timorese.

Among the more prominent names circulating as a possible candidate is that of Clementino dos Reis Amaral, a ruling party legislator who is a member of the official team probing the massacre by the Indonesian military in Dili last November.

East Timor-born ruling party legislator Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares said early last month that Brigadier General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, a former military commander of East Timor removed from his post following the Dili massacre, was also among the candidates.

Indonesian President Suharto in December removed Warouw and his direct superior, Bali-based Major General Sintong Panjaitan, from their posts, saying they were responsible as military leaders for the massacre, in which scores of East Timorese died.

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## SYAFEI ON SURRENDERS

Reuter, Jakarta, May 29 - At least 12 East Timor guerrillas have surrendered to the Indonesian military after running out of food, the official news agency Antara reported on Friday.

It quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying soldiers had also found babies left by the rebels in the jungle in the former Portuguese colony.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in 1976 but still confronts a guerrilla movement fighting its rule and anti-Indonesia sentiment, especially among urban youth.

Syafei said there were only about 300 guerrillas left wandering the rugged hills of East Timor. Diplomats have put the figure much lower.

He accused some local residents of helping rebels to hide in towns because life in rural areas had become so difficult.

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## SYAFEI ON RESISTANCE

AFP, Jakarta, May 28 - The Fretilin guerrilla movement fighting for the independence of East Timor from Indonesia is

down to its last 300 members and has only about 120 firearms left, an Indonesia military commander has said.

Only about 300 members of the movement were still at large, living in the jungles of East Timor, provincial military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei was quoted as saying late Wednesday by the Antara News Agency.

Syafei, speaking in the provincial capital of Dili, said the group was believed to have only 127 firearms left, each with between one to 18 bullets.

He also said the group's members were now avoiding armed contacts with Indonesian forces and were shifting their operations to clandestine activities in the cities.

Syafei also said that 12 members of Fretilin had surrendered to Indonesian forces but he did not say when or where.

The military commander also warned against calls for the reappointment of outspoken East Timor Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao when his second consecutive term ends in September.

Indonesian laws limits the terms a governor can serve to two consecutive five-year terms. The Indonesian president has to approve one candidate from several proposed by the East Timor regional parliament.

"Now there are talks about appointing (Carrascalao) for a third time... is this not being drunk or trying to fool the people?" Syafei said, adding that such calls could be seen as a violation of rules governing the current election campaign.

Carrascalao, a 54-year old native East Timorese, has been viewed by many here as the best choice to head the province for another term.

East Timor's third governor, Carrascalao has been known for his outspokenness, openly criticizing government and military policies on East Timor and relentlessly advocating a specific approach to development, one suited to a region with a different past than the rest of Indonesia.

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## COMBAT TROOPS LEAVING TIMOR

Reuter, Jakarta, June 5 - Indonesian military leaders said on Friday they would start withdrawing combat troops from East Timor where scores of people were killed when soldiers opened fire at a funeral.

"We are ready to gradually pull out the combat battalions, but we haven't come up with the exact time," Lieutenant Colonel Anton Tompudung of the Udayana military command, which includes East Timor, told Reuters.

Combat troops deployed since Indonesia invaded the territory after the withdrawal of its Portuguese colonial rulers in 1975 form half of the 10,000-strong military in the territory.

The other 5,000 are territorial battalions engaged in development projects.

Anti-Indonesia sentiment has been high in the impoverished territory since troops shot dead up to 180 people at a cemetery in its capital of Dili.

The widely-circulated Kompas daily quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei on Friday as saying: "I see the security situation is now under control. I will reduce the combat troops in East Timor by September."

Syafei also said the military was dissolving a special command to handle separatist guerrillas.

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## SECURITY VERSUS TERRITORIAL APPROACHES IN EAST TIMOR: A REVIEW

June 1, 1992 (from Japan) Forwarded by zanderson@mt.cs.keio.ac.jp:

The latest news on East Timor is an unexpected plan Friday from Brig-Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor military commander, saying that the security situation in East Timor is now under control. Moreover, he will reduce combat troops in East Timor by September 1992 and leave territorial battalions in the former colony of Portugal.

Whatever policies this might reflect, the fundamental issue in East Timor now is how to restore the **dignity** of East Timorese which has been destroyed for almost 18 years under the Indonesian occupation. To assess the current policies the Indonesian army applies in East Timor, one must refer to the past 18 years when Indonesian invaded and annexed East Timor.

Since the occupation by the Indonesian army of this tiny island, gross and systematic killings, torture and arrests have occurred frequently. During the three years from 1975 to 1978, at least 120,000 East Timorese died as a direct result of the Indonesian invasion and the policies pursued in the war against guerrillas and civilians alike. This is probably a conservative estimate, but is in line with statements by Indonesian officials made in 1977 and 1979.

The slaughter of that period was immediately followed by continued military operations against the remaining guerrillas in which thousands more died, and then by a major famine with accompanying disease in the period 1979 to 1982.

By the early 1980s, a widely accepted estimate of the death toll since the invasion was 200,000. In the decade since, international human rights organizations like Amnesty International and the US-based Asia Watch have documented a continued policy of mass executions and random killings which most certainly have added many thousands to the base figure of 200,000.

However, statistics alone do not adequately describe Indonesia's policy of

genocide. Other aspects of the generals' rule in East Timor are calculated to annihilate all facets of traditional life. Although it takes many forms, the broad policy is to "Indonesianize" Jakarta's self-proclaimed 27th province.

The idea of implementing a "security approach" policy was based on the assumption that East Timor was a "daerah khusus" (special area) so it must be treated specially, "closed" to foreign visitors. Certainly many East Timorese suffered severely from this bloody approach.

A subsequent approach has been introduced by Indonesian military officials in order to legitimate themselves in the 'hearts and minds' of Timorese. However, these new methods are merely considered camouflage. This recent "territorial approach" means placing the army's soldiers in the villages and helping villagers build infrastructure there.

Obviously, the Indonesian government has tried to gain international recognition on East Timor by implementing so-called **development**, establishing infrastructure and opening East Timor as a tourist resort in the late 1980s. The Indonesian use the remarkable economic development (i.e., physical development) inside East Timor as a diplomatic tool in order to gain international support.

Ironically, people's participation in the so-called development in East Timor is not encouraged. The fear of being suppressed and terrorized still dominate Timorese – both younger and older generations. At the same time, the people try to remember nostalgically their experiences under Portuguese administration which was peaceful, without any terror.

So, the basic issue that must be raised here is: Has the Indonesian government successfully gained the hearts of the Timorese?

The answer is **no**, for the following reasons:

First, a group of policy makers dominated by ABRI (Armed Forces) used an excessive security approach which created a sense of antipathy among Timorese. We could clearly see the growing number of students who opposed the Indonesian presence there which culminated in the November 12 massacre.

Second, the adoption of the new "territorial approach" toward Timorese as a means of developing infrastructure in the villages has gone wrong.

Third, the Indonesians consider East Timor as a place for the training of their soldiers. This can be detected by how many officers in Indonesia rose in the ranks through their 'heroic' feats in East Timor.

Fourth, the Indonesians sought to undermine the role of the Catholic Church in East Timor where the population is predominantly Catholics. The activities of priests and clergy are suspected to be pro-independence. Moreover, in East Timor it

seems that the policy makers consist of three elements: the Catholic Church led by Bishop Belo, the provincial government, and ABRI. The three elements play their respective roles which inevitably bring them into confrontation with each other.

### More from Zanderson, 7 June 1992:

Based on the reasons in my last posting, it is reasonable to assess that East Timorese resented the presence of the Indonesian army in East Timor. The subsequent events in Dili (i.e., pro-independence demonstrations during the papal visit in October 1989 and the US ambassador's visit in January 1990 – and then November 12, 1991) have proved that attitude. Moreover, due to extensive repression used by the Indonesian army, many East Timorese asserted that life was better under the Portuguese and that Indonesians committed many crimes and atrocities. East Timorese resented Indonesia's military rule, while saying that they regretted the passing of Portuguese rule because it was less repressive than that of Indonesia.

The fighting between pro-independence guerrillas and the Indonesian army was continuing in the mountains. Indonesian officials flatly denied that there was any military conflict going on, asserting laughingly that the guerrillas were finished. But while the Indonesians outwardly exuded confidence, military convoys laden with troops in full combat and camouflage gear could be seen regularly heading up into the mountains.

Despite their suffering and the savage retribution meted out by the occupying military forces, the Timorese were fighting back. Guerrillas were maintaining their lonely struggle for independence and freedom in the mountains and the clandestine resistance network had been strengthened by the new generation of educated urban youth who had been mobilizing secretly for years. Opening of the territory in the late 1980s gave the Timorese a new opportunity after 13 years of war. The influx of foreigners, albeit in small number, was a ray of light at the end of a long, dark tunnel. The resistance sensed that their struggle was entering a new phase.

The Indonesian command was taken aback, believing they had broken the guerrillas' army. Time and again the Indonesian army launched offensives aimed at exterminating guerrillas, time and again the guerrillas survived and neutralized these attacks with the crucial support of the civilian population who suffered horrendous reprisals as a result.

In particular, the role of hawkish Brig-Gen. Theo Syafei shows how 'law and order' is now being implemented in East Timor. He has made it a matter of prestige and a personal crusade to maintain 'law and order' in East Timor.

Ever since becoming Kolakops (the special operational command) commander,

he has repeatedly made it clear that he will not pursue the soft approach of his predecessor. In the brief period since becoming Kolakops commander, Syafei has conducted a major overhaul of the structure. Although continuing the territorial operations of the former commanders, Sintong Panjaitan and Rudy Warouw, the thrust of Operasi Moris Diak (Operation Good Life) under Theo Syafei has taken a different direction. Previously, the 'hearts and minds' strategy of Moris Diak was implemented partly through persuasion. Theo Syafei is now openly critical of his predecessor. Asked how his strategy differed from Brig-Gen. Warouw, he said:

"... In a technical sense our approaches are different. Pak Warouw had his 'loving and caring' approach, but as I see it, because of a different culture, his approach came to be seen as indecision. Some regarded the soft approach as a weakness. I only want to stress the importance of restoring ABRI's credibility." (Suara Pembaruan, March 4, 1992).

Syafei's approach is fully backed by ABRI headquarters in Jakarta.

Without any intention to prejudice, the plan for reducing combat battalions by September 1992 to me is insignificant. Whatever policies this might reflect, the idea is merely formulated to avoid international pressure and to gain legitimation in the hearts and minds of Timorese by joining the villagers in building infrastructure through so called **development**.

The fundamental need is to restore the **dignity** of Timorese which has been damaged by the current regime. They need freedom to express their aspirations. They need a fresh and clean atmosphere without any terror by ABRI. How can East Timorese participate actively in development while they are under pressure?

In fact, under the Indonesian occupation East Timor has achieved significant economic development. However this achievement is measured in terms of physical development, not in terms of mental development.

It is relevant to raise a question here. What is the meaning of development to the Timorese people? Have East Timorese participated fully in the development process?

Theoretically, Dennis Goulet, an economist, pointed out three basic aspects of development:

1. necessity for basic needs
2. self-esteem
3. freedom from servitude (pressure)

Ironically, the policy makers in East Timor (dominated by ABRI) have ignored the last two basic aspects which are the main ingredients for successful development. Moreover, in the case of East Timor, the big error made by Indonesian authorities was trying to equate East Timor with other provinces in the Indonesian archipelago,

while its historical, cultural and political background differed in the extreme.

So, it's too late for the Indonesian army to recover from everything they have done so far, even though they try to handle East Timor diplomatically.

As an Indonesian intellectual commented in the weekly magazine 'Tempo' in March 1992 on the Lusitania Expresso: "It's not a matter of military force but it is a matter of politics. Therefore we must counter them politically in the international arena, not using military force."

He suggested furthermore: "What we, Indonesians, can do now is try to regain international sympathy by all diplomatic means, not using military force to handle the problem of East Timor."

In this regard, Syafei's plan to reduce the combat battalions in East Timor can be categorized as a 'political tactic' in order to minimize international outcry over the massacre and to try to show to foreign countries that East Timor now is focusing on development without any pressure from ABRI. I don't think that the international community will be easily manipulated in view of the injustice and genocide that the Indonesian army has already committed.

We are now entering a new world order in which **peace** is our main objective. The East Timorese also need a conducive atmosphere to enjoy a peaceful life of their own through self-determination. It is every one's inalienable right to determine their own future. Therefore a dialogue among all parties involved in the Timor case is badly needed. Otherwise, it will remain 'too late' and we will still witness the suffering of innocent people through horrendous reprisal.

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## INDICTED POLICEMAN A MASS MURDERER

*From TAPOL, June 7, 1992*

The following testimony of a witness describes the actions of a policeman named Alau during the Santa Cruz massacre. The testimony was among a pile of documents received in Portugal from East Timor earlier this year and is reproduced here because of the light it sheds on the courts martial that have just been completed in Bali.

There can be little doubt that Alau, mentioned in the testimony, is Corporal Louis Pereira Marthin Alau, a policeman who was convicted last week of injuring a demonstrator during the Santa Cruz Massacre and sentenced to 17 months. The witness identified Alau as a known assassin and saw him kill two wounded demonstrators.

The outcome of Indonesia's judicial response involves, firstly, 5 Timorese demonstrators tried in Jakarta and given sentences up to ten years for their part in peaceful demonstrations in Jakarta. Thirteen other Timorese are still on trial in Dili; the

prosecutor has asked the court to sentence Gregorio to life and wants eight, ten and fifteen years for some of the others on trial.

But out of the massacre which resulted in the deaths and/or disappearance of 180 people, ten policemen and soldiers have been tried and convicted to 17 months or less for "failing to obey orders," "losing control of subordinates," and one (Alau) of "hitting a protester in the head, causing injury and deafness."

The courts-martial were finished in record time, apparently without any press present and almost certainly without calling any victims or witnesses who might have seen them in action (not that any Timorese would have dared testify at a court martial!).

### TESTIMONY OF THE MASSACRE AT SANTA CRUZ - DILI

*The following document has been translated from the Portuguese:*

Statement by one of the young organisers of the demonstration on 12 November, a 20-year old student who lives in Dili. He is not identified by name. He sustained two serious bullet-wounds, one in the thigh and one in the shoulder.

"I had hardly stopped talking when a unit of troops in uniform and armed with M-16s, began to arrive. I drew back a little, thinking they had come to arrest us. One armed 'tentara' [soldier] wearing civilian dress, passed in front of me, just a few metres away and shouted in Bahasa: "Kamu anti-Indonesia?..." ["You're anti-Indonesian?"] and started shooting into the crowd. I couldn't believe my eyes but I had no time to think. I tried to run away but I heard a lieutenant coming up behind the soldier in civilian dress shout: "Tembak, tembak saja!" ["Fire, go ahead, fire!"]

"I felt a terrible pain in my right shoulder. Although I had been hit, I was still able to run but I could not run faster than the bullets. Then I felt a more powerful impact in my bottom, near my thigh, which threw me to the ground. I felt an intense heat in my left thigh (where the bullet has passed). I lay on the ground, immobile. Meanwhile a secret policeman, a 'tentara' notorious for the number of killings he has committed, known by the nickname Alau, was chasing a companion who could hardly run and who had a large red stain (blood) on his chest. Alau kicked the unfortunate man to the ground. He continued to attack him, stabbing him three times on his left side, and as the victim was still groaning, he shot him in the head, blowing his brains out. Terrified, I closed my eyes.

"As I was barely three or four metres away, I tried to make out that I was dead. Then, a short way ahead of me I heard a noise; I opened my eyes and saw Alau running towards a young man who was on the ground, covered in blood, screaming with pain. Seeing that the man was still alive, Alau stabbed him twice which silenced him for ever.

"I couldn't but pray to God that Alau would not look my way. God must have heard my prayer because Alau kept going ahead. Meanwhile, the noise of shooting all around me was unbearable. But I noticed that the soldiers were running towards the fleeing crowd and leaving the cemetery.

"I lifted up my head a little and saw all around me only dead bodies, everywhere in the cemetery. I moved my leg and realised that I could still walk. I gathered together all my strength and started running as fast as I could. Although bullets were hissing passed me, I kept going. I crawled, reaching the pavement and, after avoiding a barrage of soldiers, I kept going through the houses until, overcome by exhaustion, I collapsed in front of one of the houses. The owners of the house saw me, quickly pulled me inside and hid me. I think that 15 minutes had already passed but I could still hear the shooting going on.

"Some time later, the soldiers were carrying out a house-to-house search. I was put into a sack and carried to another house farther away. But even so, we were warned that the soldiers were coming in our direction. I was moved to another house and at night I was taken far away from Santa Cruz where I received treatment."

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### **BBC: 100 DILI MASSACRE VICTIMS STILL UNACCOUNTED FOR**

*The following story was broadcast by Adam Brooks on BBC World Service on 07/06/92, following a 5-day visit to Dili.*

Dili killings total much higher than officially admitted - 100 still missing presumed buried in mass graves.

Sources in East Timor say that the Indonesian armed forces have failed to carry out any search for the bodies of those Timorese killed by Indonesian troops last year. The chief of the armed forces was instructed in December by the Indonesian President, Suharto, to account for those dead and missing after troops opened fire on mourners during a memorial procession in the East Timorese capital, Dili. But the sources say that more than six months after the shootings well over a hundred people remain unaccounted for. Adam Brooks who's just visited East Timor sent us his report from Jakarta:

"Hate and resentment over the Dili killings remain rife in East Timor. Reliable sources in the fiercely Catholic East Timorese community say that not one body has been returned to its family for burial. They told the BBC that the army has made no effort to find the bodies. The Dili shootings caused an international outcry. A government report on the incident said fifty people had died and ninety were missing. The report criticized the army's actions, including the way in which it did not ac-

count for casualties. In late December President Suharto instructed the head of Indonesia's armed forces, General Try Sutrisno, to account for the dead and missing. There is no evidence to suggest that the army has done so and East Timorese sources say the dead remain buried in mass graves outside Dili. They say the army knows where the bodies are but does not want to account for them because the numbers are much higher than officially made public. The military commander in East Timor, who was installed after the killings, ignored repeated BBC requests for an interview. Military sources have been quoted as saying some of the missing have turned up though no details have been released. East Timor, a former Portuguese colony invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and subsequently annexed, has long seen resistance to Indonesian rule and human rights organisations have alleged widespread abuses by the military."

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### **WORDS FROM THE TIMORESE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT**

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#### **XANANA WRITES TO UN SECRETARY-GENERAL**

*The following is the official translation, made available by José Ramos-Horta, external representative of National Council of Maubere Resistance, of a letter written by Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao. The text posted here is as received with a few minor editorial corrections. The letter was delivered to the UN during a May visit to New York by Ramos-Horta.*

National Command of the  
Maubere Resistance  
Liberation Armed Forces of East Timor  
31 January 1992

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

With respectful compliments and, on behalf of the people of East Timor, I have the honour to greet your Excellency as the highest ranking officer of the United Nations.

Your election constituted yet another victory for the Third World, symbol of North-South disparities. Your brilliant career and rich diplomatic experience, as well as the fact that you have a first-hand knowledge of the plight of the Palestinian and Saharawi peoples, give us confidence that Your Excellency will not forget the existence of a people, in Oceania, a people fighting for the universal rights enshrined in the United Nations Charter.

The signing of the Salvadorean peace agreement, right at the beginning of your mandate, filled the people of East Timor with joy and hope for their aspirations; we are conscious that greater problems will require your attention; East Timor, however, is not a new case; it was entrusted to the Secretary-General by General Assembly resolution 87/80.

East Timor was the object of eight General Assembly and two Security Council resolutions; the latter urged Jakarta to immediately withdraw all its forces from East Timor.

Cases such as Kuwait, showed how the international community and nations vigorously repudiate acts of expansionism, perpetrated in total violation of international law and norms. Other cases, such as Cambodia, on the other hand, reveal the goodwill of the international community and of the nations to settle differences and conflicts through the most appropriate means, i.e.: a path of dialogue.

Resolution 37/30 mandated the Secretary-General of the UN to initiate consultations with the parties involved. The wrong interpretation given to the spirit and the letter of this resolution, derives from the lack of definition of the substantive question. If we talk about international law, then the East Timorese should have that right - if we spell out those universal rights, such principles should be applied to the Maubere people as well.

In East Timor, an armed conflict has persisted, for 16 years; in East Timor, a generalised political resistance by our people persists against the Indonesian military occupation. From September 1975, Indonesia has been violating our borders culminating this act of aggression with the murder of 5 Australian journalists who were witness to this act of aggression. On 7 December 1975 it invaded. As a result of the vandalism that followed the invasion, more than 80% of the population abandoned their homes and their possessions and moved to the mountains, in a natural and spontaneous demonstration of their repudiation of foreign aggression, and determined to defend the sovereignty of their motherland.

Until August 1977, the aggressors only controlled the main roads and a few villages. In the following months, the Jakarta generals launched major "search and destroy" operations against several resistance bases. This offensive only ended in November 1978. Using "scorch earth" tactics, with daily air, sea and artillery heavy bombings, the invading army forced the people to constant displacement. Many died as a result of the shelling and from starvation and disease. The physical exhaustion these people endured under such a large scale offensive, weighed considerably in their decision to give themselves up to the enemy. Numerous massacres were perpetrated as the people surrendered themselves. Horrible crimes that only the occupation

forces could commit. The people, confined to areas surrounding the villages, totally controlled and under all kinds of restrictions, succumbed to starvation and disease. During the years of 1978 and 1980 burials were a daily event.

Besides the starvation and disease, '79 and '80 were also the years when the occupying forces emptied the prisons - it must be mentioned that there were prisons in all of the administrative councils and in the majority of the outposts - where the surrendering cadres and community members who were active in organising and mobilising the masses during the difficult period of the resistance were sent. Individual and collective killings systematically happened on a daily basis. If people were missing, that meant that the place where those victims were killed was unknown, because there is no doubt that they were being taken to "Jakarta." It was during that period of hunger and strict surveillance that the Indonesian forces killed many villagers, who were compelled to walk to surrounding bush areas to gather some leaves, wild roots or fruit to feed themselves in order to survive. They would not spare anyone, be it the elderly, women and children.

In the first half of 1981, a new wave of imprisonments and killings shook the territory, especially Dili. Atauro opened up its doors to accommodate tens of thousands of deported people. Torture, as a generalised practice, increased. Violence, persecution, massacres and extortion of the victims were all elements of the climate of terror. A person walking on a road to another village would be killed for not carrying a "surat jalan" (travel document); a person would be killed for staying longer at the farm and return to the "apel" (compulsory assembly at designated centres) of the people at late hours. Killings would happen also inside the farm, through which the Indonesian troops would return from their raids against the guerrillas. Women were raped by entire platoons; women were shot dead when they tried to resist; parents were tortured and killed in the presence of their children and husbands in the presence of their wives.

This prolonged situation was caused by incessant hunger, because no crops could be produced, because it became very hard for anything or anyone just to survive.

By the end of 1983 and throughout 1984, another wave of imprisonments, killings and missing people left all of East Timor in pain and bereavement. It should be pointed out that from March to July 1983, a cease-fire agreement between the warring parties was in effect. In contradiction to the intentions that led to the establishment of a dialogue, Jakarta decided to threaten to decimate us if we would not surrender, taking a provocative attitude, in a clear violation of the cease fire agreement.

From 1985 to the present, the threats and particularly the persecution carried out by a vast secret police organisation, as well as the

imprisonments have continued unabated, unequivocal evidence that Jakarta carried on this intolerable practice because it felt it was being backed by many Western countries, which frequently use double standards in similar situations of total disrespect for the fundamental human rights.

The brutal repression that unfolded in the wake of the illegal occupation of East Timor culminated in the Santa Cruz killings of 12 November 1991 and the cases of arrests and torture that followed the incident.

Mr Secretary-General,

We can state, with all conviction, that more than 200,000 (two hundred thousand) Timorese have lost their lives as a consequence of the bloody invasion and illegal occupation of East Timor.

The events of 12 November are a sufficient indication of that. While the estimated death toll was 150 to 180, Jakarta's official version referred to only 19 (later on changing it to 50, due to international pressure) and therefore one could raise the question that the official version of 60,000 to 80,000 [referring here to the total death toll since 1975] should in all fairness have the reservations of the international community, namely the United Nations. The Indonesian Government has adopted the policy of playing down its practices of torture and denying the killings. Before the UN Commission on Human Rights and its Sub-Commission, the Indonesian delegates tried to subvert the ethical, moral and political values of Human Rights, bringing up the absurd justification that any statements denouncing human rights in East Timor are "false accusations by people who don't like Indonesia."

Jakarta has always opposed access to East Timor of any international, independent inquiry missions alleging that it is an Indonesian internal affair. Not even the presence of the UN Special Rapporteur, Mr Peter Kooijmans, could curb the policy of genocide in which the Jakarta leadership have been engaged. President Soeharto managed to win the sympathy of the friendly countries like the US, Australia, the Netherlands, Japan and Canada, because they were satisfied with the "evidence" that the number of people killed in the Santa Cruz incident was 50, not 19. His efforts, however, did not change in the least the Indonesian policy toward East Timor.

After the two high-ranking officers who were made responsible for the incident were transferred, there was an official statement that revealed the true intentions of the new Military Commander. Control measures were stepped up, with "Kopassus" (elite troops) posted across all Dili neighbourhoods and other places in the interior, in addition to "ABRI" (Indonesian Armed Forces) platoons, also called "masuk desa" ('entering the villages'), supposedly deployed to "mingle" with the local population. These troops subject people, on

a daily basis, to a program that has as one of its goals an almost absolute control of the youth, by monitoring their movements and activities.

Young men from all "desas" (villages) summoned to go to the Dili Kodim (District Command), were themselves suddenly taken on trucks to Taibese, the barracks for battalion 744, to receive military training. Daily sports activities are mandatory in some "desa," and that became a sure way of controlling the youth. The authorities continue to make persecutions and strengthen the secret police apparatus. The Indonesians themselves say that "the rule of manis (sweetness)" is over, from now on there will be a major "senjata" (armed) rule.

And it will continue that way, as long as the occupation forces remain in the territory. The repression exerted by Indonesia is a consequence of this situation and, as long as there is imposition by the force of arms by one side, there will always be a rejection of a foreign presence by the other side.

Jakarta claims that the situation is an internal affair and supports its claim with the "Declaration of Balibo" as the document that gave origin to the "7th July integration." Many East Timorese, including the UDT Vice-President, Joao Carrascalao, have denounced the farce of the "Provisional Assembly." The key argument in support of the "internal affair" allegation is that, through the so-called "Provisional Assembly," the people of East Timor "choose integration by their free will."

The late Bishop Dom Martinho Lopes, who witnessed all the tragic events in East Timor since the beginning of the invasion, up until his own expulsion from the territory, eight years later, always spoke out loud and clear, protesting the fact that no one ever asked the Maubere people whether they wanted integration or not. I must add that such act, presented as "an act of self-determination," was implemented at a time when the vast majority of the East Timorese people were under heavy pressure from the invading forces with constant air, sea and land attacks.

I must point out Mr Secretary-General, that besides the facts of the tragic situation of the people who resisted in the mountains, there are testimonies by those who witnessed and/or participated against their own will, who declared that those "elected" to the so-called "Peoples Assembly" were recruited by the Indonesian military.

Recently, Bishop Ximenes Belo portrayed the prevailing situation in a letter addressed to the (outgoing) UN Secretary-General, asking for a referendum to be held, because the people of East Timor were never given the opportunity to express their will freely. He said: "We are dying as a People and as a Nation." In fact, many governments, I would even say, all of the other countries' governments which, for various reasons may recognise the "sovereignty of Indonesia over East Timor"

as a fact, do not agree with the way in which the "integration into Indonesia" was done. Under International Law, this act can only be considered illegal annexation of East Timor, carried out with the use of force.

The United Nations and its appropriate bodies have condemned the act of aggression and military occupation perpetrated on East Timor, International organisations, namely the European Community, European Parliament, Council of Europe and other international organisations, prominent individual entities and parliaments and governments from various countries have also condemned Indonesia and urge all parties involved, including the East Timorese, to search for a negotiated solution to the conflict.

Mr Secretary-General,

Mankind can breathe the winds of democratic change. Recent and current developments in some regions of the globe seem to have revived a phenomenon that belonged - peoples' nationalism! It has been proven beyond doubt that the use of force can put down rebellions, but it cannot destroy peoples' minds, and that repression can subjugate a people - an entire people, but it will not destroy these peoples' aspirations, no matter in which latitude on the globe or at which point in history.

Self-determination as a principle and as a right is a most cherished aspiration for any people in the world. Self determination is a legal process, in which a people determines its identity and decides on its destiny and therefore any act of self-determination must be exercised in freedom.

The New World Order is being shaped out of the Cold War and the collapse (surprisingly sudden) of the iron curtain. The process of democratic renewal, whose effects are being felt the world over, reflects the awareness of the peoples that materialistic deals are not satisfactory when one's spirit is being oppressed and when one's body is being subject to violence, when justice is being ignored and freedom and reason truth are suppressed.

All the people in the world want to walk hand-in-hand towards a future of peace and freedom on our planet. The settlement of many conflicts underscores the validity and fairness of dialogue, as the basic principle for good relations among human beings and among peoples and nations.

The signing of the peace accords in El Salvador augurs a promising mandate for Your Excellency. May we convey to you our best wishes for success in attaining the goals of peace and the strengthening of democracy, freedom and human rights and the narrowing of the gap between North and South. Dialogue is the only appropriate path to eliminate differences and the fairest means to bring together warring factions and the most appropriate way to seek solutions and build up peace.

What we need is the political will on the part of everyone concerned, particularly the leadership, so that, through dialogue we can continue to build, piece by piece, a world of enduring peace. The present international political situation makes it easier for dialogue to prevail as the most appropriate way toward the strengthening of the New Order. We can no longer rely just on idealism - the changes dictate otherwise - the intransigent defence of the human rights and the fundamental rights of the peoples. We can no longer rely on idealism - the future of the peoples compels us to do otherwise - to defend of universal principles. We can no longer rely on idealism - human conscience compels us to do otherwise - to defend justice and liberty!

Realism, in the future, cannot continue to be dictated by the interests of the strong and the powerful. Realism, in the future, must be more humane and more faithful to the foundations of freedom and democracy. Only a more humane and less egocentric vision, only a vision inspired by solidarity and less interest-guided, and only a fairer, more balanced, and less dishonest vision on the part of the rich and economically strong countries will help find the right direction to alleviate the sacrifices endured by Third World peoples. When everything still has to revolve around economic interests, when everything has to be defined along the lines of regional strategies, when everything is measured on a scale of advantages and disadvantages, the economic gaps will prevail, political incoherence will prevail and the New World Order will be, after all, marked by the submission of the poor to the callousness of the strong and the relinquishing of the poor.

But we believe in the goodwill of the human being. We believe that things will be reestablished in a positive way and that the Middle East talks under way will result in substantive agreements which will help foster new Arab-Israeli relations and enable the Palestinians to have [a] future with rights to which they are entitled. We believe that the profound differences that became an obstacle to the Western Sahara referendum to be held within the established schedule will be overcome, for the benefit of all parties involved, and that within the framework of the United Nations, a peaceful, just and lasting settlement can be achieved.

We also believe that the irreversible process of the dismantling of Apartheid will continue its course without further delay, toward the establishment of a democratic and multiracial system, where all individuals are equal, with the same rights and obligations.

We believe that the processes of national reconciliation under way in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America will bring peace and accord among men.

We believe that peace is not the privilege of just a few peoples, because peace is essentially an aspiration of mankind.

Only justice can ensure peace, because injustice means total disregard for the universal values of freedom and lawfulness (the rule of law?), East Timor is a case that falls under international law. The prevailing situation in East Timor constitutes a violation of international norms and a rejection of universal principles.

We also believe that the time has come for the Government of Indonesia a great, thriving Third World nation, to reflect upon the need to take the right step, in the right direction.

Unfortunately, now having exhausted all the arguments to justify, before the Western world, the act of aggression against East Timor and its military occupation of the territory, recently Mr Ali Alatas, referring to the massacre of 12 November, brought up the initial argument of the "existence of a communist threat." A minimum of common sense would have helped the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Ministry to think a little before saying something of this nature. We believe, even so, that the new thinking fostered by these changes will have an effect on the Indonesian leadership, prompting them to reconsider their attitude of inflexibility before the international community, even if only for the sake of affirming the principles that served as a basis for the foundations of the MNA [Non-Aligned Movement].

Mr Secretary-General,

Your Excellency has a mandate, under resolution 37/30 to deal with the question of East Timor.

Portugal, as the administering power for the territory, which is recognised by the international community, has stated the need for participation by the East Timorese, in tripartite talks. On our side, I would like to reiterate our total willingness to participate in a dialogue. Our proposal of a dialogue without preconditions, which was extensively endorsed by various international organisations and various countries' parliaments, politicians and individual entities, as well as by several governments and Human Rights organisations, has the objective of enabling all parties involved to be on an equal footing, so a discussion can be initiated on ways and means more consistent and satisfactory to all involved, for a just lasting and internationally acceptable solution.

However, we appeal to Your Excellency, Mr Secretary-General, to replace the mediator in this process. It has been demonstrated on several instances that the role of mediation is crucial to advancing or thwarting efforts. And when those efforts are made within the framework of the United Nations, the impartiality and fairness of the UN representatives are a moral imperative.



Lastly, Mr Secretary-General, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that there will soon be general elections in Indonesia. Jakarta has in the past used the elections to affirm that the people of East Timor have already demonstrated twice the validity of the act of integration.

We believe that it would be enough to mention the massacre of 12 November for the people to grasp the true meaning of "popular will," expressed in the past two elections. With this rationale, it will not be surprising to hear about a massive participation of the people, who voted for the all-mighty Golkar. As a matter-of-fact, instructions were already issued to the effect that everyone should vote [for] Mr Golkar, in order to spare retaliation.

The "Lusitania Expresso," which is on a peaceful mission, has been the object of repeated threats of destruction; its mere presence provoked unprecedented restrictive measures against East Timorese youths; more than one hundred college students were arrested and taken to the Battalion 744 barracks, in Taibese. In addition to that, dozens of other students were drafted to receive mandatory military instruction, a preventative measure to keep young people under control at the arrival of the ship.

Situations such as these, which reveal the kind of repression exerted under military occupation, take all the credibility away from the elections, which are expected to take place in the next months. It is simply inconceivable that anyone would try and make believe that there is a possibility to contest the situation, through a so-called abstention by a people victim of repression and control.

Please accept, Your Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

Signed, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao  
Member of the CNRM Commander of FALINTIL

General Headquarters of the General Command of the Maubere Resistance, East Timor, 31 January 1992.

## LETTERS BETWEEN THE FRONTS IN EAST TIMOR

*East Timor News (Lisbon), Subject Memo No. 2, 1992, 26 May 1992. Scanned, unedited, and unabridged.*

*Translation, in full, of the article in Diario de Noticias, 25 April 1992*

After the November 12 massacre and the police operations which followed, about 90% of the Timorese clandestine network had been dismantled. But it was immediately renewed and the resistance ' although grieving for its dead, is again ready for the struggle. This correspondence, sent to the guerrillas from various areas, was a vital element in this reconstruction.

Ramos-Horta opened his large leather briefcase and took out a sheaf of manu-

scripts. His eyes filled with the tears, rather inappropriate in such elegant surroundings: "I have here some letters that you can read and carefully analyze. It is explained here, how the resistance quickly reorganized itself after 90 percent of the clandestine front had been taken apart following the massacre."

He showed several letters grouped together by subject matter, "The Clandestine Front," "Reports of the Massacre," "The Armed Struggle"; here pointing out the care with which a comrade was told that his medicines were en route, there the meticulous information given to the leader of the resistance.

"Xanana insisted that these letters should be sent abroad" said the personal representative of the supreme commander of the Maubere resistance. "He wanted people to know what it is like living the struggle, and why not through the communication between the clandestine front and the front of armed struggle."

For security reasons we will not give the addresses of the senders or the recipients of these letters. And for the same reasons we will not say where the letters were posted nor give any other information which could compromise the security of the militants of the Timorese resistance or even alleged collaborators denounced in the messages. Unfortunately we are not able to reproduce the letters written in Tetum.

### "Only now can the cigarettes be sent on"

"Dear brother (...):

A brotherly embrace to you, I hope you are safe. Here are four vials of penicillin and a bottle of distilled water. We've already arranged the clothes and the other things for (...). So you still need the 12 or 10 radio and the camera. (...) sends his greetings and a hug. Brother, (...) forgot to send the cigarettes and only now has he sent them on. (...)

"Dearest brother

Your letter dated 24-12-1991 arrived on the 3rd of this month. I'm grateful for your thoughtfulness and in return I'd like to wish you good health at this Christmas time and success in 92.

Although I've only been among our people for a short time, after several years of absence, on every friend's face I see repudiation for the integrationist policy still defended by some people who are unaware of their identity and who are fascinated by the rupiahs and the life of luxury offered by the enemy.

