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The material is grouped by subject, with articles under each category in approximately chronological order. It is also available on IBM-compatible diskette, in either WinWord 2 or ASCII format.

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TRIALS OF TIMORESE

JUVENCIO DE JESUS MARTINS GETS 6 YEARS

AFP, Jakarta, June 15 - An Indonesian court in Dili, East Timor, has handed down

an 72-month jail term to an East Timorese charged with subversion for involvement in a local separatist movement, press reports said here Monday.

The Kompas daily quoted presiding judge Amir Pane as saying Saturday that Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 32, was guilty of

involvement in a series of anti-government activities in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Martins, a former civil servant at the Dili Tax Office, had attended meetings of a clandestine East Timorese committee set up to welcome a Portuguese parliamentary delegation that had been scheduled to visit last November.

Martins, for whom the prosecutor demanded a 10-year jail term, had also maintained regular contacts with several foreign journalists and the leader of The National Resistance Committee of Timorese Youth, a group affiliated to the underground East Timorese separatist movement, the judge said.

The judge said the defendant's action could damage Indonesia's image abroad.

FILOMENO DA SILVA PAREIRA GETS 5 YEARS

UPI, Jakarta, June 18 - An East Timor dissident has received a prison term of five years and eight months for conspiring to separate the former Portuguese colony of East Timor from Indonesia, news reports said Thursday.

The Dili district court in East Timor Wednesday found Filomeno da Silva Pareira, 34, guilty of conspiracy for his involvement in clandestine meetings aimed at achieving independence for the former Portuguese colony.

The court said the defendant, although not directly involved in the bloody Nov. 12 anti-government demonstration in Dili, attended meetings organized by an East Timorese group, known as Comite Execuso, and worked for independence.

Pareira reproduced cassettes containing a speech by Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement, the court was told. Gusmao called on the East Timorese people to unite and fight for an independent East Timor.

Pareira was the second man imprisoned by the Dili court in connection with the November massacre. On Monday, Juvencio de Jesus Martins was sentenced by the same court to six years in prison for mass-murdering the anti-government demonstration.

Jakarta courts earlier issued prison sentences ranging from six months to 10 years to five other East Timorese civilians charged with taking part in a demonstrations to protest the Dili massacre.

EAST TIMORESE HOUSEWIFE TO BE TRIED FOR SLANDER

Source: Jakarta Post. 15 June 1992. Slightly abridged. Dateline: Dili.

A housewife who wrote to Governor Carrascalao telling him that local officials planned to murder her imprisoned husband will soon be tried for slander. The case involving Yoanita de Yesus Viegas Galochu is now under investigation, said Benito Bya, head of the E Timor prosecutor's office.

She will be charged with slandering prison officials whom she accused of conspiring to kill her husband, Jose Antonio Joaquim, who is serving a 2-year sentence for taking part in an anti-government demonstration early last year. He escaped from prison in October, a day before his wife sent the letter to the governor and was captured 5 months later.

Mrs Galochu, 33, a mother of eight children, was first summoned by the police in December, two months after writing to the governor asking him "to save her husband's life." She said one of his fellow convicts overheard prison officials planning to kill her husband before the Portuguese delegation was to arrive.

Carrascalao told the Post he was ready to become a witness if the court required: "It was copies of my letter that caused her all the trouble."

Lawyers at the Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute are critical of the East Timorese authorities for bringing a suit against the woman.

ALEXIO DA SILVA, 22, GETS 27 MONTHS

Reuter, Jakarta, June 22 - An Indonesian court jailed an East Timorese youth for two years and three months for killing a man who opposed a separatist movement in the territory, the official news agency Antara reported on Monday.

The sentencing is likely to draw more international attention to Indonesian attempts to counter pro-independence sentiment, which resulted in troops opening fire on mourners in the East Timor capital of Dili last November, killing up to 180 people.

Antara said the court on Saturday found Alexio da Silva, 22, guilty of involvement in a brawl that led to the death of Alfonso Henriques, a pro-Indonesia activist, last October in Dili.

Pro-independence activist Sebastiao Gomes also died in the fracas. Several thousand mourners had gathered at his

funeral in Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery when the army opened fire.

Western diplomats said further international indignation has been stirred by the harsh punishment handed out to the protesters in comparison to the soldiers who opened fire on them.

A military court has jailed several soldiers for up to 20 months for the shooting but five East Timorese students have received jail sentences of up to 10 years for taking part in a protest related to the violence.

Six other East Timorese are on trial in Dili for involvement in the November 12 fracas. Two of the six have been charged with subversion, which can carry the death penalty.

FIFTEEN YEARS FOR FRANCISCO MIRANDA BRANCO

Reuter, Jakarta, June 23 - An Indonesian court has jailed an East Timorese man for 15 years for leading a demonstration which ended with troops killing scores of protesters, the official Antara news agency reported on Tuesday.

The human rights group Asia Watch described jail terms imposed on East Timorese protesters as unfair because soldiers who fired on the crowd had been given much lighter punishment.

The court in the East Timor capital of Dili on Monday found Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, guilty of leading people on a march to Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12, Antara reported.

Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed when troops opened fire at the Dili cemetery on a crowd mourning the earlier death of a pro-independence activist. A government inquiry found that 50 died and 90 others were missing after the shooting, which sparked international outrage.

The violence revived the question of Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, which it invaded in 1975 on the departure of its Portuguese rulers. Indonesia annexed the territory in 1976, but its rule is not recognised by the United Nations.

Antara quoted Judge Pandapotan Sinaga as saying that Branco was involved in activities supporting the rebel Fretilin movement, a dwindling band of guerrillas fighting for independence for East Timor.

"The defendant's activities aimed at undermining the Indonesian government were subversive," the judge said.

Subversion can carry a death sentence.

In a separate Dili courtroom on Monday, Bonifacio Bareto was jailed for 20 months for involvement in a brawl between pro- and

anti-Indonesia activists weeks before the November violence.

Indonesia has jailed several East Timorese for up to 10 years over the Dili violence and related protests. But soldiers tried by a military court for the firing have drawn sentences of up to only 20 months in prison.

The U.S.-based Asia Watch said in a report the trial of the soldiers was a step forward for the government and gave the impression of even-handedness in dealing with the protesters and soldiers.

"But justice is not the same as even-handedness," it said, adding that it was difficult to avoid the conclusion that the court martial was staged for international consumption.

The report said there was still no real accounting for the deaths and disappearances from the November 12 violence.

U.S. Under-Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz, asked at a news conference in Jakarta on Monday about the missing 90, said: "It is a piece of unfinished business."

UPI, Jakarta, June 23 - An East Timor dissident has been sentenced to 15 years in prison for subversion - the stiffest sentence so far for anti-government activity leading up to the November massacre in East Timor.

The Dili district court in East Timor found Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, guilty Monday of subversion and of trying to topple the Indonesia government.

The defendant is a member of an underground movement known as *Comite Executivo* which is affiliated with the East Timorese *Fretilin* guerrilla movement.

The sentence was the longest handed down by the Dili court for activities leading up to the military shooting of unarmed demonstrators in the East Timor capital in November. At least 50 people were killed in the incident, which caused an international outcry against the Indonesian government.

Two others charged with subversion in East Timor have been sentenced to six-year prison terms.

The court said the defendant was involved in making banners, posters and *Fretilin* flags for demonstrations against Indonesian government as well as attending clandestine and illegal meetings.

The court said a Nov. 12 demonstration, leading up to the shootings, was organized by the defendant, who was accused of giving a wrong picture of the situation of human rights in East Timor.

The defendant, a former employee of the local government, said he would appeal the verdict.

THE CASE AGAINST FRANCISCO MIRANDA BRANCO

The following summary is based on the Defence Plea of Francisco Miranda Branco, a copy of which reached TAPOL recently.

The copy is difficult to read in places because of the poor quality of photocopying and the typewriter used; moreover several pages of the text are missing. This account also deals with parts of the Defence Plea of Branco's team of lawyers from the Legal Aid Institute, Jakarta, specifically the section dealing with witnesses' testimony. The lawyers Defence Plea also reached TAPOL recently. It too is difficult to read in places because of poor photocopying. The copy in our possession also has a few odd pages missing in several parts of the text.

Branco's Defence Plea bears the title:

"THE ASPIRATIONS AND INNERMOST FEELINGS OF EAST TIMORESE SOCIETY ON TRIAL"

First some background information:

Francisco Miranda Branco is 41 years old. Until 1975, he was an employee of the Portuguese administration. In January 1976, he became an employee of the local administration set up after the Indonesian invasion. Throughout the whole period since 1975, he was never a member of any organisation apart from Korpri, the association of civil servants which all Indonesian government employees are required to join. At the time of his arrest, he was an official at the economics department of the local government administration in Dili. He is married with six children, aged from 2 to 15 years. He did not attend the demonstration in Dili on 12 November. He was arrested on 6 December 1991.

*The trial of Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, found guilty of subversion on 22 June, goes a long way towards explaining the hopes pinned on the visit to East Timor of a team of Portuguese parliamentarians which was to have taken place last November. Branco was one of eight East Timorese in Dili who were members of an ad hoc body, the *Comite Executivo* (CE), which was set up to handle the sensitive matter of contacting the Portuguese MPs. In fact Branco and his friends were responding to a UN-sponsored and brokered mission, making use of the protection which would have been provided for anyone contacting the MPs and trying to utilise the occasion for the benefit of the East Timorese people.*

All eight members of the CE are named in the various trial documents; six of them have been put on trial. The seven CE members besides Branco were: Constancio Pinto (not on trial and apparently in hiding), Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Juvencio de

Jesus Martins, Filomeno da Silva Ferreira, Augusto Filipe Gama Xavier (has not been put on trial), Carlos dos Santos Lemos and Jacinto das Neves Raimundo Alves.

The indictment and sentence totally ignored the background and context to the CE's existence and made an outrageous attack on freedom of expression and freedom of assembly in East Timor. Branco's crimes were his membership of the CE which the prosecution described as a 'clandestine' body and his attendance at several CE meetings between July and November 1991, which the prosecution described as 'illegal' meetings. These were the crimes for which he was sentenced to 15 years.

In his 33-page defence plea, delivered in court on 25 May, Branco explains why the CE was set up:

*"On the basis of the Terms of Reference [for the parliamentary mission] which were agreed and signed on 27 June 1991 by representatives of the Portuguese and Indonesian governments at the UN, under the auspices of the United Nations secretary general, Constancio Pinto took the initiative to set up a *Comite Executivo* which in Indonesian means *Comite Pelaksana* (implementation committee). The purpose was to hand a petition of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM) to the parliamentary mission asking for dialogue."*

[Branco quotes elsewhere in his Defence Plea the following two paragraphs in the Terms of Reference:

Paragraph 9: "The Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall have unhindered access to all parts of the territory, within the context of the agreed objective of the visit, in conditions of peace and security."

Paragraph 10: "The Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall be free to meet whoever it wishes and anyone who wishes to meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation will be allowed to do so. No action, including of a security nature, may be taken by the Indonesian authorities that could prejudice any potential or actual contacts. Individuals who meet the Portuguese parliamentary delegation shall not be made to suffer any adverse consequences as a result of these contacts."

(These paragraphs are quoted here from the original English-language text issued by the UN.)]

"The CE was set up to ask the parliamentary mission to urge the Portuguese government to enter into dialogue with the Indonesian government and with representatives of the East Timorese people, includ-

ing those for and against integration with Indonesia. This was in line with UN General Assembly Resolution 37/30, passed on 23 November 1982, to reach a solution of the East Timor question that would be acceptable to all sides.

“The CE supported the initiative of the CNRM leadership, Xanana Gusmao, favouring ‘dialogue’ with all sides, including those who are pro-integration. Since 1983, the Xanana Gusmao/CNRM leadership have been taking initiatives for dialogue as is evident from the cease-fire agreed between the CNRM/Xanana Gusmao leadership and the Indonesian armed forces in March 1983. The cease-fire lasted for about three months, during which time there was dialogue between the CNRM leadership/ Xanana Gusmao and the armed forces leadership in East Timor and the East Timor governor in Lariguto (Venilale/Baucau).”

Branco went on to explain that the CE had sought the approval of the CNRM leadership for its establishment but up to 26 October, this was not forthcoming.

Therefore the CE’s meeting on that day decided to make preparations to welcome the parliamentary mission on 4 November [the day on which the mission was to have arrived in Dili] with a petition drafted by Constancio Pinto which was signed by the eight CE members. This asked the Portuguese Government and the Indonesian Government together with East Timorese representatives, pro as well as anti integration, to seek a solution to the East Timor question acceptable to all sides, under UN auspices.

In the concluding section of his defence plea, Branco gives his responses to the subversion charges against him. These are summarised here as follows:

- It was never his intention to damage or disrupt the power and authority of the Indonesian government or spread feelings of hate, splits, chaos or anxiety among the community.
- He expressed respect for the Indonesian Government, the Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution while regretting the inconsistency in implementing the Pancasila.
- His purpose was only to utilise the occasion of the visit of the Portuguese parliamentarians who had been officially invited by the Indonesian Government. He adopted this position based on the political tolerance reflected in the agreed Terms of Reference for the MPs visit.
- The letter from the head of the East Timor Church to the UN Secretary General [in 1989] was a sign that the situation in East Timor required a solution.

- The statement of the Governor of East Timor that he personally did not want the Portuguese MPs to come because he feared the outbreak of conflict was proof that a conflict situation already existed.
- The Bishop’s Pastoral Letter issued shortly before the Portuguese MPs visit revealed that a chaotic situation already existed.

Concluding his statement, Branco said:

“I uphold the principles of non-violence and peace, which is why, after the outbreak of the civil war in East Timor on 20 August, 1975, I decided that whereas up till then, my sympathies lay with ASDT/Fretilin, I would no longer take sides with any party, including Fretilin, which is my position to the present day. In my opinion, parties only result in antagonism and conflicts between the East Timorese which can lead to their destruction, ultimately benefiting others.”

Branco on the history of integration

In the earlier part of his defence plea, Branco sets forth his understanding of the events leading up to Indonesia’s claim to have integrated East Timor. He reproduced the political programmes of the three main political parties, ASDT/Fretilin, UDT and Apodeti. Although they made different political demands for East Timor’s future, they all, including Apodeti (which wanted integration with Indonesia), wanted this to happen through a referendum.

He included also the text of the 30 November 1975 Balibo Declaration signed by the leaders of four East Timorese parties including UDT and Apodeti, asking for integration with Indonesia and followed this by quoting from statements made since by some of the signatories disavowing the Declaration. *[This is the key document used by Indonesia in justification of its claim that integration took place ‘at the request of the East Timorese people.’]*

As in other trial documents to which we have access, Branco quotes extensively from the report produced in 1990 by a team of sociologists from Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, led by Dr Mubyarto which highlighted a situation of trauma along with deep-rooted dissatisfaction among the East Timorese with life under Indonesian administration. He also quoted at length from several of the ten resolutions adopted from 1975 to 1982 by the UN Security Council and General Assembly. He dealt finally with Resolution 37/30 of 23 November 1982 which mandates the UN secretary general to consult with all parties directly concerned in the question of East Timor, and which was followed by consultations between Indonesia and Portugal. Then came the Indonesian

invitation in 1987 to the Portuguese Parliament to send a mission to East Timor. This led ultimately to arrangements for the mission to take place and the adoption of the Terms of Reference on 27 June 1991. This is what led to the initiative to set up the CE.

Branco and the 12 November demonstration

From the testimony of witnesses during Branco’s trial, as set forth in the Defence Plea of his team of lawyers, it transpires that Branco was not in favour of a demonstration being held to greet the Portuguese MPs. He would have preferred a performance of East Timorese dances and the presentation of flowers to the visitors. When the visit was aborted, he appears not have favoured a demonstration taking place on 12 November, which would explain why he did not attend. Witnesses’ testimonies not refuted by Branco signify that the CE did not organise the 12 November demonstration; it neither recommended people to attend or not attend.

The civilian and military witnesses

Four of Branco’s colleagues on the EC testified: Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, Carlos dos Santos Lemos, Juvencio de Jesus Martins and Filomeno da Silva Ferreira. All have been on trial. Gregorio still awaits sentencing, Martins has been sentenced to six years and ten months and Ferreira to five years and eight months. Gregorio told the court that his interrogation statement (BAP) was made under duress and he therefore withdrew it.

Two other civilian witnesses testified, both Indonesians with Balinese names, about events during the procession on 12 November as they were standing along the route or in offices passed by the procession. In neither case would Branco comment on their testimony since he was not himself present at the demonstration.

Four military witnesses were called, of whom only one appeared in person, Lamiren (rank not stated), a deputy group commander from Battalion 303. His testimony gives a soldier’s [no doubt authorised] version of what happened before and after the troops opened fire. *[This testimony will not be summarised here as it is not relevant to the case against Branco but it should be examined along with what has been revealed in the courts martial.]*

The three soldiers who failed to appear because of ‘duties elsewhere’ were: Private Dominggus da Costa, Major Andi Gerhan Lantara and Rudolf Roja. The first two were allegedly wounded by demonstrators, so their non-appearance is all the more mysterious. The non-appearance of Lantara

in particular raises questions. Lantara was an officer with the 700 Battalion whose role during the demonstration has been completely obliterated; his battalion was spirited out of East Timor within days of the massacre. Lantara himself left East Timor the day after the massacre and has avoided all exposure ever since. None of the soldiers tried in courts-martial were from Battalion 700.]

The defence was not able to produce any witnesses. Two witnesses whom the defence wanted to call, Laurentina and Emanuel da Costa Belo, informed the court through the prosecutor that they did not wish to testify as they "know nothing about the activities of the accused or about the 12 November demonstration."

BRANCO INTERVIEW IN TEMPO

Source: *Tempo*. Original language: Indonesian. 4 July 1992.

Interviewer is Rubai Kaidir. Excerpt.

This is the interview which appears at the end of the article. Francisco Miranda Branco, 41, an official in the Economy Bureau of the east Timor provincial government, was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment.

The Miranda Verdict

Tempo: Is it true that you were the architect of the 12 December 1991 demonstration?

FMB: I'm utterly displeased with that charge. (During the trial sessions, Miranda said that Constantino Pinto, still at large, was the architect of the incident.)

T: What role did you play in the demonstration?

FMB: I didn't have any role at all. (During the sessions, Miranda said, "That day I just went to my official as usual.")

T: Do you have links with Xanana Gusmao?

FMB: Our group had no links with Xanana.

T: What about your contacts abroad? Is it true they went via a Dili-Kupang-Darwin-Portugal channel?

FMB: I can't explain that because I myself don't know about it.

T: Who contributed the funds for your movement?

FMB: I don't know where the funds came from.

T: How could the 12 November demonstration have occurred?

FMB: That demo was carried out spontaneously. There was no preparation, never any preparations for it. The demonstration represented the reaction of the public in Dili to the death of Sebastiao Gomes in the 28 November 1991 incident in front of the Motael Church when there was a clash

between pro-integration and anti-integration youth.

T: How do you see the 12 November 1991 incident?

FMB: I see it as a tragedy for the East Timorese people.

T: Any comment on the verdict (against you)?

FMB: I can only laugh. For me, the unjust thing is that the soldiers tried in this case only got 6 to 10 months sentences.

PORTUGAL: "SHOCKING" SENTENCES

Reuter, Lisbon, June 23 - Portugal said on Tuesday Indonesia was behaving in a "shocking and unacceptable" manner by giving harsh prison sentences to East Timorese demonstrators but light punishments to troops who attacked them with guns and bayonets.

Francisco Miranda Branco got a 15-year sentence on Monday for leading a pro-independence protest in Dili, capital of the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, on November 12.

Indonesia has jailed several other East Timorese for up to 10 years over the Dili demonstration and related protests.

Soldiers tried by a military court drew sentences of up to 20 months.

"The contrast between the sentences given (to protesters) and those imposed on the soldiers, authors of an act of the most brutal repression, is shocking and unacceptable," the Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement.

Charges levelled at the soldiers for "disobeying orders and attacking with a bayonet" showed the identity of whoever was ultimately responsible for the killings had been kept secret, the ministry said.

There is strong sympathy for East Timorese pro-independence fighters in Portugal.

SATURNINO DA COSTA BELO, 21, GETS NINE YEARS

AFP, Jakarta, June 24 - A court in Baucau, East Timor, has sentenced an East Timorese to nine years in jail for involvement in an anti-Indonesian demonstration which led to a massacre, the Jakarta Post reported Wednesday.

The daily said the court Tuesday found Saturnino da Costa Belo, 21, guilty of undermining the nation's unity by his involvement in an anti-Indonesia demonstration on November 12 in Dili.

The prosecutor had demanded a 10-year jail term for Belo, who told the court he was

a supporter of the outlawed Fretilin pro-independence group and did not regret what he had done.

Belo was the fourth East Timorese to be jailed for involvement in the November 12 demonstration. Courts in Dili have already handed out three sentences of between 68 months and 15 years.

Five other East Timorese in Jakarta and two in East Timor have been jailed to between six months to 10 years for other anti-state activities.

URGENT ACTION: DILI TRIALS (TAPOL)

On 25 June, TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Urgent Action to all groups active around the question of East Timor:

East Timor solidarity groups are asked to campaign vigorously to protest against the savage sentences being given to the eight East Timorese on trial in Dili for their part in the November 12 demonstration. Already four sentences have been passed and others could be announced in the next day or two. With the Consultative Group on Indonesia meeting fast approaching (Paris, 16-17 July), we thought it necessary to circulate the attached Briefing Paper with an update on international reaction to the trials verdicts, suggesting a strategy that might be pursued in dealing with the civil and military trials.

Other trials are also slowly coming to an end in Dili. Five young East Timorese who were arrested at Motael Church are on trial for murder (see TAPOL Bulletin 111). Also, it now appears that an East Timorese woman, Joanita de Jesus Viegas Galochu, is due to be tried 'for slander' because she wrote to the governor warning him of fears that prison guards were conspiring to kill her husband, Jose Antonio Joachim, who is serving a 2-year sentence in Dili for participating in a demonstration early last year (the details of his trial are not known).

We decided however to concentrate on the eight Santa Cruz demonstration trials; these defendants are being given by far the most severe sentences and since they can most forcefully be referred to as victims who survived the massacre, a campaign in advance of the CGI can perhaps have the greatest impact by focusing on these trials.

Carmel Budiardjo

UNFINISHED BUSINESS IN EAST TIMOR: RELEASE THE VICTIMS AND TRY THE PERPETRATORS

Briefing Paper on civil and military trials in Indonesia: Issued on 25 June 1992 by TAPOL

A grave travesty of justice is being played out in Indonesian law courts where trials have been taking place since February, in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili on 12 November 1991. While victims and survivors of the bloodbath have been given sentences as high as ten and fifteen years, the perpetrators have got sentences of on average 12 months.

These civil and military trials are the final chapter in President Suharto's scheme to stifle the criticism that engulfed Indonesia as the true horror of the Santa Cruz Massacre became known around the world. The first two stages of the scheme worked in his favour. Although his Commission of Inquiry was, to use Amnesty's words, "fatally flawed," governments queued up to commend Indonesia for agreeing to investigate a massacre although Suharto's main objective was to thwart demands for an independent international inquiry to do the job. The Military Council also served Suharto well: by recommending the removal of senior officers some of whom have been sent to the US universities for a period of study, the impression was created that the President was even prepared to humiliate the army to appease his foreign critics. This too was seen as 'encouraging' and 'courageous' by governments which were keen to get back to business as usual. The massacre had put Indonesia's entire foreign aid programme in jeopardy, which was just as unwelcome to the donors as it was to the recipient.

The third stage however has boomeranged. Even the most supportive governments, Australia and the USA, have been embarrassed by the glaring injustices of the civil and military trials. The trials have now been criticised by the Australian Foreign Minister, Gareth Evans, while on 22 June, US Under Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz, a close advisor of President Bush, told a press conference in Jakarta that, in the view of the US government, the massacre is still "a piece of unfinished business," hinting that it was the major topic discussed when he met President Suharto.

The civil and military trials were intended to persuade the world that the rule of law functions in Indonesia; pro-independence 'subversives' would get due punishment while soldiers would be punished for violating military discipline. There are plenty of precedents for the subversion

trials since Suharto came to power but never before have soldiers been court-martialled, even though killings, many on a far greater scale than the Santa Cruz Massacre, have occurred time and again since 1965.

The trials have shown however that in Indonesia, there is no such thing as *Trias Politica*. To make the violent response of the troops justifiable, the government needed to show that youngsters demonstrating peacefully in Dili or Jakarta were intent on overthrowing the government, that calling for self-determination was an act of rebellion, that contacting foreign journalists, embassies and human rights organisations was an attempt to undermine government authority, even that making plans and holding allegedly 'clandestine' meetings to welcome a group of Portuguese parliamentarians, whose visit would have taken place under UN auspices, was an act of subversion. Wading through the indictments one discovers that even making a UN flag was regarded as a crime!

The prosecutors used Indonesia's widely discredited anti-subversion law against people who dared to demand that UN Resolution 1514/1960, The Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, be used to find a solution to the question of East Timor, [see for example, the Defence Plea of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, read out at the Dili District Court on 30 May 1992]. In every East Timorese subversion trial, the defence lawyers challenged the law as unconstitutional, called for its repeal and insisted that indictments based on the law were unlawful. Indonesian lawyers have been doing this at subversion trials for more than twenty years, but this time, their case was backed by UN Special Rapporteur on Torture, Professor Kooijmans, whose February 1992 Report to the UN Human Rights Commission made the very same demand.

The verdicts

On 22 June, Francisco Miranda Branco, 31, was sentenced in Dili to 15 years for subversion 'for leading the 12 November demonstration.' The severity of this verdict, the highest yet passed, has shocked the human rights community everywhere; even diplomats in Jakarta have been quoted by foreign agencies as expressing their shock and indignation. Three days later, on 25 June, Saturnino da Costa Belo, 21, was sentenced to nine years by the district court in Baucau, for involvement in the same demonstration.