However, I take these as lessons that will guide me through this day and correct my attitudes of political infatigability. At the same time I want to be able to accept this situation, which is normal in any freedom struggle.

I'm aware of my capacity and of the fact that I have little general and political education, but the demands of our struggle keep up my determination, and so, although I

didn't know a lot, the only thing I could do was come to swell the ranks of the resistance."

### "... but these were only tortured"

(...) and I can't come back to (...) as we are being sought by the enemy in that region. On 11-11-91 we received orders from Command to set up a demonstration on 12-11-91 and the result was good seeing that the world is bringing pressure to bear on Jakarta and the 12th Nov. demonstration advanced our cause in the international forums. What saddens us is that many Timorese were captured, massacred, tortured and imprisoned by the enemy.

Now I'm with a group of young people in a hide-away because we are being persecuted. I've already received orders from the Command to send a list of those captured, massacred, tortured and imprisoned, but it's been difficult for me to investigate, so I've only been able to send those that I know about.

The youth sector needs new orders from the Command because the enemy is continuing to capture our members day by day. (...)

Comrade (...) has probably already told you that nine people were killed but they were only tortured and finally sent to hospital but we don't know where they are in the hospital. But we do know that only two were detained and others have already been set free including (...).

### Captures and Pillage

*The text which follows is an extract from a hand-written report from a "Sub region" of the 2nd Unit of FALINTIL - Armed Forces of National Liberation of East Timor.*

"It is respectfully reported, that at 10 o'clock on the 30th of last month, Indonesian forces from the 403 battalion and police from Baucau were set loose on Samalari locality in Baucau. In all there were 40 to 50 people with small arms and Hersatal and AKA machine guns. They surrounded the houses of the villagers, with all the machine guns and a group from Intel, with their weapons cocked, into the house of a young man called Saturino da Costa Belo. He is 30 years old, single and an ex-political prisoner. He was captured together with his two brothers; Alcinio Freitas Vital, 27 years old, single and a former political prisoner and Custodio Freitas, 16 years old, single and a student at Fatumaca; and his uncle Agostinho Freitas, about 40. The brothers, despite different surnames, are all the sons of Afonso Marcal Sequiera and are all from the village of Ossolunga, in Samalari locality. They were taken to the local police headquarters in Baucau with their hands tied behind their backs. However, after questioning which involved torture, Agostinho Freitas was set free but the three brothers are still detained or in prison where they are subjected to daily torture which causes

blood to appear in their mouths, ears and noses.

Besides the capture of the four the majority of the families' belongings were pilaged and these are as follows:

- one golden moon
- two gold earrings
- six Mexican coins
- three silver bracelets
- two silver chains
- two pairs of women's earrings
- two gold broaches
- money
- two jutas or 200,000 rupiahs
- two pairs of shoes
- one camera
- one 10 band radio
- 15 shirts
- 15 pairs of trousers
- one watch
- two travelling bags
- one small tape-recorder

A statue of Our Lady and other images on the oratory were destroyed.

PS - The names of the enemy or Intel who took part in the capture are (10 names and addresses follow as well as other identifying information) (...)

We continue to receive information that the enemy is secretly arming Timorese nationals who collaborate with them, with firearms and hand grenades so that they can secretly eliminate suspect elements or attack their houses and then afterwards blame the guerrillas.

### **They were enjoying and laughing at the killing**

According to information given by a boy who does not yet want to declare himself, but who is prepared to testify at any time when our side needs such declarations and when there are suitable people, got this information from his brother-in-law, his sister's husband who is an intelligence officer working with the military. (...)

He knew from relatives in Areia Branca that fishermen found bodies. In a television box they found the corpse of a naked woman. They also found the corpses of three men who had been tied together and which were floating in the water; they didn't have the nerve to pull them in.

(...) took young men and killed them there; a young man who managed to escape saw with his own eyes those who were enjoying the killing and laughing (...)

(...) there are also graves where they bury the dead. Also some were alive inside "carons." The graves were filled in and smoothed over by bulldozers and rollers so that they wouldn't be discovered, but people knew because the bodies were rotting and gave away signs.

The military vehicles which transported the corpses and others who were going to be killed were 12 "Hiaros."

Those who were killed inside the Santa Cruz cemetery alone, filled more than three lorries not counting those who were killed

before or nearby or those who died from wounds in the city or who were caught by the military. The wounded who they did not want or couldn't treat were all killed. People are still being captured. Some of the girls they capture are raped and then killed and others are set free.

(...) They chose 19 to be buried and others were buried naked and still alive.

### **A young man's ear was torn off during torture**

"Among the cruel treatment of the wounded, the IN tortured a young man named Simplicio da Costa de Deus and tore off one of his ears. A young girl called Josefina (a niece of Amudo) was shot in the hip and the bullet pierced her vagina. Isabel da Costa (a niece of Rai Buchi) was also shot and the bullets were lodged in her stomach. Many unknown others appeared with swollen and bleeding faces. Throughout this atmosphere of terror the IN insulted everyone but especially the girls."

"Position and Actions of IN: according to IN strategy our national territory is divided into sectors: Sector A: Dili-Liquica, Ermera, Maliana, Suai; Sector B: Dili - Aileu, Same, Ainaro; Sector C: Manatuto, Baucau, Viqueque, Lospalos. [sic]

Sector C battalion 303 is responsible for the bloody incidents of the 12th. (...)"

"IMPORTANT- The Timor Operational Commander's plan has been discovered:

A. Local Timorese military are being disarmed (disarmament began on 28/Oct/91, death of Sebastiao).

B- Collect information on local Timorese military personnel. A sum total of 4200 people were registered, including the "HANSIP" battalion which embarked on 1/Dec/91.

C. ABRI has been warned of some international interference. If this happens and the people demonstrate, ABRI will take steps to

- restrain the people so that they do not demonstrate;
- rearm those who were previously disarmed and create such confusion that the local forces can not be united: options of for and against.
- the Commander of ABRI will order the opening of fire on the demonstrators."

## **HORTA CALLS FOR TALKS**

Reuter, United Nations, May 15 - The representative of a movement opposing Indonesian rule over East Timor called on Friday for a dialogue with Jakarta, which annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

"If the Indonesians do not wish to sit face-to-face with us, for some reason, then we could adopt proximity talks, on the Afghanistan (negotiations) model," said José Ramos Horta of the East Timorese Resistance.

"Alternatively, we'll be prepared to be part, as individuals, of the Portuguese delegation, the model followed more or less in the Palestinian talks (with Israel)," he told a news conference.

Horta said his movement, which could not operate openly in East Timor, was a non-ideological umbrella group representing all opponents of the territory's incorporation into Indonesia. The United Nations has not recognised the annexation.

He said he had brought a letter for Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali from the leader of his organisation, Xanana Gusmao, urging dialogue with Indonesia under U.N. auspices, without preconditions.

If talks were not held by June, there would be a "showdown in the next (U.N.) General Assembly" opening in September.

## **STATEMENT BY JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA AT THE COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS**

*New York, May 14, 1992*

*Ramos-Horta is Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), a non-partisan body, based in East Timor, comprising all East Timorese opposition groups, parties, the resistance army and student and under ground organizations.*

*Comment: The proposal outlined here, essentially the same as that Horta proposed to the European Parliament on 23 April, represents his own views and is not necessarily the consensus of the East Timorese nationalist movement.*

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am honoured and grateful for the invitation kindly extended to me to be here today to address a gathering of members of the Council on Foreign Relations, the most prestigious institution in this country that for decades has influenced the debate and shaped American Foreign Policy.

I come from a country that is not even classified as a Third World country. I was born and grew up in East Timor, lived my childhood in remote villages, and my first language of communication was Tetun, today the largest indigenous language of East Timor. I knew my country as my own backyard. By truck or horse I travelled everywhere, ventured into remote areas where no white man ever set foot. Where I grew up, the most important event of the year was the arrival of an old truck, at the wheel an old Chinese merchant. Yes, East Timor was poor, undeveloped, neglected by its colonial power, Portugal, itself a neglected and undeveloped country, prisoner of an old and incompetent dictatorship. However, the people of East Timor were happy in their ancestral lands. The traditional tribal society, the religious rites, the delicate relationship between the people and the Earth and the environment survived centuries of Portuguese colonial rule. This is the country

I come from, a 18.889 km<sup>2</sup> half-island, with about 700,000 people in 1974, a land potentially rich with proven oil reserves, natural gas, manganese, marble, sandalwood and the best coffee in the world.

All this changed in 1975.

The premeditated massacre of unarmed civilians at the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili, on 12 November 1991, by Indonesian armed forces was only the latest in a 16-year history of gross and systematic human rights violations perpetrated by the Indonesian armed forces against the people of East Timor. Mass killings, summary executions, imprisonment, all forms of torture, are carried out by members of the occupying forces as a matter of routine.

The 12 November massacre was not an aberration. It fits into an ideology of violence very much ingrained in the Indonesian military culture in which force is an instrument of policy and violence is a means to extract loyalty and obedience. This is the guiding doctrine and normal conduct of the Indonesian military who came into being in 1965 following one of the world's worst episodes of carnage, when an estimated half million to million peasants, workers and innocent Chinese merchants were massacred over a period of six months.

It is in this context and against this background that one has to view the 12 November massacre. The subsequent outrage from the international community at the massacre forced President Suharto to set up the so-called National Commission of Inquiry - led by chief justice Djaelani, a former high-ranking military officer. Amnesty International and Asia Watch, the International Commission of Jurists and the World Council of Churches, among others, have rightly called for an impartial international investigation.

However, we are told by some that we have to accept this so-called Indonesian investigation as proof of the good faith of the Indonesian military.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Would it make sense if the eminent Mr. Pol Pot were invited to head a Commission to investigate the genocide of the Cambodian people perpetrated by the Khmer Rouge? How would you react if Mrs. Imelda Marcos were appointed head of a commission to investigate allegations of corruption in the shoe industry in the Philippines? Why are we being told by some quarters that we should applaud the Indonesian Commission of Investigation?

The efforts of the Indonesian Government to present the 12 November massacre in Dili as an isolated incident are contradicted by all available evidence. I know of orders given by the Indonesian Armed Forces Chief, General Try Sutrisno, to the Dili operational commander to use force on 12 November 1991. These orders were issued three weeks prior to 12

November and reissued three times 24 hours before the tragic event.

In the days immediately following the Santa Cruz massacre, several other massacres took place. On 15 November, 80 people were arrested, blindfolded, their arms tied behind their backs and taken in trucks to a site on the outskirts of Dili, where they were shot and bulldozed into a previously dug pit. On 17 November, another ten people were killed by Indonesian soldiers, and on 18 November seven more people were murdered in cold blood. These included five women, a five-year-old, and a one-year-old baby.

The 12 November massacre exposes the fallacy of Indonesia's claim that the people of East Timor are now happy Indonesians after 500 years of colonial servitude under the Portuguese. Indonesia rules East Timor by force and repression, and yet the culture of violence has not produced the results it wanted. Another way must be found.

Ladies and gentlemen,

The right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is beyond any question. The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council have affirmed this right in several important resolutions and East Timor remains on the General Assembly's list of "Non-Self-Governing Territories."

Indonesia never raised any claims over East Timor between 1945 and 1975. According to its founding fathers, it was the successor state only to the so-called Dutch East Indies. Hence it invaded and annexed West New Guinea even though the people of this territory have absolutely nothing in common with the people of Java. If Indonesia arguably had any legitimate claim over West New Guinea by virtue of the fact that this territory was part of the so-called Dutch East Indies, when the Indonesian leaders invaded East Timor in 1975, they destroyed the legal and historical arguments that sustained their claims over the whole of the Dutch East Indonesia - a geographical expression as artificial as what was the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia.

If we are to try to find a common denominator in the ethnic strifes that plague places like Yugoslavia, Sri Lanka, Ethiopia, Somalia, to mention but a few, I would submit that the root causes of these conflicts rest on the denial of a people or groups of people to exercise their right to self-determination. Indonesia has ample time to preempt its own disintegration by learning from the errors of other centralist forms of government that did not respect the distinctive ethnic and cultural identities of each group that make up the country.

In June 1974, following the Portuguese Carnation Revolution, on behalf of the East Timorese Social Democratic Party, of which I was a founding member and Secretary for Foreign Affairs, I travelled to Indonesia and met with Foreign Minister Adam Malik and several senior Indonesian officials.

Following my conversations with Mr. Malik, I was given a letter in which the following points were made:

*"The independence of every country is the right of every nation, with no exception for the people of (East) Timor;*

*"(...) whoever will govern in Timor in the future after independence can be assured that the Government of Indonesia will always strive to maintain good relations, friendship and cooperation for the benefit of both countries."*

In the course of the discussions, I conveyed to Mr. Malik our desire to develop close relations with Indonesia and our intention to apply for membership in ASEAN. This, in our view, was a clear assurance on our part that an independent East Timor would be an element of peace, security and cooperation in the region.

My apparently successful visit to Indonesia in June 1974 raised hopes in East Timor that Indonesia was blessing the birth of an independent East Timor. In the following months, I held more meetings with senior Indonesian officials, including General Moertopo, President Suharto's right-hand man. I was reassured that Indonesia would not interfere in, and would never use force against, East Timor.

Yet, ladies and gentlemen, I learned one thing. The word of an Indonesian official is given and broken just as easily. On 7 December 1975, pretence and lies were no longer enough. If, as Clausewitz said, war is the continuation of politics by other means, the Indonesian military did carry out this maxim in the extreme - it invaded East Timor.

The United Nations General Assembly and Security Council condemned the invasion, called upon Indonesia to withdraw its forces from East Timor, and reaffirmed the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination. I would note that **Security Council Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 was unanimous**, a rare event at the time of East-West tensions. Yet, Indonesia defied the world and pursued a policy of aggression that by 1980 had resulted in the annihilation of 200,000 people.

The tragic event of 12 November 1991 marks, however, a turning point in the 16-year-old conflict. East Timor is now an international issue which touches the conscience of millions of people around the world. In Indonesia itself, voices of moderation and reason are being heard. There is a realisation that the invasion and annexation of East Timor and the policies of the past 16 years were colossal mistakes. Foreign Minister Ali Alatas himself has publicly acknowledged that the East Timor problem is limiting Indonesia's capacity to intervene more constructively in world affairs, is costly, and a solution must be found.

Mistakes are inherent in the human condition. Indonesian leaders must have the

vision and courage of great men who can accept mistakes and propose new directions for their country's policies towards East Timor and, in fact, towards their own society in general.

On the other hand, East Timorese political leaders must also have the vision and courage to meet the Indonesians halfway and reassure them that the people of East Timor wish to find a *modus vivendi* with them and to begin a new chapter in the relationship.

In spite of the untold sufferings inflicted upon us, we continue to extend an olive branch to those who see us as their enemy.

### NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRE-CONDITIONS UNDER UNITED NATIONS AUSPICES

Xanana Gusmao, the Resistance Leader of East Timor, proposed and remains ready to enter into a process of dialogue with the Indonesian authorities, under the auspices of the United Nations, without pre-conditions, to explore all possible options towards a comprehensive settlement of the problem of East Timor. The peace proposal put forward by Mr. Xanana Gusmao reflects the stand of all sections of East Timorese society inside East Timor and abroad, as well as the Catholic Church.

The Portuguese government has endorsed this peace proposal and handed it over to the UN Secretary-General in January. Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, to elaborate a bit on how I see the unfolding of the peace process. This would involve three phases.

#### PHASE ONE — ONE TO TWO YEARS

The Portuguese authorities and the Indonesians should commence talks at once, under the auspices of the UN Secretary-General. This does not necessitate East Timor's direct involvement.

For the first stage, I am proposing a modified version of the "proximity talks" followed in the Afghanistan case where, in the face of Pakistan's refusal to sit face-to-face with the Kabul government, the UN acted as "go-between." This should overcome Indonesia's present stance in refusing to talk directly to the East Timorese.

#### Alternatively, the East Timorese would merge with the Portuguese delegation.

This phase of the talks must focus on achieving:

- An immediate end to all armed activities in East Timor;
- immediate and unconditional release of all East Timorese political prisoners;

#### Reduction of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor from its current estimated strength of 20,000-30,000 to 1,000 within a six-month period;

#### The removal from East Timor of all heavy weapons, tanks, helicopters, combat aircraft, long-range artillery pieces;

- Reduction by 50 per cent of Indonesian civil servants in East Timor;

#### Expanding the presence and activities of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) into every district of East Timor and in strict observance of the Geneva Conventions;

#### Access to the territory by UN Specialised Agencies such as UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, FAO etc, for the purpose of carrying out, within their respective fields of competence, a comprehensive programme on:

- Restoration and protection of the environment;

#### Voluntary resettlement of the tens of thousands of displaced East Timorese in their ancestral lands;

#### Development projects in every district;

- Immunization campaign.

#### A comprehensive census of the population to be undertaken by the competent UN bodies, a precondition for all the above projects to be carried out effectively;

- A Human Rights Commission to be set up in Dili, headed by the Bishop, comprising a number of East Timorese of his choice and with the assistance of reputed Indonesian human rights organisations and the UN Human Rights Centre in Geneva.

#### Lifting of press censorship;

#### Freedom of political activities and assembly;

#### Removal of restrictions on, and expansion of, the teaching of Portuguese and Portuguese schools;

#### The UN Secretary-General appoints a Resident Representative who is responsible for all UN activities in East Timor, including reporting on the implementation of the accords.

#### PHASE TWO — AUTONOMY (FIVE TO 10 YEARS)

The first stage is indispensable for a gradual normalisation of the situation and for PHASE TWO to be effected.

At the end of Phase One,

#### Portugal and Indonesia to normalise relations;

#### Political parties are legalised;

#### Portugal to be represented in East Timor by a legation of the European Community with a resident Portuguese official;

#### A Portuguese Cultural Institute is set up with funding from the Gulbenkian Foundation, Fundação Oriente and the EC;

- Elections to be held for a local Assembly. The election process and procedures must conform with universally-accepted democratic norms. The UN to provide technical support and supervision of the election;

- Only East Timorese identified as such may vote and be eligible;

#### The democratically-elected Assembly elects a Governor of the Territory who has to be an East Timorese;

#### The Assembly and Governor have a 5-year mandate;

#### The Territory may enter into trade relations with foreign countries, promulgate all its laws affecting investment, land ownership, property, etc;

#### Remaining Indonesian troops are withdrawn within three months. The Territory will have no army. A Territorial police force is organised by the UN and is placed under the command of the elected Governor;

#### The Territory will have its own immigration laws;

#### Further reduction of Indonesian civil servants.

#### PHASE THREE — SELF-DETERMINATION

Phase Two may be extended by mutual consent. A  $\frac{2}{3}$  vote of the Assembly in support of extending Phase Two is needed before the proposal is put to a referendum.

If a referendum rejects extension of Phase Two, Phase Three commences.

If the Assembly fails to adopt a recommendation for the extension of Phase Two, it would continue to function for up to three years while negotiations with the Government in Indonesia take place.

If a referendum votes for the extension of Phase Two, elections are held within three months for a new Assembly and Governor.

At the end of Phase Two or the second regime of Phase Two, whatever the case, Phase Three covers:

- Preparations for a referendum on self-determination followed by general elections for a Constituent Assembly being undertaken within a period of one year;
- Transfer of power to the elected government takes place;
- East Timorese political leaders form a government of National Unity;
- East Timor is declared a Zone of Peace and of Neutrality to be guaranteed by the Permanent Members of the Security Council and ASEAN;
- East Timor joins ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum;
- East Timor accedes to, and ratifies, all international human rights instruments.

These are some of the ideas to be explored further when Indonesian leaders decide to come to terms with the reality that their 16-year occupation of East Timor has been an utter failure. I am prepared to fly to Indonesia or anywhere, at any time, to meet with senior Indonesian officials to commence the dialogue.

It was with an open mind, optimism and hope that in June 1974 I travelled to Indonesia and met with Foreign Minister Adam Malik to discuss the future of East Timor. The same spirit inspires me today.

The U.N. can play an active and constructive role in bringing about an end this conflict which has already cost the lives of more than 200,000 people. A more active and creative U.N. involvement will not entail too a high financial cost. Quite the contrary. Unlike the problems of Cambodia, Afghanistan, Yugoslavia, the problem of East Timor is a simple one in that it does not involve a complexity of conflicting local, regional and international interests. It involves only two entities, the East Timorese and the Indonesian government. The East Timorese themselves are united around two institutions – the Resistance and the Catholic Church – and both have a clear common vision. Hence, East Timor could well be a test case in successful conflict resolution for the U.N.

The U.S. should abandon its current approach which is morally indefensible and which has lost its “Cold War” rationality. The rationale that sustained a policy that has brought so much harm to a people should be discarded and replaced by the moral imperative in support of a U.N. mediated peace process.

Portugal, for its part, having colonized East Timor for almost 500 years is now standing up for the East Timorese, a commendable attitude which should be supported by the U.S.

In a world where dialogue has for the most part replaced confrontation, the continuing use of force by Indonesia to resolve an issue which is eminently political must be rejected by the international community. The largest army in the world was not able to prevent the crumbling of the Berlin Wall and the end of the Soviet empire. Dictators all over the world have been overthrown or are being phased out. Has anyone forgotten the Shah of Iran, Somoza of Nicaragua, Duvalier of Haiti, Idi Amin of Uganda, Mengistu of Ethiopia, Stroessner of Paraguay, Pinochet of Chile, Marcos of the Philippines and Ceaucescu of Romania?

No matter the overwhelming force used against us, our will to be free will prevail. Our dream will never die. We will reach the mountain top.

Thank you.

## INTERVIEW WITH JOSÉ RAMOS-HORTA

*The following is a partial transcription of an interview between José Ramos-Horta, external representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, and Lorne Rider. The interview took place in New York City on Wednesday, March 13, 1992.*

*The interview begins in the middle of Mr. Ramos Horta's comments on the Lusitania Expresso, since the initial part was not recorded. He also speaks about Amos Wako's report, the ins and outs of UN politics, Timorese ethnicity and external leadership, external factional politics and prospects, and the Timor Gap treaty.*

JRH: My only criticism is it should have been properly rehearsed, the showdown. You know you prepare things for the most basic scenarios. Before, when I was at the UN, I had three, four, five scenarios. I always go for the worst case scenario, and I have a plan for the worst case scenario. So what they could have done is – well, it was clear from the very beginning that the Indonesians were not going to sink the boat. It was clear that there were two things they would have done. At the worst, everyone would have been taken to Ataruo Island, would be quarantined, they'd confiscate the boat. More likely, and you could even judge from the words of the captain, they would board the ship and arrest the captain, and take it to international waters towards Australia. So, they should have gone to the edge, refused to leave, shown the security council resolution, and start arguing with the captain...

*LR: I absolutely agree with you. The students were all very disappointed it was over so quickly.*

JRH: That is the negative side of it. There were all these students, and then you know, suddenly, it fell. It didn't cause much resentment in Timor. Xanana in a letter that just came out a few days ago, he said “Please if you want to organize delegations, do it only if they really do come. It is even worse if they say they are coming and they don't come.” He was referring mainly to the Portuguese Parliamentary mission. But I don't there is any negative reaction. He sent something for the captain of the ship. A souvenir from Falintil, plus something else...It means that they have respect for the exercise...You know the Indonesians were arresting a lot of people, demonstrations were being prepared, even against my advice. I said, “don't do any demonstrations.” My argument was, of course we all know the mission is political. But if you do a demonstration it will be accused of being a political mission. Of course what the Indonesians want is

to draw you out into the light, to capture you more, so don't do anything. But in spite of this, they were organizing, preparing posters, its unbelievable how ambitious they are. Soon after the massacre, when Amos Wako went there in January, they were already preparing demonstrations. But, I know it from a letter sent to Xanana asking for his approval for the wording about the UN, about Indonesia, in English and Portuguese. But they had no time to do it because the visit was sudden, not to mention the incredible security apparatus.

*LR: Have you seen Amos Wako's report?*

JRH: No. I have a friend [name and position deleted]. He will try to get me a copy. It would be a scandal. It is an official document, and no one will know how it came out.

*LR: Why aren't they allowed to release something like that?*

JRH: It's the nature of the mandate. Wako went there to report to the Secretary-General, not to the General Assembly, not to the Commission on Human Rights. The SG can do whatever he wants with that report. But what we should do in the next GA meeting, is request that the SG make the report of his special envoy available to the commission.

*LR: As a neophyte to UN politics, I am amazed at the little steps that constitute a victory.*

JRH: Yes. Every year we are on constant, constant lookout, constant, constant maneuvering. And we have to play that game. Let's say I don't get a hold of this document and I don't get the SG to release it through pressure from Portugal or other African countries—if the report is released, the victory is because it could be front page in the New York Times or the Washington Post and that would be a major tactical victory. But the report is very damaging, and if he decides to release it, it is already a big political gesture. Because it would mean that in his mind he is thinking, “well I have to do something.” Because he is very close friends with Ali Alatas. I don't think that on his own he will release it. It has to be asked by some very important forces. The French will make a difference. He's very close to the French, who were the first to support him to become SG.

He's very very much in the hands of Washington. This Brazilian friend of mind who is a liberal-conservative, a very decent guy, was telling me today that he doesn't want to be part of a UN that is controlled by only one power. He said that in the past, the UN was lop-sided, but now it's worse, now there is only one power controlling it. He said, “I have some ideals, and I don't want to be part

of it. And he is quite senior – he'll be appointed, if he doesn't leave, under the assistant secretary general. For someone like that to say, "yes I'm leaving..." But it won't be bad for his conscience.

LR: *Japan, the US, Canada, and Australia were able to lobby for the weak consensus declaration rather than a resolution. How do they do that? Is it open?*

JRH: No, behind the scenes. They go to the members of the commission, saying they'd like a consensus declaration. They spread rumors in the corridors, "we don't agree with a resolution." And other countries get worried that without US support, it will not be adopted. And people don't want to be associated with something that is going to be defeated. All the American, the Japanese, say "we favor a consensus statement." If the Japanese favor a consensus statement, other countries are discouraged, because it means the Japanese are going vote against the resolution.

LR: *It has provided a forum for further discussion in the next GA, though.*

JRH: Yes, as you say, if that was a victory, we have to be happy. But I wasn't happy. I tore apart the declaration because it was partly, to a great measure, due to Portuguese incompetence that we got the statement instead of a resolution. At the last minute the Portuguese announced that they supported the declaration. The Portuguese were betting on the notion that the Indonesians would never accept the content, and hence we would win, because we forced a vote on the resolution, and they'd look good because they'd negotiated, and the Indonesians were the one's who didn't accept the content of the resolution. I kept warning them that's not the case.

LR: *I'm curious about Timorese ethnicity. It always seems to me that the external leaders of the resistance tend to look more Portuguese. Is that just because of the higher access to education of the mestizos, or whatever the term is?*

JRH: The majority of the external leaders are indigenous Timorese. Within Fretilin, I'm the only one who is mixed race. Abilio Araujo is Mambai. José Guterres is from Viqueque. That goes for UDT as well. Joao Carrascalao is mixed race – his father is Portuguese, but the Secretary General is Timorese. The former president of UDT is also Timorese. There is a myth that was perpetuated since '75 saying that the majority of the Timorese leaders were mixed race, but it's not true. Within the Fretilin leadership, maybe half a dozen are of mixed-race out of dozens of leaders. In UDT, at the beginning, quite a few were of mixed race, but the explanation is that the mixed races had higher access to

education. East Timor is very homogeneous. 95% of the population is indigenous.

LR: *How about the concept "Maubere"? How was what was considered a pejorative term for the Mambai get turned around?*

JRH: Well, that was my idea. The whole notion of Maubere was concocted by me, for two reasons. One, being a social-democrat from the beginning, but realizing that social democracy was not easily explainable to the common people, I had to concoct something that could resemble my vision of social democracy. Social democracy could be argued to fit into Timorese traditional society, structures, and philosophy and so on. In communal life, in tribal life, everything was done on a democratic basis. The elders debated and discussed, and decisions were made by consensus, and there was a lot of sharing of work and so on. So there was a mixed economy and democracy, and social democracy was more adjusted to local conditions. But, at the same time, there was the need to develop something that would catch the imagination of the people. Of course, at that time I had never set foot in New York, let alone knowing about Madison Avenue tactics. But my political intuition suggested that you had to catch a phrase, and idea which would mean everything for the people.

And of course myself, even though I'm of mixed race, even though I'm part of the system of privilege, to the extent of what a privileged person is in Timor. I was born and grew up barefoot. For years and years had starvation meals. Morning breakfast, lunch, morning lunch, dinner, was corn. Nothing else. No milk, no bread. The first language I spoke was Tetum. But still, as I said in my book, the fact that you are a child of a white man is alone a degree of privilege. As I grew up, my dream was to be accepted by colonial society. It was such a shock to me when one day, when I was working as a radio presenter, a top Portuguese official told me, "when you speak normally, you are OK, but when you speak on the radio, your accent sounds like a Maubere." It was the crumbling of my dreams! After so much effort, I'm still a Maubere? It was something like, return to the source. I said, my God, these bastards don't accept me.

Then one day I wrote an article for a Catholic quarterly, and it was closed down because of that article, and I'm proud of it, and the editor was Monsignor Lopes, for whom I have great respect. The article was an open letter to "Maubere, My Brother." It went on, it was a bit poetic, and it ended like this: "Maubere, the sun is rising. It's rays, it's light is also for you. Wake up. It's time."

The Governor called me to his house. He was furious. He could have killed me right there. And he became even more furious when I gave him a stupid explanation when he asked "What do you mean with this 'wake up'?" And I said "Mr. Governor, you know the Timorese, we are lazy, we don't like to work," – because that's what they always thought – so I told him the article meant wake up and go to work. My God he was furious. He said "do you think I'm stupid? Are you joking?" I said "no, I'm just encouraging them to work." But I knew that by using "Maubere" everyone would associate with us. And it caught like fire. Everywhere in Timor. So it was turned around as an affirmation of pride and nationality and dignity. And ever since everyone in East Timorese uses it with pride. Some in UDT called it an insult. But they are more Portuguese than the Portuguese. Black Skin, white mask. Xanana Gusmao talks all the time about Maubere people, Maubere soul. Because yes there is a Maubere soul. The peasant, the poor, the fighters.

...

LR: *There might be some difficulties in exile politics, but what about the situation inside East Timor?*

JRH: Well, I would preface by saying that too many people put too much emphasis on the differences within the parties outside, forgetting that is an unavoidable psychological and sociological problem that plagues every other exile group. The farther away you are, the longer you are away from the countries, the more intense the problems are.

But at the same time, there is not much emphasis put on the leadership inside the country. And that is my main concern in the sense that it is the leadership inside the country that has more historical legitimacy. And there inside East Timor, they are solidly united around the National Council of Maubere Resistance, which is under the leadership of Xanana Gusmao. There is no discussion or argument between Fretilin, UDT, Falintil, and so on. There is no such problem. And this is what is important. Because ultimately, when the time comes for serious negotiations, it will have to be Xanana Gusmao who will have to determine the delegation. When it comes to a plebiscite, it will be decided, obviously, within the country, not by groups in Portugal or Australia, or anywhere else. So this is very important. One positive thing that has happened recently, is the fact that now, everyone outside the country, every group, recognizes the National Council as the leading body in Timor and Xanana as the leader. In spite of the problems that still face each party outside, there is one con-

sensus among everybody, and that is recognize Xanana and the Council. Even Joao Carrascalao, who is not a member of the agreement, recognized Xanana as the leader of the resistance. So that is positive, and it help the symbolism of unity that is necessary for the diplomatic struggle.

Again, too much emphasis is put on the factionalism. My answer to that is, the Americans are not supporting East Timor, not because Abilio had an argument with Xanana or with Ramos-Horta. They don't even know who Abilio is. They don't support us for clear cut strategic, selfish interests. If they decide to change one day, it will not be because of the external leadership. Regardless of the nature of the leadership, when they decide to change, they will do so, and if necessary, they will organize a Timorese leadership themselves.

LR: *The Americans?*

JRH: Yes, they organize in the sense that they promote this and that. It was never with any movement, the problem of division or lack of division, the led one government or another to support East Timor. They support for strategic considerations. Once they've made the decision to support a group for strategic considerations, then they will choose which group they will work with that provides them the best guarantees for their own interests, and the guarantees of continuity, stability, and so on. So it worries many people, but it never worried me.

There are many good people in Portugal and Australia. And that is why I have fought, sometimes in a viscous way, against my colleagues of my generation, who I like very much personally, to knock some sense into their brains that the party which they claim to love and support, to survive and be strengthened, needs the new generation. Otherwise the party will dissipate.

LR: *One last question. What is the CNRM's position on the Timor Gap treaty?*

JRH: The Timor Gap treaty as such, is an excellent treaty between two parties. The only problem is that it was signed by Australia with the wrong party. If and when East Timor achieves its independence, then we could live with the treaty as it stands, with minor modifications.

LR: *Is that a policy statement?*

JRH: Yes, it's a policy statement.

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## HORTA: INDEPENDENCE DISTANT GOAL

Reuter, Sydney, Wilson da Silva, May 21 - Rebels in Indonesian-ruled East Timor have for the first time proposed to shelve

their independence demands as part of a peace plan presented to the United Nations.

José Ramos Horta, special envoy of the rebel Fretilin movement, told Australian radio on Thursday that he had presented a peace plan to the United Nations that would accept Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor for up to 12 years.

Speaking by telephone from Lisbon, Horta said that under the plan, East Timor would be granted limited autonomy within the Indonesian federation. Later, a referendum would be held on whether to stay in Indonesia or seek independence.

"It is possible that after a period of five years...(then in) a referendum under U.N. supervision the people of East Timor might decide to remain under Indonesia," he said. "But this is up to the people of East Timor to decide."

Fretilin members in Australia confirmed the peace plan, and said in the first phase there would be a cessation of all armed activity in East Timor. The territory would be demilitarised over two years and a U.N. legation and humanitarian organisations allowed to return.

In the second phase of the plan, a governor and local assembly would be elected under U.N. supervision, and more regional autonomy granted to East Timor. At the end of this period, which could be extended by another five years, a referendum would be held to determine the territory's future.

Horta said the plan was based on a secret proposal drafted by guerilla leader Xanana Gusmao. He said it would be acceptable to both sides as neither had to renounce its claim to sovereignty.

"It is not backing away from independence," Horta said. "In any (resolution) we have to have an intermediate stage before moving to self-determination."

Australian Fretilin organisers were lukewarm on the plan, but confirmed Horta was a Gusmao representative.

"The plan is good to start talks," said Fretilin's Alfredo Ferreira from Darwin, only 850 km (530 miles) from East Timor. "But we can't trust the Indonesians. We have no guarantees that after five years we will get independence."

Timorese guerrillas, led by Gusmao, have been fighting Indonesian troops sporadically since the 1975 invasion, and an estimated 10,000 Indonesian troops are in the territory.

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## AUSTRALIAN RESPONSES TO HORTA PEACE PLAN

### GOVERNMENT COOL

Mark Metherell, *Diplomatic correspondent, Canberra, in The Age, 22 May 1992*

The Federal Government yesterday reacted coolly to a proposal from the East Timorese resistance to end its fight against Indonesian control in return for eventual

sovereignty. The proposal has been submitted to UN officials by external representation of the Timorese resistance movement, José Ramos-Horta.

A government spokesman said last night that the Foreign Minister, Senator Gareth Evans, who is overseas, was not in a position to comment on Horta's proposal, and there seemed to be ambivalence among East Timorese groups.

AAP reported yesterday that Fretilin representative in Australia, Alfredo Ferreira, had expressed doubts about the scheme, saying only a handful of East Timorese would support the idea. "It's too dangerous because once we accept the sovereignty of Indonesia, East Timor will disappear out of the interest of the world then after five years it would be dead."

Ramos-Horta who is in Lisbon has said he would like to discuss the proposal with Senator Evans who will be in the Portuguese capital at the weekend.

### ACFOA: AUSTRALIA URGED TO BACK PEACE OFFER

*ACFOA Media Release, 21 May 1992*

The Australian Council for Overseas Aid today welcomed the new peace offer made by the East Timorese resistance movement and called on the Australian Government to support the initiative and promote it internationally.

"The offer represents a major breakthrough and should be widely supported because it offers the best prospect to resolve the 17-year-old conflict in everyone's interests," said Russell Rollason, ACFOA executive director.

"It would be tragic and irresponsible if the international community and Australia failed to throw their full weight behind this constructive proposal. There will be more bloodshed in East Timor and further tensions in Australia's relations with Indonesia if a political solution is not found," said Mr Rollason.

ACFOA has been spearheading the East Timor Talks Campaign, an international initiative to resolve the conflict in East Timor through dialogue.

### DEMOCRATS SUPPORT PLAN FOR EAST TIMORESE INDEPENDENCE

*News Release by The Australian Democrats, 21 May 1992*

The Australian Democrats welcome the plan for reform in East Timor proposed at the UN by José Ramos-Horta.

Senator Vicki Bourne, Foreign Affairs spokesperson for the Democrats, said: "This plan would lead to a gradual lowering in tension, should greatly improve human rights for the East Timorese and would culminate in a vote for independence. Some parties involved in the tragedy of East Timor seem to eager to dismiss the plan."