A week earlier, two other East Timorese in Dili were sentenced for taking part in or helping to organise the demonstration. Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 32, was given six years and ten months on similar charges and

for 'maintaining regular contacts with several foreign journalists,' all of which 'could damage Indonesia's image abroad.' Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 34, was sentenced to five years and eight months for raising funds and other resources for the demonstration. Others shortly to be sentenced include Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 28, wounded during the massacre and arrested while under treatment in hospital. The prosecution wants the court to give him a life sentence. The main charge against Carlos dos Santos Lemos, also awaiting sentence, is that he attended the fateful demonstration 'as a Fretilin journalist' to take photographs which he planned to send abroad.

In Jakarta, where East Timorese students held a peaceful protest demonstration a week after the massacre and went in an orderly procession to the UN office and several embassies in the capital to present a petition on the massacre and on self-determination, five have been found guilty. The two charged with subversion for organising the demonstration and for channelling information about human rights abuses in East Timor to the outside world, have been given savage sentences: Fernando de Araujo, 26, got nine years and Joao Freitas da Camara, 34, has been jailed for ten years.

By contrast, soldiers who admitted that troops under their command opened fire on the demonstrators have got off with a few months each. All ten soldiers tried were charged with 'disobeying orders,' 'violating military discipline' or 'losing control of their troops.' These military trials were designed to reinforce the government's version that the massacre was an aberration and that the troops fired on a provocative and unruly crowd, fearing that their weapons may be seized and their lives were in danger. All eyewitness accounts and the crucial evidence of video footage repudiate such a version.

It is not enough to compare these two sets of trials and argue that courts have been biased against the Timorese. There is a far more fundamental point at issue: The victims should not have been tried at all whereas the real perpetrators have not yet been brought to justice.

There can be no justification for arresting and charging any of the East Timorese. They were not involved in any acts of violence, they were exercising their right to freedom of assembly and freedom of expression. Their trials were in violation of an undertaking given by Indonesia at the UN Human Rights Commission (of which it is a member) in March this year when it endorsed a Consensus Declaration stipulating that "all civilians arrested on the occasion (of the massacre) are treated hu-

manely... and that those not involved in violence are released without delay.”

‘Unfinished business’

As for the perpetrators, it is farcical to try a few low-ranking soldiers. These trials added nothing to an understanding of who master-minded the massacre. There should be a thoroughgoing investigation to discover the true culprits, whoever they are, in the armed forces. Only by bringing the responsible officers to trial for murder or conspiracy to murder can the international community be satisfied that the Indonesian government is serious in its efforts to bring those responsible to justice.

This is part of the ‘unfinished business’ to which Mr Wolfowitz drew attention. There is also, as he said, the failure of the military authorities to honour a promise to search for the ‘90 missing persons.’ According to the BBC correspondent who visited Dili early this month, the army knows very well where the bodies are but will not reveal their mass burial-place as this would explode the army’s claim that only fifty persons were killed. Mr. Wolfowitz reminded his hosts that “quite a few senators and congressmen have opinions” about the massacre. This refers to a Bill now in Congress calling for the mandatory suspension of aid to Indonesia because of the massacre and to a letter to Secretary of State James Baker from five senior US Senators, in advance of next month’s meeting of Indonesia’s aid consortium, urging the Administration to send the appropriate signal “to the Government of Indonesia that its human rights behaviour is of international concern which will affect international support for its development programme.”

Another item still to be resolved is the report of Amos Wako, the UN secretary general’s special envoy who visited East Timor in February ‘to seek clarifications’ about the massacre. Those who have seen this as-yet unpublished document described it as a ‘blistering critique of the Indonesian government.’

The trials and aid conditionality

Most western governments cautioned, when commending Suharto’s earlier steps to deal with the Massacre, that they would await the final stage before giving their final verdict. That moment has now arrived. The trials have revealed the regime in its true colours. East Timorese who raise the issue of self-determination will be dealt with harshly, with bullets on the streets or by punitive verdicts in the courts. The troops in occupation of East Timor are under strict orders to allow no manifestation of protest. Security measures are grim at all times but when foreign dignitaries visit the territory,

the clampdown tightens. Nor should it be forgotten that, soon after his took over as military commander in East Timor earlier this year, Brigadier-General Theo Syafei said: “...if something similar to the 12 November event were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher.”

The issue of what western governments, particularly donor governments, should do, is now approaching the crunch-point, the meeting on 16-17 July of the Consultative Group on Indonesia in Paris, when Indonesia expects to receive around US\$5 billion for 1992/93. The British Government and other EC governments have formally endorsed the principle of conditionality, making foreign aid dependent on the recipient country’s human rights record. A determined attempt is under way in Washington to apply the principle to Indonesia in the form of mandatory sanctions. If any governments saw fit to welcome Suharto’s earlier measures as ‘a step in the right direction,’ the trials now require them to reconsider their verdict. They should condemn the trials, call for the release of all East Timorese political prisoners, including those already tried, and insist that the real culprits of the massacre be brought to justice. They should also urge the UN secretary general to publish the Wako Report, the only document so far approaching implementation of the demand for an international inquiry into the massacre.

Indonesia should be told in no uncertain terms that foreign aid cannot continue until this unfinished business has been finished.

London 25 June 1992

BARRETO RELEASED

From East Timor Alert Network, Canada, 25 June

We have received a report that Dominggus Barreto, one of the Timorese students in Jakarta jailed for participating in the Nov. 19 demonstration, was recently released from prison. Barreto was found guilty on May 12 of “spreading hostility and insulting the Indonesian government by joining the demonstration” (Antara, May 12) and sentenced to six months in prison.

Apparently Barreto has credited his early release to international protests against the trials.

From Tapol:

Dominggus Barreto was released more or less immediately after being sentenced as he had already serve around six months in detention. He has returned to Semarang where has been trying to get re-accepted to university.

BOBBY XAVIER, 19, GETS 3 YEARS

Reuter, Jakarta, June 25 - An Indonesian court jailed an East Timorese youth for three years on Thursday in the latest of a controversial series of trials of activists involved in protests that led to an army massacre last year.

Bobby Xavier, 19, was convicted by a court in the East Timor capital of Dili of involvement in a clash between pro- and anti-Indonesia activists, the official Antara news agency said.

The court earlier this week jailed Alexio da Silva, another pro-independence activist, for two years and three months for involvement in the violence, which claimed two lives.

One of them was separatist sympathiser Sebastiao Gomes, whose death drew several thousand mourners to Dili’s Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12 where troops opened fire on them.

TIMORESE MP: TOO EARLY TO CRITICISE TRIALS

Sources: AP, 25 June and AFP, 26 June Abridged

An East Timor legislator said Thursday it is too early to comment on the results of trials stemming from protests in Dili. “The last results may be different in the higher courts,” said Salvador J. Ximenes Soares, of GOLKAR. He was commenting on reports by Asia Watch that accused protest instigators received much heavier sentences than soldiers charged with violent suppression of the demonstration last 12 November.

Meanwhile Lt. Col Anton Tompodung, spokesman of the regional military command, said the cases of the military officers and the East Timorese could not be compared. “It is clearly different. The officers were merely put on trial because they have violated military regulations in a duty to defend the state, and the East Timorese were accused of spreading hatred, or subversion, for undermining the Indonesian government,” he told AP from his headquarters in Denpasar, Bali.

Ten military officers have been sentenced by military tribunals to terms ranging from 8 to 20 months.

Luhut Pangaribuan of the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, who deals with the defence of some of the East Timorese, said something needs to be corrected in the government’s handling of the case. “Just compare the demand for a man who only took pictures of the demonstration with the sentence given to a military officer who cut off an ear of a demonstrator,” he said. Police

Cpl Louis Pereira Marthin Alau was sentenced to 17 months for cutting off a demonstrator's ear with a bayonet during the protest. Meanwhile, the prosecution has asked for 10 years for Carlos dos Santos Lemos who took pictures of the protest.

Meanwhile, AFP reported:

Seven months after the event, the massacre by Indonesian troops in East Timor and the failings of the official investigation that followed are still tainting Indonesia's international reputation. Relations with the US appear to be delicate, as visiting US Under Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz indicated Monday.

He acknowledged that Jakarta's response to the massacre remained "a piece of unfinished business." As a former ambassador to Indonesia, the Pentagon's number three's use of the term "full and frank discussions" to describe his talks on the massacre with Indonesian officials was seen here as a diplomatic way of expressing a clear divergence of views. Many in and outside Indonesia are angry that those punished were relatively obscure armed forces members, none of whom was sentenced to more than 18 (sic, 20) months while some East Timorese received up to 15 years.

Suharto's move (to counter international protest), seen as an attempt by Suharto to take control of a situation badly compromised by powerful military figures who remain a pillar of his government, seem to have foundered. Sources agree that the army is closing ranks and refusing any further sanctions against its personnel while practically sealing off East Timor to the foreign press.

All the while, rumours have continued to circulate on the fate of those missing. One has it that they were cut to pieces and thrown to the sharks.

The Indonesian embassy in London took the step of issuing a Special Issue of its Indonesia News on 18 June 1992 about the trials. It sets out to convince the reader that the East Timorese defendants are being tried according to due process and stresses that neither Camara nor Araujo in Jakarta got the high terms asked for by the prosecutors, but nine and ten years, instead of the 13 and 15 years requested.

The Special Issue also deals with the sentences for the military personnel, then concludes:

"It is essential to note that the rights of all the defendants were protected in accordance with due process of the law.... Representatives of foreign news agencies

such as AFP, BBC, ABC and Australian Associated have attended the trials. Also present were representatives of the International Commission of Jurists and observers from the US embassy, the Japanese embassy, the embassy of the UK and the Australian embassy."

GREGORIO DA CUNHA SENTENCED TO LIFE

Source: AP 30 June 1992 Abridged

A court sentenced an East Timorese Tuesday to life in prison on charges he organised an anti-Indonesian protest that was put down by troops who killed dozens of demonstrators.

The court found Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29, guilty of subversion. He admitted his role in the protest but said he would appeal.

Da Cunha Saldanha was found guilty of organising the Nov. 12 protest by taking advantage of a funeral for a youth killed last October in what authorities said was a clash with pro-Indonesian East Timorese.

The presiding judge said da Cunha Saldanha had conducted subversive activities at least since 1989 when he was assigned to secretly disseminate leaflets inciting East Timorese to rise against Indonesian rule. The judge said he was the organiser of a pro-independence protest by about 2,000 people in January 1990 during the visit of US ambassador John Monjo to Dili. He also established a clandestine organisation to prepare and coordinate protests when other foreign officials visited East Timor, the judge said.

UPI, Jakarta, July 1 - An East Timor dissident has been sentenced to life in prison for subversion in the heaviest term handed down in connection with the November massacre in the Timor provincial capital of Dili, the official news agency Antara reported Wednesday.

The Dili district court Tuesday found 29-year-old Gregorio da Cunha Saldana, guilty of subversion and sentenced him to life in prison, Antara said.

In contrast with jail sentences of many years imposed on anti-government protesters, Indonesian military tribunals have sentenced nine soldiers and one policeman to terms ranging from eight to 20 months for their roles in the Dili shootings.

The court said Gregorio, as the head of an East Timorese youth organization called "Comidaoda Resistencia Nacional de Juvens Timorenses," held clandestine meetings, underground activities and staged anti-Indonesia demonstrations.

The court said Gregorio, who joined the East Timor guerrilla group Fretilin in 1989, was involved in a demonstration in January 1990 during a visit to East Timor by the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, John Monjo.

The court said the protest attempted to draw international support for Fretilin's goal of independence for East Timor.

The sentence was the heaviest handed down by Indonesian courts for activities tied to the Nov. 12 incident. Gregorio, a former local government employee, told the judges that he would appeal the verdict.

Light sentences for troops involved in the Nov. 12 shootings has prompted criticism by the Australian government and the U.S.-based human rights group Asia Watch.

Reports from Canberra recently quoted Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans as saying Australia told Indonesia it was "disturbed" by the differing sentences given to soldiers and civilians involved in the East Timor massacre.

Asia Watch last week accused the Indonesian government of a cover-up in the investigation into the Nov. 12 shooting.

Asia Watch said the courts-martial of the soldiers had apparently been "stage-managed for international consumption," and it called on the international community to pressure Indonesia for a full accounting of military actions before, during and after the Nov. 12 massacre.

JACINTO DES NEVES RAIMUNDO ALVES GETS TEN YEARS

Reuter, Jakarta, July 6 - An Indonesian court on Monday jailed an East Timorese civil servant for 10 years for allegedly masterminding a march which ended in an army massacre in the territory last November.

The sentence is the latest in a series which human rights groups have criticised as harsh when compared to those given to troops involved in the massacre.

The official news agency Antara said Jacinto des Neves Raimundo Alves, 36, was found guilty of planning the march to the cemetery where troops opened fire on November 12.

Antara quoted chief judge Pandapotan Sinaga as saying Alves, a former industry ministry employee, had also taken part in illegal meetings of an organisation supporting the dwindling Fretilin movement fighting Indonesian rule over East Timor.

The judge said the punishment was two years longer than state prosecutors demanded because Alves had been guilty of plotting activities to free East Timor from Jakarta's rule.

Indonesia invaded the territory in 1975 and annexed it the following year, a move still not recognised by the United Nations.

The same court has given long jail terms, including a life sentence, to five other East Timorese for their involvement in the November protests which the government says triggered the violence.

The military courts trying soldiers have awarded sentences of not more than 18 months in prison.

SIX YEARS FOR BONIFACIO MAGNO PAREIRA

Reuter, Jakarta, July 9 - An Indonesian court has jailed another East Timorese for separatist activities which Jakarta says led to an army massacre in the territory last November.

Judge Ratu Tanaboleng sentenced Bonifacio Magno Pareira to six years' jail on Wednesday after finding him guilty of activities aimed at gaining East Timor's independence from Indonesia, Antara news agency reported on Thursday.

The judge told the court in the East Timor capital Dili that Pareira, 35, was a member of a pro-independence group that had been planning to welcome a Portuguese parliamentary mission to East Timor in November, Antara reported.

The mission was cancelled when Jakarta objected to the make-up of the accompanying media party.

Jakarta believes the anticipated arrival of the mission raised tensions and led Indonesian troops to open fire on mourners in a Dili cemetery on November 12.

The prosecutor had demanded a seven-year term for Pareira, claiming he had paid for making several anti-Indonesian banners and posters used during protests at the cemetery.

AFP, Jakarta, July 9 - A court in Dili, East Timor, has handed down a six-year jail term to an East Timorese accused of involvement in anti-Indonesian activities there, the Antara news agency said Thursday.

Antara quoted Presiding Judge Ratu Tanaboleng as saying Wednesday that Bonifacio Magno Pareira, 35, was guilty of involvement in a series of "anti-government activities" aimed at separating the former Portuguese colony of East Timor from Indonesia.

The defendant was a member of "Fetun," a pro-independence East Timorese underground organization working closely with the clandestine Executive Committee (CE) set up to welcome the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation early in November, the judge said.

BENNY MURDANI DEFENDS TIMOR SENTENCES

Reuter, Jakarta, July 10 - Indonesian Defence Minister Benny Murdani has defended harsh sentences imposed on separatists in East Timor, saying their crimes were more serious than those committed by soldiers during last year's massacre there.

Western countries and human rights organisations have criticised the harshness of the sentences given to separatists compared with those received by government soldiers who gunned down mourners in the East Timor capital Dili on November 12.

One of the eight East Timorese tried for subversion received a life sentence and the rest got up to 15 years. Soldiers tried by a military court for their role in the firing, in which up to 180 people died, received jail terms not higher than 18 months.

The Jakarta Post reported on Friday that Murdani, speaking at a parliamentary hearing on Thursday, criticised the comparison drawn between the sentencing of the two groups.

"This (separatist activity) is subversion, while the military officers were found guilty of ignoring instructions and acting beyond their authority," Murdani, a retired general, was quoted as saying.

Murdani said foreigners should not judge Indonesia, apparently referring to criticism from countries like the United States and Australia.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has been among the critics, and several U.S. senators and Under Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz have raised the question of East Timor in visits to Indonesia in the past few two months.

"I will never ask Mr Wolfowitz how the racial riots have taken place in Los Angeles and New York," Murdani countered.

The two U.S. cities have been recently hit by ethnic unrest themselves.

EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

CHURCH TEAM VISITS EAST TIMOR

[Peace Media Service, 8 June 1992] An international church delegation has proposed creation of an ecumenical task force to foster dialogue with Indonesian churches for a "just and peaceful resolution of tensions" in East Timor.

The tensions in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, annexed by Indonesia in 1976, were dramatized last November when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a funeral procession, killing many people and wounding many others.

Invited by the Communion of Churches in Indonesia (CCI), the five-person team, representing the World Council of Churches and the Christian Conference of Asia (CCA), made a pastoral visit to East Timor April 16-19. They were accompanied by CCI General Secretary Joseph Pattiasina.

Past attempts to discuss East Timor at ecumenical meetings in the past two decades have been resisted by the CCI. After the issue was raised at CCA's 1985 assembly, the CCI suspended its membership in the regional body until last year.

The delegation met with officials, congregations and women's and youth groups from the Christian Church in East Timor (GKTT), the Deputy Governor and the military commander, attorneys from the Institute for Legal Aid, and the Roman Catholic apostolic administrator of Dili, Carlos Ximenes Belo.

Indonesia's efforts to integrate and develop East Timor "do not seem to have attained fully their desired goals," the group report says. While acknowledging progress in education, health and communication, the report notes "deep social, economic and political problems persist." Young people are particularly affected, the visitors were told, with many jobs going to people from outside the province.

The group expressed concern about Indonesia's strong military presence in East Timor, suggesting that "pervasive military control over the administrative, social, economic and political life . . . constitutes a serious source of tension and longstanding resentment."

Although the delegation did not attempt to investigate the November shootings, many people with whom it spoke told "of the effects of the tragedy and of the fears it has engendered. The possibility of increased repression, in the light of the military's hard-line directives, must be a matter of

grave concern to the churches and the worldwide ecumenical community.”

The report noted “serious tensions” between Protestants and Catholics in East Timor and “little evidence of any relationship or dialogue between the two churches.” The delegation had the impression that the GKTT, whose members include the Deputy Governor and the Military Commander, “is looked upon as the church of the dominant political, administrative and economic group” while the majority of the people belong to the Catholic Church, which “is widely regarded as voicing the hopes and fears of the people.” During a meeting with the military commander, the team was told that the Catholic Church is “the principal source of tension in the province.”

The group suggested that the proposed ecumenical task force work in close collaboration with the Catholic Church; that any future CCA and WCC visits to East Timor include Catholics; and that Catholics be invited to a consultation to study social, economic, political and cultural developments in East Timor, explore ecumenical and church-state relationships there, and advise on “the role of the church in the areas of justice, peace and human rights.” The delegation also called on the CCI and GKTT to improve relationships with the Catholic Church in East Timor “for the sake of a more effective shared witness to Christ’s lordship amidst the hopes and fears of their people.”

The group report also encouraged churches in East Timor to facilitate legal and other assistance for the victims of human rights violations and to provide pastoral care to the families of the victims.

Members of the group were: Erme Camba, General Secretary of the United Church of Christ In the Philippines; David Gill, General Secretary of the Australian Council of Churches; Soma Perera, Chairman of the Justice and Peace Commission of the National Council of Churches in Sri Lanka; and WCC and CCA international affairs staff members Charles Harper and Clement John.

WHO IS DEPUTY GOVERNOR SARIDJO?

The CCA ecumenical visitors spoke with East Timor Deputy Governor A.B. Saridjo in Governor Mario Carrascalao’s absence. Saridjo, an Indonesian Army general little known inside or outside Indonesia, was recently tipped by the weekly news magazine Editor as ABRI’s choice to succeed Carrascalao. Whether or not this materializes, it is important to get some insight into Saridjo’s role in East Timor over the years. The following forwarded posting from Z. Anderson in Japan is helpful in this respect. – John

One of the leading persons who played an important role in policy making in East Timor during the 1980s and until now is Saridjo, currently Deputy Governor of the ‘province’ of East Timor.

He is Javanese, Protestant, and has served in East Timor since the early 1980s.

He was East Timor Regional Secretary (Sekwilda) for a long time, so he knows the local bureaucracy inside out. As he worked in that position, he became well known as ‘a disciplined person’ by government officials in Timor and Jakarta. Some observers even claim he and Carrascalao constituted the “two-in-one” (Dwi Tunggal) in East Timor who worked hard in their offices.

As time went by and East Timor was developed through a project list in specified priority sectors, Saridjo became recognized as a person also who played a significant role in this development of East Timor. From this point of view, his contribution must be acknowledged as one of the ABRI personnel seconded to a civilian position (ABRI yang dikaryakan).

In the late 1980s he was selected as Deputy Governor (Wagub), defeating indirectly Francisco Lopes Da Cruz. The latter was the ‘unofficial’ Deputy Governor in the late 1970s when the position was vacant. Now he is a member of the Supreme Advisory Council in Jakarta.

The policy of placing Saridjo as Deputy Governor suggests that ‘Jakarta’ wants to put an ABRI man as a partner of every East Timorese, whether at the provincial or district (kabupaten) level. This may be detected by how many ABRI officers work as local secretaries (also known as Sekwilda) or district heads (Bupati).

The 13 districts in East Timor are now generally led by a Timorese as district head and non-Timorese local secretary, or vice versa. This ‘couple’ pattern now seems to be taken for granted by Jakarta policy makers.

In 1991, Saridjo was promoted from Colonel to Brigadier General due to his

contributions in East Timor for more than 10 years. And now he is one of the possible candidates backed by ABRI headquarters in Jakarta to replace Carrascalao.

Moreover, Saridjo is Chairman of the Lore Sae Higher Education Foundation (Ketua Yayasan Pendidikan Tinggi Loro Sae), the board of trustees of the University of East Timor (Untim, Universitas Timor Timor) in Dili. Untim was established by Carrascalao, but Carrascalao is a busy man so he appointed Saridjo to lead this board.

As far as I can discern on this matter, I have to acknowledge that Saridjo often squabbled with Carrascalao, though in a ‘soft’ way. He kept a very low profile in order to legitimate himself in the hearts of Timorese.

Since he became Deputy Governor, usually a ceremonial position, we no longer hear the strong statements which he often made previously in a meetings in Jakarta.

As I mentioned in a previous posting, there are three important elements in the decision making in East Timor which inevitably lead those involved into psychological confrontation. These are the provincial government led by Carrascalao and Saridjo, the Catholic Church by Bishop Belo, and ABRI led by the Operations Execution Commander (Pangkolaps).

Saridjo and Brig-Gen. Warouw (the previous Pangkolakops) were both Protestants. They had a harmonious relationship. Carrascalao and Bishop Belo have a similar relationship, both being Catholic and native-born.

I myself don’t think that Saridjo will be selected as Governor this September, although he has shown his loyalty in Timor so far. There are other candidates, and East Timor People’s Representative Council (DPRD) Chairman Guilherme dos Santos has stated he preferred that the next East Timor Governor be a Timorese. Possibly Carrascalao will be extended as Governor for a time under a special provision due to recent events.

Otherwise, selecting an ‘outsider’ as Governor will just create a thorough resentment among East Timorese. Moreover, international criticism toward Indonesia will be stronger.

Concerning Prabowo and his gangs in 1989, some Timorese said his activities involved try to revitalize party loyalties and antagonisms, such as Apodeti against UDT and Fretilin. This was a hard time for Timorese to live freely. The conspiracy between Prabowo and his gangs were countered to some extent by Carrascalao in his statements. He ‘threatened’ Jakarta that either he or Prabowo must bow out from East Timor. Finally, Prabowo was removed from his assignment in East Timor. I

presume that Saridjo, although not ostensibly involved in these matters, as a member of ABRI, would certainly have fallen in line with his own military compatriots.

Let's wait and see who will be the next Governor!

EAST TIMORESE CANDIDATE PRIORITIZES PEACE, JUSTICE, AND FREEDOM

*Source: HIDUP, no. 20, XLVI, 17 May 1992
Original language: Indonesian*

Talking about East Timor, one cannot not hear the opinions of Salvador J. Ximenes Soares, 35 years old, an East Timorese who is now a member of the 2nd Indonesian DPR/MPR Commission. In the upcoming 1992 General Elections, he is running again for the Province of East Timor. In the List of DPR Legislative Candidates, Salvador occupies second place as a GOLKAR representative for the electoral region of East Timor.

The father of three children, he is currently completing his studies in Law at Atma Jaya Catholic University in Jakarta. He is now in his 8th semester. Salvador, who was born on April 8, 1957, met with Budiyanto, Peter Tukan and HIDUP at his house in Jakarta last Saturday, May 2nd, to talk about East Timor, and especially about the problem of human resources in the 27th province.

Excerpts:

HIDUP: What were the benefits of the Seminar on East Timorese Human Resources that took place in Jakarta not long ago?

SALVADOR J. XIMENES SOARES: The benefits from the Seminar are, first, that the results of the seminar can provide information about the problems East Timor is facing, especially with regards to human resources preparation and the creation of employment opportunities. Indeed, this matter is considered a very important problem because it is in fact a big problem facing East Timor.

For sure, the problem of employment opportunities, if looked at nationally or even world-wide, is a big problem everywhere. But the people of East Timor, especially 16 years after integration with Indonesia, have had great and high hopes that with integration, they would live better and more prosperously.

Whereas the reality is that, 16 years after integration, people are still having a hard time developing, especially getting employment opportunities. And from another side, we can see that East Timorese

youth feel that their scope and mobility in employment opportunities are very limited.

Again, if we talk about employment opportunities, this is indeed a national problem, if not a global one. We can accept this, but for East Timorese society, which is going through a transitional period, it is difficult to accept this reality. Because people see it from the concrete situations that they experience every day.

As an example, kanwil (regional government) officials and street vendors there are very much dominated by people from other regions. From this reality, they think: where are the opportunities for us to find employment? Perhaps this seminar was one effort to examine these problems, and can show a way out of the problem of human resources in East Timor.

Second, the seminar was intended to re-arouse awareness that a number of times already, national firms and BUMN [state-owned corporations] who have gone to East Timor have made a lot of promises to invest capital and create employment opportunities, but that up until now, none of these promises has been fulfilled. There are many such examples; for example, in 1986, Mr. Ginanjar Kartasmita, at that time Deputy Minister and Head of the Central BKPN [Capital Investment Coordination Agency], brought a team, and they signed an agreement for cooperation between national and regional firms, but to this day it has never been realized. And there are a lot of other national firms which have experienced the same fate.