"I congratulate Mr Ramos-Horta and the leader of the resistance, Mr Xanana Gusmao, on this practical agenda for improving human rights in East Timor."

### CATHOLIC PRELATE BACKS NEW PEACE PLAN

*Media Release of East Timor Talks Campaign, 24 May 1992*

A senior member of the Catholic hierarchy said in Melbourne last night that the peace plan put to the UN last week by José Ramos-Horta may be a 'breakthrough' and criticised the Australian government for not 'demonstrating any moral response of note to date to the needs of the East Timorese people.'

Mgr. Hilton Deakin, Vicar General of the Catholic Archdiocese of Melbourne, said Horta's proposals 'are fraught with danger and risk, as would any hand of cards in which there are no aces and no trumps.'

He doubted Indonesia would accept the plan.

Mgr. Deakin was speaking at the 18th anniversary of the East Timorese independence movement, Fretilin.

Phil Cleary, the new independent member for Wills in the national Parliament, told the large audience that he would use his term in Canberra to press for independence for East Timor.

### AN OFFER INDONESIA SHOULD NOT REFUSE

*Editorial, The Age (Melbourne), 22 May 1992. Unabridged.*

It is realistic to assume that the Indonesian Government will not accept, in its present form, the proposals that the East Timor resistance movement have offered in return for an agreement to put its demand for independence on hold. It would be a great pity, however, if Jakarta dismissed the proposals out of hand. The resistance has offered to accept Indonesian sovereignty for up to 12 years, in return for limited autonomy, an immediate cease-fire and a drastic reduction in the strength of the Indonesian armed forces in the former Portuguese territory. It is (as the resistance representative, Mr José Ramos-Horta, said) an offer that required courage and vision by the Timorese leadership. It is also, perhaps, a realistic acceptance that independence will not be achieved in the foreseeable future in any case, and cannot be achieved by continued armed struggle.

Nevertheless, it is a significant concession and will be welcomed as such by the United Nations. The proposal, in three phases over either seven or 12 years, calls for the demilitarisation of the territory and a return of aid and development agencies, followed by limited autonomy under UN supervision. At the end of the period, the Timorese would decide the territory's future status by referendum. It is to be hoped that

the Indonesian Government, battered by international criticism and threats of aid cuts, will be prepared to come to the negotiating table in a spirit of compromise. The East Timor issue is still very much alive at the UN and in the international community generally; the massacre at Dili last year has not been forgotten. Many nations may have accepted the fact of Indonesia's control over East Timor. Australia is one of a minority to have granted it de jure recognition. (The UN and the European Community have not.)

For most of the time since the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1975, the territory has been closed off from the rest of the world, but it is likely that the majority of East Timorese, if they had the choice, would not vote to remain under Indonesian control. Things can change in 12 years however - including the government, or the nature of the government, of Indonesia. If Jakarta were to allow East Timor a reasonably agreeable autonomy, it is just conceivable that a future referendum might find the territory voting to remain with its large and powerful neighbour, rather than to go it alone as a small and vulnerable independent state.

## AIDE-MEMOIRE: BASIC QUESTIONS, STRAIGHT ANSWERS FROM CNRM

*The Leader of the East Timorese Resistance, Xanana Gusmao, and his Special Representative José Ramos-Horta, jointly answer some frequently asked basic questions.*

### 1. History

Q: When was East Timor first "discovered?"

A: The Portuguese first arrived in East Timor in 1511 and colonized it until 1975.

Q: Was East Timor part of, or ever claimed by, Indonesia?

A: East Timor was never part of, and never claimed by, Indonesia. Indonesia as such never existed before the conquest by the Dutch, who saw it fit to unite all the islands under one single administration. Indonesia is the successor state to the Dutch East Indies. Hence its leaders never claimed East Timor, which was colonized by the Portuguese. East Timor developed as a separate distinct entity for almost 500 years. Even prior to European colonization of the region, East Timor was always a separate entity, never ruled by the kingdoms that existed then and that are today part of the Republic of Indonesia.

### 2. The land and the people

Q: What is the exact area of East Timor?

A: East Timor has an area of 18,889 km<sup>2</sup>. It occupies the Eastern half of the island of Timor which has a total land area of

30,000 km<sup>2</sup>. The Western half was colonized by the Dutch and became part of the Republic of Indonesia.

Q: What is the population of East Timor?

A: In 1974 the population of East Timor was about 700,000 with a annual growth of 2.3%. Today the population should have been 950,000. Instead, according to Indonesian figures, the total population of East Timor is only 650,000. Of these, tens of thousands are Indonesian settlers. Before 1975 there were no Indonesians in East Timor. The actual Timorese population of East Timor is well under 600,000.

Q: Ethnically, who are the East Timorese?

A: The East Timorese are of Malay-Polynesian and Melanesian background. Ethnically and culturally speaking, the East Timorese are closer to the peoples of the South Pacific islands than to the Balinese or Javanese in Indonesia.

### 3. East Timor's legal international status

Q: What is East Timor's legal status?

A: East Timor is a "Non-Self-Governing Territory" on the agendas of the UN General Assembly and the Special Committee on Decolonization. Portugal is still regarded as the "Administering Power" of East Timor. The General Assembly and the Security Council have adopted ten resolutions on East Timor, all affirming the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence. Security Council Res. 384 (1975) was unanimous and called on Indonesia to withdraw all its forces from East Timor "without delay." These resolutions are all still valid, since they have not been superseded by any others that might have invalidated them. Of all the countries in the world, only Australia has recognized de jure Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The Special Committee on Decolonization, a body of the General Assembly, has debated the issue of East Timor every year since 1975.

### 4. East Timor, too small, too rich

Q: Can East Timor be a viable independent state?

A: Yes. In fact, it is at least as large in size and population as more than 30 UN Member States. Just a couple of examples: it is almost 10 times the size of Luxembourg and has twice the population; it is more than 60 times the size of Seychelles. In terms of natural resources, East Timor is potentially very rich. It has vast oil reserves (about 5,000 million barrels of oil in the Timor Gap area alone), natural gas, manganese and marble. It can be self-sufficient and an exporter of food. East Timor is neither



too small nor too poor. It is in fact too rich!

### 5. Foreign relations

Q: What would be the direction of the foreign relations of an independent East Timor?

A: This question begs a long answer. First, East Timor would join ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum. In fact, East Timor could be the bridge between the two regional organizations as well as between Australia, New Zealand and ASEAN.

We have a long association with Australia dating back to World War II, and there are thousands of East Timorese living in Australia, more than any other South Pacific island and more than the number of Indonesians there. We understand the three main cultures – Asian, Melanesian and European.

We would maintain close links with the Portuguese language community. After all, we share half a millennium of history.

We could serve as a bridge between the EC (through our links with Portugal and the Lomé Convention) and ASEAN, and between the EC and the South Pacific Forum.

We would seek the status of neutrality to be guaranteed by the UN Security Council.

### 6. Human rights

Q: In the field of human rights. What is your vision?

A: We all share the ideals of democracy, parliamentary system, free press and independence of the judiciary. These are the essential prerequisites for the full observance of human rights. We would accede to and ratify all relevant international human rights instruments. We would never introduce the death penalty.

### 7. National reconciliation

Q: How would you answer your critics who fear that the East Timorese would fight among themselves?

A: We cannot accept this kind of reasoning to deny a people its right to be free. We may or we may not fight each other. What we can say is that after 200,000 dead, the East Timorese long for peace, and peace can only be achieved through reconciliation. No one shall be prosecuted for having collaborated with the enemy. A Nation is great only if, as a collective, it is capable of forgiving. If we embark on a crusade of revenge, we would not survive. The cycle of violence would never end. On day one of independence, we would begin the reconciliation and healing process by forgiving our worst enemies.

### 8. Indonesian migrants

Q: There are tens of thousands of Indonesians living in East Timor now. What are your policies regarding these settlers?

A: The Indonesian "transmigrants" would be welcome to stay. We would not be true to ourselves if we were to turn our backs on the poor and underprivileged who came to East Timor in search of a better life. We have always said, and we are saying: "We are not fighting the Indonesian people. They are not our enemy. They have been as much victims of a repressive system as we have been. With them we will build a new East Timor, a home for all of us."

May, 1992

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## COURT-MARTIALS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

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### OVER 3,500 ABRI MEMBERS TRIED FOR VARIOUS VIOLATIONS IN 1991

Jakarta Post, 8 May 1992. Abridged.

Over 3,500 ABRI members were tried at court martial tribunals last year for various violations, including subversion. This was an increase of about 20 per cent compared with the previous year.

The head registrar of the Supreme Military Court said up to ten officers were tried for subversion in connection with the 'Security Disturbance Movement' in Aceh, while five others were sent to court for their parts in an Irian Jaya movement, and another defendant was tried for involvement in a security disturbance in Lampung. He said other officers were tried for subversion this year but the exact figures were not available.

Asked about the trials of military officers suspected of being responsible for the Dili Nov. 12 riots, the officer said: "We have not received the files." He assumed the files were still being examined by the military prosecutor.

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## TIMOR TORTURE CONVICTION

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Reuter, Jakarta, May 31 - An Indonesian policeman has been jailed for 17 months for torturing an East Timorese involved in a demonstration which the government says led to last November's army massacre in the former Portuguese colony.

The official news agency Antara reported on Sunday that a military court had found Corporal Martin Alau, 35, guilty of stabbing Complicio Celestino de Deus with his bayonet, causing the victim to become partially deaf.

The sentence is the first from a court martial since troops fired into a crowd of mourners, killing up to 180 people.

Several East Timorese involved in that march and a subsequent protest in Jakarta are currently on trial and some have been sentenced to up to 10 years in prison.

The news agency quoted judge Hidayat as telling the court in the resort island of Bali, about one hour's flight from East Timor, that the corporal's behaviour was not only illegal but could ruin the image of the armed forces.

The police in Indonesia are part of the military.

Celestino de Deus had joined anti-Indonesia protestors on a march to a cemetery in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12 to mourn a student killed two weeks earlier and which ended in the army shooting.

UPI, Jakarta, May 31 - A military court sentenced a policeman to 17 months in prison for assaulting a protester at an anti-government demonstration leading up to the East Timor November massacre.

The Denpasar military court on the island of Bali Saturday found Cpl. I.P. Marthin Alau, 35, guilty of physically abusing the protester at the Nov. 12 pro-independence demonstration, Antara said.

Alau was the first security force member involved in the massacre reported to have been convicted and jailed by the Indonesian military courts.

The court said Alau's behavior could bring the armed forces into disrepute.

The 19-year-old East Timorese youth whom he assaulted, identified as Complicio Celestino de Deus, would have a hearing handicap for life as a result of the attack, the court said.

At least 50 people were killed and 90 listed as missing after the Dili massacre, in which government troops opened fire on protesters at the funeral of a pro-independence advocate allegedly killed by Indonesian troops.

A military council said in February that four officers and four soldiers would face charges in connection with the killings.

Three officers already have been dismissed for their roles in the incident, and a total of 15 officers and four soldiers received unspecified sanctions.

Officials have not said how many members of the military and police still face charges or how many have been cleared.

President Suharto set up the military council to investigate the matter after a government report generally blamed troops for their actions, but mitigated the blame by claiming demonstrators had been provocative.

## TEN (PLUS THREE) COURT-MARTIALS

Reuter, Jakarta, June 1 - Indonesia will soon begin the trials of 10 more soldiers for the army shooting of mourners in East Timor last November, the official Antara news agency said on Monday.

A military court in the resort island of Bali was investigating charges against the men following the November massacre when up to 180 people were killed, spokesman for the Udayana military command Anton Tompudung told Antara.

The government says the incident was sparked by a march in the East Timor capital of Dili by anti-Indonesia demonstrators, of whom eight are currently on trial.

Five East Timorese have been sentenced to up to 10 years in jail for a subsequent protest against the killing.

Tompudung said three members of the security forces, including a policeman, had been jailed up to 17 months for their part in the killings, which raised an international outcry.

## COURT JAILS TWO PRIVATES, POLICE CORPORAL OVER DILI SHOOTING

*AFP and AP. Date 1 June 1992. Abridged. What a cover-up. Disobeying orders indeed!*

Indonesian courts martial have jailed two army privates and a police corporal for misconduct in the Dili shootings in which the army fired on demonstrators, a military spokesman said. Seven others were or will be court martialled soon on Bali for misconduct during the Dili shooting. A military court in Tabanan, some 30kms from Denpasar Saturday separately sentenced army privates Mateus Maya and Alfonso de Jesus to 8 months jail each for disobeying an order during the November 12 shooting, military spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Tompodong said.

Another military court in Denpasar sentence Police Corporal Martin Alau to 17 months jail for having assaulted a Timorese, he said. All three defendants were East Timorese. (According to AP, Alau was sentenced for cutting off a demonstrator's ear.)

Another seven military officers face trial in connection with the bloody suppression of (the) demonstration.

The other 7 officers, four lieutenants and three non-commissioned officers, will be tried separately. The lieutenants are charged with failure to control their subordinates and the NCOs are charged with violating orders and overreacting.

## THREE COURT-MARTIALS

*Remark: These court-martials are now apparently completed, all defendants found guilty. A previous posting details one of the convictions.*

AFP, Jakarta, May 30 - The Indonesian military have begun court-martialling army members accused of disobedience during the November massacre in East Timor in which scores of civilian died, a military source said Saturday.

Three trials opened Friday in Denpasar, on the resort island of Bali, the military source said, adding that two other courts martial were due to begin next week.

Denpasar serves as headquarters of the Udayana military command which oversees security matters in the southeastern part of the country, including the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

The source identified the defendants as two army privates and one police corporal, and said the court-martials were open to the public.

In Indonesia, the police form part of the country's armed forces.

These three first trials were supposed to end as early as Saturday afternoon, the source said.

Army Chief General Eddy Sudrajat in February announced that four officers and four troop would face court-martials following a military inquiry into the shooting in Dili, East Timor.

Indonesian troops fired into a crowd of demonstrators gathered at a cemetery in Dili for a memorial service November 12, killing some 50 people, authorities said. They acknowledge that another 90 people have remained missing since.

Sudrajat also said three officers were dismissed from the forces and three transferred to non-command postings, while five were to stand further investigation.

He gave no names or ranks. But several independent sources indicate that General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, dismissed from his command of East Timor garrison after the massacre, is among those 11 officers.

The chief executive of the military's Supreme Court, Major General Suhadi, said in April legal documents concerning nine military members to be tried in connection with the Dili shooting were already in the hands of military prosecutors.

Observers have speculated that one of the five officers further investigated by the military probe team could be the ninth military member to face court-martial.

## TWO SOLDIERS SENTENCED

UPI, Jakarta, June 4 - Two Indonesian soldiers received prison sentences for their roles in the November massacre of civilians

in country's troubled province of East Timor, reports said Thursday.

Also Thursday, Jakarta Post reported the government feels security in East Timor has been improved enough and dissent sufficiently quelled that it could end military operations in the region by the end of the year.

Second Lt. Sugiman Mursanib, 48 and 2nd Lt. John Aritonang, 26, were found guilty Wednesday in separate military tribunals in Denpasar on the island of Bali of disobeying their commanders' orders and acting on their own will.

The court found Mursanib, who received a 14-month term, intentionally defied an order only to oversee activities surrounding the demonstration and report them to his commander.

Mursanib failed to control his troops in the face of thousands of demonstrators who allegedly became violent, the court found.

Prosecutors, who recommended the one-year term Aritonang received, told the court that Aritonang, as a platoon commander, opened fire on demonstrators without orders, and was followed by some of his troops.

The court said the defendants' behavior hurt the image of the country's armed forces.

President Suharto set up the military tribunal to investigate the shootings after a government report generally faulted troops for their actions but mitigated the blame by claiming demonstrators had been provocative.

Mursanib and Aritonang were among 10 members of the Indonesian armed forces and police who have been or will be court-martialed in Bali for misconduct relating to the Nov. 12 shootings.

The report in the Post quoted Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, the East Timor military commander, as saying, "It may be possible to stop the military operations (in the East Timor region) by next September."

Syafei said he believed the former Portuguese colony was now as secure as other provinces in the country.

"Guerrillas who are still hiding in the forest no longer pose serious threats to Indonesian soldiers," he said.

He said there were a number of pro-independence Fretilin guerrillas who wanted to give up themselves to Indonesian military, but he said they were prevented by certain parties in the province whom he declined to identify.

## ARMY COURTS-MARTIAL

AFP, Jakarta, June 3 - Prosecutors at a court martial in Denpasar, Bali, have demanded one-year jail terms for two Indonesian army lieutenants accused of misconduct during the East Timor shooting in November, the Antara news agency reported Wednesday.

Antara said prosecutors at separate military tribunals had demanded one-year terms for the two lieutenants identified only by their initials. SM, 48, and JA, 26, were charged with disobedience and misconduct in connection with the November 12 Dili shooting.

They are among 10 members of the armed forces and police who have been or will be court martialled in Bali for misconduct during the incident.

Bali is home to the headquarters of the Udayana military command which oversees security matters in the southeastern part of the country, including East Timor, which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

AFP, Jakarta, June 4 - Courts martial in Bali have sentenced five soldiers to jail terms of 12 to 18 months for disobedience and misconduct during last year's massacre in East Timor, Indonesian newspapers reported Thursday.

The verdicts brought to eight the number of members of the security forces sentenced for misconduct in connection with the November 12 shooting in the East Timorese capital Dili.

Sentenced earlier in Bali to between eight and 17 months in jail were two army privates and a police corporal, all of them native East Timorese.

The Kompas newspaper said a court martial in Bali's main city, Denpasar, gave a 14-month jail term Wednesday to Second Lieutenant Sukiman Mursanip, 49, and 12 months to Second Lieutenant John Harlan Artonang, 26.

The presiding judge, Lieutenant Colonel Hidayat said Mursanip, for whom the prosecution had asked a 12-month sentence, had been ordered to lead his company in monitoring and reporting the Dili protest.

But some members of Mursanip's company were among those who fired into the crowd of demonstrators, killing about 50 people according to an official inquiry. Some 90 other protesters remain missing.

Aritonang, once decorated for having captured a suspected leader of the East Timor independence movement Fretilin, was convicted of having failed to control his platoon.

Some members of his unit shot at demonstrators after shots fired by other soldiers had been heard, the court said.

Aritonang's 12-month sentence matched what the military prosecutor had asked for. Neither he nor Mursanip have decided whether to file appeals.

Elsewhere in Bali on Wednesday, courts martial in Tabanan, 30 kilometres (20 miles) northwest of Denpasar, handed down 12- to 18-month sentences to three sergeants for disobedience.

First Sergeant Aloysius Rani was given 18 months, or six months more than the prosecution had demanded. First Sergeant Udin Syukur and First Sergeant Petrus Saul

Mada were given 12-month terms, two months more than sought.

All three, who were charged of having shot without orders, asked for time to decide whether to appeal.

The time all five defendants have already spent in detention since their arrest, mostly in January, are to be deducted from their jail sentences.

Two second lieutenants, identified only as "E.S." and "A.F.," are to face courts martial later this week on similar charges.

Five East Timorese civilians have been jailed for six months to 10 years for anti-Indonesian activities related to the November 12 protest. Seven others are awaiting verdicts in Dili, including two accused of subversion.

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## LIGHT MASSACRE SENTENCES

*Not only do the soldiers' sentences continue to be remarkably light. So far they deal with violations of military discipline, not cold-blooded murder.*

UPI, Jakarta, June 6 - Two more Indonesian soldiers were sentenced to prison for up to one year for their roles in the November massacre of civilians in East Timor which left at least 50 people dead, the official news agency Antara said Saturday.

The two, identified as 2nd Lt. Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo, 26, and 2nd Lt. Yohanes Alexander Panpada, 48, were found guilty Friday of disobeying commanders' orders in separate military tribunals in Denpasar on the island of Bali.

The court found that Sunaryo, who received a one-year prison term, had ordered his troops to step forward and open fire on pro-independence sympathizers in East Timor without receiving orders to do so from his commander.

Pandapa, a platoon commander who denied firing any shots, was found guilty of defying an order from his superior. He was sentenced to eight months in prison.

On Wednesday, the same military tribunal sentenced another two military men to one-year and 14-month prison terms respectively for the same charges.

**AFP, Jakarta, June 6** - A military court on the Indonesian resort island of Bali has jailed two army lieutenants for eight and 12 months for disobeying orders during the November shooting in East Timor, press reports said Saturday.

The verdicts were the last of 10 on Indonesian military members court-martialled for disobedience and misconduct during the November 12 shooting of civilians in the East Timor capital of Dili.

Military courts in Bali have already sentenced five army privates, one police corporal and two army officers to between eight and 18 months in jail.

The Berita Buana daily said a military court in Denpasar on Friday handed down a 12-month jail term to infantry Second Lieutenant Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo, 26, and eight months to infantry Second Lieutenant Alexander Panpada, 48, both of whom were charged with disobeying orders.

Presiding Judge Lieutenant Colonel Hidayat said Sunaryo, without the order of his superior, had ordered his platoon to shoot into a crowd of demonstrators in Dili.

The same court has already jailed his superior, who was assigned only to lead his company in monitoring and reporting on the demonstration, to 14 months.

Officials have said the shooting left about 50 people dead, while some 90 others are still missing.

The court found Panpada, who had served in the army for 27 years, guilty of disobedience for leaving his duty of monitoring the demonstration and returning home to get his pistol.

Panpada told the court Thursday he had been angered by demonstrators insulting him and the knowledge that his commandant had been stabbed by one of the crowd.

He has admitted rough-handling some of the demonstrators, but denied shooting at them.

Neither defendants have yet decided whether to appeal.

Of the 10 sentences handed down, the longest went to First Sergeant Aloysius Rani who was given 18 months for shooting into the crowd without being ordered.

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## INDONESIAN ELECTIONS

*A great deal more material exists on the upcoming elections in Indonesia. The following are only a small sampling:*

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### PRESIDENT RUDINI? SUDOMO: NO WAY

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, May 12 - An opposition candidate standing in June's general election has called for a popular minister to challenge President Suharto in next year's presidential election.

The official Antara news agency on Tuesday quoted East Timorese parliamentary candidate Samuel Alex Petruz as proposing Interior Minister Rudini for president with armed forces commander Try Sutrisno as his running mate.

Although the nomination by Petruz carries no formal weight, he is the first candidate since the general election campaign began on Sunday to dare to suggest an alternative to Suharto.

Petruz, a member of the populist opposition Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI), said he put forward the names to spark interest in the presidential election.

Political analysts said it was almost certain Suharto would stand again, as the major power groups, particularly the military, had been unable to agree among themselves on any suitable successor.

Until the start of the general election, Golkar officials said they did not want to name anyone for president although it was assumed Suharto would be their man.

But at a rally in Jakarta, Suharto's coordinating minister for security and political affairs and long-time confidant, Sudomo, ended any possible doubts.

"Golkar will choose Suharto. If you vote Golkar that means you vote Suharto," Sudomo told the rally.

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### ELECTION 'GUIDELINES'

UPI, Jakarta, May 10 - Indonesia's three political parties Sunday opened a 25-day campaign for June's parliamentary elections under strict government guidelines forbidding criticism of the current administration.

Candidates for the Muslim-backed United Development Party (PPP), the government-backed Golkar Party and the Christian-nationalist Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) are required to use campaign themes related to the nation's development programs while maintaining national unity and solidarity.

Interior Minister Rudini, in his capacity as the chairman of the election committee, said in a national speech Saturday night political parties were prohibited from using car caravans in the campaigns, citing the "uneducative" nature of such campaigning, as well as the possibility of accidents.

Election regulations also prohibit the use of individual portraits or banners depicting anything other than the three political parties' symbols - the banyan tree of the Golkar party, the star of PPP and the bull of PDI.

Political campaigners can in no way insult the government or its officials, religious beliefs or their political rivals, Rudini said.

"They must not mention foreign countries or foreign officials," he said. "Anybody found to be doing those things will be punished and his election-related activities will be banned."

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### FINAL ELECTION RESULTS

AP, Jakarta, Ken Whiting, May 10 - The race for parliament officially opened Sunday.

Whatever the outcome, Suharto will continue to rule with the backing of the armed forces. The election is more a means of confirming national unity than a choice between alternatives.

Although Parliament has in recent years increasingly served as a sounding board for public grievances, it has never initiated legislation as it is empowered to do, and

never rejected legislation sent from Suharto's executive branch.

The assembly meets next March to go through the formality of electing a president and vice president. Suharto is expected to serve another term.

The opposition parties call for increased freedom of expression and a curb on corruption and business monopolies. But no national movement is geared around these issues.

About 107 million of Indonesia's 180 million people are eligible to vote. Officials say a 90 percent turnout is expected although voting is not compulsory.

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### PRESS CENSORSHIP 'ELIMINATED'

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, May 11 - Indonesia has imposed restrictions on foreign press coverage of its general election, barring a photographer and a television crew from the official opening campaign rallies.

"It's not censorship," an Information Ministry official said on Monday. "Permission is necessary...it is to do with security and their (foreign journalists') security as well."

He said foreign journalists, including those resident in Indonesia, had to apply in advance for permits to cover campaign rallies outside the capital. Accredited reporters are normally free to travel virtually anywhere in the country.

A television crew with the British Broadcasting Corporation and a Jakarta-based photographer with the news agency Agence France-Presse were prevented from covering the campaign opening in the east Java city of Surabaya.

All three officially-sanctioned parties launched their campaigns for the June 9 election in Surabaya on Sunday.

"They (the police) asked whether I had any ID card from the Information Office, then they seized all my films," AFP photographer Upali Aturugiri said.

A Surabaya official, quoted in a local newspaper on Monday, defended the police action because none of the journalists had official permits.

Foreign reporters and photographers who had permits were allowed to cover the rallies.

A leading dissident group's accusations in parliament last week that Suharto was guilty of nepotism went unreported in most of the local media.

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### CARRASCALAO ON TIMOR ELECTIONS

Reuter, Dili, East Timor, May 12 - Indonesia's ruling party on Tuesday held its first election rally in the disputed territory of East Timor, near the scene of an army massacre last year in which up to 180 people were killed.

The former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976, is one of the poorest regions in the huge tropical archipelago. Political analysts blame revolt against Jakarta's rule there on widespread unemployment among the urban youth.

"(The ruling party) Golkar has a clear programme for youth. We will struggle for that...so we want you to elect Golkar," party chairman Wahono told a rally in the Santa Cruz district of the capital Dili.

He was speaking about 200 metres (yards) from a cemetery where Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners last November, killing up to 180 people.

About 2,000 people, mostly youths and civil servants, attended the rally in a dried river bed, entertained by musicians and dancers brought in from Jakarta.

Golkar won all four East Timor seats in the 1987 elections when it swept 73 per cent of the national vote.

Local governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao said last weekend that many East Timorese would probably stay away from polling booths because of the scars left by the November shooting.

"Some people are still hurt by the incident and have unpleasant feelings towards the government," one local paper quoted Carrascalao as saying.

He is due to retire later this year and local parliament speaker Guilermo dos Santos said the province would reject any attempt to replace him with an outsider.

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### MANY TIMORESE "TOO UP- SET TO VOTE"

*Jakarta Post*, 9 May 1992. Dateline: Dili. Abridged.

Many East Timorese are likely to stay away from the polling booths on June 9 as an expression of displeasure towards the fatal incident in Dili last November, Governor Mario Carrascalao said yesterday.

According to Carrascalao, the Nov. 12 incident, which left around 50 people dead and dozens still unaccounted for, has left such deep scars on the hearts of many East Timorese, especially those in remote villages, that it will have an adverse effect on next month's election.

"Some people are still hurt by the incident and have unpleasant feelings towards the government," he said, adding that these people would not cast their votes on June 9.

The outgoing governor was addressing representatives of the three political groups contesting the poll and members of the local election committee on the eve of the start of the 25-day campaign period starting Sunday. Military and police officials were also present.

Carrascalao called for a clear and fair election. He noted that there were irregularities in the 1982 and 1987 elections when the number of ballots reported to Jakarta

exceeded the number of registered voters. In 1987, 360,900 ballots were returned compared to 360,144 eligible voters.

Col. Dunidja, deputy chief of the local military command, said security forces were ready to oversee the election. "But we expect the contestants to participate in ensuring security during the campaign and on election day."

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## MOERDIONO PLUGS SOEHARTO

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, May 16 - One of Indonesia's most powerful ministers hinted that President Suharto, one of Asia's longest serving rulers, would stand again when his current term expires in March next year.

Secretary of State Murdiono, at a campaign rally on Friday for the ruling Golkar party for June 9's state assembly elections, avoided directly naming Suharto.

The 70-year old Suharto, who rose to power in southeast Asia's biggest country in 1965, is widely expected to run again but has yet to publicly declare his intentions. He cannot formally be nominated until next March.

"Golkar knows who is going to be nominated, because Golkar knows the people's feelings," the official Antara news agency on Saturday quoted Murdiono as saying at a rally in the resort island of Bali.

He made the comment after asking the crowd whom they wanted Golkar to nominate.

"Suharto," came the reply.

Campaigners from the three political parties contesting next month's elections have ignored government bans on street rallies and every day stream through Jakarta roads, clogging the traffic.

The government says it is worried about a repeat of the sporadic violence in cities in the 1987 election campaign.

Golkar is expected to sweep up around the three quarters of the vote in the general election to the House of Representatives.

The members of the house plus another 500 appointees make up the People's Consultative Assembly which meets every five years to select the president and his running mate.

Its membership is so weighted that the government can effectively guarantee its decisions, political analysts say.

One Golkar official said the party has been reluctant to nominate Suharto too soon for fear of making the choice of leader look too predictable.

But he did not deny the party would support him in the end. Suharto has never been opposed in the five times he has run for office.

However, earlier this week the party called for end to sweeping powers given him 26 years ago.

Political analysts had speculated that the move might be a hint by some within the leadership for Suharto, who wields tremendous power over the population of 180 million people, to consider stepping down.

One said that though the removal of the special powers would have little practical impact, the psychological effect might be to weaken Suharto in people's eyes.

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## SOEHARTO REJECTS 'CASTRATION'

Reuter, Jakarta, May 19 - Indonesia's President Suharto, who has been in power for nearly 27 years, has dismissed the idea of limiting the president's term of office, the daily Merdeka newspaper reported on Tuesday.

"Limitation is just the same as castration and a violation against our constitution," Suharto was quoted as telling Suprpto, chairman of Kosgoro, an organisation affiliated to the ruling Golkar party.

Questions about the president's future have surfaced during the current election campaign. A leading dissident group and an opposition party have suggested that the head of state should serve no more than two terms in office.

The weekly news magazine, Editor, said the military, which plays a key role in Indonesia's politics, was likely to renominate Suharto for the next presidential term.

"He is an experienced figure, wise, and is able to make decisions without causing jolts," the armed forces' chief of social and political affairs, Harsudiono Hartas, told the magazine.

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## STUDENTS CHARGED WITH SUBVERSION

*Forum Komunikasi Mahasiswa Merdeka (Freedom Students Communications Forum). 26 May 1992. Translated by Indo-Fax. Abridged.*

Summary: Two students arrested for involvement in a National Awakening Rally to discuss "The Phenomenon of the 1992 Elections" were charged with subversion a day after they were arrested. (It is understood that their subversion trials will take place before the election on June 9.)

On 20 May 1992, National Awakening Day, about 30 students held a rally in the Semarang Students Forum. The mechanism and quality of the elections were criticised, tending towards 'golput' (white or blank votes). The elections were unhealthy, far from the people wanted, and democracy was not evident. The screening of candidates created homogeneity and impotence. The results were already clear and the executive appointed 60 per cent of the members of the Peoples' Consultative Assembly. The students therefore concluded that:

The elections are a waste of time. The Law on appointing members of the Legislative Assembly (DPR) should be repealed. The elections did not function as 'political education' but as 'political dictating.'

The programme included a theatre performance and singing the official Election Hymn with the lyrics altered; 'Mars Pemilu' became 'Mars Golput.' The event lasted from 10 till 11.30 am, with tight surveillance by the army and the police, under the direct command of the district military commander and the district police commander. Before the students dispersed, four students were arrested as 'the brains' of the event. There was no arrest warrant. The four arrested were Poltak Ika Wibowo, Lukas Luwarso, Hari Sutanto and Dwi Sugianto. The next day, the last two were released and ordered to report twice weekly. At 14.30 pm, the other two were charged with subversion, and the next day the police also issued arrest warrants against the two charging them under Article 154 of the Criminal Code for "making statements of 'enmity, hatred and humiliation against the Indonesian government.'"

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## PPP PREDICTS ACEH WIN

Reuter, Banda Aceh, Muklis Ali, June 2 - Indonesia's Moslem-based opposition party said on Tuesday it was certain to win back the rebellious, staunchly Islamic province of Aceh in next week's general election.

However, the United Development Party (PPP) complained its supporters were being intimidated.

In the past two elections the ruling Golkar party has only lost one of Indonesia's 27 provinces. The PPP won Aceh in northern Sumatra, in 1982 but failed in the next poll.

"In 1987 we lost because of many internal party factors but now we have no problems. I am sure we are going to win," PPP chairman Ismail Hasan Metareum said in an interview in the local capital of Banda Aceh.

The party would only win if voting was fair, he said. There have been widespread accusations of large-scale vote-rigging in past elections to ensure sweeping wins by the ruling party.

The government says there will be no cheating in the June 9 general election for 400 seats in parliament. Another 100 are appointed by the military.

Metareum is to lead the party's campaign rally later on Tuesday in Aceh, where the military only last year crushed an almost two-year rebellion in which human rights groups say at least 1,000 people died.

The rebels - a mixed group of criminals, disgruntled ex-soldiers and Moslem separatists - said they wanted to split from Jakarta, which they accused of milking the province of its wealth of natural resources.

Metareum accused unnamed groups of trying to intimidate his party's supporters. "I have received reports that there have been threats to our supporters in some areas of Aceh," he said. He gave no details.

A party official said supporters had been told that a vote for the PPP was the same as voting for the anti-Indonesia rebels.

There are two more days of campaigning followed by a five-day cooling-off period before next week's election. President Suharto's Golkar party is certain to capture a big majority of the 100 million votes.

On Monday, the party sent one of the most powerful cabinet ministers to campaign in Aceh, where it only just won in 1987. Cooperatives Minister Bustanil Arifin told a rally of about 5,000 people in Lhoknga village near the provincial capital that the development in the province was because Golkar was in power.

"We can see the fast development in Aceh over the past five years. We can see the development of irrigation, electricity and roads," Bustanil said.

Golkar, in line with Suharto's policy before the election and the presidential vote next year, is trying hard to woo the Islamic vote.

"Islam is my religion, Golkar is my choice," Bustanil told the crowd.

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### SUKARNO'S SON: DEMOCRACY IS SICK

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, June 3 - Democracy in Indonesia is sick and the people live in fear, the son of the country's first president said in a nationally televised speech on Tuesday night.

"Our democracy is sick...we, especially small people, do not feel freedom. We feel frightened," Guruh Sukarnoputra said in a campaign speech for the opposition Indonesian Democratic Party (PDI) before next week's general election.

The 39-year old choreographer is a son of Sukarno, Indonesia's first president who died in official disgrace in 1970, five years after President Suharto rose to power.

"The general election as a democratic tool is still not entirely free, secret, fair and just," he said.

Political analysts do not rate Guruh particularly high as a politician but say he has tremendous drawing power for the party because of his father, whose memory has become a symbol of opposition to Suharto's 27-year iron rule.

His party has consistently attacked the government's economic policy, saying it favours the rich and politically well-connected at the expense of the majority of the 180 million Indonesians, who on average earn little more than \$500 a year.

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### ELECTION PROTESTS IN INDONESIA

*From NOSCA, Australia, June 6, 1992*

We have just received news that there are already massive demonstrations in Jakarta and Yogyakarta that there were thousands of party members who have destroyed their own flags, banners, posters etc. in protest of the election campaign restrictions. In Jakarta alone, there were already 10 people dead and dozens injured when there were clashes among the masses of parties. No one is sure how many have died or injured in Yogyakarta.

There are also 6 Semarang students arrested for supporting "GOLPUT" and acting on anti-party stand.

PS. 37 Jakarta students were detained for protesting outside the Thai Embassy during the Thailand Crisis but we heard that they are now released.

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### INDONESIA AND THE AID, IGGI CARD

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#### RADIUS TO SEEK MORE MEMBERS FOR NEW DONOR GROUP

*AFP in Jakarta Post. 6 May 1992. Dateline: Hong Kong. Abridged.*

Indonesia's top economics minister is to visit South Korea and Scandinavia this month in a bid to expand a new aid group replacing the discredited body run by the Netherlands, an informed source said. The tour by the Coordinating Minister for the Economy, Radius Prawiro would take place in the next couple of weeks.