Third, since the incident of November 12 last year, there is the impression that East Timorese youth and students only want to rebel or demonstrate and that they are anti-integration. Whereas in fact the incidents of East Timorese student demonstrations in Jakarta and the November 12 incident only involved a small part of the youth, and there are a lot of other young people who are rational and who consider themselves good Indonesian citizens, and who feel a calling to help develop East Timor.

From these three points, then, we can conclude that this seminar was indeed important, and I hope that after it is over, further steps will be taken.

H: Many national firms have abandoned their plans to invest capital in East Timor, so that employment opportunities have not been created. Is there a connection with the human resources there?

S: In terms of security, certainly the situation in the East Timorese region can be said to be 100% safe. And if there are a few people hiding in the jungle, they don't constitute a threat or a hindrance to security. But from another side, the firms want

to make big profits fast in East Timor in a short period of time. This is indeed difficult. Supposing, though, the firms based their interest on the intention to help create employment opportunities for the people of East Timor, this would be a different matter.

Thus, on the one hand we urge national firms to invest capital in East Timor, and on the other hand there is the problem that skilled labor is not yet available in East Timor. This is what then becomes the problem. The firms that would make investments in East Timor are not on a par with the skilled labor that is there. And if these firms bring in skilled labor from outside, this is sure to create even more problems. So the best thing is that before the firms begin operations, the local labor should be trained first for three or four months in accordance with their fields of work.

Another thing that should be thought about is creating employment opportunities for the East Timorese labor force in the various government departments in Indonesia. There are many young people there who have graduated from high school or even college. This would prove to the people of East Timor that employment opportunities are open to them not only in their own region but in all of Indonesia. And these opportunities must be created soon, because we are faced with the customs of the people there, i.e., it is very difficult for them if they are told to beg. They are very proud.

Up to the present, there have only been a few East Timorese working in government departments outside the region, and the majority of Indonesian government departments have yet to employ them. Only Deplu [the Department of Foreign Affairs] has trained five East Timorese employees, but so far none of the others has followed suit.

Ironically, in East Timor itself, of the sixteen regional government offices [kanwil] there, not one East Timorese has become regional office head [kakanwil], much less section head [kepala bagian]. Even the majority of low-level officials are from outside the region. And it is situations like this which must first of all be understood.

H: What was the situation for people there during the Portuguese administration?

S: Indeed, under Portuguese colonialism, people were not trained for commercial ventures. So the people don't have an entrepreneurial spirit, and opportunities for such ventures have not been expanded. This can be seen from the number of stores in the city of Dili – there are only a few stores owned by East Timorese. This problem of East Timor definitely needs to be re-

evaluated, especially the development activities which have taken place.

Just as the President once said that development in East Timor needs to be increased again, so that more people will feel the results of the development. This means that development there in fact is not evenly distributed. Taking off from this problem, we thus need self-correction, and to undertake development in East Timor without (self-) interests. If there are to be interests, then they should be the interests of Indonesia and of the people of East Timor.

Because, the problem is how can we create a situation that gives people the impression and the idea that integration is the best way for people to achieve a more prosperous life.

H: What about the direction of the development that is taking place in East Timor – is it in accordance with local conditions?

S: For the past ten years, development in the region has emphasized six major priorities, i.e., the problems of fish, agriculture, health, stabilizing the administrative apparatus, consolidating village equipment, and communications. Once these development priorities are going smoothly, then the education system will also work well. But the development planning which has been applied is not in step with the results of the education system it has produced. As it turns out, such large results from progress in education have brought about other problems that previously were unknown.

The development that is underway at present would be best directed towards improving the welfare of people in the villages. Because they are having a hard time finding ways to make money. For example, they can't even afford the Rp. 3,000 cost of going back to their villages. These are the issues that must be addressed in development.

H: Do you think that in the field of development, the government mis-anticipated the success of development in education in the first ten years, such that now there are problems in employment opportunities and human resources?

S: Mis-anticipated, no. But such rapid progress could not be matched in other spheres. At the time, it's true that the impacts of such results in education were not thought through, so that at the time education was prioritized, it was not accompanied by the preparation of the other sectors linked to education. Certainly we have to acknowledge that under the Portuguese administration, the education of the people was very underdeveloped. College graduates could be counted on one's

fingers, and nearly 69.9% of the population was illiterate. This is one of the reasons why education was prioritized for the first ten years. Nevertheless, it is true that we forgot to balance it with development in other sectors. For example, vocational training that is appropriate to local conditions in the region.

H: From the above discussion, it appears that development in East Timor has not yet fulfilled people's hopes – how come?

S: It's like this, in terms of physical development, development there has indeed been very successful. But in other areas, such as human mental development, development in terms of welfare has been felt to be inadequate. These are problems which must be faced. The people of East Timor are people who are straightforward, who value justice and truth. This is something which has not been adequately taken into account in development. Nor even more the influence of Catholicism, which is very strong in East Timor and which is followed by the people there.

H: What differences can be felt between the pre- and post- integration periods?

S: Certainly we must honestly acknowledge that there were many bad things left by the Portuguese. Nevertheless, there were also a number of positive values. For example, the problems of law and education. Education in the Portuguese period was only extended to a few people, but the people it did produce were truly of high quality. Before, East Timor was isolated from the outside world; now it is open, and people's horizons have expanded.

Before integration, East Timor experienced several phases. In the first phase, East Timor was colonized by the Portuguese. The second phase occurred in 1974, when the government of Portugal instituted the policy of openness, and the third phase from the time Fretilin took authority until the people of East Timor declared their integration with Indonesia. Right at that time of integration, the situation of the East Timorese people was still traumatic. So it was very difficult when the way of life of the people of East Timor was forced to be the same as that of societies in other regions. In order to adapt to the situation of people in other regions, East Timorese society needed a transitional phase of adjustment to their brothers from other provinces. What we have seen, though, is that the period of transition was too short, so that the people have not yet been able to adapt.

The transition period has not yet been able to bridge the differences that exist between the people of East Timor and the societies of other regions, such that we have not yet been able to adjust ourselves very

well. This is in fact the principal problem that has occurred. Frankly, the people of East Timor regard their brothers from outside as "fathers" ("bapa") and have never called them "immigrants" ("pendatang"). This is something that is very difficult to get rid of, since it is as if there is a wide separation between the people of East Timor and the outside society. In the approach to development which has been taken, the people of East Timor feel in a position that is not on a par with their other brothers.

H: What would be the most fitting approach for bringing about development in East Timor?

S: It would be better if a region were developed according to approaches that were appropriate for that region. And I feel that a cultural approach would be most appropriate for bringing about development in East Timor. While for the future, development in East Timor will show results if its implementation involves local residents or, East Timor will be successful if it is developed by people from the region. The East Timorese people most highly prioritize the problems of peace, justice, and freedom. There will be no development, nor will people be happy, until these issues are satisfied.

As an example, Portugal could rule for such a long time because the Portuguese could master the way of thinking of the people and could master the people's culture. Yet in the integration period, this has not happened, so that it is felt that integration is not going smoothly. As another example, previously in East Timor there was no problem of different religions. There was only the Catholic religion, but the existence of followers of other religions was acknowledged. Moreover, many followers of other religions even worked for the Catholic missions and this was considered ordinary.

Now, in the integration period, this issue of different religions is so contentious that there have been clashes between followers of different faiths. It was not surprising that in the era before integration, the construction of the first mosque in Dili was carried out by the first Bishop who worked in East Timor. People must first understand the situation from the conditions of East Timorese society if they hope to be successful in bringing about development. I really regret it when high-level officials, after only visiting East Timor for a few days, immediately talk about the problems of East Timor and feel that they already know the local problems of the region. This can lead to erroneous policies in carrying out development.

COMMANDER SAYS REBEL LEADER HARMLESS, POWERLESS

Jakarta ANTARA in English 4 Jun. 92

Dili (East Timor), June 04 (OANA ANTARA)—Chief of Military Operational Command (Pangkolakops) in East Timor Brig. Gen. Brigadier General Theo Syafei has said that Xanana Gusmao is no longer powerful, describing him as toothless and mere symbolic leader of the Fretilin trouble maker group (GPK).

Fretilin followers need Xanana Gusmao as a mere symbol for their struggle and hope that he would continue to hide in the forests, Syafei told reporters after handing over 170 young buffaloes to the people of East Timor here on Wednesday.

The young buffaloes were donated by the people of South Sulawesi.

He said that Xanana had for several times expressed the desire to surrender to the military but other GPK members had prevented him.

The Pangkolakops chief said that Xanana Gusmao's desire to surrender was disclosed by Fretilin members who had been arrested.

The crippled troops said that their commander (Xanana Gusmao) was now really a toothless leader as the Fretilin trouble makers' movement in the forests was no longer under his command.

Syafei said that Fretilin needed Xanana to act as symbol and to perpetuate the idea that they are still a strong anti-integration organisation.

Syafei added that they are no longer a force to be reckoned with by the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI).

ABRI's strike force which consists of six battalions will gradually be reduced, he added.

The one star general said that Pangkolakops would evaluate the situation of field operations in East Timor in August to decide how many units of strikers are still needed.

He estimated that two to four battalions of the elite strikers would be pulled out of East Timor while the six battalions of the territorial operations unit would remain.

SEAT FOR PDI IN TIMOR

Kyodo, Jakarta, June 10 - An Indonesian populist party will get one of four seats contested in troubled East Timor in Tuesday's Indonesian parliamentary election, a party official said Wednesday.

Based on the latest results in East Timor released by the National Election Committee, an official of the Indonesian

Democratic Party (PDI) said his party is sure to get one seat.

Vote counting in East Timor has not yet finished, but the nearly complete tally obtained may not change, Parulian Silalahi said. More than 84% of votes in East Timor have been counted.

The ruling Golkar party swept all seats in East Timor in the last two elections in 1982 and 1987, after Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975-76.

PORTUGUESE FLAGS IN DILI!

Reuter, Sydney, June 11 - Protesters in Indonesian-ruled East Timor raised Portuguese flags this week at the site of last November's massacre of civilians by Indonesian troops, a representative of the rebel Fretilin group said on Thursday.

"This was the first visible show of defiance by Timorese in Dili since the massacre as far as I know," said Fretilin's Australian representative, Alfredo Fereira.

A Fretilin statement said the flags, raised in the early hours of Wednesday, were hoisted at Santa Cruz cemetery where Indonesian troops killed at least 50 and possibly up to 180 civilians.

It said flags were also raised in the hills of Patu Hai, six km (four miles) from the East Timor capital of Dili, where some Timorese say other massacres took place.

The flags marked the national day of Portugal, the former colonial ruler of East Timor. Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it the following year.

The United Nations and most other countries do not recognise Indonesian sovereignty over the territory.

Indonesian soldiers removed the flags a few hours afterwards and questioned nearby residents but there were no arrests, Fretilin said. A general elections was held in Indonesia on Tuesday.

ARMED CLASH IN TIMOR

Reuter, Jakarta, June 24 - Two rebels were killed in a clash with Indonesian troops in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor, the widely-circulated Kompas newspaper reported on Wednesday.

The clash was the first major incident in East Timor since troops fired on mourners at a cemetery in the capital, Dili, on November 12. Witnesses said up to 180 people were killed, but the government says 50 died and 90 were missing.

Kompas quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier-General Theo Syafei as saying a soldier was injured in the latest clash on Sunday and two M-16 guns were

seized from the rebels from the dwindling Fretilin movement opposing Jakarta's rule.

Ten soldiers were said to be involved in the clash in a village in the Manufahi region of East Timor.

Syafei said the army was stepping up its search for the remaining rebels, based mainly in East Timor's southern forests.

SECURITY CONTROLS IN EAST TIMOR (INFIGHT)

The following information about the situation in East Timor and among East Timorese students in Java, was provided by INFIGHT, Jakarta, 26 June, 1992. [Original language: English.]

1. Youths in Ermera, Liquisa and Manatuto were tightly monitored by security forces during the recent election, after it became known that the PDI vote had sharply increased.

2. People were forced to take part in the election and to vote for GOLKAR. Those who refused were branded rebels and 'disturbers of security.'

3. East Timorese returning home for annual school holidays are monitored and closely watched by intelligence and prevented from mixing with relatives and friends.

4. Priests and nuns have been pressured, closely monitored and threatened by military personnel as they carry out their pastoral duties. Several have been called in periodically for interrogation, including Fr Domingos Soares and Fr Ricardo da Silva.

5. The pursuit and arrest of 'suspicious' Timorese continue. As a result, suspects are forced to hide.

6. East Timorese under suspicion are from time to time are subject to the rude slogans (??) of the security forces who even enter houses to spy on 'suspects.'

7. Armed, uniformed ABRI forces have spread far and wide and regularly undertake house checks.

8. Intelligence personnel cruise around several places to monitor all activities in which East Timorese are involved. Any sign of anything suspicious leads to house raids, check-ups and violent threats by the military to the inhabitants. Intel personnel are often disguised, usually as street traders.

9. Changes have been made in several gov't agencies to facilitate the monitoring and marginalisation of E Timorese civil servants suspected of involvement in E Timor political activities.