Indonesia's Finance Minister, J.B. Sumarlin reportedly discussed expanding the new group, excluding the Netherlands, with South Korea's Finance Minister, Rhee Yong-Man in Hong Kong at a meeting of the Asian Development Bank. Sumarlin asked the Nordic Investment Bank to join the new group, the Consultative Group on Indonesia. The Nordic Ban, attending the ADB meeting as an observer, is owned by Sweden, Denmark and Norway.

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#### DUTCH AID ROW CONTEXT

IPS, The Hague, May 20 - After weeks of public disagreement the twin coalition parties in the Dutch government today patched up a row over the diversion of millions of dollars in development aid from the Third World to Eastern Europe.

But the agreement - a triumph for the pro-Third World lobby led by the Social Democrat (PVDA) Party - is only one victory in a war that has yet to be won over the issue of aid priorities.

The PVDA's coalition partners from the Christian Democrat (CDA) Party are expected to continue to press for a bigger share of the Dutch development cooperation budget to go to Eastern Europe.

"In Eastern Europe, a market beckons, requiring investments," commented Joke Schrijvers, professor of development studies at the University of Amsterdam. "What interest do Western governments and multinationals have in the poorest countries, which will certainly not represent an attractive market in the short term?"

In the short term the decision announced today in the Netherlands parliament was a victory for the Third World and for the PVDA's development cooperation minister Jan Pronk.

Faced with a demand from CDA Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek that he divert \$700 million from his \$3.5 billion budget from the Third World to Eastern Europe, Pronk beat the figure down to a near token ten million.

The deal had been outlined in advance of today's announcement at a meeting of Social Democrats on North-South relations in Amsterdam, May 16.

There Dutch finance minister and PVDA leader Wim Kok confirmed that the Netherlands would continue to meet the United Nations target of allocating 0.7 per cent of gross national product (GNP) to development cooperation. "Development-oriented" aid for poor Eastern European countries should also be paid from this budget.

Pronk said at the same meeting that aid to Eastern Europe would mainly go those central Asian republics on a list of Third World nations drafted for the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and its development assistance committee.

Pronk added that Eastern Europe is "a different problem altogether," and promised that the Third World will not suffer from aid given to "the South within the East."

The cabinet had agreed May 15 that a small part of the development cooperation budget, amounting to about 10 million dollars, will be devoted to aid to those East European countries that fall into the category of "poor countries."

The row between the ministers had been both public and sharp. Pronk had reacted bitterly to van den Broek's demand to divert funds Eastwards, while Kok last week hinted at a cabinet crisis if the CDA tried to undermine Pronk's position.

Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers, van den Broek's CDA colleague, limited comment on the outcome. "It is the result that counts" he told parliament, declining to go into details.

The cabinet row started early April, when Pronk was humiliated in parliament by the CDA and the opposition Conservative (VVD) Party, following Indonesia's decision to cut development ties with the Netherlands, its former colonizer.

This had in turn followed Pronk's decision to suspend development cooperation aid to Jakarta after the killing of dozens of independence demonstrators in Indonesian-occupied East Timor last year.

But Pronk was overruled and told to leave all matters concerning Indonesian relations to van den Broek, who considered human rights issues to be of secondary concern.

A month later CDA Foreign Trade Minister Yvonne van Rooij went to Jakarta, bypassing Pronk's human rights concerns to define a new relationship between the two countries as one of "partners, on the basis of equality and mutual respect, with a new guiding principle: trade, not aid."

A few days earlier Koos Andriessen, CDA minister for economic affairs, had come back from China – another country castigated by the PVDA and Pronk for its brutal record on human rights – with orders for Dutch companies worth around one billion dollars.

Pronk's relationship with van den Broek was further strained in April when van den Broek suggested that development cooperation might as well be taken care of by a secretary of state in his ministry instead of a separate minister.

Commenting on the row between Pronk and van den Broek, Schrijvers noted that "conservative forces" like the CDA and VVD had used the Indonesia affair to transfer money out of the development assistance budget to aid to Eastern Europe.

Schrijvers predicted that development cooperation will change dramatically in the nineties, and that it might even cease to exist in its present form.

Pronk replied in combative mood May 16, asserting that when development aid is in danger, it was "the task of international social democracy to provide a different orientation."

The last of his "ten commandments" for international economic development in the 1990's, presented to his fellow social democrats May 16, was "be socialist."

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### AID-RIGHTS LINK DEBATE REVIVED

Reuter, Bangkok, Moses Manoharan, May 24 - International outrage over the killing of scores of anti-government protesters in Thailand puts another developing country under pressure from the West to clean up its human rights record or suffer economic losses.

It also revives a debate over the definition of human rights – with developing countries like nearby Indonesia and neighbouring Malaysia saying the issue must not be judged by alien standards.

"The general silence of developing countries over the violence and the condemnation by the West highlights a deep divergence of

views over human rights," a Western diplomat said.

A representative of an international humanitarian organisation said booming Thailand was not as dependent on aid as most other developing countries, but was concerned about preserving its image as a stable haven for tourists and foreign investment.

"And this image is being tarnished by the criticism that is being levelled against its human rights record," he added.

Financial analysts estimated the losses to tourism in the next 12 months at over a billion dollars with prospective visitors seeking a peaceful haven in the sun recalling the televised images of civilians being shot on the streets of Bangkok.

Chaiwat Satha Anand, professor of political science at Bangkok's Thammasat University, said Western human rights pressures would be more effective in Thailand with its open economy than in isolated countries like Burma.

"Our internationalised economy will force the government to take account of outside influences on human rights. And so it is a good opportunity for the West to exert pressure," he said.

Other analysts said Western human rights groups had to some extent pressured countries to express strong concern over the killings in Bangkok last week.

The New York-based Lawyers Committee for Human Rights called on Thailand's King Bhumibol Adulyadej to oppose any amnesty for the soldiers who fired on protesters demanding the resignation of Prime Minister Suchinda Krayayoon.

"It would violate generally accepted standards of international law that impose an obligation on a state to prosecute violators of fundamental rights," it said on Friday.

Suchinda, a former general who became prime minister without being elected to parliament, in his last official act before quitting on Sunday, signed an amnesty absolving the soldiers.

The decree was issued in the name of the king.

Asia Watch and Amnesty International have joined in the attack on Thailand's human rights record and urged the United States to put pressure on the World Bank to reconsider loans for Thai projects.

The groups accuse the Thai government of serious human rights abuses, including threats against the press and non-governmental organisations and also cite the government's failure to give full details of those killed or arrested in the violence, which erupted last Sunday.

Washington suspended most of its aid to Thailand after an elected government was overthrown in a Suchinda-engineered coup in February, 1991. The latest violence is expected to lead it to put pressure on the

Thai government to institute political reforms.

The United States, Britain and Australia are among the countries that have strongly criticised the killings, while Japan's comments have been more restrained.

The concerns of the Third World are reflected by the 105-member Non-Aligned Movement, formed mainly of developing countries, who agreed at a conference in Indonesia earlier this month that human rights values varied from country to country and depended on culture, social customs and economic progress.

Foreign ministers at the conference also expressed concern over donor countries linking aid to human rights.

The movement's next head is Indonesia, which refused to accept any further aid from its former colonial ruler, the Netherlands after it threatened to suspend such assistance following the killing of anti-Indonesia demonstrators in East Timor last November.

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### TAPOL CAMPAIGN: STOP ECONOMIC AID TO INDONESIA!

#### URGENT ACTION CAMPAIGN FOR SOLIDARITY GROUPS: 1992 CGI MEETING

*The following Urgent Action, addressed to all Indonesia-related solidarity groups around the world, was issued in London 29 May 1992, by TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign.*

On 16 and 17 July 1992, the newly-established Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), chaired by the World Bank, will hold its first meeting in Paris to decide on this year's allocation of economic aid to the Indonesian regime. The CGI has taken the place of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), which was disbanded when the Suharto regime rejected all further aid from the Netherlands and announced that it no longer wanted that country to chair its international aid consortium. Indonesia's aid consortium now joins the pack of World Bank-led Paris Clubs which coordinate aid for many developing countries.

Turning principle on its head, Suharto accused Holland of using economic aid for purposes of intimidation because it suspended financial assistance to Indonesia in protest at the slaughter of peaceful demonstrators at Santa Cruz Cemetery, Dili, East Timor, on 12 November 1991.

Suharto believes that, by putting Holland in the dock as 'intimidator,' he can distract attention from his own crimes against humanity, warning all the other creditors not to make economic aid conditional on human rights observance. This comes at a time when conditionality has been gaining ground

in the international community, posing a threat to economic aid which is the lifeline of the Suharto regime.

### Conditionality on the world stage

On 28 November 1991, the Council of Ministers of the European Community issued a Declaration endorsing conditionality: "The Community and its member states will explicitly introduce the consideration of human rights as an element of their relations with developing countries; human rights clauses will be inserted in future cooperation agreements. Regular discussions on human rights and democracy will be held, within the framework of development cooperation, with the aim of seeking improvements." (Paragraph 10)

A Bill to suspend all US aid to Indonesia until it stops defying UN resolutions on East Timor and withdraws from the territory has been tabled in the House of Representatives. Introducing the Bill, Congressman Tony Hall said: "At a time when every US foreign aid dollar is undergoing rigorous scrutiny, why should the taxpayers provide aid to a nation which has seized and subjugated its neighbour?"

Under the IGGI, economic assistance to Indonesia, one of the world's worst violators of human rights, grew steadily; in 1991/92, IGGI aid alone (some Japanese aid is not included in this total) exceeded US\$4.7 billion, accounting for 20 per cent of the country's annual budget. In the wake of the massacre, the Netherlands, Canada and Denmark suspended economic aid. To halt the spread of sanctions, Suharto ensured that his National Inquiry Commission and Honorary Military Council which were set up after the Santa Cruz massacre, made enough conciliatory noises to mollify donor governments. But even so, foreign aid was in jeopardy because of constant pressure from human rights organisations as the human rights situation in East Timor further deteriorated and many East Timorese went on trial for demonstrating peacefully for East Timor's independence.

One of Suharto's tactics was to isolate Holland; up to now, the tactic has succeeded, primarily because the Dutch Development Cooperation Minister, Jan Pronk, under attack from within the Dutch coalition government, had to fend off accusations that he had been unnecessarily provocative in his dealings with the Indonesian regime. In May, after the dust had settled in Holland, Pronk met with a cool response when he raised the question of conditionality at a meeting of the EC council of development cooperation ministers. He complained of discrimination: while the EC commissioner for relations with Africa has pushed hard for conditionality to be applied to repressive African states, the commissioner for relations with Asia is noted for his silence on the matter. Britain's Baroness Chalker defended such discrimination, arguing that the West's economic interests

in Asia were far greater as compared with Africa!

The decision to punish Holland and revamp the donor consortium, placing it the hands of the World Bank which he hopes is less vulnerable to pressure on human rights issues, was Suharto's way of telling the world community: "Yes, indeed, we violate human rights and will continue to do so with impunity; this is a domestic affair which is of no concern to anyone or any country."

The gross abuses for which his regime is responsible go beyond East Timor. Since 1990, massacres, disappearances and torture have engulfed Aceh where the death toll from army violence may already exceed 2,000. Acehnese who fled to Malaysia are being repatriated against their will, facing maltreatment or death on their return. Military operations in West Papua have caused many hundreds of West Papuans to flee into Papua New Guinea. In Indonesia proper, the 1992 general elections again expose the farce of Pancasila democracy with no political opposition or discussion of alternative political programmes (two Semarang students have been charged with subversion for advocating non-participation in the election); communities all over the country are being driven from their land without proper compensation resulting in bitter land disputes; workers who demonstrate or go on strike to demand an improvement in their starvation wages and improved working conditions are met with bans, arrests and intimidation. There are more than 500 political prisoners serving long sentences on charges of subversion, and many more held without trial.

### Campaign to stop economic aid to Indonesia

What are the prospects for getting human rights onto the CGI agenda this year? The recent world outcry about the Dili massacre has forced western governments to be more responsive than in previous years. Other Paris Clubs chaired by the World Bank, among them Kenya, Malawi and Togo, have halted aid because of human rights abuses. World Bank vice-president for East Asia and the Pacific, Gautam Kaji, told a Dutch funding agency that although the Bank would not raise human rights on its own account, it would ensure that human rights are discussed if other CGI members so wish.

- Governments which will be represented at this year's CGI meeting should be pressed to publicly declare their commitment to linking aid to human rights. Please urge your government to stop funding Indonesia until it stops defying UN resolutions on East Timor, stops killing Acehnese and stops perpetrating the many other human rights abuses of which it stands accused.
- Members of the European Community in particular should be pressed to do this. If they fail to do so, Indonesia will be seen to have successfully called the EC's

bluff. Stress the point that EC policy adopted on 28 November 1991 makes it incumbent on them to support the Dutch government for imposing sanctions on Indonesia. Ask them to reject Jakarta's claim, implicit in its dispute with Holland and explicit in numerous government statements, that its human rights record is not a matter for international concern and condemnation.

- Write to the World Bank protesting that it agreed to take on chairmanship of the CGI, without questioning and criticising Indonesia's rejection of conditionality. Insist that it is beholden on the Bank to ensure that human rights are placed on the CGI agenda this year.
- Write also to your country's representative at the World Bank, making similar points.

Please make representations well in advance of the Paris meeting. By the time that occurs, decisions about each country's aid allocation will already have been taken.

Stress above all that upholding human rights is a universal principle which even Indonesia has acknowledged by its acceptance of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. To allow Indonesia to persuade the world community and the aid consortium otherwise should not be tolerated.

*Governments which attended IGGI meetings are: Japan, US, France, Netherlands, Germany, Canada, Australia, UK, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Austria and New Zealand. Others, like Denmark, Italy and Sweden, may have attended as observers. Indonesia has asked the Nordic Bank (Norway, Sweden and Denmark) to join. If you are not sure about your own government, please make your own inquiries.*

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## GOV'T SEEKING LARGER AMOUNT OF CREDIT FROM CGI MEMBERS

*Jakarta Post. 26 May 1992. Abridged.*

Minister of Finance JB Sumarlin said yesterday that Indonesia would seek a larger amount of foreign aid from the new Consultative Group for Indonesia during its inaugural meeting in Paris is mid-July.

He declined to say how much aid Indonesia would request but said several approaches had been made to ensure the increase in loan commitment in the next fiscal year.

"We are trying to expand the membership of the donor group and plan to see to it that the existing donor countries maintain their loan commitments." He was confident Indonesia would be able to get more foreign loans despite the tight credit supply internationally.

IGGI which last year committed US\$4.75 billion had a membership of 14 countries, Australia, Austria, Belgium,



Britain, Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Netherlands, new Zealand and the US, plus four multilateral organisations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank and the UN Development Programme.

### DUTCH LOVE AFFAIR WITH INDONESIA ENDS

Reuter, Amsterdam, Ben Hirshler, June 1 - For some 250 aid workers and their families scattered across the Indonesian archipelago a centuries-old Dutch love affair with the East Indies has come to an abrupt end.

Since the end of April they have been unemployed, the most obvious casualties of Indonesia's decision to ban all development aid from its former colonial rulers.

Dutch government attempts to link aid to human rights following the massacre of scores of civilians by Indonesian troops in East Timor last November was too much for Jakarta.

It found a bitter irony in the moralising stance by the Netherlands, which outraged the international community in the 1940s by its brutal suppression of independence seekers.

Many Dutch people agree, though they have little sympathy with the government of President Suharto.

"We were not in a position to have such a big mouth," said Claas Huitema, chairman of Catz International BV which continues a long tradition of spice trading with Indonesia.

Whatever the merits of the case, he and other businessmen believe the Netherlands was in no position to dictate to Jakarta.

Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous nation and an economic powerhouse in southeast Asia, clearly dwarfs its former rulers. Its population of 179 million outnumbers the Dutch by 12 to one.

"It's a very different country to when we left and there were only 50 million Indonesians," said Samuel Rozemond of the Clingdael Institute for International Relations in The Hague.

The episode demonstrates plainly that, nearly 400 years after the first Dutch ship landed at Java, the Netherlands still needs Indonesia more than Indonesia needs the Dutch.

Few other countries have relied on a single colony as heavily as the Dutch depended on Indonesia.

Wealth from the East Indies spice trade financed the flowering of Dutch arts in the 17th century and by the early part of this century revenues from the colony are estimated to have bankrolled one in every seven Dutchmen.

The Dutch debt to the "Indies" remains pervasive.

The street map of The Hague, the colonial capital between the mid-19th century

and the 1920s, reads like a gazetteer of Indonesian islands and cities. Indonesian cooking has become the adopted Dutch national cuisine.

But the sacrifice of Dutch aid, accounting for less than two per cent of the annual \$4.75 billion pledged by donors, was no big loss for Indonesia. Japan now ranks as its main benefactor.

Culturally, too, Indonesia has been uniquely successful in shaking off Dutch influence, according to Ong Hok Ham, Professor of History at Indonesia University.

"There has never been such a sharp split between a colonial power and those being colonised as between the Netherlands and Indonesia," he said in a recent newspaper interview.

"In India and Malaysia people still speak English. In the Philippines, Spanish and American English lives on. But how many Indonesians know anything about Dutch culture?"

The Dutch have been marginalised - to an extent only fully appreciated when Jakarta halted any further help.

But the hard-headed businessmen who have always formed the backbone of relations between the two countries believe the snub has done little permanent harm - except to political egos.

"I wouldn't be surprised if things actually improved a little bit now the air has been cleared," said Catz's Huitema.

Indonesian Trade Minister Arifin Siregar, during a recent visit to the Netherlands, made clear that Jakarta no longer wants a relationship based on "sentimental feelings and nostalgia" but is happy to see trade increase.

And Dutch Foreign Trade Minister Yvonne van Rooy returned from a trade mission to Indonesia last month optimistic that the Netherlands can build on bilateral trade worth \$1.3 billion in 1991.

"We'll continue our economic relations on the basis of business as usual, even better than usual," she said.

### WORLD BANK PHONE LOAN

Reuter, Washington, June 3 - The World Bank said it will lend Indonesia \$375 million to help the country expand and upgrade its telephone system.

The poor state of Indonesia's telecommunications network has emerged as a bottleneck to economic growth, it said.

The World Bank loan is part of a \$1.35 billion project to improve Indonesia's telecommunications network.

The Bank's loan is repayable over 20 years, with five years grace. It carries a variable interest rate linked to the cost of the Bank's borrowings. That rate is now 7.73 pct.

### SOS TIMOR (BRUSSELS) CAMPAIGN ON DEVELOPMENT AID

*A letter campaign against unconditional development aid to Indonesia has been launched by the solidarity group SOS Timor, based in Brussels.*

*We reproduce below their English language documents.*

*Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor*

SOS TIMOR

B.P. 39 1040 Brussel 42 Brussels,

Dear Friend,

We very much hope that we can count on your help in our campaign of writing letters to those responsible for the European Community's co-operation and development policy at a time when the countries of Europe are preparing to take part in an international meeting to coordinate economic aid to Indonesia.

We enclose a letter which could be used as a model (or for translation in your own mother tongue), along with a list of the political leaders to whom the letters should be sent.

It is important to send copies of the letter as quickly as possible, as the meeting to which it refers is taking place in Paris on 16 and 17 July.

As you know, foreign aid represents a significant proportion of Indonesia's budget. This aid has been channelled through the IGGI (Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia), chaired by the Netherlands. Recently, the Netherlands raised the problem of respect of human rights in Indonesia and appealed to the principle affirmed in Community policy that aid is conditional upon respect for such rights. Indonesia's reaction was immediate / refusal of aid from the Netherlands and of any linkage between the two questions, expulsion of various Netherlands aid workers and a request that the IGGI be dissolved and replaced by another body presided by the World Bank in which the human rights issue could not be raised.

Jakarta's conditions were accepted by the countries involved in providing aid to Indonesia (US, E.C. - with the exception of Portugal and Greece - Japan, Australia, etc.) which will shortly be meeting in Paris in the new CGI (Consultative Groupe on Indonesia) format.

At the time when European leaders are preparing to accept the deliberate suppression of the human rights issue, while the Jakarta regime pursues its policy of repression and genocide in East Timor, it is important that European citizens make their voices heard and refuse to join in the conspiracy of silence.

We are counting on you.

- letters must include the name and address of the signatory.

- we should be grateful if you would send us copies of any replies you receive.
- the letter to the USA Ambassador should preferably be signed by Portuguese and Greek nationals, since their governments are not participating in the CGI.

Contacts: Ze Lima (32 2 234 74 07)

Paulo Martins (32 2 299 90 39)

Carla Goffi (32 2 219 57 20)

The United States Ambassador

Dear Sir,

Permit me to express my concern about the participation of United States representatives in the meeting of the CGI (Consultative group on Indonesia) in Paris on 16 and 17 July.

This group replaces the former IGGI (Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia), which was dissolved at the request of the Indonesian authorities for the sole purpose of avoiding any link between aid and respect for human rights, as had been proposed by the Netherlands representative in the IGGI.

By accepting the condition that there will be no linkage between the questions of aid and human rights, the Governments that participate in the Paris meeting will actually be agreeing to pass over in complete silence the continuing policy of massacres being pursued by the Indonesian regime, namely in East Timor.

I should like to request that you use your influence to ensure that the presence of American representatives is not seen as condoning Indonesian violations of human rights and the illegal occupation of East Timor, which are in contravention of the United Nations Resolutions on this issue.

I look forward to your reply, and remain  
Yours faithfully

#### List of ministers for the European co-operation and development policy:

Belgium: Erik Derycke, State Secretary for Development Cooperation

Denmark: Hendrick Wohlk, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Germany: Hans-Peter Replik, Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation

Spain: Inocencio Arias, State Secretary for International Cooperation

France: Marcel Debarge, Minister for Co-operation and Development

Ireland: Brendan Daly, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs

Italy: Ivo Butini, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs

Luxembourg: Georges Wohlfart, State Secretary for Cooperation

The Netherlands: Jan Pronk, Minister for Development Co-operation

Portugal: José Manuel Durao Barroso, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation

United Kingdom: Mrs Linda Chalker,  
Minister for Overseas Development  
Commission: Manuel Marin, Vice-President

## REPRESSION AND BUSINESS IN INDONESIA

### ACTION ALERT: INDONESIAN NGO'S THREATENED

May 10, 1992

From Task Force Indonesia, 7538  
Newberry Lane. Lanham-Seabrook, MD  
20706 USA. Fax: 301-552-4465. Email:  
apakabar@igc.org

The Government of Indonesia has indicated its intention to strike a further blow against the autonomy of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in Indonesia, banning all NGOs from receiving any foreign funding from any source, without prior government approval.

The move would involve application of the Social Organizations Law to citizen groups concerned with economic justice, human rights, religious activities, consumer protection, environmental quality, and other matters. Under the Social Organizations Law, NGOs that receive foreign funding without first getting approval by the Indonesian government would be dissolved.

The move follows Indonesia's recent banning of foreign funding of NGOs from Dutch sources, a strong blow to some of the most active NGOs in Indonesia. This new initiative would make it extremely difficult to seek replacement funds for the lost Dutch money, and would bring Indonesian NGOs under a strong governmental leash. Persons close to the matter are calling the move "draconian."

The NGO community in Indonesia is strongly resisting the plan, arguing that the Social Organizations Law should not be applied to their work. Due to the delicacy of the situation, however, sources say the Indonesian NGOs will not publicly appeal for international assistance. The same sources indicate, however, that faxes to the appropriate Indonesian government officials from abroad would likely have some impact. The persons most responsible for the plan to control the Indonesian NGOs through the funding-approval scheme are Interior Minister Rudini and State Secretary Moerdiono. Letters should also be sent when faxing is not possible. Write in English or Indonesian.

These are the relevant officials to contact at this point:

Kepada Yth: Rudini  
Menteri Dalam Negeri  
Jl. Merdeka Utaat No. 7  
Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia

Kepada Yth: Drs. Moerdiono  
Menteri Negara/Sekretaris Negara  
Jl. Veteran No. 17  
Jakarta Pusat, Indonesia

His Excellency Ambassador Abdul Rahman Ramly  
Embassy of Indonesia  
2020 Massachusetts Avenue, NW  
Washington, DC 20036 U.S.A.  
FAX: 1-202-775-5365

His Excellency Ambassador Nana Sutresna  
Indonesian Permanent Mission to the  
United Nations  
325 East 38th Street  
New York, NY 10016 U.S.A.  
FAX: 1-212-972-9780

His Excellency Ambassador Husni Thamrin Pane  
Embassy of Indonesia  
P.O. Box 43  
Terminal 'A'  
Ottawa, Ontario K1N 8V5, Canada  
FAX: 1-613-563-2858

His Excellency Ambassador Atmono Suryo  
Embassy of Indonesia  
Avenue de Tarvueren 294  
1150 Brussels, Belgium  
FAX: 82-2-7712291

His Excellency Mochamad Romly  
Embassy of Indonesia  
Tobias Asserlaan No. 8  
5517 KC The Hague, The Netherlands  
FAX: 70-643331

His Excellency Ambassador Sabam Siagian  
Embassy of Indonesia  
8 Darwin Avenue, Yarralumia Canberra,  
ACT 2600 Australia  
FAX: 61-62-733748

### ACEH REBEL CONVICTION

Reuter, Jakarta, May 12 - An Indonesian court on Tuesday jailed a farmer for 17 years for joining a rebel movement fighting for an independent state in the northern province of Aceh, Antara reported.

It quoted Judge Sartono as saying Idris bin Ali was found guilty of joining the Free Aceh movement.

The judge said Idris had participated in illegal meetings of the movement and killed a soldier in a military station two years ago.

Acehnese and diplomats say hundreds of people have died in the almost two-year rebellion in the province.

### STIFF ACEH SENTENCE

Kyodo, Jakarta, May 27 - An Indonesian court sentenced a separatist activist in Aceh Province to 18 years in prison for alleged involvement in killing an Indonesian soldier,

the official Antara news agency reported Wednesday.

A district court in Aceh, at the northern tip of Sumatra, found Sulaiman Mahmud guilty of engaging in a plan for the killing, the agency said.

Judge Sofyan Royan said Sulaiman Mahmud, a fish dealer, joined the separatist movement, known in Indonesian as GPK, in 1985.

He was at the spot when his friends in the movement shot the soldier, Antara quoted a state prosecutor as saying.

The separatist movement in Aceh has been seeking to form an Islamic state independent from Indonesia.

To quell the movement, thousands of Indonesian troops reportedly have been based in the troubled province.

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### AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL / AUSTRALIA TESTIMONY ON TORTURE

Reuter, Sydney, May 19 - Torture is routinely used to extract confessions from political detainees in Indonesia, the human rights group Amnesty International said on Tuesday.

"The torture and ill-treatment of political detainees in military custody is institutionalised in Indonesia," said Harris Van Beek, national director of Amnesty International Australia.

"Torture is used routinely to extract confessions from suspects and witnesses; to obtain political and other information from detainees; and to intimidate suspected political activists, their colleagues or their relatives."

Beek, speaking at an inquiry by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade into relations with Indonesia, said Indonesian authorities needed training in human rights.

"It's about sensitising people to know what it is like to be a human rights victim," he told the inquiry.

Beek urged the Australian government to provide such training and to encourage Indonesia to become a party to the U.N. convention against torture.

"Australia is aware that military officials can walk around with copies of the Geneva Convention when they are beating up people," he added.

Beek criticised Australia's policy of "quiet diplomacy" in dealing with its largest neighbour. Australia is one of the few countries which recognises Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Indonesia has long been criticised for its human rights record in East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976, as well as in other provinces where small rebel groups are battling its rule.

"The policy of quiet diplomacy has not brought about better human rights protection in East Timor or Aceh or in Irian Jaya

or in the police cells of the archipelago," said Beek.

"Amnesty International maintains that it is not simply a question of talk or attack, of the carrot or the stick. As we have argued elsewhere, where does the Australian government go when dialogue does not produce results?"

While Amnesty welcomed the Indonesian government's inquiry into the Dili massacre, Beek said it was "fundamentally flawed."

Indonesia provoked an international outcry when its troops opened fire on protesters in the East Timor capital Dili last November, killing at least 50 and possibly up to 180 people.

Beek said gaining information on human rights abuses in Indonesia, and particularly in East Timor, was difficult because of a climate of fear.

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### DEMO IN JAKARTA AGAINST THAI ARMY CRACKDOWN

Reuter, Jakarta, May 22 - About 30 Indonesian students demonstrated outside the Thai embassy in Jakarta on Friday in protest against Thailand's violent army crackdown on pro-democracy demonstrators this week.

The students condemned the use of force by the Thai military and called for an end to human rights violations in Thailand.

"If they don't listen to this call, we suggest ASEAN reviews Thailand's membership," one student leader said.

Jakarta, itself the target of international criticism after its army shot anti-Indonesia demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor last November, has made no official statement so far on events in Thailand.

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### TWO FACES OF INDONESIA:

#### SKYSCRAPERS AND SQUALOR, FREE-MARKET CAPITALISM AND SANCTIONED MONOPOLY EXIST SIDE BY SIDE

*Los Angeles Times June 1, 1992 By Karl Schoenberger Times Staff Writer.*

Jakarta -- A walk along the fetid canal in Kota, the historic district where colonial architecture rots slowly in the tropical sun, is a journey into the underbelly of Indonesia's economic bonanza.

Squatters' shanties line the viscous waterway, and the narrow lane that threads along this ramshackle encampment leads from the traffic-congested streets of modern Jakarta to a timeless world of misery.

Small children display weary smiles and sores on their skin. Fumes from charcoal cooking stoves choke the air. Residents use the canal as a privy, and a sink.

"These people have nothing," Sudirman, a 19-year-old student and impromptu guide, shouts over the shrill tones of portable ra-

dios, gesturing theatrically at Jakarta's lower depths. "The government is always talking about social equity, but it does nothing for the poor."

Amid the squalor, it's hard to imagine the other Jakarta, the one where a skyline of towering bank building rises along broad avenues, where well-heeled shoppers buy jewelry in air-conditioned malls, where sleek families line up at American junk-food franchises.

Indonesia today is a study in contradictions. The world's fourth-largest country (population: 180 million) boasts a robust economy that is drawing foreign investment like a magnet. It is an emerging powerhouse in the world's most dynamic economic zone, a model for Third World development.

But it is also beset by an onerous burden of corruption, which critics complain is tarnishing the country's hard-won progress.

The children and cronies of President Suharto, who has ruled for a quarter century, are coming increasingly under fire for alleged abuses of the government's otherwise laudable privatization program. A privileged few, critics say, have created state-sanctioned monopolies that make a mockery of free-market reforms.

Moreover, the country remains an impoverished giant, with non-socialist East Asia's lowest per-capita income level—about \$600, or one fifth that of neighboring Malaysia. Nearly 30 million Indonesians live in abject poverty.

The mix of new prosperity with old-time corruption and poverty makes Indonesia a potentially unstable and unpredictable player in the region, where its sheer size gives it the strategic role of a diplomatic big brother.

With Japan ascendant and China's coastal areas flourishing, futurists and Pacific Rim soothsayers have their sights fixed on East Asia as the new center of global prosperity in the "Pacific Century." Indonesia is far too important to be ignored in any assessment of the region's economic destiny.

"Indonesia is a great success story," said James W. Castle, president of the American Chamber of Commerce in Jakarta. "Barring external shock, the country is looking at 10 to 15 years of good growth, stable politics and a very profitable business environment."

Castle's optimism is shared by many foreign analysts. With the Japanese leading the way, foreign investment has soared to about \$8.7 billion in government approvals for new projects in each of the past two years. Significantly, this capital influx is occurring while investment is declining elsewhere in Southeast Asia.

Americans, long dominant in the oil industry, are getting into manufacturing. Mattel is investing in a \$20-million Barbie doll plant in western Java. General Motors, which abandoned the market to Japan in the

1970s, announced plans to reinvest in a joint venture to make right-hand-drive cars.

With a boom in textile and shoe factories, Indonesia's economy has diversified away from its oil dependence. And it continues to grow at a healthy clip, about 6% annually, despite a government crackdown on credit last year prompted by fears of overheating.

The effervescent mood has been dampened, however, by recent concerns that nepotism and cronyism have become so egregious that they threaten to undermine fragile social harmony. Suharto, 70, is esteemed as an effective and rational leader, but in what could be the twilight of his long reign, his children and his friends are his blind spot, critics say.

After a decade of being tolerated, the abuses are inviting condemnations from an ordinarily muzzled press and timid public. Speaker of Parliament Kharis Suhud broke the ice in late March in a euphemistic complaint, which emboldened other critics.

"The government should not close its eyes to this present business controversy that may tarnish its image abroad," Budi Hardjono, a member of Parliament, told the Jakarta Post. "What if [foreign] investors link their investments to these monopolistic practices?"

The master plan crafted by Jakarta's technocrats was to revitalize the economy by disbanding state monopolies and putting the means of production and distribution into private hands, creating competition and efficiency. But something went awry.

"The axle of the economy has changed from public hands to selected private hands, offering no real value-added benefits to the economy, and this is very worrisome," said Hartojo Wignjowijoto, a Harvard-trained economist and business consultant. "I used to say corruption was a kind of industry in Indonesia, but that becomes meaningless now if you look at the massive transfer of wealth from public to chosen private hands."

Consider the clove industry. Ostensibly to rectify anomalies in supply and demand, the government created a distribution monopoly for clove, the aromatic spice Indonesians live to inhale in their kretak [sic] cigarettes. The beneficiary: a company controlled by Suharto's youngest son.

An array of similar government favors has been granted, allowing lucrative deals for the Suharto "kids" and "cronies" in oil and natural gas contracts with the state petroleum company, Pertamina, and in timber concessions. Suharto's second son has distribution monopoly for oranges. The collection of subscription fees for state television was entrusted to a private enterprise linked to the first son. Private monopolies have put a choke on imported industrial materials such as plastics.

The leaden hand of the clove monopoly, for one has wrought a highly publicized fiasco, excoriated even by the World Bank in a confidential report on the Indonesian

economy. A higher floor price promised to farmers—with the implicit guarantee of a higher margin for the middle-man—triggered overproduction and a crushing surplus of clove stocks.

The Clove Support and Marketing Board, chaired by Suharto's youngest son, Hutomo (Tommy) Mandala Putra, is mired in debt, and seeking to have a quarter of the spice trees destroyed to make the market work. That logic is hard for an increasingly confident—and cynical—public to swallow.

"They say the monopoly is to benefit the people," said Aldrin Tando, a young businessman. "But if they buy cloves at a high price, they have to sell them to the cigarette companies at a higher price, and the cost is going to get passed on to the smokers. Who smokes in Indonesia? The people!"

As the June 9 general election for Parliament approaches, the "kids' shenanigans"—in the word of an influential former cabinet minister—are proving to be an embarrassment for Suharto's ruling Golkar Party. Though few predict a serious blow to the party, which holds a 70% majority, the problem could complicate an orderly succession when Suharto decides to step down.

"The patronage system will be thrown into confusion when somebody succeeds the president," said a prominent Indonesian journalist.

Other analysts say there are mitigating factors in the nepotism. "Of course, the family has become more greedy than a few years ago, but things basically aren't that bad," said Hadi Susastro, an economist and director of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "Take their investment in television broadcasting—it's opened an entirely new era for the country. It's only because of the involvement of the Suharto children that we have private television."

Indonesia's confusion over free-market principles perhaps can be best understood in light of the enormity of its problems. Population growth is far from under control, and the economy must expand enough to provide 2.4 million new jobs each year to cap unemployment. The labor pool is already so saturated the government has difficulty [sic] enforcing minimum wage standards of about \$1.25 a day.

Complaints of geographic as well as class and ethnic inequities persist. The squatters along the canal in north Jakarta, some of whom toil at a nearby dockyard, are considered wealthy compared to their rural cousins.

The military killings last November of scores of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976, was symptomatic of the difficulties the government is having winning hearts and minds in the nation's impoverished outer fringes.

The country has a staggering foreign debt of \$51 billion, although it has never

defaulted on a government-to-government loan. With rapid growth, the infrastructure most notably telecommunications services and electrical power supply, is stretched beyond its limits. Possibly the biggest trade barrier to a visiting foreign businessman in Jakarta is getting an outside telephone line from his hotel room.

Indonesia suffers from tensions between descendants of Chinese immigrants (3% of the population) and the ethnic Malay majority, a common phenomenon across Southeast Asia. Chinese entrepreneurs are the driving force in business—and resented for their wealth and power.

"It's true that the distribution of wealth is not ideal," said Markus Parmadi, 43, president of Lippo Bank, a non-Chinese executive at the Chinese-owned Lippo conglomerate. "But if you look around, things are so much better compared to the past. The problem is that it's difficult for the rich to remain inconspicuous."

Although the gaping abyss between Indonesia's new rich and its old poor is hotly debated, there are signs that a middle class may be emerging that will add a powerful consumer engine to the economy—and perhaps contribute to social stability. At the very least, abject poverty is declining steadily, from an estimated 60% of the population in 1970 to 17% in 1987, according to a World Bank study.

"Despite the excesses of the relatives and cronies, I think Suharto has done a great deal to trickle down the benefits of development," said Jusuf Wanandi, political analyst and chairman of the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "If he was up for reelection by popular vote today, I think he'd win an overwhelming victory."