10. The identities of people entering Dili from outlying districts and vice versa, in particular from and to Hera and Tibar, are regularly checked. Bus passengers, including women and old people not carrying

appropriate Identity Cards are treated harshly.

11. Photocopying and printing outlets are monitored by intel personnel in disguise.

12. A political science student at Universitas Merdeka, Malang, Antonio Soares Araujo, was summoned and interrogated by Brig-Gen. Hartono of Brawijaya Military Command for a period of 7 hours in Surabaya on 8 June; Hartono himself carried out the interrogation. Later, the interrogation was repeated by two captains and a colonel.

13. The military plan to undertake special investigations into every E Timorese student studying in Java and Bali. According to the District Military Commander, these investigations have been ordered by the President.

14. The number of intel personnel monitoring E Timorese in Java and Bali has increased. They are always in disguise and hang around E Timorese students' places of residence.

SYAFEI WARNS BISHOP BELO

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, June 29 - East Timor's military commander has warned the predominantly Roman Catholic territory's bishop against interfering in politics.

"I have told the bishop that he is a representative of the Catholic Church...and so it is not necessary to make comments on politics, such as the issue of the new governor," the Jakarta Post quoted Brigadier-General Theo Syafei as saying over the weekend.

East Timor Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo wrote earlier this month to the deputy speaker of parliament, Jaelani Naro, calling for an East Timor native to succeed Mario Viegas Carrascalao as the next governor of the former Portuguese colony.

Carrascalao's second five-year term ends in September and Indonesia's constitution limits a governor to 10 years in power.

Military sources say however the favourite for the position is Carrascalao's deputy, Saridjo, a retired brigadier-general from Java who kept a low profile when East Timor became the focus of world attention after troops fired on mourners at a cemetery in the capital, Dili, on November 12.

Analysts say the military believes sections of the Catholic Church support separatist sympathisers and that Belo, by statements and actions before and after the Dili killings, has stirred separatist sympathies.

Monseigneur Pietro Sambu, the Vatican's representative in Jakarta, appeared to

attempt to defuse the situation on Monday by saying churches were for prayer and not for political use.

"The first mission given to a bishop is spiritual, moral and human. This is the position of the church," Sambu told Reuters.

The single diocese in East Timor, which serves nearly 700,000 Catholics, has been under the direct charge of the Vatican to prevent entanglement in the dispute over the province.

But there are plans to divide the territory into two dioceses, each headed by a bishop - Belo in Dili and a new bishop in Baucau.

SYAFEI: FRETILIN MEMBERS SURRENDERS IN BAUCAU

AFP, Jakarta, June 29 - The Kompas daily quoted East Timor military operational commander Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei as saying that two members of the East Timor Liberation Front (Fretilin) had surrendered without resistance to the Indonesian military in Baucau.

Syafei said the two separatists had given up following a military raid in Manufahi district last week in which Indonesian troops shot dead two Fretilin members and seized two M-16 rifles.

The raid was the first recorded since Syafei assumed his post January 8, replacing Brigadier General Rudolf Samuel Warouw, who was dumped following the massacre in the East Timorese capital of Dili on November 12.

Fretilin, which Syafei said had been reduced to 200 men and 121 rifles, has been fighting Indonesian troops since their invasion in 1975.

GEN. MANTIRI: MASSACRE WAS 'PROPER'

Editor, 4 July 1992. Sections not related to East Timor are excluded.

Major-General Mantiri, commander of the IXth Udayana Regional Military Command which includes East Timor, is described in the introduction to this interview as soft-spoken, friendly and low profile. Perhaps this was said tongue-in-cheek as the contents hardly bear this out. In language reminiscent of the tough talk that came from Try Sutrisno before army generals learnt to hold their tongues, Mantiri seems to be telling Jakarta and the world at large that the army will be giving no more 'concessions' on East Timor. "Closing ranks," as some diplomats in Jakarta call it.

You have been commander of Udayana for five months now. Have there been any

changes in security strategy as compared with before, especially in East Timor?

The policy is the usual one, territorial operations as the basic operation, backed up by combat operations, intelligence operations, sospol [social-political, i.e. army involvement in non-military affairs] operations and security operations. That's usual. Only, the application differs as compared with before. With a different cook, the dishes change. The ingredients are the same, the dishes you want can also be the same but because the cook has changed, they will taste different.

So, there aren't any basic changes?

None, though the handling is different. 'Operasi cinta kasih' [Operation Affection] is still in place but you should remember that affection does not mean there should not be firmness. That's all.

There is great emphasis on firmness now, isn't there?

Yes, that's as it should be.

Is that why Kolakops [Special Operational Command for East Timor] commander Brig. General Theo Syafei gives the impression of coldness and harshness?

According to me, that's not the case. His performance is indeed like that. He's rarely seen to smile. To put it bluntly, he looks like a cold-blooded murderer. But that's for people who don't know him. For those who know him, he is witty, a man with feelings who has a keen interest in the community. His has a high humanitarian sense.

People say there are more military than ever in Dili. Is that true?

Only some people say that. Why? There are many military in Dili because we are having to handle messy [the word used is 'kumuh' which means dirty or messy] places. There are many messy places in Dili. Formerly, we were in the interior. People should understand this. If there are a lot of military, that's as it should be.

Doesn't that arouse antipathy towards ABRI?

No. We have our objectives. First, to improve the welfare of the East Timorese people. Second, to ensure them the tranquillity to perform their religious duties. And third, legal guarantees. If members of ABRI commit mistakes, we take action against them. The same goes for the people. So, 'no problem' [original English].

As commander after the Dili Incident, it's your responsibility to eliminate the bad image which resulted from that incident. Does this make things heavier for you?

If you say heavier, it's relative. A good image as seen from where? As seen from

abroad, that's true. People abroad indeed said: 'Goodness!' But from our vantage-point, that is not the case. We don't regret anything. What happened was quite proper ('wajar'). As military, this is so. They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government. To me that is identical with rebellion, so that is why we took firm action. From our perspective, there is no question of a bad image. People abroad are yapping away, magnifying things. But things were not as bad as they claim.

Proper ('wajar')?

If people demonstrate around the idea of opposing the government, we take action. For me that is 'wajar.'

For the purposes of confrontation?

Yes. Their theme was opposing the government. Long live Fretilin. Long live Xanana Gusmao. Waving Fretilin flags. That's the enemy. If they try that on now, I will not tolerate it. I will order (our men) to take strong action. For me, I don't think there's anything strange in that. I would tolerate it if they held demonstrations for higher wages, for jobs, for education. We would channel those demands. There are ways of doing this. Go to the DPRD [the local people's assembly], in a proper, orderly fashion. They can do that.

Is it correct to say that freedoms are somewhat restricted now?

The idea that there is no freedom is incorrect. If you compare it with the freedoms they had before when they were allowed to do anything, to demonstrate, yelling 'Java go home!', 'Kick out the Javanese!', 'Long live Fretilin!', 'Long live Xanana!', that clearly cannot be tolerated. That's clearly the case now. I will not tolerate such things. So, freedoms are restricted.

What are the advantages and disadvantages of the Dili Incident?

My attitude is that every event is an act of providence, including the Dili Incident. So, I have never been shaken by anything. I hope that my men are never shaken either. Nothing happens by chance. Everything is the will of God. Of course there are advantages and disadvantages.

What were the advantages?

We were able to learn a lot. We succeed because of experience. Theory without practice gets nowhere. Practice without theory is blind. We need experience. We need to take the right decision. If we take the wrong decision, we need to change, not to repeat it.

Were there any basic errors during that Incident?

The policy was correct. Only, perhaps, the implementation was wrong, resulting in militancy from that group or from certain elements. That resulted in some difficulties, but I can't blame anyone. That would be unethical.

The Dili Incident caused some 'casualties' in ABRI. Measures were taken against some senior officers. What is your comment?

That's a risk any leader should take. It's a matter of principle. It can't be delegated. We have 'delegation of authority, not delegation of responsibility' [original English]. As soon as I take over as commander, it is fair for me to take responsibility for what happens in my region, including East Timor.

There's the impression that the measures against ABRI officers were taken more for political reasons, especially because of international pressure. Is that true?

Not only political, though there was a connection. There are many aspects to any measure, whether political for the international arena or as a lesson for us. According to the regulations in ABRI, a commander must take responsibility.

Is it true that Kolakops is going to be dissolved?

Yes, from the very beginning I said that. At some time Kolakops would certainly be dissolved, because it's a temporary body. But I cannot say precisely when that will happen. It's a decision for ABRI headquarters to take. It's not within my competence to decide.

So?

The dissolution will take place according to how the situation develops in the region. But it won't be drastic. In stages. There will be a gradual reduction in the number of troops. Then if there aren't many troops, what would Kolakops be for? Things could be handled by Korem (the resort military command). Then there would be a Dankoops (commander for operational coordination), a reinforced Korem.

Korem plus?

Yes, Korem plus.

The dissolution of Kolakops is of course linked to the strength of the GPK (the official term for Falintil). How strong is it at present?

Militarily speaking, it is of no significance. As the Pangkolakops [Brig. General Theo Syafei] has said, Xanana is a toothless commander. But that's not the only thing. We are carrying out construction there, improving the people's welfare. Apart from that, we are enhancing people's consciousness as being members of the

state, and wanting to take part in the defence of the state. That's also our task. It's not just a matter of crushing the GPK, that's only a small part of it.

At the election, the PDI won a seat in East Timor. Was that because of the Dili Incident?

I don't think so. In general, the PDI's votes went up everywhere. This is because they brought up issues that were easy to accept. But a lot of it was 'bullshit' [original, English]. No school fees - how is that possible? Giving priority to redistribution, not growth and other such 'nonsense' [original, English].

What other remarks do you have about the election campaign?

In East Timor, the PDI said they support Carrascalao for a third term as governor. Nonsense. That's against the regulations. Such issues are chucked around to get the agreement of stupid people. Our people are often get carried along by such ideas. But if we use our brains, we won't be influenced.

PUSH FOR TIMORESE GOVERNOR

Reuter, Jakarta, July 3 - An East Timor member of parliament has joined a bishop's call for Indonesia to appoint a native East Timorese as the territory's next governor.

Salvador Ximenes Soares said in Friday's Jakarta Post that the appointment would help regain the support of local people shocked by a massacre in the provincial capital Dili last November in which troops fired on a crowd mourning the death of a separatist.

Soares said the appointment of a non-Timorese to succeed Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, whose five-year term ends in September, might be regarded abroad as a bid to colonise East Timor.

He said an East Timorese governor was favoured by people in the impoverished territory, where the Catholic Church and military are the two dominant powers.

The military has already warned East Timor's Bishop Carlos Belo against interfering in politics after he told reporters two weeks ago that a local person should succeed Carrascalao.

Indonesia, which says only 50 people died in the shooting, is believed to favour deputy governor Saridjo from Java for the job.

INFIGHT REPORT ON TIMORESE

Jul. 7, 1992

Forwarded by zanderson@mt.cs.keio.ac.jp:

What Infight has reported on intelligence (intel) activities towards Timorese students is, I believe, true. I also think the situation has become worse, especially after the November 12 massacre.

It is commonplace for East Timorese to see these 'intel,' both from ABRI personnel and Timorese themselves. For some Timorese recruited by ABRI to be intel, the Timorese call them 'bufo,' which literally means 'spy,' giving information to ABRI on what's going on. To some extent people mix up the terms bufo and intel, but 'intel' is more frequent among East Timorese due to its extensive use inside and outside East Timor (ET).

The Timorese who are recruited as intel are easily recognized by most people inside ET. When East Timorese meet or see them, they'll whisper to each other, "Hey, that person is 'bufo' or intel. Please be careful in saying anything, otherwise he/she will report to ABRI." East Timorese hate these intel because they supply biased information to ABRI.

Actually, the local intel were recruited by ABRI based on economic incentives, such as providing money, cigarettes, transport facilities (motor bikes) and such. I would say that economic reasons are more dominant for them than political reasons in agreeing to undertake this bloody and disgusting activity. When the army officials offer them some money, they feel satisfied and enthusiastically fabricate information for ABRI's consumption.

From ABRI's point of view, they use those people as long as they get advantages from them. Once they notice that they no longer get merits for their recruited people, ABRI will sack them. Anyway, that's a dilemma for intel who operate inside East Timor. In order to forestall getting sacked by ABRI, these intel fabricate as much information as possible on those whom they suspect and supply it to ABRI. Worst, ABRI's own intelligence men will believe them and quickly take action according to what the local intel said.

Therefore we often read or hear a lot about East Timorese people who have been arrested and interrogated by the army inside East Timor. To my knowledge, the most severe situation regarding intel activities occurred in 1989 when Prabowo was there, especially in the time preceding the papal visit to East Timor.

A Timorese friend still remembers an experience when he was in a small town in

Central Java about October 1989. He and others had a private discussion with an army officer (a lieutenant colonel). This was actually a private discussion between activist students at a famous university in Central Java and this ABRI officer on the subject of "ABRI's Dual Function in Development" ("Dwifungsi ABRI dalam Pembangunan"). At that time, my Timorese friend attacked this lieutenant colonel with a question on security activities in East Timor with special reference to Prabowo's attitudes. The discussion went on, everything running seemingly smoothly.