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## BERKELEY-TRAINED GROUP PLAYS KEY ROLE

*Los Angeles Times June 1, 1992. By Karl Schoenberger Times Staff Writer*

Jakarta — After wining its war of liberation against Dutch colonizers in 1949, the old East Indies became a modern nation called Indonesia, one the most populous and poorest in the world—twice as poor as India.

Years of exploitation by Holland left the country nearly devoid of infrastructure, not just inroads and rails, but more importantly, in human terms. The people were largely illiterate. Public schools didn't exist; the university in the capital was for Dutch students. The newly independent republic had only one native economist.

Today, Indonesia is a success story in Third World development, having triumphed over a stagnant, Soviet-style command economy. The country might offer clues on reform to the former Soviet republics.

How it got on track to capitalism is a little-known Cold War tale, one in which the

"Berkeley Mafia" played an inestimable role. Forty years ago, Indonesia's lone economist, Dutch-trained Prof. Sumitro Djojohadikusumo, prevailed over adversity to transmit the dismal science to a handful of bright young men at the University of Indonesia.

At the time, capitalism was denounced as a social evil by President Sukarno, a wily [sic] strongman who was juggling the political forces of a gathering communist movement against his powerful military.

A half dozen of Sumitro's pupils were spirited abroad in the late 1950s for advanced studies in classic economics—initially, as chance would have it, at UC Berkeley.

Funded by the Ford Foundation, the Berkeley graduate students were trained to be professors, but they returned home destined to guide their country down a precipitous path toward market-driven economics. With their mentor Sumitro in political exile after being ejected from Sukarno's cabinet, they took refuge in academia.

But by teaching part-time at the Army Staff College, they reshaped the thinking of a rigid military, inculcated with the tenants of socialism and anti-imperialism during the struggle for independence.

After a chaotic period in the mid-1960s—a communist insurrection that triggered a coup and counter-coup—the Berkeley scholars came into their own as advisers to the "new order" regime of the new president, Gen. Suharto.

"We were overwhelmed by crisis," recalled one of the Berkeley-trained advisers, Emil Salim, now the environment minister. "We've been criticized for not paying enough attention to social equity, but the problems were so big, you had to hit with a knife, not carve with a scalpel."

Using tight monetary policy, they beat down triple-digit inflation, which Sukarno's economic team had attempted to curtail by snipping paper currency in half. They stabilized the rupiah by making it convertible, and reopened the door to foreign investment, giving back assets that had been seized and nationalized. Petroleum companies came in, and the oil flowed.

The achievements of the Berkeley Mafia and their continuing influence today speak of an uncanny ability to survive—and also a knack for knowing just how far to push. The technocrats have avoided open confrontation over increasingly blatant nepotism and cronyism allowed by President Suharto. And they have picked their battles in structural reform of the economy, focusing mainly on macro-economic policies.

"We still have a planned economy," said Mohammad Sadli, a former oil minister and the first Indonesian economist to study at Berkeley. "But this rather mild compared to the old days, when we had Soviet-style price controls."

Suharto owes much of his credibility to smart moves by the Berkeley technocrats—

Salim; Sadli; Widjojo Nitisastro, a reclusive and powerful former economic coordinating minister who still guides policy; and others like Finance Minister J. B. Sumarlin and retired finance minister Ali Wardhana.

Suharto was one of Sadli's students at the Army Staff college in the late 1950s, beginning a tenuous "alliance" between the powerful military and the Berkeley economists that continues.

"We were never sure whether this alliance with the military and Suharto would last long," recalled Sadli. "But after 25 years, the group still hasn't been thrown out. We didn't foresee that."

Aspersions were cast on the Berkeley Mafia—and on the Ford Foundation and the UC administration for creating them—in a 1970 article in "Ramparts," the now-defunct iconoclastic magazine. Writer David Ransom alleged that the scheme to train an economics faculty for the University of Indonesia was part of a Central Intelligence Agency plot to groom sleeper agents who would eventually promote pro-American, anti-communist Cold War interests.

"I don't buy this conspiracy theory—we weren't that naive to be used," said Salim, the environment minister. "And if it were true, I wouldn't criticize the United States the way I do today."

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## 'ISLAMIC STATE' CONVICTION

Reuter, Jakarta, June 2 - An Indonesian court has sentenced a Moslem fundamentalist to eight years in jail for trying to set up an independence Islamic state, Kompas newspaper said on Tuesday.

Abdul Fatah Wiranagapati, 69, was found guilty on Monday in the west Java city of Bandung of subversion and trying to destroy Indonesian unity.

Abdul Fatah had been jailed twice before for involvement in a separatist movement based in northern Aceh province, the judge said. He was released in 1982 but continued his calls for an Islamic state until the army arrested him last year.

Though Indonesia is predominantly Moslem, its constitution guarantees religious freedom and the government has cracked down on any signs of Moslem extremism.

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## U.S. EVENTS

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### REPORT: RAMOS-HORTA VISITS U.S.

Report on visit to the United States by José Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the National Council for Maubere Resistance (CNRM) May 7-17, 1992

On May 14, I addressed a very well-attended meeting of the Council on Foreign

relations, with thirty personalities including United Nations officials, politicians, bankers, academics and others.

The previous day, Bishop Paul Moore organized a private dinner at his house.

At Newsweek I met with four editors for almost two hours. This morning, they will interview me for the last page, so please look at the last page of Newsweek next week.

In Washington, I also met with two editors of the Washington Post, and several Congressional aides.

Friday morning I will be seeing Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs Misuri, to whom I'll hand over the letter from Xanana Gusmao to the Secretary-General. After that, I'll hold a press conference at the UN Headquarters, hosted by the Mission of Sao Tome and Principe. This afternoon, I will meet with the Missions of the Portuguese-speaking countries.

On Tuesday evening, I spoke at a public forum in New York City, which was attended by 200 activists, journalists, and others. Saturday, I will brief members of the East Timor Action Network, who organized that meeting.

This visit in all aspects has been extremely well-organized in my view, by everyone involved including Paul Moore, Arnold Kohen and Charles Scheiner.

José Ramos-Horta  
Special Representative of the CNRM  
New York, 15 May 1992

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## REPORTS ON PUBLIC EVENTS IN THE U.S.

### NEW YORK PUBLIC MEETING

Report by Charles Scheiner, ETAN/US.

Close to 200 people attended a public forum entitled *Witness to Struggle: Massacre in East Timor* on the evening of Tuesday, May 12 at the prestigious St. Bartholomew's Episcopal Church in midtown Manhattan. The program, which was the first organized by the East Timor Action Network in New York City, was co-sponsored by WBAI Radio. It was very successful in a variety of ways.

Speakers included José Ramos-Horta (Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance), Right Rev. Paul Moore, Jr. (retired Episcopal Bishop of New York), Amy Goodman (WBAI radio news director, severely beaten during the Santa Cruz massacre), Allan Nairn (*New Yorker* correspondent whose skull was fractured during the Santa Cruz massacre), and Lorne Rider (Brown University student who was on the Lusitania Expresso peace mission in February). Representatives of the Indonesian government and area Congresspeople were invited but did not attend.

As this was not a university-based program, the audience included a broad spectrum of human rights and peace activists, media people, diplomatic representatives, and others, including several Indonesian students and some Catholic sisters who had worked in East Timor. The event was enhanced by a photo exhibit of East Timor by Elaine Brière of Canada's East Timor Alert Network, and by the showing of the CBS TV coverage of the Dili massacre.

Bishop Moore spoke of the moral implications of U.S. policy in East Timor, and Amy Goodman described the events of November 12, 1991. Lorne Rider discussed the peace mission, and what it was like to be confronted by the Indonesian Navy. José Ramos-Horta gave some background on the East Timor issue, but mostly discussed how all the Timorese want is the chance to govern themselves and live in peace with their neighbors, including Indonesia. Allan Nairn outlined the sanctions bill about to be introduced in Congress, which we had just learned about that day. Many in the audience were moved to act to support this important legislation.

A lightly-edited videotape of the meeting is available; it runs about two hours (1:55). Copies can be ordered from ETAN/US, PO Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602 USA (914)428-7299, email: cscheiner@igc.org for \$25. A more polished production, integrating speakers from other public meetings as well, is in the works and will be ready in a few months.

### SAN FRANCISCO COLLEGE PANEL

Report by Anne Treseder, ETAN/San Francisco

On May 21, 1991, Tiffany Romain, Richard Chiang (both of whom were on the Lusitania Expresso), a woman from Amnesty International (AI) and I participated in a three-hour panel on East Timor which was part of a survey course on Indonesia at City College of San Francisco. The Indonesian vice-consul had also been asked to participate, and was initially eager, but backed out claiming he was too busy with the upcoming Indonesian elections.

The professor had provided the students with a number of articles, and they had also received a good deal of material from the Indonesian government.

The program began with a showing of *Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor*. After the film, three Indonesian teaching assistants responded. One said that the film "dramatized" the situation; the second argued that if Indonesia let East Timor go, that would encourage independence movements elsewhere, which would be against the national ethos of Pancasila. They also said that Fretilin was communist, that Indonesia had been invited in, that East Timor had been part of a pre-colonial empire that included Indonesia, etc. The third teaching assistant said that before viewing the film,

she had thought that all the fuss had been orchestrated by Portugal because they wanted East Timor back, but she now realized that the East Timorese themselves wanted independence. She did not try to justify Indonesia's actions.

The AI representative discussed her organization, and stressed that AI cannot take a position on independence. Richard and Tiffany talked about the Peace Mission. I discussed how my background in Portuguese and Holocaust issues led to work on East Timor, and our moral obligation not to stand by while East Timor is obliterated.

For more information contact East Timor Action Network/San Francisco, c/o Anne Treseder, 1845 Lake Street, San Francisco CA 94121. (415)387-2822.

### LOS ANGELES TALK BY ALLAN NAIRN

Report by Matthew Jardine, ETAN/Los Angeles:

"The Politics of Genocide in East Timor and Guatemala – US foreign policy towards indigenous peoples," a talk by journalist Allan Nairn, was given Thursday, May 28, at 12:30 pm at the University of California at Los Angeles.

Sponsors included the UCLA Committee for the Study of Genocide, the American Indian Studies Center, the Dept. of Geography, the Radical Student Alliance, el Proyecto de Inmigrantes y Refugiados Latinoamericanos (PIRLA), the Asian Pacific Islanders Law Students Association, and the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles.

Overall the talk went very well. About 60 people were present. A number of people were clearly moved by the talk. Many people took East Timor Action Network materials and we got a few new names on our local mailing list. A number of letters to Congress in favor of Tony Hall's bill will probably be generated by many of those in attendance.

Representatives from groups such as Concerned Faculty at UCLA and the Southern California Interfaith Task Force on Central America are going to approach their larger memberships to begin letter writing campaigns in favor of the aid cutoff to Indonesia.

The talk was videotaped. Allan was also interviewed by Blase Bonpane; the half-hour interview was broadcast on KPFK in Los Angeles, and sent by satellite to other stations, as was the talk itself.

For more information contact the East Timor Action Network of Los Angeles, c/o Matthew Jardine, 1062 Marco Place, Venice CA 90291. (213)396-4624. Email: nevins@geog.sscnet.ucla.edu

## EAST TIMOR ACTION NETWORK/US REPORT OF ACTIVITIES

In our first six months (December 1991 to May 1992), the East Timor Action Network/United States has accomplished many things, and we plan many more.

### Public events

We organized *Witness to Struggle: Massacre in East Timor* on May 12 at St. Bartholomew's Church in Manhattan. This public meeting, with Timorese resistance leader Jose Ramos-Horta, massacre witnesses Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn, and Episcopal Bishop Paul Moore Jr., drew more than 200 people.

ETAN provided logistical, organizational, resource, media and networking support for public meetings with a total of nearly 4,000 people at Brown University, Harvard University's JFK School of Government, Lehigh University, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Cornell University, Seattle, the University of Delaware and other places.

We initiated and organized demonstrations with leafleting at

- the Indonesian Mission to the United Nations (NY) on Human Rights Day (12/91)
- a reception of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas at the National Press Club in Washington (2/92)
- an Indonesian trade/tourism promotion at Westin Bonaventure Hotel, Los Angeles (2/92)
- Indonesian missions, embassies and consulates in New York, Washington, and Los Angeles in March as part of worldwide protests against Indonesian trials of Timorese activists. A march in Providence went to the office of Senator Claiborne Pell, Chair of the Foreign Relations Committee.

### Local organizing

ETAN/US has a rapidly-growing mailing/membership list of over 250 activists throughout the United States. We have galvanized local groups in Rhode Island, Boston, New York City, Connecticut, New Jersey, Ithaca, Los Angeles, Washington, Seattle, the San Francisco Bay area and the Southwest, and others are in formation. Most of the outreach on East Timor is done at the local level; national ETAN/US provides resources and encouragement for local work.

We are also a channel for individuals to work on East Timor, and put activists in touch with others in the same area, to form additional nuclei of local activity.

### Information and resource sharing

Since the November 12 massacre, ETAN/US has been producing compilations of documents and articles on East Timor from all over the world. These volumes (13

so far) are now produced monthly, and total about 650 pages. They are mailed at cost (\$6.00 per month in the US, \$7.50 by international air mail) to subscribers who can afford them, and free on request to activists in Indonesia and other Third World countries. There are currently 30 subscribers in eight countries, including libraries, key activists, media, academics, and solidarity groups. Additional funding would allow promotion and increased circulation of this valuable resource.

ETAN/US also produces and circulates more accessible materials on East Timor. We have published pamphlets based on US Senate and European Parliament hearings; printed newspaper articles, leaflets and action alerts; and distributed books, videos, and other vital information. We provide articles for the Guardian Newsweekly on a continuing basis, and keep the media and our membership up to date. We provide knowledgeable speakers on East Timor for events, media and organizations.

We have produced and circulated two editions of our Congressional Fact Sheet, which outlines steps the United States Congress can take to end complicity in the occupation of East Timor. With the introduction of the H.R.5176 sanctions bill, we are escalating our Congressional information and lobbying work, focusing on Congresspeople on key committees.

We have reached out to people around the world via the APC (PeaceNet) and Internet computer networks, which allow rapid, comprehensive sharing of information and coordination of action. Their use for East Timor – especially in the United States, England, Portugal, Australia, and Canada – sets an example of how to use this new medium for socially constructive purposes.

#### **International solidarity**

ETAN/US sent a representative to the annual Consultation of East Timor Solidarity Groups in Geneva in February, the first time a US group has participated in several years. We work closely with groups in Europe, Canada, and Australia, sharing information and coordinating joint actions. Currently, the international movement is organizing around the initial meeting of the Consultative Group for Indonesia (the international aid group which is replacing the IGGI) in Paris in July.

When José Ramos-Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (the coalition of East Timorese nationalist groups) visited New York and Washington in May, we provided logistical support, helped arrange a press conference at the United Nations, and organized several public and private meetings.

In August, the United Nations Decolonization Committee meets in New York. We will help coordinate participation from international NGOs, as well as present testimony ourselves. We attended the UN

Human Rights Commission in Geneva last February, and we expect to participate in the General Assembly and other UN events in the future.

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## **SANCTIONS BILL IN U.S. CONGRESS**

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### **AID CUTOFF BILL INTRODUCED IN U.S. CONGRESS**

Reuter, Washington, May 15 - A bill that would end U.S. aid to Indonesia because of human rights violations in East Timor was introduced in the House of Representatives on Thursday.

Its sponsor, Democratic congressman Tony Hall of Ohio, called the legislation a long overdue "response to Indonesia's aggression, repression and terror in East Timor."

The bill would terminate all U.S. bilateral assistance and suspend the Generalized System of Preference benefits for Indonesian products. It would also require the U.S. representative to the World Bank to oppose loans to Indonesia.

Hall said that estimated military and economic aid for Indonesia in the current fiscal year totalled about \$58 million. Commercial arms deliveries total about \$43 million and U.S. government sales about \$10 million.

Indonesia has exported millions of dollars of duty-free products to the United States and the U.S. trade deficit with Indonesia is currently \$1.3 billion, Hall said.

Under the legislation, the aid ban would remain in effect until the president had certified that Indonesia had withdrawn its troops from East Timor, allowed a United Nations referendum for Timorese self-determination and international monitors reported human rights violations had ended.

Such abuses have been reported in East Timor since Indonesia invaded and absorbed the country in 1975.

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### **AID CUTOFF BILL PRESS RELEASE**

*Select Committee on Hunger, U.S. House of Representatives H2-505 House Office Building Annex 2 Washington, DC 20515*

*News Release, May 15, 1992 - For further information, Neal Flieger, (202) 226-5470*

#### **HALL MOVES TO CUT U.S. AID TO INDONESIA, CITES RIGHTS ABUSES AGAINST TIMORESE CIVILIANS**

Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-OH), today introduced legislation to terminate all U.S. bilateral assistance to Indonesia, citing that nation's history of human rights violations against the citizens of East Timor. Joining

Hall as original cosponsors of the legislation were Reps. Tom Downey (D-NY), Joseph Moakley (D-MA), Ron Machtley (R-RI) and Barney Frank (D-MA).

"This is strong legislation, but a strong response is long overdue to Indonesia's aggression, repression, and terror in East Timor," Hall said in a statement accompanying the bill's introduction in the House. "At a time when every U.S. foreign aid dollar is undergoing rigorous scrutiny, why should the taxpayers provide aid to a nation which has seized and subjugated its neighbor? The Congress can both save money and stand for principle in terminating aid to Indonesia."

On December 7th, 1975, Indonesian military forces invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor; the territory was made the 27th Province of Indonesia the following year. Since then, international rights groups have continued to report widespread and ongoing violations of basic human rights. The most recent incident to draw world attention was the Indonesian military's massacre of 75 to 100 Timorese civilians participating in a funeral march on November 12, 1991. Hall noted that, although there have been other atrocities in East Timor since 1975, this particular incident was different.

"The atrocity was videotaped by an outsider who succeeded in smuggling the tape out of the militarized territory," he said. "In addition, two American reporters, Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, were savagely beaten and nearly killed by the Indonesian soldiers who perpetrated the massacre. They survived to become witnesses to the world of the tragedy of East Timor."

Hall has been the leading Congressional proponent for the cause of East Timor since coming to Congress in 1979, as the author of resolutions and letters to officials of the Indonesian government, United Nations, and U.S. Government calling attention to the plight of the Timorese.

The bill Hall introduced would terminate all bilateral assistance and suspends the Generalized System of Preference (GSP) benefits for Indonesian products, and requires the U.S. Representative to the World Bank, to oppose any loan to Indonesia. Estimated FY 1992 military and economic aid for Indonesia is about \$58 million; commercial arms deliveries are about \$43 million, and Foreign Military Sales add another \$10 million. Meanwhile, Indonesia has exported millions of dollars of duty-free products to the U.S. The U.S. trade deficit with Indonesia is currently \$1.3 billion.

"The United States Government should not allow Indonesia to use proceeds from preferential trade with our Nation as a means to assist in the continued suppression of the people of East Timor," added Downey, who serves on the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee.

Under the Members' legislation, the termination of aid would remain in effect until the President certifies that Indonesia has withdrawn its troops from East Timor, allowed a UN supervised referendum for Timorese self-determination, and international monitors have reported the cessation of human rights violations.

"It is insufficient to beg the Indonesians repeatedly to treat the Timorese with basic human decency," Hall said. "This is like condoning slavery, but asking the slave driver to spare the whip. Attention must instead be focused on getting the Indonesians to withdraw from East Timor and allow the Timorese to participate in a referendum on self-determination."

### SANCTIONS BILL IN U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES (TEXT)

*On May 14, a bill to cut U.S. aid and trade to Indonesia until the East Timor issue is settled was introduced by Representative Tony P. Hall (D-OH). The bill, H.R. 5176, is cosponsored by Thomas Downey (D-NY), Joseph Moakley (D-MA), Barney Frank (D-MA) and Ronald Machtley (R-RI).*

*It has been referred to the following subcommittees:*

- Foreign Operations Subcommittee of Appropriations Committee (David Obey, Chair)
- Asia-Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of Foreign Affairs Committee (Stephen Solarz, Chair)
- Trade Subcommittee of Ways and Means Committee (Sam Gibbons, Chair)

The East Timor Action Network/U.S. can provide more information, sample letters, subcommittee lists, and background materials. Representatives should be written and asked to cosponsor the bill. While those on the above subcommittees are particularly important, every Congressperson needs to hear from their constituents. Senators should be asked to sponsor a companion bill. The text of the bill follows.

#### 102nd Congress, Second Session H.R. 5176 in the House of Representatives, May 14 1992.

#### A BILL TO TERMINATE UNITED STATES ASSISTANCE TO INDONESIA.

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

##### Section 1. Findings.

The Congress makes the following findings:

- (1) In violation of international law, Indonesia invaded East Timor in December 1975, and forcefully annexed the territory in July 1976.

- (2) Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor has never been recognized by the United Nations.
- (3) The United Nations General Assembly adopted Resolution 3485 in 1975 and the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution 384 in 1975 and Resolution 389 in 1976, each of which called upon the Government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay its armed forces from East Timor and which reiterated the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination in accordance with General Assembly Resolution 1514(XV).
- (4) United Nations General Assembly Resolution 37/30 of November 1982 requested the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly involved in the situation in East Timor in order to achieve a comprehensive settlement of the issue.
- (5) Tens of thousands of East Timorese, out of a population of nearly 700,000, died in the fighting, famine, and disease that followed Indonesia's invasion and occupation of East Timor.
- (6) Throughout the years of Indonesia's occupation of East Timor, international human rights organizations have reported evidence of human rights violations, including killings, torture, arbitrary arrest, and repression of freedom of expression.
- (7) Indonesia's forceful suppression of basic human rights in East Timor was brought to world attention on November 12, 1991, when Indonesian military forces opened fire on unarmed Timorese civilians, in Dili, killing 75 to 100 people and injuring many more.
- (8) International human rights organizations report intense repression in East Timor in the period since the massacre of November 12, 1991.
- (9) In section 359 of the Foreign Relations Authorization Act, Fiscal Years 1992 and 1993, the Congress called for an end to all forms of human rights violations in East Timor and for an internationally acceptable solution which addresses the underlying causes of the conflict in East Timor.
- (10) Indonesian military forces remain in East Timor in contravention of resolutions adopted by the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council, and the Government of Indonesia has failed to initiate an internationally recognized process for self-determination for East Timor.

##### Section 2. Termination of Foreign Assistance for Indonesia.

- (a) TERMINATION OF FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FOR INDONESIA. — United States assistance to Indonesia shall be

suspended on the date of the enactment of this Act until the President determines and certifies to the Congress that —

- (1) Indonesia is permitting immediate and unrestricted access to East Timor for international human rights organizations and international organizations;
  - (2) International human rights organizations report that Indonesian government forces or other military or paramilitary forces under the control of the Government of Indonesia have ended all forms of inhuman treatment, including torture;
  - (3) Indonesia is in compliance with United Nations General Assembly Resolution 3485 and United Nations Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389, and
  - (4) Indonesia allows a United Nations supervised referendum on self-determination for the people of East Timor.
- (b) Definition. —
- (1) For the purposes of this section, the term "United States assistance" means assistance of any kind which is provided by grant, sale, loan, lease, credit, guaranty, or insurance, or by any other means, by any agency or instrumentality of the United States Government.
  - (2) Such term includes —
    - (A) assistance under the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961 (including programs under title IV of chapter 2 of part I of such Act);
    - (B) assistance under the Arms Export Control Act;
    - (C) sales under title I or title III and donations under title II of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act of 1954 of nonfood commodities;
    - (D) other financing programs of the Commodity Credit Corporation for export sales of nonfood commodities;
    - (E) financing under the Export-Import Bank Act of 1945; and
    - (F) assistance provided by the Central Intelligence Agency or assistance provided by any other entity or component of the United States Government if such assistance is carried out in connection with, or for purposes of conducting, intelligence or intelligence-related activities except that this shall not include activities undertaken solely to collect necessary intelligence.
- (3) Such term does not include —
- (A) assistance which involves the donation of food or medicine;
  - (B) disaster relief assistance (including any assistance under chapter 9 of part I of the Foreign Assistance act of 1961);
  - (C) assistance for refugees; and



- (D) assistance made available for termination costs arising from the requirements of this section.

### Section 3. Suspension of Multilateral Assistance.

Until the President makes the determination and certification pursuant to section 2(a), the Secretary of the Treasury shall instruct the United States executive directors of the International Monetary Fund, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the International Development Association to oppose any loan or other utilization of the funds of their respective institutions to or for Indonesia.

### Section 4. Denial of Trade Preferences.

Notwithstanding any other provision of law, until the President makes the determination and certification pursuant to section 2(a), the provisions of title V of the Trade Act of 1974 (19 U.S.C. 2461 et seq.) shall not apply with respect to the products of Indonesia.

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## TRY DISMISSES AID CUTOFF BILL

Reuter, Jakarta, May 18 - Indonesian military commander Try Sutrisno dismissed on Monday a U.S. House of Representatives bill accusing his government of violating human rights in East Timor.

"That is their right. But we have our own views on human rights. There is no violation of (human rights)," General Try told reporters in Indonesia's first comment on the bill.

The legislation that would end U.S. aid to Jakarta was introduced last Thursday by Democratic Congressman Tony Hall of Ohio who said it was a long overdue "response to Indonesia's aggression, repression and terror" in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Indonesia provoked an international outcry when its soldiers shot into a crowd of mourners in East Timor last November, killing up to 180 people.

It has long been criticised for its human rights record in East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 and later annexed, as well as in other provinces where small rebel groups are battling Jakarta's rule.

Try said developing Indonesia and upholding the dignity of Indonesians were a priority for Jakarta.

He warned donors against any attempt to twin aid with human rights that would be considered interference in domestic affairs.

**Kyodo, Jakarta, May 19** - Indonesian military chief Try Sutrisno on Monday decried a U.S. congressional bill to halt all U.S. bilateral assistance in protest of alleged human rights violations in East Timor.

"Only a few proposed that. They are paid for that and it is their right to submit

the bill to U.S. Congress," Sutrisno told reporters.

Four U.S. congressmen have introduced legislation proposing the U.S. aid and preferential tariff benefits would be terminated until Indonesia withdraws its troops from East Timor.

"A strong response is long overdue to Indonesia's aggression, repression and terror in East Timor," said Congressman Tony Hall in a statement accompanying the bill's introduction Thursday at the U.S. House of Representatives.

The legislation also demands Indonesia to allow a U.N. supervised referendum for self determination in the former Portuguese colony and ceases human rights violations.

"We have our own measures of human rights and they cannot view these with their glasses," Sutrisno said.

Sutrisno said the U.S. must look to the directions of Europe and the Asia-Pacific.

International outcries have mounted following an Indonesian army killing of civilians in East Timor last November in which the government put the death toll at 50, but independent sources said more than 100 were gunned down.

Last month Indonesia rejected a request of two U.S. senators, Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and David Boren, chairman of Senate Committee on Intelligence, to enter the troubled East Timor.

Sutrisno said people who are blocked (from entering East Timor) are those seen wanting to besmirch.

Jakarta has rejected all development assistance from the Dutch after its criticisms over the East Timor killings.

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## ETAN/US CONGRESSIONAL ALERT

East Timor Action Network - U.S.  
Box 1182, White Plains, NY 10602  
Tel. (914)428-7299 fax:(914)428-7383  
email: cscheiner@igc.org  
May 20, 1992

Dear Timor Activist:

This is it! Now is the time to organize to support H.R.5176, a bill just introduced in Congress to suspend U.S. military and economic aid, arms sales, and military training for Indonesia until Indonesia gets out of East Timor.

The bill also eliminates preferential treatment for trade with Indonesia, and includes a strict standard for determining when sanctions should end, based on U.N. resolutions demanding Indonesian military withdrawal and a U.N.-supervised referendum for self-determination in East Timor. Concentrated pressure over the next few weeks will determine if it gets enough support to be taken seriously. It is up to us.

This mailing is going to 220 key East Timor activists around the United States. If we each generate ten letters to Congress,

Washington may begin to end the 17-year nightmare of the East Timorese people. We may never again have such an opportunity.

On the back of this letter is a sample letter to Congress, and enclosed are a copy of the bill, a Congressional Action Fact Sheet, an ETAN order form, and "Basic Questions, Straight Answers" from the National Council for Maubere Resistance. Please copy and distribute this material as widely as possible. Let us know if you need audio- or video-tapes for media or public meetings, materials for street fairs, speakers, pamphlets, or other resources.

There are ETAN local contacts in about a dozen American cities. If you don't know who's in your region, give us a call and we'll tell you who they are - or help you become one yourself. Local grassroots organizing is key to raising Congressional awareness about how to save taxpayer's money and end Indonesian genocide at the same time.

Finally, this organizing blitz is costing a lot of money that ETAN/US doesn't have. We're spending out of our own pockets on the faith that you and others will help. Please send a tax-deductible contribution made out to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN" today.

Thank you for your support, and for your much-needed work.

For Peace with Justice,  
Charlie Scheiner, Coordinator

### Action Alert: Support Aid and Trade Sanctions for East Timor

Since invading East Timor in 1975, Indonesia has killed an estimated 200,000 people, out of a population of close to 700,000, with the weapons and acquiescence of the United States. On May 15, 1992, Representative Tony Hall (D-OH) introduced a bill H.R. 5176, to promote self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor. Cosponsors of the bill are Thomas Downey (D-NY), Ronald Machtley (R-RI), Joseph Moakley (D-MA), and Barney Frank (D-MA).

The bill would apply several kinds of sanctions against Indonesia. Security assistance and bilateral economic assistance would be suspended, except for specific categories of humanitarian assistance. Arms sales would be suspended. The US representative to the World Bank would be required to oppose loans to Indonesia. Preferential tariffs that Indonesia receives under the Generalized System of Preferences would be suspended.

Aid and arms sales could not be restored unless the President certified that international observers are permitted access to East Timor, international human rights organizations report that Indonesian security forces have ended all forms of inhumane treatment, Indonesia has implemented UN resolutions which call for Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, and Indonesia allows an internationally supervised referendum on self-determination.

Please write or call your Representatives to co-sponsor H.R. 5176, and your Senators to introduce a companion bill in the Senate. In addition to calling and writing yourself, ask other people to do likewise, request meetings with your representatives, and go to "town meetings" and election campaign events to bring up East Timor. The Congressional switchboard is (202)224-3121. Addresses are US House of Representatives, Washington DC 20515; and US Senate Washington, DC 20510.

Although you should always contact your own representatives, those on certain subcommittees are especially critical. These subcommittees include the Asian and Pacific Affairs Subcommittee of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Trade Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee. Lists of the subcommittees and additional information about US aid to Indonesia are available in the East Timor Congressional Action Fact Sheet available from the East Timor Action Network.

### Sample letter to Congress

The Honorable David R. Obey  
US House of Representatives  
Washington, DC 20515

Dear Congressman Obey:

Since invading East Timor in 1975, Indonesia has killed an estimated 200,000 people, out of a population of close to 700,000, with the weapons and acquiescence of the United States. Although the UN Security Council has passed resolutions requiring Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, little action has been taken to enforce the resolutions, in contrast to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. The Bush administration recently blocked a resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission condemning Indonesia for a massacre witnessed by two US journalists.

H.R. 5176 has been introduced by Rep. Tony Hall with bipartisan support, to terminate US assistance and arms sales to Indonesia until Indonesia implements the Security Council Resolutions and holds a referendum on self-determination. I am writing to ask you to co-sponsor H.R. 5176. This is a way to save taxpayers' money and support human rights at the same time. I hope that you agree that the rule of law must be respected in international affairs.

Sincerely,

### EAST TIMOR CONGRESSIONAL ACTION FACT SHEET

*East Timor Action Network / United States  
May 19, 1992*

A new bill in Congress, H.R.5176, will cut off all U.S. aid to Indonesia until Indonesia withdraws from East Timor, permits human rights observers in, ends all forms of inhumane treatment and torture, and allows a U.N.-supervised referendum on

self-determination. It deserves widespread support.

Representative Tony Hall, the bill's chief sponsor, calls it "a long overdue response to Indonesia's aggression, repression and terror in East Timor." Indonesian Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno (who said "They should be shot down" about victims of the Santa Cruz massacre), commented "We have our own measures of human rights and they cannot view these with their glasses."

As Americans concerned about justice, we have the right and obligation to act for human rights. This Action Fact Sheet provides some background.

### Introduction

Indonesia invaded the tiny half-island of East Timor on December 7, 1975, the day after President Ford and Secretary of State Kissinger left Jakarta. The deaths of many of the 200,000 Timorese people (one-third of the population) killed since were made possible with U.S.-supplied weapons.

Yet, in spite of numerous UN and Congressional resolutions, the Bush administration continues to support the Jakarta regime. In 1990 alone, Congress allowed more than \$200,000,000 of arms deliveries to the Indonesian military. In the wake of the November 12, 1991 massacre, when US-supplied M-16's were used to slaughter over 100 unarmed civilians in a memorial procession, the administration proposes to increase US training for the Indonesian Army.

The bill before Congress, H.R.5176, terminates U.S. military and economic aid and denies trade preferences. As Tony Hall put it: "It is insufficient to beg the Indonesians repeatedly to treat the Timorese with basic human decency. This is like condoning slavery, but asking the slave driver to spare the whip. ... Why should the taxpayers provide aid to a nation which has seized and subjugated its neighbor?"

Now is an unprecedented opportunity to end US complicity in the killing, and to end the killing itself. Despite General Sutrisno's bravado, Jakarta is very sensitive to the views of its principal arms supplier. This Fact Sheet should help you educate your representatives in Washington. The East Timor Action Network can provide other printed and audio-visual resources for grassroots organizing.

### What Congress Can Do

Here are some ways the US government could improve human rights and advance self-determination. Many of these would be done by passing H.R.5176, which needs your support.

- Security Assistance: Indonesia receives \$1.8 million a year from the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program. The Pentagon wants to increase this to \$2.3 million, claiming that it professionalizes soldiers and improves their respect for human rights. In El

Salvador, US-trained units committed well-documented massacres, and US military training has never been shown to improve human rights. H.R.5176 suspends IMET.

- Bilateral Economic Assistance: Indonesia receives approximately \$50 million annually in US economic assistance. Most such programs do little to benefit those most in need. Although it suspends most economic aid, H.R.5176 would allow food, medicine, disaster relief and refugee assistance.
- Arms Sales. Under the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) program, the US arranges and finances commercial arms exports to foreign governments. FMS deliveries to Indonesia were \$233 million in 1990, and a sale of \$500 million in surveillance planes has been approved. In the late 1970s, American-made OV-10F Bronco counter-insurgency aircraft were used to destroy crops in East Timor, causing famine and killing tens of thousands. H.R.5176 suspends FMS and other arms sales.
- Multilateral Economic Assistance. The Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, a coordinating body of government donors and multilateral development agencies pledged \$4.75 billion in economic assistance for 1992. Although most of this money comes from the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and Japan, the U.S. promised \$113 million directly. Indonesia recently dissolved the IGGI, accusing its chair the Netherlands of using human rights limits on development assistance as "a tool for threatening Indonesia." H.R.5176 would cause US representatives to the IMF, World Bank, and other multilateral aid agencies to oppose loans to Indonesia.
- U.S. trade with Indonesia. Indonesia receives preferential duties under the Generalized System of Preferences, amounting to \$562 million in 1990. These preferences would be suspended by H.R.5176, putting pressure on Indonesia's corrupt and well-connected business interests.
- Support Action at the United Nations. In the 1992 session of the UN Human Rights Commission, the US and others successfully squelched a strong resolution. Congress could request Bush to support action there, in the Security Council and General Assembly. H.R.5176 uses General Assembly Resolution 3485 (calling for immediate Indonesian military withdrawal from East Timor) and Security Council Resolution 389 (affirming the "inalienable right of its people to self-determination") as the standard for resuming aid and trade.

- Prisoner Appeals. Several Timorese are on trial, some for subversion, for which they could face the death penalty. One just received a 30-month sentence for attending a peaceful demonstration. Hundreds of others are arrested and held for weeks without charges, or forced to undergo political indoctrination. Congress could appeal to President Suharto to release the prisoners.

#### Recent Actions Taken by Congress

Congressional actions over the last six months laid the groundwork for the current bill. In November 1991, the House and Senate passed non-binding resolutions, and Senator Malcolm Wallop (R-WY) initiated a letter to President Bush (signed by 52 Senators) asking him to use diplomacy to support East Timorese self-determination.

In February, Representatives Frank Wolf (D-VA) and Tony Hall (D-OH) warned that Congress may cut off US aid and trade benefits if human rights abuses in East Timor do not cease. At a public forum at Brown University on March 13, Reps. Ronald Machtley (R-RI) and Barney Frank (D-MA) committed themselves to sponsor legislation to suspend aid.

Senator Claiborne Pell (D-RI), the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, held hearings on East Timor in February and March. In April, Senators Pell and David Boren (D-OK) visited Indonesia, where they told President Suharto that there should be a plebiscite for East Timor. Indonesia refused to allow them to visit East Timor.

#### Specific Pending East Timor Legislation

On May 15, Rep. Tony Hall introduced H.R.5176 to apply sanctions against Indonesia. The bill, cosponsored by Ronald Machtley, Joseph Moakley (D-MA), Barney Frank, and Thomas Downey (D-NY), would suspend security assistance and bilateral economic assistance, except for specific kinds of humanitarian aid. Arms sales would be suspended. The US would oppose World Bank and other loans to Indonesia. Preferential tariffs under the Generalized System of Preferences would be suspended.

Aid and arms sales could not be restored until the President certifies that international observers are permitted access to East Timor, international human rights organizations report that Indonesian security forces have ended all forms of inhumane treatment, Indonesia has withdrawn from East Timor, and Indonesia allows an internationally supervised referendum on self-determination.

This legislation is a perfect handle for grassroots organizing in the United States to end the tragedy of East Timor. Please write or call your Representatives to co-sponsor H.R.5176, and ask your Senators to introduce a companion bill. Appropriations Subcommittee Chairmen Representative

David R. Obey and Senator Patrick Leahy also need to hear from you. A list of addresses, phone numbers, and key Congresspeople is on the back of this sheet.

#### Relevant Laws Already on the Books

In addition to the new bill, some existing US laws prohibit US support for human rights violators. The Foreign Assistance Act, Section 502B prohibits US security assistance to countries which violate human rights, and Section 116 prohibits economic aid on human rights grounds "unless such assistance will directly benefit the needy people in such country." The International Financial Institutions Act, Section 701, requires US representatives to multilateral development banks to vote against loans on human rights grounds. The International Security Assistance and Arms Export Control Act prohibits commercial arms sales on human rights grounds.

The US State Department claims that human rights conditions in East Timor have been improving since the November 12 massacre. These claims are contradicted by Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and every other credible source. The new military commander there has vowed to end all demonstrations, foreign journalists have again been excluded, and the Timorese people live in a renewed state of terror.

The State Department frequently refuses to enforce human rights provisions, although legislation specific to a particular country, like H.R.5176, is more likely to be enforced.

The above laws apply only to human rights abuses. ETAN and H.R.5176 demand not only respect for human rights, but also self-determination for East Timor.

#### International Law

The Indonesian invasion and occupation of East Timor blatantly violated the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on Decolonization. The UN Security Council and General Assembly have passed many resolutions demanding Indonesian withdrawal. Respect for human rights is required by international human rights agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

#### Key Congressional Subcommittees

You should always approach your own Senators and Representative first, but key subcommittees are also critical. Start with Chairmen David Obey and Patrick Leahy, and contact as many as you can.

In the House, all Representatives should be asked to cosponsor H.R.5176. Write to them at US House of Representatives, Washington, DC 20515. Senators should be asked to introduce and sponsor a companion bill. Their address is US Senate, Washington, DC 20510.

You can phone both at the Capitol switchboard, (202)224-3121. In each listing, Democrats are on the left and Republicans on the right. The Chairman (Democrat) and

ranking Republican member of each subcommittee are listed first.

Senate Appropriations - Foreign Operations (foreign aid appropriations) Chair: Patrick Leahy (VT).

Democrats: Daniel Inouye (HI), J. Bennett Johnston (LA), Dennis DeConcini (AZ), Frank Lautenberg (NJ), Tom Harkin (IA), Barbara Mikulski (MD)

Republicans: Robert Kasten (WI), Mark Hatfield (OR), Alfonse D'Amato (NY), Warren N. Rudman (NH), Arlen J. Specter (PA), Don Nickles (OK)

Senate Foreign Relations - East Asian and Pacific Affairs Chair: Alan Cranston (CA)

Democrats: Joseph Biden (DE), Christopher Dodd (CT), John Kerry (MA), Charles Robb (VA)

Republicans: Frank Murkowski (AK), Richard Lugar (IN), Mitch McConnell (KY), Hank Brown (CO)

House Appropriations - Foreign Operations, Export Financing, ... Chair: David R. Obey (WI)

Democrats: Sidney R. Yates (IL), Matthew F. McHugh (NY), William Lehman (FL), Charles Wilson (TX), Lawrence J. Smith (FL), Peter J. Visclosky (IN), Bill Alexander (AR)

Republicans: Mickey Edwards (OK), John Edward Porter (IL), Bill Green (NY), Bob Livingston (LA)

House Foreign Affairs - Asian and Pacific Affairs Chair: Stephen J. Solarz (NY)

Democrats: Tom Lantos (CA), Robert G. Torricelli (NJ), Gary L. Ackerman (NY), Thomas M. Foglietta (PA)

Republicans: Jim Leach (IA), Robert J. Lagomarsino (CA), Toby Roth (WI)

House Ways and Means - Trade Chair: Sam Gibbons (FL)

Democrats: Dan Rostenkowski (IL), Ed Jenkins (GA), Thomas J. Downey (NY), Donald J. Pease (OH), Frank J. Guarini (NJ), Robert T. Matsui (CA), Beryl Anthony, Jr. (AR), Byron L. Dorgan (ND)

Republicans: Philip M. Crane (IL), Guy Vander Jagt (MI), Richard T. Schulze (PA), William M. Thomas (CA), Raymond J. McGrath (NY)

House Foreign Affairs - Human Rights and International Organizations Chair: Gus Yatron (PA)

Democrats: Wayne Owens (UT), Ted Weiss (NY), Eliot L. Engel (NY), Gerry E. Studds (MA), Frank McCloskey (IN)

Republicans: Doug Bereuter (NE), Christopher H. Smith (NJ), Henry J. Hyde (IL), Ileana Ros-Lehtinen (FL)

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## EVENTS IN CANADA

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### CAUTION, BUT NO CARE

(CALGARY HERALD)

*Editorial, 11 March 1992.*

*Comment: this editorial was published in response to a warning from External Affairs Canada to four Canadians on board the Lusitania Expresso (posted at the time) not to go on the peace mission. All four ignored the "warning" and three joined the mission, with Peter Monet remaining in Darwin to do media work.*

The federal Department of External Affairs, as is its job, thoughtfully cautioned Canadians against joining an international "peace ship" turned back Tuesday by the Indonesian navy while protesting that country's murderous rule over East Timor.

Neither Barbara McDougall, the minister responsible, nor her bureaucrats and diplomats saw any reason to express similar concern for the people of East Timor.

Since 1975 when Indonesia invaded their island, just weeks after its independence from Portugal, more than 200,000 East Timorese – one-third of the population – have been killed.

The protest sailing by the Portugal-registered Lusitania Expresso, a converted car ferry, was occasioned by the Indonesian army's attack on a peaceful demonstration late last year in which more than 100 unarmed protesters were killed.

External Affairs' warning to Canadian protesters, however, in no way acknowledges that anything untoward is going on in the occupied and besieged island nation.

It pointed out that diplomats would not be in a position to come to their assistance should the Indonesian government make good on its threat to prevent the protest vessel from completing its voyage to the east Timor capital of Dili.

It was External Affairs' duty to warn Canadian citizens of the dangers that awaited them. But that duty did not prevent the minister or her minions from demonstrating some degree of sympathy for their cause.

As it is, the bloodless, self-serving tone of their government's warning pretty much assured that Canadians planning to go on the voyage would not change their minds. How can any peace activists worthy of the name turn back because a bully threatens them with the same treatment they are protesting against?

Sadly, the current minister of external affairs' disregard for the East Timorese is in keeping with Canada's policy in the region.

Despite United Nations' resolutions calling for East Timor to be put under Portuguese administration, Canada has carried on a brisk and profitable trade with

the Indonesian invaders backed by generous aid packages.

So deep is Canada's complicity that our ambassador has abstained from voting whenever the issue condemning Indonesian occupation came before a United Nations body [*in fact, Canada has voted with Indonesia at the UN since 1980 – ETAN*].

Only Australia, which openly supports Indonesia, has a more dismal record.

External Affairs clearly is as concerned with its own image as it is with the safety of three Canadian citizens sailing on the Lusitania Expresso. If they had been captured or killed, Ottawa would have had to explain why its diplomats seemed to be siding with one of the world's great dictatorships, not only against a tiny rebellious island, but its own citizens.

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### ETAN/CANADA NEWSLETTER

*East Timor Alert Network, 104-2120 West 44th, Vancouver BC, V6M 2G2, Canada.*

*ETAN internal newsletter, April 19, 1992*

Dear friends of East Timor,

Greetings and apologies for the delay in news! It is only as I sit here amid the piles of news clippings and reports, that I can fully appreciate the difficulties involved in compiling this newsletter and also Elaine Briere's expertise in dealing with them. There is so much news which has accumulated over the past two months that I don't know where to begin!

Although East Timor seems to have slipped off the front pages of the Western press, this issue should reassure you that pressure on governments and media coverage have in fact continued on a remarkably intense level. The visit last February of Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, who was on the world tour to appease tremendous international outrage at the Dili massacre, induced a tremendous show of commitment across Canada from our little network. Successful actions took place in Vancouver and Toronto in protest of Alatas' mission to reinstate aid and support from countries, like Canada, who had placed sanctions on Indonesia after the November 12 killings. In Ottawa, Allan Nairn and ETAN members managed to confront Alatas during his press conference with Barbara McDougall [External Affairs Minister].

It is of no surprise however, that External Affairs, unlike the Dutch government, seems to feel sufficiently reassured by Indonesia's acknowledgment of its military culpability regarding the November 12 incident, to project the imminent lifting of sanctions. Interestingly, to this date there has been no official confirmation of Canada's reinstatement of aid to Indonesia. Instead, articles strongly in favour of aid suspension and East Timor's right to independence and social justice have appeared in newspapers across Canada!

We have many people to thank for helping East Timor. We are extremely grateful for all the donations made by church groups and citizens which have enabled us to send David Webster to the East Timor solidarity conference in Geneva last February, to bring Allan Nairn to confront Alatas and to stage demonstrations outside Indonesian consulates.

David Webster has been producing excellent reports and updates on East Timor [NB: published monthly in The ACTivist, 736 Bathurst St., Toronto, Canada, M5S 2R4, \$10/year], not to mention organizing rallies and meetings in Toronto. A special thanks to Maureen Davies and Clair Huston for helping out two East Timorese refugees, Aze and Abe, to apply for refugee status. Both have been granted legal status in Canada.

We must not forget that Peter Monet and Genevieve Appleton played active roles in the Peace Ship mission to east Timor. Genevieve has also been busy giving talks on east Timor in Toronto and Peterborough. As for Trent University, they accomplished a marvelous feat last month – 750 letters were written in one day in support of East Timor!

Meanwhile Guelph University has begun to review seriously its \$50 million project in Sulawesi. Thanks to John McMurtrey, a philosophy professor, Guelph is the first Canadian university which is actually adopting a human rights policy regarding its overseas contracts. The university of Simon Fraser [in Vancouver] is also under pressure from some of its students and faculty to reconsider its involvement with Indonesia. We are very grateful to Svend Robinson MP for participating in our panel discussion on human rights and SFU's connection with Indonesia. We will continue to encourage the University of British Columbia to question its lack of concern about Indonesia's practice of human rights abuses. We hope to see an end to "Indonesia day" and "Indonesia Week" which always overlook Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor and also its oppressive rule in West Papua and Aceh.

We really appreciate the efforts made by the media to keep East Timor in the news. Linda Hossie of The Globe and Mail, Louise Crosby of the Ottawa Citizen, David Todd of Southam News, the Calgary Herald and CFMT-TV in Toronto have been particularly supportive of East Timor.

Thank you of course, to our supporters across the country whose letters and phone calls have helped significantly to give the East Timorese a voice. We are also indebted to the Asian Students Association in Canada for their fabulous poster-pamphlet on East Timor and social injustice in Asian countries.

As for the present, we must address the ongoing suffering of the East Timorese. We need to draw public attention to a situation which is one of heightened terror. East

Timor's current general, Theo Syafei, is determined to maintain "law and order" more strictly than his predecessor, General Warouw. The East Timorese are living under conditions of intensified militarization characteristic of the late '70s. Now the Timorese are saying, "Before, they were everywhere in the streets, now they have entered our bedrooms." Fretilin's leader, Xanana Gusmao, has encouraged all East Timor solidarity groups to form other groups wherever they do not exist.

So on we trudge in our work for East Timor with the remarkable will and courage of the east Timorese as our driving force. A Canadian parliamentarian and I will testify at the UN Decolonization Committee meeting in New York this August. I will also be working closely with our members in Ontario this summer in raising awareness about East Timor and also in the hopes of strengthening our connections with NGOs directly involved in Indonesia. Meanwhile Elaine Briere is busy with her film about East Timor [*People of the Golden Disk*] but nevertheless consistently spends time working for ETAN.

— Li-lien Gibbons

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## DEMONSTRATE AT THE OPENING OF THE NEW BATA SHOE MUSEUM IN TORONTO

*From ETAN/Canada, May 18, 1992*

Bata Shoes will be officially unveiling its new shoe museum this Thursday, May 21, in The Collonade on Bloor Street at Bay in Toronto. Bata is a major Canadian-based multi-national corporation with branch plants in over 100 countries practising atrocious labour practices. Bata is the number two Canadian investor in Indonesia, a country where respect for human rights is nil and the interests of western corporations are placed ahead of the rights of Indonesian workers and people. Bata workers in Indonesia are the lowest-paid in the Bata empire, receiving less than a tenth of what their Canadian counterparts are paid.

The East Timor Alert Network of Toronto will be sponsoring a demonstration at the museum this Thursday from 12-2 p.m. against Bata's involvement in Indonesia and other countries. Please join us! Call 531-6154 for details.

## PROTESTERS DISRUPT OPENING OF BATA SHOE MUSEUM COLLECTION

*Toronto Globe and Mail, 21 May 1992.*

TORONTO — Protesters interrupted the opening of the Bata Shoe Museum Collection at the Collonade shopping complex in mid-town Toronto yesterday. Sonja Bata, wife of Thomas G. Bata, president of the Canada-based multinational footwear

manufacturer, was welcoming reporters and guests to a temporary exhibit of highlights from her collection of 8,500 shoes and related artifacts when activists suddenly moved in front of the podium, unfurled banners reading "Indonesia Free East Timor" and handed out leaflets headed "Bata Kills."

Bata employs about 67,000 people in 70 countries. The leaflet did not document Bata killing anybody in any of those countries. What the six protesters, members of the Toronto-based human rights group ACT for Disarmament, were objecting to was the fact that two of Bata's 71 factories are located in Indonesia. "Bata pays its Indonesian workers \$2 a day!" they shouted in the direction of the television cameras as security personnel hustled them from the building. "The Indonesian military helped break up a strike at Bata!"

Before resuming her speech, Sonja Bata commented, "I know nothing of these charges."

Outside the Collonade, ACT member Maggie Helwig said her group was calling on Bata to pull out of Indonesia immediately. She said ACT objects to Bata's having plants in Indonesia because that country's government has been accused of genocide in the former Dutch colony [!] of East Timor, now occupied by East Timor.

## CANADIANS LAUNCH BOYCOTT OF BATA SHOES

*June 1, 1992 by ETAN/Canada*

The East Timor Alert Network/Toronto and ACT for Disarmament have launched a campaign calling for Bata Shoes, a Canadian multinational operating 70 countries, to divest from Indonesia. The first campaign action, a protest at the media opening of the Bata Shoe Museum, received favourable coverage on two local TV stations, as well as a somewhat confused article in the Arts section of *The Globe and Mail*. A second protest at the museum was called off when Bata officials agreed to a meeting to discuss protest demands.

The meeting between Bata's general counsel Tom Drucker and another official and ACT for Disarmament's Maggie Helwig and Aqeel Zaman did not produce a pledge from Bata to divest or take any stand in favour of human rights. "Who is to judge what is right, what is wrong?" was Drucker's main comment. He disputed a claim that Bata workers in Indonesia are paid just \$2 a day, but produced no figure to show otherwise. Drucker said protesters were "violating the human rights" of Thomas G. Bata and his wife Sonja by highlighting Bata's investments in Indonesia.

The company has refused to consider any further discussion.

Supporters are being asked to boycott Bata Shoes. The next major event will be a protest at Bata's Dufferin Mall store on Saturday, June 20. Information on Bata and

other Canadian corporate involvement in Indonesia, in English and Portuguese, will be handed out to shoppers. We expect this campaign to be an effective one. A similar campaign forced Bata to divest from South Africa in the 1980s.

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## BLOOD PROTEST TRIAL

*By Enzo di Matteo, NOW Magazine,  
Toronto, June 4-10, 1992.*

Activists who poured vials of human blood on the doors of the Indonesian consulate in Toronto to protest the killing of demonstrators in East Timor by soldiers of the Asian government last fall, will find out June 27 whether they will be fined or sent to jail.

Maggie Helwig and Joanne Young appeared in provincial court last Friday (May 29) on mischief charges for their part in the February incident. The activists were protesting the killing last November of an estimated 200 demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers outside the gate of a cemetery in Santa Cruz.

The crown attorney's office is proceeding with mischief charges against Helwig and Young on the grounds the blood caused more than \$1,000 damage to the doors of the University Avenue office building housing the Indonesian consulate.

"Given the extremely serious situation in East Timor and the relatively minor nature of what we did, essentially our right to freedom of expression and our need to communicate what is happening in East Timor far outweighs the damage we may have done to the door," says Helwig. "I spend most of my time working as an activist and part of that involves civil disobedience."

Recently, a report of an Indonesian government inquiry into the Santa Cruz massacre concluded that the incident "clearly did not occur because of any command or policy of the government or the armed forces. The demonstrators, the majority of whom were young, behaved savagely, emotionally and destructively."

Both Amnesty International and Asia Watch have condemned the report. Amnesty also reports that an Indonesian court in Jakarta has sentenced Joao Freitas de Camara and Fernando do Araujo — two of the demonstrators — to prison terms of 10 and nine years, respectively.

"The report is a whitewash," says David Webster, a spokesperson for the East Timor Alert Network. "It's largely produced for the benefit of western governments so that they will be able to continue justifying giving economic aid to Indonesia."

The federal government, meanwhile, which withheld \$30 million in aid to the Indonesian government in the wake of the highly publicized massacre, is deciding whether to re-instate the aid — part of a \$76 million package to the Asian country.

External Affairs spokesperson Denys Laliberte says, "We saw the report as a commitment by the Indonesian government to do something about this massacre. Canada is the only country in the world to impose sanctions on Indonesia because of the massacre. Our aid program to Indonesia is going to the poorest people in the country."

The Indonesian consulate did not return NOW's phone calls.

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## GIANT IN THE SHADOWS (GLOBE AND MAIL)

*Editorial, Toronto Globe and Mail, 28 May.*

*Comment: a belated conversion from a newspaper which has traditionally told its reporters Indonesia and East Timor are not of interest to Canadian readers.*

On a per capita basis, Indonesia may be the most obscure nation on earth. With 179 million citizens, it is fifth in the world in population. Its 13,667 islands stretch across an expanse of ocean almost as broad as the continental United States. It has one of Asia's fastest-growing economies and ranks among the top 15 oil producers. Yet, apart from the occasional flutter over its brutal occupation of East Timor, Indonesia seldom makes headlines. In the past two years, for example, this newspaper has published 100 stories or items on Indonesia, half of them in the travel section. By contrast, Hong Kong, with a population of 6 million, rated 217 stories, and tiny Ireland, population 3.7 million, 301.

Does this lack of attention bother Indonesia's rulers? Not a bit. Obscurity is a positive comfort for a government with so much to hide, from a muzzled press to political prisoners, some of whom have been executed after languishing in prison for more than 20 years. Unfortunately for the regime of President Suharto, it may not last. Since the popular upheaval in Thailand, another rapidly developing country with a surfeit of generals, people have begun to ask indelicate questions. The Thai revolt took place partly because a growing military class had become weary of military corruption and political interference. Could the same thing happen in Indonesia?

In the short term, the answer is, probably not. After a quarter century in power, the 70-year old Mr. Suharto possesses a political machine that all but guarantees the victory of his ruling Golkar party in next month's parliamentary elections. Even if Golkar didn't win a single seat, the political system is fixed to ensure the former general's dominance. The consultative assembly that will meet next March to elect (or, if Mr. Suharto runs as expected for a sixth five-year term, re-elect) the president is composed of the 400 members of parliament, 100 military appointees, and 500 presidential appointees. A neat formula.

But Mr. Suharto and his backers cannot have failed to notice that the military in Thailand won in the polls, then lost in the streets. And the parallels don't end there. In both countries, the military has taken a commanding role in business and industry, reaping many of the profits of development and shutting others out. Indonesians especially resent Mr. Suharto's practice of creating state monopolies and then handing them to cronies or, worse, his own family. For years, his wife has been known as "Madame Ten Per Cent" because of her alleged fondness for taking kickbacks.

Now come the children. All six of Mr. Suharto's offspring are in business, and to no one's surprise, they are prospering. Tommy Suharto, the president's youngest son, recently received a monopoly to trade in cloves – a lucrative concession in a land addicted to clove-scented cigarettes. Mr. Suharto has not helped matters by dismissing his children's business activities as "social work."

As Thailand has demonstrated, people may be willing to tolerate such behaviour in the early years of a country's development if the quid pro quo is stability and economic growth. But that very growth inevitably fuels a thirst for something more – democracy and clean government, for instance. If Mr. Suharto ignores this lesson in expectations, he may not enjoy his comfortable obscurity for much longer.

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## EVENTS IN PORTUGAL

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### THE APPEAL OF THE CITY OF GUIMARAES, PORTUGAL

May 12, 1992

*This document has been delivered to His Excellency The President of the Council of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the European Community, undersigned by 3000 young people and citizens of Guimaraes.*

Almost nine hundred years ago, one of the oldest nations of Europe was born here, in this city.

Consciously establishing her full political, social and economical identity, this nation opposed foreign monarchy through the struggle of a prince who, shunning all family ties to attain the independence of his people, became the symbol and the guarantee of that same independence.

Afonso was the cry repeated a thousand-fold against the foreign enemy, whom he expelled, but he showed no wish to wait for the Pope's benediction, payable in gold, which would bring along official recognition.

Out of the success of this struggle, Portugal was born of its own free will.

In the present historical period, undermined by hypocrisy, villainy and treachery, it is most becoming to evoke the saga of a

people who stood up against everything and everybody because of their will for independence.

It is not surprising then that Camoes, the epic poet, has sung of such a people tearing asunder the mists of unknown seas, facing a thousand dangers, mixing their own blood of inhabitants of the third world with the blood of people from all over the earth, thus destroying myths of racial barriers in order to **give the world new worlds**, showing selfish, conniving Europe that other worlds, other civilizations existed.

This is the powerful force that impels us to launch this appeal on behalf of the completion of Timor's destiny.

To this Council of Twelve, meeting here in this noble city, we send our appeal so that they may, at last, take the decisions that are long due.

When all throughout Europe nations (?) are being born taking as a reason for their existence, in most cases, their geography and natural environment (these nations are actual ethnic, linguistic and religious cauldrons), how can we ignore a people whose geographical definition is clear, whose culture is rich and varied and has been transmitted by means of a language which stands among the most predominant languages in the world, whose traditions are centuries old and who have given repeated signs of a strong will to become politically independent?

Timor cannot continue any longer to be victim of an illegal and violent colonial occupation, threatening its own extinction.

We demand, then, independence without sophistry for Timor, the martyr.

Therefore, we appeal for the prevalence of international law over the hidden interests of the few so that it may "de facto" be enforced in truly defending human rights; and as a consequence,

It becomes the European Community

1. to take a clear position in face of such an appalling attempt at smothering the survival of a people;

2. to call a meeting of the Security Council of the United Nations with the greatest urgency so that proper and effective measures may be taken similar to the ones recently voted in relation to Libya.

If the death of two hundred passengers on a plane was at the root of such a serious decision, what can we say of the genocide that has already murdered two hundred thousand inhabitants of Timor?

Indifference and silence have but one sole meaning: complicity.

History shall be the judge.

- Associacao Cultural e Recreativa  
Convivio; Circulo de Arte e Recreio;  
Sociedade Martins Sarmento.

## A LISBON GATHERING ON BEHALF OF TIMOR

May 20, 1992 by *cgr@ingrina.uunet*  
Translated and forwarded by Nancy Lutz.

Since I have not yet read anything about this in the news, I am going to pass on the announcement of a gathering on behalf of East Timor on Saturday May 23rd, about 14:00, in the Cultural Center of Belem, Portugal. The gathering should go on into the night and is organized by the Timorese Youth. One of the organizers is Rosario Pedruco, who can be contacted by telephone at 453-15-85.

Participate. Show up and bring someone else.

In case you don't remember, the gathering is taking place because there is going to be a meeting of the Foreign Trade Ministers of the EEC, with other ministers invited to attend. Among them, Ali Alatas from Indonesia, whom Portugal did not have the face (courage and good sense) to refuse an entrance visa but who, for who knows why??? for personal reasons, will not be attending the meeting, being substituted for by Indonesian diplomatic representatives.

So, let's go there to annoy them and to remind the other members of the EEC that Timor is not a settled issue.

Until the next time,

CARLOS ALBERTO GOUVEIA REIS

## TIMORESE PROTEST AT CIS AID MEETING

Reuter, Lisbon, May 23 - About 50 anti-Indonesian protesters from the former Portuguese colony of East Timor greeted delegates arriving for an international conference on aid to the former Soviet Union on Saturday.

They carried banners condemning Indonesia's invasion of East Timor in 1975, its subsequent annexation of the territory and human rights abuses by the army.

Some 180 people were killed when Indonesian troops fired on an anti-Indonesian demonstration in the Timorese capital Dili last November.

The Lisbon protesters carried banners reading "No more massacre, free Timor" and "Free Timor from the claws of Indonesia."

"You have the power to stop the genocide. Do it," they chanted as delegates' limousines rolled up for the conference opening ceremony.

Portugal has no diplomatic relations with Indonesia and many Portuguese were incensed by the European Community's decision to invite Indonesia to attend the Lisbon conference, to which more than 60 states have sent delegates.

Portuguese officials said that, in the end, no Indonesian representatives turned up.

## LISBON CONVENTION ON EAST TIMOR FINAL DOCUMENT

Lisbon, 14 and 15 March 1992

### 1. INTRODUCTION

The Convention for East Timor was organized in an attempt to respond to the need to draw together and give a greater expression to the innumerable public demonstrations of solidarity with the people of East Timor which had been shown within Portuguese society, particularly after the November 12 massacre.

When it took place, the presence of more than a hundred organizations of varied backgrounds, including cultural, political, religious, youth and civic, along with the quality of the addresses made - in total there were around 70 speakers - as well as the support of innumerable public figures, all allow one to conclude that the objectives had been achieved. This Convention was a proof of the dynamism and the vitality of Portuguese society and also of the growing awareness in Portugal of the dramatic circumstances of the people of East Timor. Further, it was an affirmation of the desire for an effective participation in the definition, coordinating and the putting into practice of a strategy for Portugal to defend the right to self-determination and independence of that people.

It is important to capitalize on the potential of this initiative and continue the efforts to broaden it so as to include the whole country and also, more generally, to reach international public opinion. East Timor is a universal issue which is today beginning to gain international recognition. The gestures of solidarity and appreciation received from a significant group of international public and political figures is an example of this. It is essential that the issue is not allowed to become stranded on the frontiers of international State interests.

### 2. SYNTHESIS OF THE WORK OF THE PANELS

#### 2.1. Human rights, aid and interference in the internal affairs of States;

This panel was chaired by Prof. Jacinto Nunes and had guest speakers Prof. Adriano Moreira and German MP Klaus Kobler (SPD).

The following points were highlighted during the debate:

- a) human rights are not an internal affair of States;
- b) thus, aid cannot be independent of respect for human rights on the part of receiving regimes. Otherwise it would merely serve to reinforce the power of authoritarian regimes. An example of this is the support given to Jakarta through IGGI (Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia;) - responsible for donations of more than 4.7

million US dollars in the last financial year, of whom 30% came from the Japanese government and 25% from the EC. This aid should have the endorsement of the peoples themselves and not merely the receiving States;

c) likewise arms sales should be subject to a rigorous adherence to the stipulations contained in the legislation of the supplying countries which - although usually not enforced - would impede the sale of arms to regimes involved in armed conflicts or who do not respect human rights or international law;

d) Indonesia is at present in an economic situation which makes it sensitive to international pressures based on aid cuts;

e) for geostrategic political reasons, some peoples have suffered a process of genocide which has condemned them to the category of "dispensable peoples." It is essential to prevent the Timorese people being included in this category. The struggle in East Timor is a universal struggle. Solidarity with it must be counted among the solidarity with all the peoples who find themselves in the situation of being "dispensable" or under threat ;

f) this threat is all the more real as world public opinion ignores the question of East Timor. Attention to the problem outside Portugal has been scant, with the exception of the demonstration at the end of the papal visit in 1989 and the November 12 massacre last year;

g) it is necessary to reaffirm that the question of East Timor is not a conflict between Indonesia and Portugal but rather between that country and the international community. This, however, does not imply that the Portuguese State can shrink from its responsibilities towards the Timorese people;

h) the East Timor question clearly exposes the hypocrisy of States, specifically those of the West, in the conflict between their statements of principle regarding respect for human rights and their practice of complicity with the violation of these very rights, the most obvious examples being the governments of Australia, Japan, USA, UK, Germany, etc;

i) behind the discourse in which the respect for human rights is exalted as a fundamental norm in relations and cooperation between peoples, these States in reality, put their immediate economic interests in first place when conducting foreign policy.

#### 2.2. The Indonesian regime and human rights violations;

This panel was chaired by Judge Lopes Rocha and had guest speakers Dr Marta Pais, Carmel Budiardjo (Tapol), Dr Paulo Pires (UDT), Ricardo Medina (International Centre for Trade Union Rights) and journalists Saskia Kouwenberg and Russell Anderson.

The situation in which the people of East Timor live at present is an affront to the

conscience of men and women throughout the world. However, any action to change this must be based on a knowledge, that is as well-grounded as possible, of the Indonesian regime itself:

a) the practice of genocide, both physical and cultural, being perpetrated by the occupying forces in East Timor, is rooted in the nature and the doctrine of the Indonesian political regime. Indonesia today is an empire which is the result of a unity which was artificially created by Dutch colonization and which has been maintained by means of an authoritarian centralized State, and enshrined in its official doctrine "Pancasila";

b) this doctrine furnishes the basis for a nationalist ideology which attempts to homogenize society, and in doing so justify a deliberate policy of human rights violation throughout Indonesia and its occupied territories, and impede any opposition in its interior through recourse to the argument of "national unity."

c) the existence of an "anti-subversion law" provides, from a formal point of view, a legal structure which can legitimate any arbitrary action on the part of those in power. Freedom of expression, the right to free association, the existence of any initiative outside the framework of "Pancasila" are all completely denied to Indonesians and easily labelled subversive;

d) anti-communism, which was originally instrumental in the defeat of Sukarno, continues to be a fundamental component of the Indonesian regime, leading to the persecution and marginalization of many sectors of Indonesian society and has thus made it difficult for opposition political sectors, who might have been more receptive on the question of self-determination, to emerge;

e) the problem of self-determination raises itself in several regions under Indonesian domination, namely the Moluccas, in Aceh - where since 1989 the repression against the autonomy movement has been intense - and in West Papua. The illegal occupation of East Timor must be analysed within the general framework of Indonesian expansionism in the area, even though it is distinct from the others from the juridical point of view;

f) international complacency and support for Indonesia have been as a result of the political, economic and military issues at stake, at the expense of stated principles. The aid policy towards this country has turned a blind eye to the evident disrespect for international law and the systematic violation of human rights;

g) some encouraging signs have appeared, however, from the emerging social movements within Indonesian society itself, who are fighting for its democratization. These have been particularly evident in the work of organizations in the defence of human rights, in the provision of legal aid to political prisoners and in the student movements in defence of the environment:

### 2.3 East Timor: roads to self-determination;

This panel was chaired by Lt Col. Vasco Lourenco and the invited guests speakers were Prof. Jorge Miranda. Dipa Ramelan (INFIGHT, the Indonesian human rights organisation who had come to Portugal to participate in the Convention), Dr José Ramos-Horta (CNRM) and Prof. Roger Clark.

The following points were highlighted during the debate:

a) the situation of East Timor is clearly defined within the UN framework, in that it attributes to Portugal the role of administering power of the territory and it is included on the list of non-autonomous territories. The United Nations has never recognised the annexation of East Timor by the Jakarta regime in spite of the latter's claims that "a genuine act of self-determination" had taken place.

b) the November 12 massacre has made it even more clear that, contrary to these assertions, the East Timor problem not only has not been resolved but that no solution can be imposed against the wishes of the Timorese people.

c) the scenarios unfolding nowadays in the field of international relations go to reinforce what the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) has been saying for some time: the solution for the conflict will come about through talks without pre-conditions between all the interested parties - representatives of the people of East Timor, Indonesia and Portugal - under the auspices of the United Nations;

d) the East Timor question cannot be simply reduced to a human rights problem, because this presupposes (or can taken as presupposing) that the question of sovereignty is already closed and the problem can be treated by a simple amelioration of the brutal behaviour of the Indonesian authorities;

e) human rights violations, although commonplace under authoritarian regimes, in East Timor are also the result of the determination of the Timorese that they should be conceded the right to decide their future. It is the refusal of the right to self-determination which is at the root of violation of all the other rights. The barbarity, suffering, which has been unleashed on East Timor is no more than an a show of impotence on the part of the new colonizer;

f) the struggle for self-determination in East Timor cannot be an isolated process. It must take into account the relations of force which are prevalent in our present-day world system, and especially those in the region in which it is situated and among which must be included the struggle for democratization of Indonesian society.

### 3 THE PORTUGUESE STATE

Many of the speakers referred to the role of the Portuguese State and to the behaviour of the organs of State in the conduct of

foreign policy on East Timor. Taken as a whole, these comments expressed the demands of society at large concerning the actions of these organs in bringing about what is stipulated in the Constitution of the Republic.

3.1 The Portuguese State must fully realize the potential of the appropriate aspects of its internal legislation as well as its constitutional obligations (for example, accepting the consequences of considering the Timorese as Portuguese citizens, up to the realization of self-determination and independence) and its policy of alliances in the international sphere.

3.2 The persistence of doubts about the strategy of those in power in Portugal with regard to the problem of East Timor is detrimental to the mobilization of public opinion and the generation of initiatives. Thus, there is a need for:

a) clear objectives and a real openness towards public opinion regarding what is being done (giving clear responses to all the question raised within this sphere)

b) a more concerted action on the part of the organs of State;

c) dialogue, at institutional level, between the Portuguese State and the Timorese Resistance, having particularly in view the achieving of the proposed talks;

d) the setting aside of a sum in the State budget for the promotion in concrete terms of solidarity with the people of East Timor.

e) support for professional and specialized education and training of Timorese, namely through a policy of preferential selection in the awarding of study grants and other means to such an end.

3.3 The necessity for the Portuguese State to act with more firmness and persistence:

a) by utilizing fully the negotiating power which it has, at this moment, in diplomatic relations between the US, EC, Japan and Australia;

b) by having recourse, when opportune, to the organs of the United Nations such as the Security Council, to whom it falls to carry out international law;

c) by concentrating efforts within the five African Lusophone countries and Brazil, which in immediate terms would be directed towards the United Nations General Assembly and the summit of the Non-Aligned Movement this year as well as the need to intensify diplomatic contacts with the countries of the South.

d) assuming positions which are in line with the principles being defended in the case of East Timor, in other international situations with the same profile.

3.4 The necessity for the creation of an official structure with responsibility for the whole East Timor dossier along with the means appropriate to the importance of the problem.



#### 4 INITIATIVES ARISING

Proposals for action were numerous, although they had various points in common. Drawing them together:

a) to launch a public awareness campaign to stop consumption of goods of Indonesian origin or from firms, both Portugal and foreign - which maintain commercial links with the Jakarta regime;

b) to avail of the next meeting of the international consortium which finances Indonesia to hold a demonstration - a meeting point for all European groups interested in the question - so as to put pressure on the Western governments to withdraw aid from the Indonesian regime until it respects international law and human rights;

c) to organize a youth "European Train for Timor," which would visit the principal European capitals where it would distribute information about the Timorese holocaust and organize sessions at the various universities, culminating in a simultaneous demonstration in all of them;

d) to support actions already underway against the farcical trials to which Timorese patriots are being subjected and to demand their immediate release;

e) to promote the production of video films on the situation in East Timor, synthesizing what has been produced recently on the question, for distribution to parliamentarians and other political figures in the international community as well as for use by Portuguese organizations for working in conjunction with their counterparts abroad and for dissemination in educational establishments;

f) to launch a campaign in the international press, by buying space in the principal organs of world press, namely in the US, Japan, Australia and EC countries, and to organize the necessary fund-raising;

g) to launch a letter-writing campaign, based around the slogan "120 escudos to pester Mr Boutros-Ghali" directed towards the United Nations Secretary-General and alerting him to the situation in East Timor;

h) to encourage local town and city councils to liaise with their twinned counterparts abroad so as to hold joint actions around the issue, at institutional and local community level;

i) to create a "Timor booth" where citizens could direct their requests for information, suggestions or proposals for action, thus establishing a concrete channel of communication;

j) to draw up a "menu of suggestions" of activities to be proposed to citizens, by which they can contribute individually to the Timorese cause by opting for such actions as are within their power to carry out;

k) to create a structure of national scope which would assume the tasks involved in the solidarity activities, define priorities, circulate information, prepare global actions and promote contact both between

Portuguese associations and groups and between associations and groups abroad.