However, the following morning about 8 am my friend was 'visited' by an army officer in military uniform at his boarding house. The officer asked him to come and see the lieutenant colonel – whom he had attacked during the discussion – in his office. At that time my friend was an executive member of the East Timor High School and University Students League in that town.

Institutionally, the Timorese students there had a direct relationship with the East Timor provincial government through their university. My friend didn't need any mediator from a local ABRI officer. Unluckily, this intel who came to my friend's house said that there was an instruction from Governor Carrascalao that all East Timorese student associations in Java and Bali must be supervised by ABRI through the various local military headquarters.

Of course this came as a big surprise for my friend! How could this happen? If the governor wanted that, why hadn't he send the Timorese students a letter to that effect?

Finally my friend realized that this was a tactic from ABRI to convince him to go to their office. He strongly refused to go there with four other activist students at that university. Later, they reported to a lecturer that they had been summoned by this lieutenant colonel. Then the lecturer phoned ABRI and warned this lieutenant colonel not to try to repress his students anymore. They had their rights to express their views. Instead of pursuing these students, come and see me in my office, the lecturer told the lieutenant colonel in the course of defending the students.

Anyway that's an experience that my friend had with intel. I believe that his other compatriots had similar experiences even more severe. This can be noted by their friends in Bali (more or less 350 Timorese students) who are under regular supervision by ABRI.

Inside East Timor itself, there are a lot of cases concerning intel agents. Obviously,

some of them operate permanently, others operate incidentally according to events.

There were various intel activities overlapping each other. Intel from the Korem, the Kodim, the Kolakops, East Timorese recruited intel, etc. Evidently we can see how their operations toward East Timorese – pro-independence students, government officials and common people – inevitably brought them into confrontation. Therefore there occurred the dramatic event in front of Motael Church on October 28, 1991.

Even Governor Carrascalao has called these intel 'bandits' who are easily used by ABRI in order to satisfy their needs. Whatever policy that ABRI wants to apply inside East Timor, I'm doubtful of its success in the future.

In accordance with the national policy guideline to "Pancasilasize" East Timorese, ABRI in East Timor has an institution called Bakorstanasda (Local Board for the Consolidation of National Stability) which aimed at screening the Timorese people. All Timorese need proof of screening when they want to apply for something. The screening is technically called *litsus*, *Penelitian Khusus*, or Special Investigation. In other words, they want to 'tune the antenna' of Timorese into their doctrine.

Just a few words on the predominantly East Timorese Battalion 744. Their recruitment took place in the late 1970s when East Timor was still in a chaotic situation. There was no other choice at that moment for them. ABRI recruited them after they were trained as *Hansip*, the so-called Civil Defense units, then sent them to Nusa Tenggara for training. While most of the battalion personnel are East Timorese, others are from western Timor and other islands of Nusa Tenggara. Truly, they were recruited due to economic pressure at that time, some forced, others voluntarily. Because they came from different parts of East Timor, ABRI placed this battalion in its own homeland.

Whether it is easy to talk to them or not depends on their personalities. As far as I can discern, some of them feel their nationalism as Timorese is more essential than ABRI's heroic attitude. Others are really fanatic adherents of ABRI doctrine because of their past training by ABRI.

To sum up all these things, I would say that ABRI miscalculated the nature of East Timorese aspirations. They tried to convince East Timorese through their local agents and outsiders, but they failed. East Timorese continue to resist strongly and reject their presence there.

WORDS FROM THE TIMORESE NATIONALIST MOVEMENT

HORTA ACCUSES BRITAIN OF BLOCKING ACTION ON INDONESIA

The Guardian. 17 June 1992. By John Gittings. Unabridged.

East Timor's exiled leadership has accused Britain of "obstructing" EC criticism of Indonesian policy since last November's massacre in Dili. It also claims the United Nations secretary general is suppressing an "explosive report" on Indonesia's repression.

Portugal has taken soundings among the other EC members for a statement to be issued at the Lisbon summit next week. There is concern at the recent trials in Dili, and at Indonesia's failure to agree to round-table talks. Public opinion in Portugal would react badly, it is felt, if the EC appeared to drop the issue.

Portugal, as the former colonial power, has taken the lead in seeking to reverse the Indonesia takeover of East Timor in 1975. Britain represents the EC in Jakarta since Portugal has no embassy there.

The Foreign Office in London said yesterday that the Portuguese suggestion had been discussed. But it was not felt that this was the appropriate time for a statement, while trials are still taking place in East Timor.

Jose Ramos-Horta, the representative abroad of the East Timorese resistance, accuses Britain of being "the single worst obstructionist of any industrialised country" over action against Indonesia. He says France and Ireland are the most sympathetic EC members.

Amos Wako, the special representative of the UN secretary general, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, visited Dili in January. Mr Ramos-Horta claims Mr Boutros-Ghali is refusing to circulate Mr Wako's report, which is thought to recommend UN support for self-determination.

Few foreign visitors have been able to reach Dili since the cemetery massacre, and Jakarta has refused to allow missions from international human rights organisations.

At least 500 East Timorese are detained by the Indonesian army in the countryside, Mr Ramos-Horta says. He claims they are kept in twos and threes in private residences under army control which serve as "slave houses and torture chambers."

Mr Ramos-Horta admits that the wave of sympathy for the East Timorese after the massacre has subsided. But he believes the territory is now firmly on the map of international opinion. The massacre has also prompted a realisation among many Indonesians that their policy of the last 16 years has been a failure. For the first time, Mr Ramos-Horta has been widely interviewed in the Indonesian press, despite being a banned person.

Discrepancies in sentences imposed by Indonesian courts on civilian demonstrators and the soldiers who killed demonstrators were criticised yesterday by Australia's foreign minister, Gareth Evans. Civilians have received up to 10 years imprisonment while the maximum military sentence has been 18 months.

Mr Evans said Australia had passed on its view to Indonesia "that no one should be detained or punished for non-violent political activities."

THE NEW HORTA PROPOSALS AND THE NON ALIGNED MOVEMENT SUMMIT:

IS THERE NOW HOPE FOR A SETTLEMENT ON EAST TIMOR ?

This article was written by Herb Feith in Melbourne for the June 92 issue of Inside Indonesia

On 21 May the Melbourne *Age* carried a front-page story titled "Timor offers to end independence fight."

Coming from the paper's foreign editor, Mark Baker, it began: "The East Timor resistance has agreed to shelve its demand for independence from Indonesia in an attempt to end the 17-year conflict."

"In a dramatic new concession," Baker's account said, "the movement has offered to accept Indonesian sovereignty and limited autonomy for up to 12 years, after a cease-fire and cuts in military strength in the former Portuguese territory."

The paper went on to outline a series of proposals which Jose Ramos-Horta had presented to the European Parliament. He had done so in his capacity as Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance.

PUZZLED RESPONSES

The initial responses of non-Timorese were a combination of puzzlement and scepticism. There was widespread interest in what might have led the East Timorese resistance to make these concessions. But most of those who talked about the report doubted whether the change would be large

enough to bring Indonesia to negotiate with the Timorese.

Indonesia's foreign minister, Ali Alatas, said of Horta's proposal, "I think I do not have to comment on that...Who is he speaking for? Who is he representing?"

He went on to say that Indonesia was willing to resume negotiations with Portugal. (These had been going on fitfully since 1983. They had been broken off by Portugal last October at the climax of an argument about the terms under which a Portuguese parliamentary delegation might visit East Timor in the following month.)

In the words of the Indonesian foreign minister, "If the dialogues proposed again by Portugal take the same form and have the same basis as those we have engaged in since 1983 Indonesia agrees to continue the dialogue under the auspices of the United Nations"

On the other hand if new constraints were called for "I do not think the dialogue would materialise." Alatas was apparently referring to the Portuguese proposal that East Timorese representatives be involved in any new round of talks..

EAST TIMORESE REACTIONS

The responses from the East Timorese nationalist movement itself have been mixed. In the exile communities in Australia and Portugal some people, from both Fretilin and the Timorese Democratic Union (U.D.T.), have been critical of the concessions Horta has given. However the comments of sceptical and hostile sections of the overseas media – comments like that "the Timorese can't even agree among themselves" – have strengthened the disposition of people of the various parties and factions to pull together.

Moreover Timorese in the exile communities have been expressing pride in the recent joint statements by leaders representing the Fretilin and U.D.T. factions of the overseas movement, especially the 4 May 1992 statement in which Xanana Gusmao is recognised as the principal leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (C.N.R.M.) and Jose Ramos-Horta is named as that Council's Special Representative overseas.

The Fretilin and U.D.T. leaders who signed the 4 May statement affirmed that this National Council encompasses all nationalist forces within East Timor. The U.D.T. signatories in effect went along with their Fretilin counterparts in according pivotal authority in the movement as a whole to two men who had till recently been identified with Fretilin, the guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao on the one hand and his overseas representative Jose Ramos-Horta on the other.

CAREFULLY CRAFTED PROPOSALS

The complex Horta proposals are the latest in a series which began in September 1990 when Xanana Gusmao gave an extensive interview to Robert Domm, the lawyer and freelance journalist who had succeeded in reaching his mountain headquarters on an assignment from the Australian Broadcasting Commission. In that interview Xanana said he was "ready to discuss any project for a solution, without preconditions, under the auspices of the United Nations."

But the April 1992 plan does contain important new elements, including ones the mainstream media have not reported.

Firstly, Horta is not insisting on direct East Timorese involvement in the next phase of Indonesian-Portuguese talks. "For the first stage we are proposing a modified version of the 'proximity talks' followed in the Afghanistan case."

This phase, Horta says, should lead to an immediate cease-fire, the release of East Timorese prisoners and a reduction of Indonesian military personnel in East Timor to 1000 within 6 months.

The Horta plan envisages a transitional period of 1-2 years in which a Resident Representative of the UN Secretary-General is appointed and there is an expansion of the international red cross presence. In this period various UN agencies are to be admitted, especially to assist in the resettlement of East Timorese displaced from their homes, and a Human Rights Commission is to be established under the Catholic Bishop of Dili, Mgr Belo. Freedom of political activities is also to be restored in this period.

After the initial 1-2 year period the territory would enter into a second phase to last five years. In this phase elections would be held for a local assembly and this assembly would choose a governor, who would need to be an East Timorese. The territory would have its own police force organised by the UN and its own immigration laws.

Five years after the beginning of this second phase the elected Assembly would be able to choose between extending the existing arrangements for a further five years and holding a referendum on self-determination within a year. A referendum on self-determination – with independence one of the options – would thus be held either about 7 years or about 12 years after the completion of the initial talks.

Horta is in effect telling Indonesia "If you think the East Timorese can be brought to voluntary acceptance of your authority, we will give you up to 12 years to persuade them."

PROSPECTS FOR EARLY TALKS

What then are the chances that the Soeharto government will respond positively to these proposals in the near future?

The predominant view is that there is likely to be no major response until after the March 1993 session of Indonesia's People's Consultative Congress, at which President Soeharto either will or will not be reelected.

Support for this sceptical or pessimistic view is usually associated with one or several of six arguments.

THE VIEW OF THE SCEPTICS

Firstly, it is said that the damage control measures the government has put into effect since the Dili massacre of last November have been largely successful. On this view, Indonesia's major backers in the outside world, especially Japan and the US, having interpreted Soeharto's punishment of the perpetrators as "credible" and "encouraging," are back to business as usual.

Secondly, the sceptics argue that President Soeharto has already dealt major affronts to the army in his handling of the Dili affair, especially in sacking Generals Panjaitan and Warouw. These two are seen in military circles as competent professionals who have been scapegoated to mollify the country's overseas critics.

One version of this argument describes Panjaitan and Warouw as scapegoats in a second sense as well. It says they were sacked for their factional association with General Benny Moerdani, and to turn attention away from the real culprits of the Dili massacre, a group of officers around the President's son-in-law, Lieut.-Col. Prabowo.

A third argument is that the hard line policies which have been instituted in East Timor by the new commander, Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, have not yet been given enough of a chance, that they may yet succeed in breaking the will of the East Timorese resistance, for instance if Xanana Gusmao is killed.

THE CHALLENGE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

Perhaps the most persuasive of the sceptics' arguments is that President Soeharto is unlikely to contemplate a major initiative on East Timor in the present period because he needs to marshal his full resources for political work to do with the March 1993 presidential election.

If he decides to go for a sixth term as president it will be hard for him to get that position on his own terms. Alternatively, he will also have plenty on his plate if he decides to will the presidency over to someone else who can give him guarantees.

One version of that is that he may try to create a super-presidential role for himself a la Lee Kuan Yew, Ne Win and Nyerere.

Another version is that he may seek to refashion ASEAN or the Non Aligned Movement so that there are international roles for him to play which may help him protect his family's position at home. The precedents there include Nyerere, who left the presidency of Tanzania to become chairman of the South Commission and Salim A. Salim, who left the Tanzanian prime ministership to become Secretary-General of the Organisation of African Unity.

Fifthly, it is said that the outside states which are in a position to exercise leverage on Indonesia are equally disposed to keep their eye on the main game, the presidential one, and therefore unlikely to devote attention or resources to pushing for a settlement in East Timor.