#### 5. IN CONCLUSION

The Convention established that there exists a great creativity and willingness on the part of Portuguese civil society to seriously take up the East Timor question. This, however, does not of itself guarantee that generosity will be transformed into movement, and into active solidarity. Such a step presupposes, demands, an express will to opt for this path.

The Convention has laid out for all of us - as has been drawn together in this final document - a wide and diverse range of ways of involving ourselves in the East Timor cause. It now remains for us to show that we are capable of creating the necessary instruments for our involvement to be effective. The suggestions for further work outlined in this document are at the disposition of the community at large.

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### EVENTS IN AUSTRALIA

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#### INDONESIAN ACTIVIST DIPA RAMELAN SPEAKS IN ADELAIDE

*Green Left Weekly issue 56, May 20 1992  
By Adam Hanieh*

ADELAIDE - Indonesian environmental and human rights activist Dipa Ramelan spoke here at a crowded public meeting on May 15. Dipa is being toured by Environmental Youth Alliance and AKSI (Indonesian action) to inform and encourage Australian solidarity with the oppressed Indonesian people.

Dipa spoke of the immense poverty experienced by a large section of Indonesian society, and the repression of those who struggle against it. He said the struggle for democracy in Indonesia was being led by students gathered in study groups around the country, who were uniting in struggle with peasants and workers.

Unlike the generation of student activists in the '60s, who regarded nationalism as the key focus of their struggle, the post-'80s students understood the problems in Indonesia to be structural, where the state had become a means of protecting the accumulation of capital by a tiny ruling clique.

Activist organisations in Indonesia worked under extreme hardships, with laws limiting the number of people who can gather to five. The government had also recently passed a law under which it can bar the return of Indonesian citizens from abroad if it considers them to have been acting in a "subversive" manner.

Dipa said that activists were encouraging a boycott of the next general election, which he called a "window dressing and sham to placate western governments." All

presidential nominees must be vetted by President Suharto, who has remained unchallenged for 25 years.

Dipa finished by stressing the importance of solidarity with the Indonesian people and highlighting the role Australian business played in the exploitation of Indonesia. Workers in Indonesia were often paid as little as US\$0.50 a day, and free trade unions were banned.

Dipa's next stop will be in Hobart, and he will speak at the Resistance National Conference in Melbourne July 4-6.

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### AUSTRALIANS SEE THREAT FROM INDONESIA

Reuter, Sydney, May 22 - Many Australians believe Indonesia is the nation most likely to pose a military threat to their country and that their armed forces are not able to defend them, according to a poll published on Friday.

Results of a national poll published in The Australian newspaper showed that of 1,200 people surveyed last week, 16 per cent nominated Indonesia as a nation which posed a military threat to Australia.

Ten per cent chose "other Asian country" and four per cent an unspecified "non-Asian country," equal with the result for Japan. Forty nine per cent said Australia did not face a threat.

The rate for Indonesia was the highest since the annual survey began in 1986. The latest poll followed some souring of relations between Canberra and Jakarta over the army massacre of civilians last November in Indonesian-ruled East Timor.

A total of 38 per cent believed Australia would face a military threat in the next 10 years, down from 40 per cent in 1986 and 1987.

Most respondents, 66 per cent, said Australia did not have adequate defence forces to protect its national interests, while just 26 per cent said Australia's forces were adequate, the newspaper said.

Australia, the world's sixth-largest country in terms of landmass, has a population of 17 million but a small defence force of 68,000, with another 30,000 reserves.

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#### INDONESIAN ACTIVIST HELMI FAUZI TOURS BRISBANE

*Green Left Weekly issue 58, June 3, 1992.  
By Maurice Sibelle*

BRISBANE - Indonesian human rights activists Helmi Fauzi completed his tour of Brisbane at meeting of 50 at the University of Queensland. The meeting, one of seven, was organised by the newly formed Environmental Youth Alliance club on May 26.

Fauzi also spoke to a Resistance club meeting of 50 at Griffith University the

previous day. Some 60 people attended a public meeting on May 23.

The state secretary of the Public Sector Union, Roger Omdahl, hosted a trade union reception of 20, followed by a reception with a dozen solidarity and environment groups.

Fauzi was able to share experiences with local Aboriginal leader Bob Weatherall and brief Australian Democrats president John Woodly about human rights abuses in Indonesia.

Speaking on Radio 4ZZZ's current affairs show, Brisbane Line, Fauzi said that East Timor was not the only place where human rights were being violated. "We are campaigning for the release of eight student activists who have been jailed for simply holding discussion groups."

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## HELMI FAUZI AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT TESTIMONY

**Statement of Helmi Fauzi on behalf of the Indonesian National Youth Front (F.P.N.) and the Indonesian Forum For Human Dignity (Infohd) to the Human Rights Sub-Committee of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence And Trade.**

June 2, 1992

### Introduction.

My name is Helmi Fauzi, from Jakarta, Indonesia and I am speaking as a spokesperson for the Indonesian Forum for Human Dignity (INFOHD).

This is a pro-democracy and human rights group, with members in Indonesia and also overseas.

I am also speaking here as the representative of the Indonesian National Youth Front - the FPN - which is a coalition of grass-root level community campaign groups. The FPN comprises student activists working together with other sections of the community, such as farmers and factory workers.

During 1990 and 1991, I was also actively involved in the first Indonesian human rights campaign coalition, called INFIGHT or the Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights.

Firstly, I would like to thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak before this Sub-Committee of the Joint Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade. I feel very encouraged that members of the Australian Parliament are concerned about the human rights situation in Indonesia.

Once again, I would like to express my gratitude for this opportunity.

### Major Points.

I would first like to re-iterate that gross and systematic violation of human rights is still the basic feature of social, economic and political life in Indonesia.

Basic human rights which are violated in Indonesia include those which are guaranteed

in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights. This includes such basic rights as the freedom of speech, right of assembly, and freedom from fear.

### Student Arrests

I presume you are aware of the arbitrary arrests of students in several Indonesian cities during the last three years. These students were doing nothing more than exercising their right to freedom of expression in bringing to public attention the social and economic rights of the people.

For example, the gaoling of Mr Beathor Suryadi for four and a half years after he participated in a peaceful protest concerning the rise in electricity rates in Jakarta.

Another example is the gaoling for between 7 and 8 years of Mr. Bonar Tigor Naipospos, Mr. Bambang Isti Nugroho and Mr Bambang Subono for possessing the novels of Pramoedya Ananta Toer and for involvement in discussion groups that tried to analyse the problems of Indonesian society, especially dealing with the problem of poverty.

Six students have just been released on good behaviour bond after serving two and a half years of 3 and a half year sentences. They were jailed for participating in peaceful protests demanding that the Minister of Home Affairs pay more serious attention to helping peasant farmers who are losing their land to government development projects without proper compensation. Although these students are no longer actually in prison, they are not allowed to continue their study in the university.

### Torture, Disappearances, and Summary Killings

In addition to these cases, human rights groups in Indonesia are deeply concerned about the continuing practice of torture, disappearances, and summary killings throughout Indonesian and also in East Timor.

In the so-called trouble spot area of Aceh, the northern most province of Sumatra, a very high proportion of people have been detained for brief periods, experience torture, and even summary execution. According to a US Senate Report on Human Rights in Indonesia, during 1991 the death toll from army violence in Aceh exceeded 2,000 people.

You are no doubt also aware of the disappearance of thousands of petty criminals in 1982 and 1983 as a result of summary execution. Despite the government having denied involvement in these killings at the time, President Suharto himself later acknowledged in his autobiography that he himself gave the orders.

The students I mentioned earlier were also subjected to physical maltreatment. For example, the students in Bandung were forced to drink their own urine, were beaten and their faces doused with scalding water. This is a common practice.

The ultimate purpose of all these tactics is to create fear among the population. The necessity to resort to torture and killings as a means to create fear amongst the population belies the frequent assertion by the Indonesian authorities that the Indonesian people accept authoritarianism as a part of their culture.

### General Elections.

As you might know, there is about to be a General Election or a so-called "festival of democracy" in Indonesia. The campaign period finished yesterday and people vote next week.

From our experiences with the general elections in Indonesia, it is clear that with each election there are more and more restrictions.

These restrictions include:

(a) the government has restricted the number of parties that are allowed to participate to three. These three parties comprise GOLKAR, the government's own party. The other two parties were created by forcing a merger between several other political parties with different platforms.

(b) the two so-called non-government parties, which officially are not considered opposition parties either, are not allowed to operate at the village level where 80% of the population live. This policy, known as the "floating mass" strategy is aimed at alienating people from the political process.

I should note here that historically the Indonesian people have always been inclined to participate enthusiastically in political party life. In the 1950s and 1960s, Indonesia's political parties had millions of members. This means that the "floating mass" strategy has had to be implemented by force. That is why the government has had to implement a formal ban on parties in the villages.

(c) Furthermore, all candidates must be approved by the authorities before they can stand for election. After elections, the government can also intervene in political party internal affairs and force the replacement of "elected" members of parliament.

(d) In this current campaign, the government has tightened its control over activities by:

- banning all public rallies;
- banning the use of photographs of the still very popular former President Sukarno;
- the government also determines where and when all official campaign activities take place.
- And perhaps most important of all, there is a ban on open criticism of the government.

These are just a few examples of the current restrictions.

It is therefore not surprising that many young people are supporting the call for a boycott of the campaign. In Jogjakarta over 2,000 people demonstrated in favour of

boycott last week. And I have also heard yesterday that this call all received a huge response from the ordinary people of Jogjakarta who have been hanging out white flags from their houses. White is the colour of BOYCOTT. Even the two legal non-government parties felt the need to protest against the restrictions on campaigning and police and military attacks on its members and so they cancelled all their campaign activities in Yogyakarta.

In the city of Semarang, students holding a pro-boycott campaign were harassed by soldiers. Four student were detained. Two were later released but according to my latest information, the two others are still in jail and are being formally charged with subversion.

Students in Indonesia, who have historically played a significant role in political change and have a high level of political awareness, see the elections as no more than "window dressing" to give a democratic face to this current regime.

Unfortunately, however, it has usually been impossible for wider coverage of pro-democracy activities and voices in the Indonesian media. The international community also remains largely unaware of the extent of demand for democratic reform in Indonesia.

#### Voices for Democracy

In the last two years alone, there have emerged several groups struggling to defend people's rights and promoting human rights and democratic change in Indonesia. These groups include:

SETIA KAWAN or Solidarity, a new free trade union organisation to challenge the monopoly in this area by the military dominated official union;

Many joint committees comprising students and either urban or rural poor which have been conducting campaigns in defence of basic rights such as ownership rights to their land, and also the right to organise and to peacefully express their demands for improvements in their wage and living conditions;

The formation of committees comprised of indigenous people who are demanding recognition of collective ownership rights and protection of their unique cultural heritage;

many intellectuals, academics and professionals have also become involved in questioning the "Security Approach," as they call it, in Indonesian political life. By making "security" and "stability" the first priority in all political affairs, a climate has been created where any citizen voicing his concerns automatically becomes a "suspect" in the eyes of the military authorities. Amongst the initiatives of such intellectuals has been the formation of groups like Forum Demokrasi (Democratic Forum) and the Forum Pemurnian Kedaulatan Rakyat (Forum for the Purification of Peoples Sovereignty), which also includes retired

military figures. Even though a very moderate organisation, its recent attempts to hold meetings have been banned.

Of course, I have already mentioned the student activities and the election boycott protests.

#### East Timor

Parallel with the increasing voicing of demands relating to democratic reform, there has been also increasing awareness amongst young people in particular, about the situation and problems in East Timor. After the 12 November massacre in Dili, there were a number of demonstrations led by students protesting the military action in Dili and in solidarity with the struggle of the East Timorese. I myself participated in a delegation to the Indonesian Parliament to protest the military action that occurred in Dili.

One way of giving you an idea of the change on young people's thinking which is starting to take place is by quoting for you, the statement made by INFOHD to the European Parliaments hearing on East Timor in Brussels on April 23:

INFOHD strongly feels that the time has come for a process of settlement directed towards full respect for the East Timorese right to self-determination according to UN resolutions.

#### Conclusions and Hopes

The survival of this current government very much depends on its ability to suppress the articulation of developing aspirations within society rather than its ability to accommodate the peoples aspirations. This suppression is carried out using the kinds of methods I have described earlier.

Continuation of this kind of suppression of peoples aspirations can only lead to social tensions becoming more and more intense. The recent general election boycott protests and the many recent demonstrations by factory workers and village farmers are just the early symptoms of these increasing tensions.

The lack of mechanisms for people to articulate their demands and seek solutions to their economic and social problems must eventually give rise to social disorder and anarchy and in turn will endanger the whole stability of society. This would, of course, have serious implications for the region.

This situation will not change if unqualified support continues to be given to the current government by Australia and other foreign governments.

I am aware that in Australia it is sometimes said that human rights questions must be seen in the context of Indonesia's own so-called "cultural way" which does not recognise such human rights. We in Indonesia do not accept this but think that human rights are universal ideals that extend beyond national borders. The Indonesian nationalist movement itself which created the nation of Indonesia also drew inspiration from these universal ideals.

So, I would like to conclude my statement by making the following suggestions.

Firstly, the Parliament should link the provision of economic assistance to the Indonesia government to improvements in human rights situation in Indonesia. At the same time, consideration should be given to channelling aid through non-government channels to the victims of current development policies.

In this regard, it is important that Australia take a significant role and initiative in encouraging other countries to take a similar position in international fora such as in the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) that has taken over the role of the International Governmental group on Indonesia (IGGI) as the international aid consortium to Indonesia.

Secondly, we demand that Australia take responsibility in ensuring that its economic activities in Indonesia, especially its considerable mining activities, do not produce environmental destruction or endanger the culture of indigenous peoples. There is already considerable concern on this questioning Indonesia.

Thirdly, while military force is used as part of repression in Indonesia, defence cooperation and military aid should be terminated.

Fourthly, that Australia should attempt to play a positive role in resolving the situation in East Timor. This should involve promoting peace talks between all relevant parties, including the East Timorese. At the same time, it would therefore seem logical that all activity regarding the implementation of the Timor Gap Treaty should be suspended until there has been a comprehensive settlement of the problem in East Timor.

Once again, I would like to thank you for this opportunity. In fact, it is very important for an increased dialogue between Indonesians and Australians of all points of view, both unofficial as well as official.

I might add here that the Indonesian authorities currently hold a list of 17,000 people who are not allowed to travel overseas because of what they might say. There is also now a new law which enables the government to ban re-entry into Indonesia of any citizen whose statements overseas it considers has given a bad impression of the country.

We will always be living as neighbours and I personally think that there is enormous potential for social, cultural and economic cooperation between our two countries for the future. But such cooperation requires that the Indonesian people themselves are able to participate in determining what kind of economic development and social programs our country has. In other words, without genuine democracy in Indonesia, it will be impossible for real cooperation, cooperation that is supported by the people, to be achieved.

Thank you.

## FRETILIN EIGHTEENTH ANNIVERSARY STATEMENT IN AUSTRALIA

23rd May, 1992

*About 1000 people, including large number of East Timorese from the Melbourne community and several from Sydney, Australian Parliamentarians, Catholic Church and solidarity groups attended the 'Solidarity Night Dinner' organised and hosted by Fretilin committee in Melbourne. The full statement of Fretilin is reprinted here.*

Special guests, comrades and friends,

First of all, on behalf of Fretilin, I would like to express our gratitude to you all for joining us on this special occasion.

Today, we are celebrating the 18th anniversary of Fretilin. 18 years of existence; 18 years of struggle to make the voice of the Maubere people be heard in the world, like all the nations which rightfully exist.

But what an anniversary! Every single year, every single month, every single hour, minute and second of the past 18 years have been sacred moments of our history.

The blood, sweat and tears of our people are the only foundation which sustain the existence of the survival of Fretilin. Fretilin is not demagogy; Fretilin is not utopia; Fretilin is the expression of the rights of a people, the dignity of a people; the dignity of a nation.

Throughout these 18 years, we have seen difficult moments of our history which few people in the world have experienced. With less than two years of existence, Fretilin took over the reigns of the Timorese Nation. Against all odds, facing the threat of an invasion from the biggest military power in the region, Fretilin did not surrender the rights of our people to the barrel of the guns. With clear perspective of the future, Fretilin successfully organised the structure of government for the nation. Hence Falintil, the National Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor was fully mobilised to help organised the people in the mountains.

A delegation was sent abroad to take on the diplomatic front. One of the main objectives was to counter-act Indonesia and Australia against Fretilin.

On the 7th December 1975, at 4.30 am, parachuters, amphibian tanks, aeroplanes broke the peace and tranquillity of our nation. Not even a single help we had from abroad. Looting, rape, torture, death and disappearances replaced the day-to-day life in out tiny and peaceful nation.

A new era, began for Fretilin. The priorities changed radically because not only peace have been broken in our nation, but

worse, our very fundamental right to exist as a people is now threatened.

Stand and fight, or die. And fight we did, fight we do; fight we will until the day the last murderous boot of the Indonesian soldier leaves our sacred Homeland!

At the end of the first crucial three years of National Resistance, Fretilin lost 95% of the leadership, a loss which the Indonesian Government thought it meant the end of our people. With 95% of our leadership eliminated, with 200, 000 of our men, women, and children killed, no one believed that the Timorese would be able to reorganise and continue to fight.

The Indonesian generals underestimated the capacity of Fretilin - to their surprise, Fretilin was able to reorganise the resistance. A new command was set up, a new structure was developed, and, the pride of our people and nation continued to shine like the sun on top of mount Ramelau! In the words of the our commander, Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao, "We fight because our people asks us, and our homeland demand us."

In March 1983, Fretilin forced the enemy to sit on the negotiation table and discuss the formula for the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces. The cease-fire lasted for five months.

In August 1983, the Indonesian army unilaterally broke the cease-fire and try to capture and kill all our surviving leaders. Once again, the murderous army of Indonesia failed to destroy the backbone of our National Resistance - Falintil.

In the meantime, a new policy of National Unity was developed and implemented by Fretilin in East Timor and abroad. With the new strategy of National Unity set in motion, infrastructures of resistance were developed all over East Timor and even inside Indonesia.

The new concept of clandestine front then materialized and, with it, the National Resistance by Fretilin had advanced a qualitative step. Against the strategy of the enemy mounting massive attacks on suspected Fretilin's headquarters in the mountains, Fretilin responded with the strategy of maximum flexibility based upon a very small operation units which were supported by people living in the areas controlled by the enemy.

The clandestine front gradually developed its own foundation in the urban areas. The new generation, the resource of this front, began to take over responsibilities in the command of the struggle, enabling the development of sophisticated network not only in East Timor but also in Indonesia. We prove once again what our late President Nicolau Lobato said before he was killed by the occupation forces, "We, too, know how, we, too, can make it, therefore, we must win!"

The question now is where are we now in terms of the road to liberation. The complexities of this process in this new era,

the demand for resources to move the world in our favour, are factors which demand a rational approach. The war, as Xanana said, have thought us about realism. That is, the need to be objective in our approach to find a peaceful solution to the conflict.

This is why this 18th anniversary is historical. We feel that although we have lost so many people, we have suffered unbelievable sacrifices, we also feel that our dignity as a people and as a nation have been preserved with the blood of our martyrs.

In these 18 years of our struggle we made changes in our ways of living and fighting. The resistance to the Indonesian occupation of our homeland is now the central element of our contemporary culture.

This determination, this unity, this will, this national identity and strength is unbreakable. The independence is irreversible. And, this is why, we also feel confident in our diplomatic manoeuvres. The core of our strategy in the diplomatic area, today, is negotiations without pre-conditions.

What does this mean? In his statement to the United Nations Decolonisation Committee in August last year, Xanana Gusmao said that negotiations without pre-conditions simply means "no new conditions." That is, after almost two decades of occupation and consequent struggle for National Liberation, it is obvious that the Indonesian military junta want East Timor, even if every single Timorese is to be wiped out from the face of the earth; on the other hand, the Timorese have also made it clear "Independence or Death." It is within this polarised spectrum that "negotiations without pre-conditions" was conceived, vital factors are needed to create the necessary dynamics. As far as we are concerned, self-determination is the inalienable right of the people of East Timor, therefore a referendum under the auspices of the United Nations is a fundamental procedure in this process.

The November 12 massacre that has been screened around the world had triggered the necessary momentum. The next vital step now is the breaking of the psychological barrier between the sides. The latest THREE-PHASE strategy developed by the National Council of Maubere Resistance which is now endorsed by the Portuguese Government and accepted in principle by vital sections of the US Government, and the European Parliament, is aimed at precisely that.

If any, we are proving beyond doubt that we are genuine in search for a peaceful solution to the conflict, as we always were and we will never cease to do so. It is up to the world to take a stand on this vital issue.

We are now in the so-called new world order. It's supposed to mean political solutions and, not military solutions to be the option of this new world order. If anything remains to be said it must be that nothing would be new in this "new world order" if

East Timorese Peoples' right to self-termination and independence is not respected.

Having said that, what can the solidarity do? Being here today, is already a tremendous expression of support. Being here today show that there are still a lot of people willing to face the challenge of standing up for peace, because, today, one needs a lot of courage to stand up for justice and peace.

We need your commitment, we need your support, we need your action.

Resist with us. And we will win.  
THANK YOU.

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### EMILIA GUSMAO'S SPEECH AT THE LAUNCHING OF PHOTO EXHIBITION

*Sydney, 29th May, 1992*

#### EAST TIMOR 1942 - 1992 A RETROSPECTIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITION DEvised AND CURATED BY OLIVER STREWE

*Showing works of photographers : Elaine Briere, Margaret King Boyes, Sven Kochs, Jenny Groves, Cecil Holmes, Kia Mistilis, Damien Parer, Bob Reid, Max Stahl, Oliver Strewé, Mel Sylvester, Francisco Vidinha.*

*The exhibition includes photographs smuggled out of East Timor by photographers who need to remain anonymous.*

*The exhibition is at the Tin Sheds Gallery, University of Sydney, and is opened until 14th June. Emilia Gusmao's speech was translated from Portuguese and made available by Fretilin Committee in NSW. The launch was attended by about 200 people.*

#### Emilia Gusmao's statement

Mr Oliver Strewé, Professor Hollow, Friends and Comrades,

First of all, on behalf of the Timorese community in Australia, I would like to thank Mr Oliver Strewé for this rare opportunity to hold this photographic exhibition on East Timor - the land and its people.

Though the pictures in this gallery covers half a century of the existence of our people, I am sure that it will help you understand the daily life of the Maubere people as well as the richness of our country.

To talk about East Timor today, is to talk about the armed, political, cultural and diplomatic resistance of the Maubere people against Jakarta's expansionism and domination.

History has shown that, every person under foreign domination has always fought and will continue to fight for the liberation against the oppressor. Freedom, self-termination and independence are the fundamental values in the historical development of every person and to achieve these ideals, one is willing to offer small or big sacrifices.

This reality is no exception in the case of the Maubere people. If President Suharto had any doubt about the aspirations of our people, since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, the Maubere people had already shown their will for independence through the heroic and strong resistance which lasted for almost 17 years.

To this popular people's revolt, the Jakarta regime responded with a massive increase of military presence of 30,000 troops, fully equipped with the most sophisticated weapons. Furthermore, they have been using a systematic campaign of extermination and genocide, which, in less than two decades have cost 200, 000 lives, that is 1/3 of the population.

Even though the Indonesians have been building schools, roads, introducing TVs etc, the opposition, the resentment and the hatred against the aggressors remain in the heart of every Maubere people. The day to day life goes on, but, in the horizon we can see and feel an atmosphere of fear and untrustworthy since December 7, 1975.

The future of East Timor is clouded and undecided. If we cannot defeat the Indonesian with arms, and also if Suharto refuses to negotiate, the Maubere people in East Timor will continue to resist.

During the 17 years of Javanese occupation, our heroic people under the leadership of Fretilin have been resisting without any support from abroad. One of the weapons most used for the success of our struggle is the public opinion. It is up to each Timorese, living abroad, to work and put all our efforts to raise public awareness in public, in the Australian public, and also to inform the international community about the struggle in our homeland.

The political changes on the international level, the recognition of newly independent nations, the strong support of Portugal and the EEC countries, and the consolidation of the solidarity network as well as the commitment of many parliamentarians in particular the US Congress towards our cause, are positive signs of encouragement for East Timor. This proves that time will not destroy the principle of self-determination and the perseverance against all odds, can achieve this objective : self-determination and independence.

Thank you.

#### Oliver Strewé's statement

This exhibition is the most comprehensive collection of photographs on East Timor ever assembled in Australia. It is also a very rare collection as few professional photographers have been there, let alone exhibited their work.

In time it covers half a century: from the 1942 works by the famous Australian war-time cinematographer, Damien Parer, right up to the current day. Its images range across the people of the towns, villages and rural communities, the Falintil Freedom Fighters, Portuguese colonists and their

successors, the Indonesians, to landscapes and flora ... from the ugliness of massacre and war to the extraordinarily beautiful.

Less than one hour's flight from Darwin, East Timor is a country which has endured foreign occupation and human tragedy for centuries; first from the Moluccas, then the Portuguese, then Japan, and now Indonesia. With each successive occupation, the East Timorese suffered the most barbaric treatment and human injustices.

There were a few short years in the 1970s, as the Portuguese colonial empire crumbled, when the East Timorese saw the hope of an independent future. But that was soon crushed with the Indonesian invasion of 7th December 1975, leading the country into turmoil and, if left unchecked, genocide.

It was during the years of hope that I first visited and photographed East Timor. I saw a culturally vibrant country; it was blossoming. The East Timorese, it seemed, had a special affection for Australians and treated them accordingly. They had fought with Australian forces after Japan's invasion in 1942 ... and suffered severely after Australia's withdrawal. In the mid 1970s Dili, the capital, was but a one-hour, twelve-dollar flight from Darwin, and the beginning of the 'hippy trail' to Europe. On my trips through the country I was treated almost like a sage. I was touched by the place; and most people who went there, whether soldier, traveller or artist, had a similar experience.

East Timor has stayed in my heart and mind ever since, and I thank all those who have contributed to this exhibition. My only wish is that the democratic world would offer some support and kindness to the people of East Timor who have lost one third of their people in just seventeen years.

"East Timor 1942-1992" is a portrait of country that the world appears to have forgotten.

#### Tom Uren, former Federal Australian Labor Minister's statement

This collection, including those photographs of the Australian War Memorial showing our involvement in the war years of 1941-42, gives a graphic description of the long struggle of the East Timorese people for independence and freedom.

All Australians carry a burden of guilt in failing to support the East Timorese people in their struggle for justice.

In 1942 I was taken a prisoner of war by the Japanese in West Timor which was then part of the Dutch East Indies.

If an Australian soldier escaped from prison camp in West Timor he would either be captured and handed back to the Japanese or be killed by the indigenous people.

In East Timor, formerly a Portuguese colony, the indigenous people supported and protected Australian soldiers in their military action against the Japanese army...

Because of the courage and loyalty of the East Timorese in sheltering and protecting the Australian soldiers in the mountains of East Timor over 40,000 of their people out of a total population of 450,000 were killed or died of starvation during the Japanese occupation of 1942-45.

To give a comparison of the magnitude of this great loss for the East Timorese people, during World War II 19,000 Australians were killed out of a total of 550,000 serving in all theatres of war.

The immoral role and failure of successive Australian governments in not defending the rights of the East Timorese people for independence and self-determination in the international forums and agencies should be condemned by all Australians.

We hope this exhibition will help further the cause of the East Timorese people in this continuing struggle for independence and self-determination.

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## NEW TIMOR RESOURCES

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### EAST TIMOR: THE IMPACT OF INTEGRATION

#### AN INDONESIAN SOCIO-ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY

by Prof. Mubyarto and Dr Loekman Soetrisno

*Translated and published by the Indonesia Resources and Information Program (IRIP), December 1991*

This is the first independent Indonesian study of the socio-economic situation in East Timor following Indonesia's forced incorporation of the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

Kept under wraps since its submission to the Indonesian government in March 1990, the study is virtually unknown in Indonesia and abroad and has not received the attention it deserves.

The report was prepared under the direction of Prof. Mubyarto and Dr Loekman Soetrisno, two highly respected rural sociologists from Indonesia's prestigious Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, and is based on research in several village communities in East Timor in 1980 and 1989-90.

The study accepts East Timor's incorporation but concludes that integration has been a deeply traumatic and alienating experience and that major changes to Indonesia's East Timor policy are imperative.

The book is essential reading for foreign affairs specialists, policy makers and development agencies concerned with the East Timor question.

*"Probably the most candid assessment of some major problems in East Timor ever ventured by Indonesian re-*

*searchers. Contains much useful information."*

John MacDougall, Indonesia Publications, USA

A\$10 per copy from: IRIP, PO Box 190, Northcote, 3070, Australia Fax (61 3) 4162746 Tel: (61 3) 4177505/ 4811581 For information email David Bouchier on davidb@vaxc.cc.monash.edu.au

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### NEW UN BOOK ON DECOLONIZATION

A recent publications from the United Nations should be of interest. Both are the UN sales division and possibly through the Dept. of Public Information, UN Headquarters, New York, NY 10017.

*Decolonization: The Task Ahead* published by the UN Dept. of Public Information (DPI/40168) April 1991. 135 pages.

Profiles 18 Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories that are the responsibility of the Trusteeship Council or the Special Committee on Decolonization. Pacific territories profiled are: American Samoa, East Timor, Guam, New Caledonia, Pitcairn, Tokelau, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

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### 'COLD BLOOD' AI WINNER

Reuter, London, June 4 - A British television film showing the massacre of a crowd of East Timorese by Indonesian security forces won an Amnesty International human rights media award on Thursday.

"Cold Blood: the Massacre of East Timor" by the independent channel Yorkshire Television was named overall winner at the first Amnesty International press award ceremony in London.

The programme showed the shooting of East Timorese mourners at a cemetery in the East Timor capital, Dili, in November 1991.

Programme producer Peter Gordon, who received the award, said: "Obviously I am pleased but people are still dying in East Timor."

He said an estimated 200,000 people had been killed since the Indonesian occupation began.

Gordon's crew were in East Timor to make a documentary when troops fired into the crowd of civilians.

The London-based pressure group inaugurated the press awards this year to honour British media organisations whose work is deemed to promote human rights.

"Amnesty persists where journalism leaves off. We visit these scenes and then move on. Amnesty has the virtue of sticking with the story and making sure the truth comes out," said leading British broadcaster Trevor McDonald at the award ceremony.

*Copies of "Cold Blood" for non-commercial use only are available for \$25 purchase or*

*\$15 rental from the East Timor Action Network/USI. The format is 1/2" NTSC VHS, and the program is two 28-minute segments.*

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## VARIOUS ARTICLES IN DATE ORDER

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### CHINESE BOAT PEOPLE TURNED AWAY FROM TIMOR

UPI, Darwin, May 10 - Australia signalled its tough new policy toward boat people as 10 more Chinese "refugees" in a sampan were escorted into Darwin Harbor Sunday, officials said.

Immigration Minister Gerry Hand warned that these latest "refugees" could be thrown out of the country within weeks.

He said they would be subjected to Australia's new fast-track screening system and, if deemed illegal, they could be deported within 28 days - not the year-and-a-half it has previously taken to process applications.

Hand said Australia's generosity had been exploited in the past and he was determined to crack down on illegal entrants.

The 33-foot vessel carrying the latest arrivals was met by a customs patrol boat as soon as it entered Australian territorial waters and "arrested." Authorities had been warned by Indonesia that the sampan was on the way after it was escorted out of Dili, in East Timor, last week after landing there for repairs and provisions.

The 10 people on board - seven men, two women and a baby - were taken into custody on landing and driven to a detention center pending inquiries into their status under Australian immigration laws.

Officials said they believed the boat left Guangdong Province in southern China on April 1, stopping in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia on the way to Australia.

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### NAM HUMAN RIGHTS DEBATE

Reuter, Nusa Dua, Moses Manoharan, May 15 - Pakistan and India accused each other of human rights violations in a bitter exchange on the final day of the Non-Aligned foreign ministers conference in Indonesia's resort island of Bali on Friday.

"The situation in Indian-occupied Kashmir has now reached alarming proportions," Pakistan's minister of state for foreign affairs, Siddique Khan Kanju, told a session convened to discuss the Middle East, South Africa and human rights.

Kanju charged the Indian government, which rules two-thirds of disputed Kashmir, with trying to conceal alleged human rights violations in putting down a secessionist movement that flared there two years ago.

Pakistan rules the other one-third of Kashmir.

Indian minister of state for external affairs, Eduardo Faleiro, saying he regretted the raising of a bilateral issue at the conference, accused Pakistan of human rights violations in its territories of Sind and Baluchistan.

"Respect for human rights, like charity, must begin at home," Faleiro said.

He accused Pakistan of giving aid to Kashmiri secessionists, a charge Islamabad denies.

India has urged the conference to support its stand that human rights values vary from country to country according to local cultural, social and economic conditions and should not be imposed from outside.

The clash overshadowed a debate among the foreign ministers on human rights during which several countries, including Malaysia and Sri Lanka, insisted donor countries should not set conditions for giving aid.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Ahmed Abdullah Badawi told delegates that donor countries should not tie aid to the recipient country's human rights record, a view shared by neighbouring Indonesia.

Jakarta refused to accept all further aid from its former Dutch colonial rulers after the Netherlands threatened to stop aid in protest against an army massacre of mourners at a cemetery in the East Timor capital Dili last November.

Sri Lankan Foreign Minister Harold Herat said the issue had become a major concern of the 103-member movement for the first time because more of its smaller members had become dependent on aid from the industrialised world.

Herat said the Third World feared the West was using the human rights issue to channel its aid away from them and to the newly independent countries of the former East bloc.

"But what pressure can we put on someone giving us aid?" he asked.

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## INDONESIAN TROOPS CROSS INTO PNG

Reuter, Sydney, June 1 - Indonesian troops, in an offensive against rebel separatists in its Irian Jaya province, crossed into Papua New Guinea and destroyed a camp used by the rebels, Australian Broadcasting Corp. radio reported on Monday.

"Groups of 100 or 200 village people are fleeing from Irian Jaya to the safety of Papua New Guinea, where there are as many as 6,500 refugees in United Nations camps," the radio said in a report from the Papua New Guinea capital of Port Moresby.

It said a Papuan military spokesman confirmed a report that in one drive against the rebels, Indonesia crossed five km (three miles) into Wutung in Papua New Guinea

and burned camps of the West Papuan Freedom Movement, or OPM, to the ground.

The spokesman said several suspected OPM rebels were being treated for injuries in Vanimo hospital on the northern coast of Papua New Guinea, the radio reported.

An Indonesian-Papuan agreement allows Indonesian forces to cross the border in pursuit of OPM rebels, the radio said.

An OPM spokesman was quoted as saying that Indonesian military units based in Irian Jaya have been reinforced by troops from Jakarta and have torched villages in the province in a search and destroy exercise against OPM.

Last week OPM accused Indonesia of burning houses and destroying villages in Irian Jaya in an offensive ahead of Indonesia's national elections this month.

Indonesia inherited Irian Jaya from the Dutch in 1963 but not all West Papuans, who are ethnically and racially different from Indonesians, accept Jakarta's rule.

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## PROPOSAL FOR FRENCH ARMS SALES CAMPAIGN

We are planning a campaign against arms sales to Indonesia, and are looking for what is currently done elsewhere. We know that there is a joint TAPOL/CAAS campaign running in England but have essentially no info about other places. If you can drop me a note to tell what your group or others are doing/planning, it will be very helpful.

Many thanks in advance,

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## LE MONDE REPORTER BARRED FROM INDONESIA

*Le Monde. 6 June 1992. Translated from French by Bruno Kahn.*

*Comment: France's most influential daily's "foreign policy" regarding Indonesia would be interesting to study. Le Monde has always been rather kind to the Suharto regime, while keeping its favourite lesson-giving attitude. This article is a good sample of this. It also gives an idea of the newspaper's competence on the subject, and gives the unusual event of a newspaper threatening a government. - Bruno*

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## LE MONDE'S SPECIAL ENVOY WAS DENIED ENTRY AT JAKARTA'S AIRPORT

Paris, June 6 (Le Monde) Arriving in Jakarta Tuesday June 4th to cover next Tuesday's elections, Le Monde's correspondent in South East Asia, Jean-Claude Pomonti, was denied entry without explanation at the airport.

Our collaborator had obtained the special journalist visa demanded by Indonesia the day before, at the Indonesian embassy in

Bangkok, with the approval of the Foreign Affairs in Jakarta.

This incident happens while the Indonesian authorities are trying to give a new democratic credibility to their regime, born from the 1965 coup. Today the oldest head of State in Asia after the North Korean Kim Il Sung, General Suharto, in power for 27 years through 5 successive elections, still has to decide whether he will run in 1993 for a new mandate.

A modest opposition now has the right to express itself, and it seemed that more 'civilian' methods were to impose themselves. The terrible "mishap" of the 12th of November, when at least 50 independentists of East Timor were massacred by the army and the police, had alerted human rights supporters worldwide; but it was rather reassuring to observe that the authors of this crime are presently tried in Jakarta.

If it turned out to be something else than a regrettable bureaucratic incident, the barring of our special envoy would throw a deep suspicion on a regime which is already late on the democratic evolution having been taking place for some years in the region. We recall that Indonesia is to host in September the 10th summit of the non-aligned countries, thus becoming chair-country of this movement for the next three years.

Le Monde strongly protests against the measure applied to our collaborator, and urges that it be cancelled at once.

*A factual error: Burma's GI Ne Win took power in 1962, hence also earlier than Suharto.*

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## POWER AND ILLUSION: AN EVALUATION OF INDONESIAN NATIONALISM

**WITH REFERENCE TO EAST TIMOR**  
*By Lorne Rider, Brown University, March 8, 1992*

Indonesian government officials were taken aback by and somewhat unprepared to deal with the intensity of the international outrage over the November 12, 1991 massacre in East Timor, in which Indonesian troops opened fire on a crowd of thousands of East Timorese civilians, killing up to 180 people and wounding many more. From the Indonesian point of view, other shootings of what it considers gangs of security disrupters in East Timor and elsewhere have been met with scant international attention, and they did not anticipate the effect of foreign witnesses and video tape in mobilizing international opinion. While forums were being held in national parliaments and congresses, UN committees, and universities, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas embarked on an international damage control circuit which convinced no one but Indonesia's strongest allies, who had no desire to offend in any

case, that reports of deaths had been greatly exaggerated. The Indonesian government was further puzzled that what it considered (sincerely or not) to be a reasoned and objective attempt to investigate the incident was immediately rejected by international human rights organizations.

Increasingly, Indonesian leaders began to view the pressure as wholly unwarranted and insulting. Soon after the November massacre, Indonesian Army Commander Try Sutrisno said, "this is an internal affair and there should be no meddling. If anyone wants to speak about human rights, Indonesia has had them since time immemorial." The last straw came in February when a student group in Portugal announced it would lead an international Peace Mission to East Timor on board a Portuguese chartered car ferry, the *Lusitania Expresso*. Indonesian leaders viewed the mission's plan to sail to East Timor in order to lay a wreath of flowers at the site of the massacre, without requesting visas or permission from Indonesia, as an affront to the sovereignty of Indonesia. The regime and the state-controlled press characterized the mission as a "Portuguese provocation" which Indonesia's navy would turn back by force if necessary. In a sense, the mission was a provocation since it intended to challenge Indonesia's illegal and genocidal occupation of East Timor with a concrete action when no other international bodies were willing to do so. Explaining the decision to confront the *Lusitania Expresso* with a naval armada, President Suharto commented, "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."<sup>1</sup>

On the surface, the regime seems to have succeeded in stirring up nationalist sympathies and deeply felt anti-colonialist sentiment, thus obscuring East Timor as an issue in itself. Yet the invocation of the rhetoric of nationalism, national sovereignty, and anti-colonialism to apply to the *Lusitania Expresso* affair in particular and to international pressure on Indonesia in general, have not been wholly successful in containing a growing awareness within Indonesia that the discrepancy between the image of East Timor being presented officially is markedly different from that being presented by outside sources. This discrepancy has provided the conceptual space for certain glaring inconsistencies in the New Order nationalist idea to come to fore. The intention of this paper is to examine inconsistencies in the culture of Indonesian nationalism relevant to East Timor. Firstly, I wish to trace the history and development of early Indonesian nationalist ideas of territorial sovereignty and what implication this has for East Timor. Secondly, I will show how the substance of Indonesian nationalist thought as articulated by Sukarno has been left by the wayside, and how the

mere form of anti-colonialism has been appropriated by the Suharto regime as a Powerful mantra which lacks any inherent substantive meaning. Thirdly, I wish to point out the implications greater public awareness among Indonesians of the situation in East Timor may have on Suharto's hold on power with specific reference to the idea of Power in Javanese culture. Finally, I would like to highlight some of the obvious parallels between the Indonesian nationalist experience and the East Timorese nationalist experience which are not being missed by Indonesian intellectuals.

### Territorial Sovereignty

The idea of a bounded nation-state is a relatively new concept which did not gain favor until well into the twentieth century. Ancient feudal kingdoms throughout the world conceived of their hold on Power as being strongly grounded in the physical center of their kingdom, with their influence gradually fading off into the physical distance. The outer limits of one kingdom merged imperceptibly into the outer limits of another, and the perimeters were in constant flux. Although hegemony over far-away lands was regarded as a sign of Power and regal greatness, it was not because Power at the periphery was conceived of as equal to the degree of Power at the center, but rather because Power at the periphery signified that the concentration of Power at the center was even that much more intense. This concept certainly held true for the ancient Javanese kingdoms, such as Majapahit. The Javanese language makes no linguistic distinction between the names of capital cities and the names of kingdoms.<sup>2</sup>

The formulation of sovereignty as demarcated by visible or invisible boundaries involves a fundamental regrouping of the idea of Power and how it should be manifest. In the modern nation-state, instead of Power diminishing from the center as a light does from a bulb, its luminescence is meant to be constant until it suddenly plunges into total darkness. As Benedict Anderson puts it, "ten yards this side of the frontier, [the ruler's] power is sovereign; ten yards on the other side, it does not exist."<sup>3</sup> This redefinition of boundaries poses a new challenge to the nation-state which aspires to modernity: it must reject the traditional gradual diminution of Power, necessitated by technological limitations, by fortifying a technological security apparatus which is capable of the effective maintenance a level of power at its periphery.

In the case of an archipelagic nation such as modern Indonesia, the appropriate security apparatus is a modern navy. When confronted with a perceived challenge to its Power at the very periphery of the archipelago in the form of the peace ship, Indonesian General Theo Syafei responded, "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 county should do."<sup>4</sup> In a modern nation-state, there are certain lines which, if crossed unchallenged, signify an intolerable drop-off in Power. On the other hand, the successful propulsion of a perceived threat to sovereignty, even when made at the periphery, represents a laudable jump in Power in the center, that is the state. But when these lines are not physically obvious, as a river or a mountain range would be, it becomes crucial for nationalist psychology that the line is understood by both the "aggressor" and the "defender."

When the Indonesian navy prepared to "defend" its sovereignty at the periphery of the Indonesian archipelago against the "provocation" of a foreign ship, it did not choose the 200-mile limit Economic Exclusivity Zone to meet the *Lusitania Expresso*. Instead, it chose the 12-mile limit from the coast of East Timor, a commonly accepted definition of sovereignty for littoral states under international law, to confront the ship. The irony, of course, is that Indonesia used an accepted principle of international law to establish its territorial line, despite the fact that international law does not recognize East Timor as being Indonesian territory at all. In newspaper reports, it was crucial for Indonesia to establish that the *Lusitania Expresso* had crossed one mile into the 12-mile limit before forcing it to turn around. As a point of detail, instruments aboard the *Lusitania Expresso* indicated that the ship never approached closer than 13 miles from East Timor. Even though the line is invisible, whether the line was breached makes a tremendous psychological difference.

If international law does not recognize that East Timor is a part of the Indonesian nation, why is it that many Indonesians so emotively assert that East Timor is part of Indonesia, period? To answer this question, let us examine the development of the ideas of the early nationalists regarding the entity of Indonesia. Sukarno, the charismatic man who became Indonesia's first president, was among the first to grapple with the question of what factors would unify an independent nation free from the yokes of Dutch colonialism. The territories under Dutch control were inhabited by ethnically, religiously, linguistically, and culturally diverse peoples, and so none of these characteristics alone could be the basis for unity.

Sukarno's first impulse seemed to be a geographical one, using the map as a model for nationhood. In 1945, Sukarno declared to the members of the Body for Investigating Efforts in Preparation for Independence:

God Almighty made the map of the world, created the map of the world. If we look at the map of the world, we can point to where the unities are. Even a child if he looks at a map of the world can point out that the Indonesian archipelago forms one unity. On the map there can be shown



a unity of the group of islands between two great oceans, the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean, and between two continents, the continent of Asia and the continent of Australia. Even a child can tell that the islands of Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Celebes, Halmahera, the Lesser Sunda Islands, the Moluccas and the other islands in between are one unity.<sup>5</sup>

But if God created the map of the world, it was explorers and colonists who labeled and colored it, and here is where this view fails. In the natural world, oceans flow into each other, and land masses split apart. A child looking at a nameless map might be just as inclined to group Australia with New Guinea and Borneo, or Malaya with Sumatra. Certainly no child would separate Borneo or Celebes from the Philippines. Indeed, it is on this point that the concept of the archipelagic nation became quite controversial. The ideal of a unified Maphilindo, or Malaya/Philippines/-Indonesia was unrealizable due to the entrenched positions of the British, the Americans, and the Dutch at the time these nations were striving for varying degrees of autonomy or independence.

In fact, it was less God almighty who drew the map which ended up defining modern Indonesia than it was the Dutch. Divisions which would certainly defy the logic of a child began to assume a logical place in the nationalist consciousness. Dutch colonial maps, for instance, showed the Western half of New Guinea, the site of a Dutch colonial outpost and penal colony for recalcitrant nationalists, not with a border drawn down the middle of the island, but with nothing to its East, which “unconsciously reinforced imagined ties.”<sup>6</sup> The feeling that this identification with Western New Guinea generated led Sukarno to insist that it become part of an independent Indonesia, and compelled him to orate on the topic for decades, against the interests of the Dutch who wished to maintain one regional colonial outpost. Before the US Congress in 1956, Sukarno said, “West Irian was part of the Dutch Empire in Asia...In all ways, and by ties of common colonial experience, West Irian has been, and still is, an essential part of Indonesia.”<sup>7</sup> Sukarno’s passion for this issue all came despite the fact he never set foot in what became known as West Irian and then Irian Jaya until after Indonesia claimed it by force of arms in 1963.

It was less the unconscious reinforcement of commonality on a map which defined the boundaries of Indonesia than it was the idea that all those peoples who had shared the common historical experience of Dutch colonial exploitation should be united in one nation. It is this central idea which prevails to this day. One Indonesian graduate student studying in America explained that “we have a common feeling, rooted from the same experiences of being insulted, being

exploited for centuries by the ‘humanistic colonialist’ regimes.” He went on to clarify the importance of a common historical experience with a particular colonizer in defining the nation, de-emphasizing the importance of the purely geographical archipelagic concept:

The history of Australia is not the same as Indonesia, even though, to some extent, we may share the same feeling with the Aborigines. The Philippines is also different as the struggle of this nation historically had no close connection. We, Indonesians who come from different ethnic groups, feel as a nation because we fought hand in hand for our independence, we helped each other fight for our freedom which had been taken away from us for so long.<sup>8</sup>

So it was that the boundaries of the former Netherlands East Indies eventually came to be synonymous with the boundaries of the Republic of Indonesia.

There are two striking problems with the historical experience interpretation of Indonesian nationalism. One is the fact that the various indigenous inhabitants of West Papua had very little direct contact with each other, let alone the Dutch colonizers, and did not feel a sense of unified anti-colonialist struggle with the Javanese or any other Indonesian group. In fact, some groups, whose first contact with the outside world was with Indonesians, came to see the Indonesians as the colonizers and are now fighting for their independence. Another problem is the fact that the British and the Dutch did not even agree on territorial borders in Borneo until 1915, and the indigenous populations of that island certainly had little time to develop separate experiences under colonialism. At least initially however, this did not stop the nascent Indonesian government from disavowing any claim to the British territories in Borneo. In 1961, Indonesia’s Foreign Minister declared before the UN General Assembly: “We are not only disclaiming the territories outside the former Netherlands East Indies, though they are of the same island, but...we told [Malaya] we had no objections [to the merger of the former British territories into Malaya] and that we wished them success...so that everyone might live in peace and freedom.”<sup>9</sup> Despite what was said then, two years later, Sukarno, at the urging of the PKI (the Indonesian Communist Party), had initiated a policy of konfrantasi (or confrontation) with the new Malaysian federation over these territories, which it considered to be the design of a neo-colonialist power with insufficient revolutionary cleavage from its former colonizer.

Compare the above statement with the following by contemporary Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, explaining Indonesia’s view of the incorporation of East Timor into Indonesia:

Indonesia reiterated its oft-stated position that it had no territorial claim to East Timor...As the facts show, since before and after the proclamation of its own independence, Indonesia had scrupulously maintained its stand that its national territory only comprised the former Netherlands East Indies, no more and no less. This, in spite of the fact that Portuguese East Timor was half an island right in the middle of our archipelago.<sup>10</sup>

Alatas alludes to the psychological importance of the unified archipelagic concept, but ultimately adopts the historical experience explanation for Indonesian unification. What, then, could make East Timor, which had experienced 300 years of “Portuguese neglect” rather than 300 years of “Dutch exploitation” an addition to the Indonesian nation state consistent with nationalist logic?

The official explanation is, quite simply, they asked for it: “Only after the expressed wish of the majority of the people of East Timor...that Indonesia accepted the integration of East Timor into the Republic of Indonesia.”<sup>11</sup> Only two countries in the world, however, Indonesia and Australia, accept that any valid act of self-determination ever took place in East Timor. Even the United States, which recognizes the de facto possession of East Timor by Indonesia refuses to accept that a valid act of self-determination took place. The process of constructing this fiction was elaborate and is detailed elsewhere.<sup>12</sup> The actual reasons for the eventual invasion and annexation of East Timor had nothing to do with nationalism as it had been conceived by early anti-colonialist leaders, but rather with the specific security concern that a left-leaning independent East Timor might pose a threat to the sovereignty of the Indonesian state, which after 1965 (and certainly by 1975) had abandoned its revolutionary attitude and non-aligned status in all but the most formal and rhetorical sense.

#### **General Suharto and the Power of Sukarno’s Revolutionary Spirit**

The character of early Indonesian nationalism is conspicuously different than the form it has taken in Suharto’s New Order regime. On June 1, 1945, Sukarno laid out the philosophical basis, what he called “the innermost idea, the soul, the deepest desire,” upon which to build Indonesia Merdeka, a Free Indonesia.<sup>13</sup> In a characteristic manner, Sukarno expounded the five principles (nationalism, internationalism/humanitarianism, democracy or mufakat, social justice, and belief in God) with a passion that commanded frequent prolonged applause. Sukarno consciously coined these Five Principles, with a Sanskrit name, the Pantja Sila (Pancasila), in order to endow them with an ancient flavor which signified a Powerful Javanese mystic tradition. Little did he know that over time the symbol

would supersede the signified in degree of reverence commanded.

Sukarno made the first principle Nationalism ("Indonesian Nationalism in the fullest sense") but made the second principle a brand of Internationalism free from isolation and chauvinism, and exhorted the audience to "proceed towards the unity of the world, the brotherhood of the world." He stressed the importance of the link between Internationalism and Nationalism. The third principle, Democracy, was a brand of consensus democracy which would not be for the wealthy or any other single group alone. He expounded on the need for Indonesia Merdeka to be free of poverty in his fourth principle, Social Justice. Sukarno asked, "do we want an independent Indonesia whose capitalists do their unscrupulous will, or where the entire people prosper, where every man has enough to eat, enough to wear, lives in comfort, feels cherished by his Motherland which gives him...the basic necessities?" He went on, "Therefore, if we truly understand, remember and love the people of Indonesia, let us accept this principle of social justice, that is, not only political equality, but we must create equality in the economic field too, which means the best possible well-being." Sukarno defined his fifth principle, Belief in God, to mean the religious tolerance to worship one's own God, where "the whole of the people should worship God in a cultured way, that is, without religious egoism."

Sukarno's stiff anti-colonialism referred quite explicitly to economic neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism in whatever form they took. He opposed American neo-imperialism, and openly drew much of his world view from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the exploitative world system. However, he was quick to praise both the American Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto, and was even more vehement in deploring the cold war which had "split up [the world] into two blocks, each spying on the other, like a giant-filled sky."<sup>14</sup> He offered the Pantja Sil as a moral alternative to the two opposing ideologies, and became an important leader of the non-aligned movement which actively sought to advance its own standpoint and principles, not merely to remain neutral.

Unfortunately for these bold ideals, America began to interpret Indonesia's policy actions as more and more clearly within the communist camp, and fearing a growing and influential communist party, began to exert all forms of pressure, explicit and covert, to topple Sukarno. As economic pressure intensified and as multilateral lending institutions tried to pressure Indonesia with development loans, Sukarno finally made his famous exclamation, "Go to Hell with your aid!" withdrawing from the World Bank, the IMF, and the United Nations. At the time, Indonesian nationalists applauded the move because they were

fed up with neo-colonialist meddling.<sup>15</sup> These events only compounded America's mounting problems in holding onto a foothold in strategically vital Southeast Asia. Without elaborating on the specific causality, no one contests the US role in encouraging the events leading to a military coup in the fall of 1965 which placed General Suharto in power, resulted in the executions of as many as a million people suspected of being communists, the banning of the communist party, and the installation of a right-wing military regime which holds power to this day. Suharto quickly re-joined the international institutions Sukarno had rejected for their neo-imperialism, taking on huge amounts of development loans which have grown annually to phenomenal levels, and bringing in neo-classical development economists who had been trained in the United States at institutions like Berkeley and MIT.

Yet General Suharto was not eager to break the ties of an extremely powerful presidency which he had inherited from Sukarno, and did not formally dispose of Sukarno for two years after the coup. Neither was he willing to disrupt the fragile foundation on which Sukarno had built the volatile Indonesian nation. What he wanted, and what he was ultimately able to do, was to wield the Power and claim the legitimacy of revolutionary ideals while burying or retooling the meaning of the ideals themselves, and introducing new ones. This proved remarkably easy to do.

In Javanese culture, words themselves can take on the Power of magic spells, incantations, or mantras. Suharto encouraged a process initiated by Sukarno: abbreviating terms into invocable acronyms which when pronounced had the same emotive effect if not the same function, as the idea for which they stood. Ben Anderson sites the coinages, Jarek and Resopim. Jarek, short for Jalan Revolusi Kita, or the Path of Our Revolution, and Resopim, Revolusi-Sosialisme-Peimpinan, Revolution and Socialism-Leadership. Revolution and Socialism get lost in the acronyms, which "refer to no concrete reality but...may be thought to acquire a life of their own."<sup>16</sup>

The Panjat Sila mantra had already assumed an extremely Powerful independent life, and it mattered little how systematically the ideals themselves were compromised. The idea of consensus democracy was abandoned altogether for a form of "democracy," rather cynically known as Pancasila Democracy, which at first involved an indirect but carefully manipulated electoral mechanism, and was slowly modified to totally remove any effective popular participation in the political process. First the doctrine of *dwi fungsi*, dual function, was grafted onto the principle of Democracy. The doctrine held that the Armed Forces have a dual function in society as defenders of not only national security, but civil society itself, and should play

an active role in Indonesian social life. In 1971, the doctrine of "the floating mass" was introduced which banned all political activity at the village level, holding that the masses were too unsophisticated for politics and should become floating masses unaligned to political parties. Finally, in 1975, all opposition parties to Golkar, the army party, were lumped into two separate parties.<sup>17</sup> This process is a far departure from Sukarno's *mafakat* and *perwakilan*, unity and representation. This matters little, however, because by merely pronouncing the term Pancasila, it exists with full life force.

The Power of Pancasila has been harnessed by a government program, known as P-4, the Guide to the Comprehension and Practice of Pancasila. The program, initiated in 1978 for all civil servants, now is a compulsory component of all school programs. Its purpose is solely to examine and understand *Panca Sila* within the framework of the New Order, the name for the Suharto regime. An official pamphlet said its goal is to unite the nation behind a sound ideology that all will enthusiastically embrace.<sup>18</sup> The concept is reminiscent of Mao's Red Book with an absence of moral fervor. The smarter students claim to recognize it as indoctrination and pay it little mind.<sup>19</sup>

Perhaps the most obvious departure from the original Pancasila is the principle of social justice, which has been replaced by, or has come to be signified by *Pembangunan* (Development) – arguably the most Powerful word in the Indonesian language today. *Pembangunan* is the mover of all things, the Supreme Ideal to which all things are to be deferred. From a neo-classical economic perspective, with the central assumption that the economy must develop before the benefits can trickle down to the poor, the equating of Development and economic well-being seems logical enough. But in a densely populated society like Java in particular and Indonesia in general, evidence suggests that far from guaranteeing the basic necessities to every man as Sukarno envisioned, the poor have gotten poorer while the politically connected and the rich have thrived.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, once *Pembangunan* had been equated with the principle of social justice, its Power was augmented all the more. General Suharto, known as *Bapak Pembangunan*, the Father of Development, is the personal embodiment of the Power of the Development mantra, and thus his power is incontrovertible. The acronym for the five-year neo-classical development plans initiated in the New Order, the *Repelitas*, have also come to have its own symbolic Power, as *pelita* means light or lamp, a powerful symbol for Progress.<sup>21</sup> *Pembangunan* has also become synonymous with a virulent strain of anti-communism which villainizes communists as anti-Indonesian to a greater extent than McCarthy's Committee on Un-American Activities could have ever conceived. In

early New Order Indonesia, the black list was less common than execution or imprisonment.

Perceived economic success in the form of showy urban skyscrapers and sleek tourist centers have become an emblem of national pride within Indonesia. Never mind that these new amulets of Development have been purchased at the price of impoverishing the poorest of the poor and of pawning the nation's economic sovereignty to the United States, Japan, the World Bank, and the IMF, as Sukarno had warned against. For a brief period during the oil boom of the mid-1970s, Indonesia was riding high, free of undue pressure to concede to the demands of the international monetary institutions, and rewarded her domestic industries with protection from foreign domination. Yet in the early 1980s, when oil prices plummeted, in a move never made public, the World Bank pressured Suharto into a structural adjustment program which opened up the economy to full foreign exploitation.<sup>22</sup>

Yet for all the accommodations Suharto has made to his Western financial lenders, he gained a great deal of renewed legitimacy by invoking the image of a Sukarno-era nationalist when he stood up to Dutch attempts to "meddle" in domestic affairs by linking its provision of aid to human rights. In March of 1992, Suharto announced Indonesia would no longer accept any economic aid from the Netherlands and insisted that it withdraw its quarter-century chairmanship of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), the institution which coordinated all of Indonesia's bilateral and multilateral lenders. Suharto's move came after Holland had frozen some of its development funds to Indonesia in reaction to the November massacre in East Timor. The move was not risky in the short term because Dutch aid only accounted for 2% of Indonesia's aid, and adjustments had already been made for its absence. However, the gambit could backfire should more countries live up to their stated intentions to make foreign aid contingent on human rights.<sup>23</sup>

To illustrate the extent that Development has become synonymous with New Order nationalism in Indonesian popular culture, one only has to look at the reaction of some Indonesian students to discussion of the situation in East Timor. One Indonesian student, responding to another Indonesian student who warned of the danger of a jingoistic "my country right or wrong attitude," blamed the victims of the East Timor massacre for having incited riots and defended the harsh military crackdown in the following manner:

Do you remember the Lampung Incident and the Tanjung Priok Incident [where other demonstrators were massacred by the army elsewhere]? These groups consisted of uneducated people...driven by their ambitious leaders, they created

movements against the government. Do you like these happenings? They created instability in the society. One of the effects: degraded economic development. If our government didn't do anything to prevent this kind of thing, because of prolonged instability, chaos would set in. When chaos is around, the development of the country could be in stagnation. The outcome: our country would have to keep a third world status. Do you like this picture?<sup>24</sup>

Notice how Mr. Ludiradja engages his fellow Indonesian audience with questions formulated as if the answer is obvious: of course not. Merely by invoking the word Development, one is supposed to immediately excuse all violence and repression in order to restore stability and order. The same writer earlier states that there is no reason to be critical of any government action "as long as our country has Pancasila as the only ideology." Again, the Pancasila ideology's actual mood - generally one of human kindness, mutual respect, and tolerance - is irrelevant. It does not matter whether the ideals are practiced, only that Pancasila is possessed.

Not only Indonesian students, but high level officials invoke Development in response to foreign criticisms of violence and human rights abuses in East Timor. The typical line, that Indonesia has built schools, roads, and hospitals in East Timor where the Portuguese built none, is offered in utmost sincerity as a natural and important counter-balance to the almost superfluous matter of the ongoing resistance war.<sup>25</sup> To outsiders, Indonesia boasts that a higher proportion of development funds are spent in East Timor per capita than anywhere else in Indonesia. This point is de-emphasized elsewhere in Indonesia, as it runs counter to the ideal of pemerataan, or the evening out of Development, and makes some Indonesians resentful of "Indonesia's 27th Province."<sup>26</sup> Defense leaders even lament that Development in East Timor has been blasphemed, as "international telephone connections [made available by the development program] were being exploited by the separatists."<sup>27</sup>

When two US Senators met with Suharto in April 1992 to request permission to go to East Timor to evaluate the situation there, Suharto became very agitated, waving his arms about wildly, contending that the visit could spur political demonstrations and possibly further violence.<sup>28</sup> Yet Indonesian State Secretary Murdiono was quoted as giving a more well-articulated response to the Senators' request: "It is unnecessary. Why visit East Timor? Let the people of East Timor remain calm and carry on with developing their province. They should not be disturbed."<sup>29</sup> Perhaps Murdiono had expected that the invocation of Development would compel the Senators to withdraw their requests willingly.

### Public Consciousness as Constraint on Power

The image of Suharto waving his arms about wildly at the mention of East Timor evokes the Wicked Witch of the West helplessly melting after being doused with water. Just as the witch had been rendered powerless, Suharto may have felt an unaccustomed slippage of Power at having the subject of East Timor thrown into discussion. Suharto, as the personal embodiment of Power in Indonesian nationalist culture, relies on keeping the upper hand in verbal manipulation as an enchanting device. He is ceremonially charged with exercising subtle verbal manipulative sleight-of-hand in order to conceal political and economic realities from the population and to ritually integrate conflicting interests within national society.<sup>30</sup> In reality this task has less to do with magical adeptness than with presidential privilege to control the domestic media.

But Suharto cannot control the international media, although for the most part it did a fine job of censoring itself. Nevertheless, the reports which were getting into major foreign newspapers, especially in Australia, led Ali Alatas to deplore the foreign coverage as biased. Ostensibly, the domestic press enjoys freedom of the press, and run what it likes. After the November massacre, East Timor became a major headline news item for the first time since the 1975 invasion, where stories on the "province" were buried deep if run at all. Although the regime was eventually successful in getting the official version of events printed on a consistent basis - such as the November massacre being the result of wild, rioting demonstrators who had attacked an army major, or of the Lusitania Expresso being an official Portuguese political provocation - more realistic assessments of the situation had already appeared before the government could respond. Even if the portrayal of the Lusitania Expresso was overwhelmingly negative, newspapers ran front page stories and major Indonesian news weeklies such as *Tempo* and *Editor* ran cover stories and feature articles.

Yet the perceptiveness of Indonesian readers, used to reading between the lines, should not be underestimated. One *Editor* reporter commented that she was able to use the device of direct quotation of individuals to get around editorial pressure to conform to officially approved language. Furthermore, official attempts to control the media in this situation have resulted in the government shooting itself in the foot. Reports in the *Jakarta Post* that US Senator Pell had recommended a plebiscite for East Timor were quickly denied the next day by Ali Alatas, but it is unlikely that Indonesian readers believe the retraction.

The November massacre appears to have let the cat permanently out of the bag. According to one Indonesian dissident,

“from unawareness, the people in Indonesia now realize something very wrong is happening in East Timor.”<sup>31</sup> Copies of the Yorkshire film “*Cold Blood*,” which contains video footage of the massacre, have been smuggled into Indonesia and seen by many Indonesians. Mass protests of the shootings in Jakarta on November 19, a week after the massacre, led to arrests and subversion trials, but also significantly raised public consciousness about the issue.

Due to characteristics of the idea of Power in Javanese culture, greater public consciousness of the violence and brutality which is the reality of the Indonesian occupation of East Timor may be interpreted as a sign of the loss of regime Power. Unlike European medieval culture, where regal conquest was viewed as a virtue of the king, in the Javanese conception of virtue, a Powerful ruler should be triumphant by his personal radiance and grace which would attract people to willing offer their submission. A truly Powerful ruler is halus, smooth and civilized, impassionate, and graceful. In contrast, the impatient, ambitious, greedy, person ruled by passions and prone to violence is considered kasar, coarse or crude. So, if “the ruler has to use the methods of warfare, it is a theoretical admission of weakness.”<sup>32</sup>

When dealing with a threat to national security, or as Anderson puts it, “the threat posed by proximate concentrations of power,” there are two approaches - destruction and absorption. “Destruction itself is the most blatant and kasar means of subduing a rival, and on this account the least desirable. More satisfactory is the method of absorption, which in practice involves diplomatic pressure, and other halus methods of inducing recognition of superiority or suzerainty.”<sup>33</sup> Therefore, it was crucial that the “absorption” of East Timor into Indonesia be portrayed as having been accomplished with the stroke of a pen, not the strafe of automatic gunfire. The magnitude of the destructive forces unleashed on the East Timorese (the annihilation campaigns, the willful destruction of crops, etc.) would be seen as kasar to an unimaginable degree, and had to be concealed from the public by any means possible.

In fact, Indonesian officials have made efforts to turn the situation around, by characterizing the army as halus and its opponents (the agitators, the security disrupting gangs, the separatists, the anti-integrationists) as kasar. Soon after the massacre, for example, Ali Alatas defended the moral character of the soldiers when he explained that “the deputy commander of the local battalion tried to tell them, ‘Look, you can demonstrate, but please don’t be so wild, don’t be so unruly. Don’t destroy property along the way and things like that.’ It was then that [the commander] was attacked by a machete.”<sup>34</sup> Similarly, a tacit allusion was made to Javanese wayang mythology in the representation of the Lusitania Expresso. A

popular battle scene in wayang plays involves a righteous, halus knight overcoming the demonic, wild buta (ogre) from overseas. The knight is differentiated from the wild attacks of the buta by his elegant and impassionate moves.<sup>35</sup> The Indonesian navy won major points in having elegantly turned away the boat full of buta by out-maneuvering them without so much as firing a warning shot. Reports of the confrontation in the Indonesian press did not emphasize the raised guns, the circling army helicopters, or the repeated threats of force.

Yet the fact that there is serious social disorder within East Timor can no longer be convincingly hidden from the Indonesian public. Since the Javanese believe that disorder would not arise if the ruler still possesses Power, even evidence of unrest is enough to diminish Suharto’s Power in public perception. Also, the more aggravated the violence of the army occupiers is seen to be, the more kasar their actions are interpreted, the more Suharto’s personal radiance appears to dim in the public eye.

#### **The East Timorese Nationalist Struggle**

The parallels between the Indonesian anti-colonialist struggle against the Dutch and the East Timorese anti-colonialist struggle are hard to miss, but it is worth briefly tracing them here. It should be noted that these parallels are not being missed by Indonesian intellectuals, some of whom were brave enough to risk imprisonment or exile to join the East Timor Peace Mission. One of these students explained his reasons for joining the Mission: “Once we believed in freedom and independence, and we were a champion in the anti-colonial movement. The invasion of East Timor undermines our own principles, so it is not only for me this is important but also for Indonesia.”<sup>36</sup> Reza seemed to have internalized Pancasila as a moral principle, not as a word, and he was willing to risk his personal liberty for it.

Like the multi-ethnic Indonesian archipelago, East Timor itself was comprised of separate ethnolinguistic groups who identified themselves more as Tetum or Mambai or Makasee than as Timorese. The experience of Portuguese colonization fundamentally transformed much of life in East Timor, but the primary effect was felt in the capital city, Dili, where residents became Catholicized and were educated in Portuguese. Similarly, Javanese priyayi elites were educated in the Netherlands East Indies capital of Batavia, contemporary Jakarta. Yet unlike the Dutch administration which exercised a more direct form of colonization, the Portuguese pursued a policy of indirect rule by co-opting East Timorese lurai, or petty kings. Thus, most of the more remote East Timorese ethnolinguistic groups had very little direct interface with Portuguese rule, and were largely able to keep traditional ways, in some cases actually incorporating the symbolism of Portuguese regalia into their cosmological

system.<sup>37</sup> The Portuguese did indeed neglect most of the people of East Timor, as the Indonesians charge, but this meant that an oppositional anti-colonialist movement was not generated as had been as the result of direct Dutch exploitation in Indonesia.

It took Indonesian colonization to fully awaken nationalist consciousness in East Timor. Ironically, the education which Indonesia now boasts so much about providing to the East Timorese has backfired, and it seems curious that this was not anticipated. Youthful Indonesian nationalists, who learned about Western principles of independence and democracy, struggled to realize modified versions in their own land. Similarly, young East Timorese students taking the mandatory P-4 courses on Pancasila, may understand the principles and ideals expressed much better than Indonesian youth, as their immediate experience parallels the feelings of oppression and indignation that early Indonesian nationalists felt.

In a sense, the Indonesian occupation of East Timor can be more readily compared to the Japanese occupation of the Netherlands East Indies than it can to the Dutch colonization of the NEI. The Japanese had offered the Indonesians the carrot of liberation from colonial oppression, but that promise was soon shown to be illusory. The havoc wrought upon the people of Indonesia during the Japanese occupation of the NEI is imminently comparable to the violence wrought upon the East Timorese during the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. Consider the following:

The Japanese occupation was not without its unifying elements. The brutal treatment inflicted by the Japanese provoked deep and bitter opposition and caused common suffering that afterwards at least was recognized as a shared experience. Almost all parts of the county had their economies and ways of life disrupted... A shortage of labor, caused by conscription, resulted in neglect of estate production and irrigation works and a consequent decrease in food production; hardship and suffering thereby increased.<sup>38</sup>

All of these disruptive factors and more were visited upon the Timorese by the Indonesian occupying army. Notice that Drake cites the important unifying factor that the suffering was recognized as a shared experience. Again it should be stressed that the notion of shared experience of exploitation is the primary unifying factor in Indonesian nationalist consciousness.

The violence of the Indonesian occupation is an experience that every single East Timorese shares. The population of East Timor is fairly small, and is smaller by at least 100,000 since the invasion. Every East Timorese has a father or a brother who has been killed or a mother or sister who has been raped or a friend or a cousin who has

been tortured. This shared experience has bonded the East Timorese together and has generated an unshakable resolve to resist the Indonesian occupation at all costs. With such a determination, it is only a matter of time before the East Timorese win their independence, just as it was inevitable that Indonesia won hers.

### Conclusions

The full scale of the genocide in East Timor may never be revealed to the Indonesian public. Pockets of Indonesian political activists and dissidents may be the only ones who have worked to educate themselves about the situation in East Timor. Undoubtedly they will do their utmost under considerable constraints to work for a solution to the problem and an end to the violence. Yet in the wake of the wide spread publicity the November massacre has received within Indonesia, the veil of official illusion has been pulled back, if only a little, enough to expose the false bottom which the conjurer depends on for his tricks. Once the massive and youthful resistance to the occupation is more widely understood within Indonesia, the only official justification for integration, that the East Timorese majority desires it, loses its credence. In the post-cold war era, the actual justification for invasion, the security threat from a left-leaning Fretilin, seems ludicrously irrelevant. In today's world, communism simply does not carry the same menacing resonance that it did in the mid-seventies, even in the Southeast Asian region. Also, the East Timorese National Council for Maubere Resistance has recently depoliticized itself and now has the active support of UDT, the political party which ostensibly supported integration with Indonesian in 1975.

Indonesian leaders would do well to re-examine the basis of Indonesia's own nationalism. Undoubtedly, leaders could cynically continue to invoke Powerful words like Pembangunan and Powerful ideas like anti-communism, which have become synonymous with Indonesian nationalism in the New Order, and these may continue to cast a spell on the uncritical or disempowered masses. Yet Indonesian leaders should not forget the revolutionary semangat (spirit) which grew out of the humiliation of being colonized and exploited. They should not defy the wisdom of their own nationalist logic which holds that those diverse peoples who shared the common experience of being violated and oppressed should be united as one proud independent nation. They should remember Sukarno's words describing the determination they felt in fighting against colonialism: "Five years of battling, of suffering, of bodily sacrifices, of hunger, of playing dice with death, did not bring us to destruction. Our body was covered with wounds, but we still stood upright."<sup>39</sup> They should not underestimate the unshakable resolve of the East Timorese peoples who have united to resist the genocide being

perpetrated against them by Indonesian occupying forces. Sixteen years later, a hundred thousand deaths later, the East Timorese still have the courage to say "Lebih baik mati daripada integrasi." Better death than integration.

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