THE SHOCK WAVES FROM THE USSR AND YUGOSLAVIA

A final argument relates to the disintegration of the USSR and Yugoslavia. These developments have sent powerful shock waves through the elites of multi-ethnic states all over the world, it is argued, creating a disposition for countries like China, India and Indonesia to cooperate more closely with each other in what they see as a battle against Western mischief mongers who exploit dissatisfactions in their periphery regions in the name of human rights and self-determination.

Protracted violence in Croatia and Bosnia, coming on top of the Armenian-Azeri war in Transcaucasia, has given new heart to these beleaguered upholders of repressive status quos, this argument goes. Hardliners in the governments of Indonesia, China and India have always seen schemes like Horta's as the thin edge of a wedge of territorial unravelling. After Bosnia and Nagorno-Karabakh they are likely to be able to persuade their softer line associates that the "new international chaos" can be stemmed and the broken taboo on boundary change reestablished.

THE OPTIMISTS' ARGUMENTS

Those who believe that Indonesia may begin to talk to the Timorese soon base their hopes on five main arguments.

Firstly, they maintain that the effects of the Dili massacre on opinion in politically relevant circles of the aid-supplying states continue to be important. They point to the way in which the massacre changed the convictions of key people in the US, Australia and Japan – bishops, senior academics, newspaper editors, civil servants – on whether or not it is important for the

governments of those states to put pressure on Indonesia in relation to East Timor.

Secondly, they point to hints that key figures in the Indonesian government have begun to prepare for a far-reaching change of policy. In particular they point to a Soeharto statement in February distinguishing sharply between Indonesia's position in Irian Jaya – an integral part of Indonesia from the time of the proclamation of independence on – and that in East Timor, which was integrated “because we were invited in” and which has been costly. A more recent Alatas statement describing East Timor as “like a sharp stone in our shoe” has also lent itself to hopeful interpretations.

MAKING A SUCCESS OF THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT SUMMIT

The optimists also base much of their case on the lavish attention being paid in Indonesia to the Non Aligned Movement's summit conference to be held in Jakarta in September. President Soeharto is coming into the role of NAM Chairman at a time of unusual opportunity, they argue, because of the widespread sense that the Movement needs to be reinvigorated.

The conspicuously dominant role of various Northern and Northern-dominated bodies in the last 2-3 years – especially the UN Security Council but also the G7, the World Bank and I.M.F. and the Paris-based Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development – has given Southern states a strong sense of exclusion from the centres of world power. So there is a widespread conviction that the South needs stronger leadership.

The South needs such leadership particularly if it is to claim a share of the moral high ground on issues like UN reform and the reformation of the global order.

The Non Aligned Movement, its dated name notwithstanding, is preeminent among the organisations speaking for the South. So it is in a good position to become the vehicle for such leadership in this coming period of Indonesian chairmanship.

But Indonesia is in a bad position to exercise leadership in the domain of global reform, or even to be part of a group of countries doing that, while its own relations with the UN are tepid, impaired by its record on East Timor.

Indonesia would therefore enhance its prospects of playing major innovative roles in the Non Aligned Movement, the argument goes, if it were willing to turn over a new leaf on East Timor.

MINIMISING THE LOSS OF FACE

Fourthly, it is said that Indonesia could initiate meaningful negotiations with the Timorese in ways which do not look like a

major loss of face. The government has after all negotiated with Xanana Gusmao before – in the March 1983 talks which led to three months of cease-fire – and its diplomatic representatives have had informal meetings with Jose Ramos-Horta in New York and other places.

Moreover Indonesia has a long-established formula for dealing with proposals like those of Horta, namely the status of *_daerah istimewa_* (special region). The variety of arrangements to which that term has been applied in the past – most relevantly in Aceh after the negotiations of 1957-62 which wound up a major rebellion – suggests that it could again facilitate ad hoc arrangements of a highly flexible kind.

Finally the optimists argue that negotiating with the Timorese could help Soeharto in relation to the presidential contest next March, because he would be showing once more that he remains strong enough to be innovative.

The president has often been pictured as phlegmatic, conservative, a “slow but sure” man – and recently as old. But he has at times acted in boldly decisive ways. One recent instance was in March, when he responded to overseas talk of aid being linked to human rights performance by an out-of-the-blue announcement repudiating Dutch aid.

Even more strikingly decisive was what he did in March 1985 to clean up Jakarta's port of Tanjung Priok. Faced with a gigantic clog-up at Priok, and the cynical conviction of most that every scheme to clean up the corruption there would fail, Soeharto responded in truly radical fashion: he transferred the operations of large segments of the customs service to the Swiss firm *Societe General de Surveillance*, telling thousands of his own customs officers to stay home!

HORTA CRITICISES PORTUGAL AND UK

Source: Publico and Diario do Noticias, Lisbon. 3 July 1991, Summary only

Jose Ramos-Horta, external representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance strongly criticised the Portuguese government for its silence on the question of East Timor during its six-month presidency of the European Community. Such an attitude had made it possible for the military regime to pass a life sentence on Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, just as Portugal was hosting the ostentatious EC Summit in Lisbon.

He also criticised France for announcing that it would make a substantial financial contribution to the Suharto regime during

the Paris meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia later this month. This promise was made by French Junior Foreign Minister, Georges Kiejman, during a visit to Jakarta last week.

As for the EC under the British presidency, Horta said this would be a “tragedy” for East Timor. “The situation in the territory is bound to get worse, with the Indonesian regime feeling that it has such support.” He held the UK responsible for the slaughter in East Timor, because of its economic and military support for the Jakarta regime.

The UK, he said, merits the Nobel Prize for Hypocrisy. “It dispatched two thirds of its army to the South Atlantic to defend the right to self-determination of two thousand colonisers in the Malvinas/Falklands but has denied self-determination for the people of East Timor.”

COURT-MARTIALS OF MILITARY PERSONNEL

ASIA WATCH: THE COURT-MARTIALS

Asia Watch press release. June 8, 1992

The long-awaited courts-martial of soldiers and officers indicted in connection with the November 12 massacre in Dili, East Timor are now over. Ten men were sentenced to terms ranging from 8 months (which with deduction for time served means that three men have only weeks left in detention) to 18 months. The heaviest sentences were given to two sergeants who shot without orders from their commanders. A 17-month sentence was given to a police corporal who cut off a demonstrator's ear with the bayonet of his M-16.

These sentences, for crimes which resulted in what may have been more than 100 deaths and many permanent injuries, should be contrasted with the sentences given to two East Timorese students who were accused of organizing a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on November 19 to protest the killings in Dili a week earlier. They were given sentences of nine and ten years on subversion charges, a capital offense. They were also accused of involvement in an East Timorese student organization, RENETIL, which the prosecution claimed supported the armed resistance, Fretilin. They were also accused of contacting international human rights organizations. In Dili, the prosecution is seeking a life sentence for Gregorio Saldanha, the man accused of masterminding the November 12 demonstration which was

peaceful until Indonesian troops opened fire.

The sentences are revealing for what they say about the Indonesian government's attitude to the massacre. They reinforce the theme of blaming the victims more than the perpetrators, a theme stressed in the preliminary report of the National Commission of Investigation (KPN) issued on December 26. (The full report has never been made public.) They suggest that peaceful expression of disloyalty to the Indonesian government, a sentiment hardly surprising among East Timorese who are not Indonesians, culturally, historically or politically, is a worse offense in official eyes than mass murder or torture.

They also indicate a double standard of responsibility: Fernando de Araujo, one of the East Timorese students, was sentenced to nine years in prison for planning a demonstration, even though he was not physically present when it took place. Gregorio Saldanha is facing a life sentence for planning the Dili march which ended in tragedy. But who planned the military response? The highest rank of officer sentenced for failing to control subordinates was a platoon commander. The sentences reinforce another theme of the KPN report, that the killing took place as a spontaneous reaction of junior officers and men who disobeyed orders of their superiors, and that it was not a planned operation. The Governor of East Timor and many eyewitnesses, both foreign and Timorese, suggest otherwise, and yet no prosecutions of battalion commanders took place.

No light has been shed on what happened to the bodies of those killed or missing. No real answers about why the massacre took place have been produced.

Serious questioning of the Indonesian government must continue, and one useful forum would be the new World Bank-led donor consortium scheduled to take place on July 16. The Indonesian government disbanded the earlier consortium, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia or IGGI, because its chairman had stridently raised human rights issues and pushed for the suspension of Dutch development aid after the November 12 massacre. (The aid was resumed in January). If the consortium meeting goes ahead without a strong, public statement of concern about Indonesia's human rights record, about the disparity in the sentences handed down in connection with the November 12 massacre, and about the unanswered questions from that massacre, the Indonesian government will rightly conclude that it has nothing to fear from the international community on human rights issues.

THE COURTS-MARTIAL (ASIA WATCH)

*News from Asia Watch June 23, 1992
Volume 4, Number 19*

Between May 29 and June 6, 1992, nine soldiers and one policeman were tried by military or police courts in Bali for their role in the massacre in East Timor on November 12, 1991 when the Indonesian army opened fire on a crowd of unarmed demonstrators. The trials were open to diplomatic observers and the press; the sentences were light, ranging from eight to eighteen months. The courts-martial do not portray the Indonesian army in a favorable light, but neither do they pierce the secrecy surrounding how the shooting started or what happened to the bodies of those killed. The glimpse they offer into military behavior on November 12 is a carefully managed one, which serves to strengthen the "official version" of events, but even the Indonesian press is openly skeptical of that version. As far as the Indonesian government is concerned, the case against the military is now closed. Asia Watch calls on the international community to continue to press the Indonesian government for a full accounting of military actions before, during and after the demonstration.

Background

On November 12, Indonesian troops turned their guns on thousands of East Timorese who had marched from a church on the waterfront of Dili, the capital, to a cemetery in the Santa Cruz area of the city where a supporter of East Timorese independence, Sebastiao Gomes, had been buried two weeks earlier. The Indonesian government initially maintained that only 19 had died; a government commission later raised the death toll to "about 50"; 90 were reported missing; and the number of wounded "exceeded 91." Unofficial estimates put the death toll well over 100, with many of the victims dying of beatings or other abuse suffered after the shooting. To this day, no one knows what happened to the missing, or to the bodies of those killed; only 19 graves were ever officially found.

The courts-martial in Bali of soldiers implicated in the massacre appear to represent the final chapter in the Indonesian government's moves to account for the killings, the last in a series of measures designed to defuse international outrage, but which also strengthened President Suharto's image as a master manipulator and exposed rifts in the Indonesian army. None of the steps taken by the government appear to have been aimed primarily at uncovering the truth.

The first major step was President Suharto's appointment of a National Commission of Inquiry (Komisi Penyelidik Nasional or KPN) on November 18. Members of the commission were hampered by military obstructionism, the fear of witnesses to come forward to testify and the team's own lack of independence. On December 26, they produced a short "advance report" which blamed the victims but criticized army excesses. The report noted three different versions of how the troops opened fire: troops in anti-riot formation aimed directly into the crowd; shooting started in self-defense after fighting erupted; and the shooting came from unorganized security forces who were neither in proper formation nor proper uniform. It made no attempt to assess the relative validity of the three versions.

The second step was the highly publicized sacking of two senior military commanders on December 28, Major General Sintong Panjaitan, commander of the KODAM IX/Udayana regional military command based in Bali, and Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw, commander of operations (Pangkolakops) in East Timor.

The third step was President Suharto's instruction to the Chief of Staff of the Indonesian Army, Edy Sudradjat, to appoint a Council of Military Honor (Dewan Kehormatan Militer) to investigate military behavior on November 12 and recommend appropriate disciplinary action. The Council was in operation from January 2 to February 20, 1992 and on February 27, it issued a press release, announcing that six officers had been disciplined, including three dismissed from the army altogether, two removed from their jobs in the army bureaucracy but kept on active duty, and one temporarily reassigned but kept on active duty.

Although the names of the officers were never made public, the March 14 issue of Editor reported that the three "honorably discharged" were probably General Warouw, Colonel Gatot Purwanto, assistant to Warouw for intelligence, and the Sector C commander responsible for Dili, Colonel Binsar Aruan. The officer temporarily removed from his position may be Sintong Panjaitan, now at Harvard University to study business.

The Council release said that eight others, including four officers, would be prosecuted, according to the press release, and five other officers would be further investigated. In fact, the entire Operations Command headed by Warouw was purged, with every single one of the six assistants transferred out of East Timor after the massacre. The commanders of the district-level KODIM

and the sub-regional KOREM were also moved out.

The government's failure to move forward with the prosecutions promised in the Council's press release became a new focus of international criticism, particularly as dozens of East Timorese independence supporters were behind bars in Dili and Jakarta, some of them facing subversion charges, for participating in non-violent demonstrations. Most had no access to friends, family or lawyers.

A military spokesman promised in early May that the courts-martial would take place before Indonesia's quinquennial exercise in heavily-controlled parliamentary elections, scheduled for June 9. When they finally began on May 29, the campaign domestically and events in Yugoslavia and Thailand internationally diverted public attention. The verdicts came as something of an anticlimax, in part because the country was otherwise occupied, but also because all those tried were junior, and their testimony contained few revelations.

The Courts-Martial

The nine soldiers and one police officer prosecuted can be divided into three groups: five enlisted men who were all based at the KODIM and who allegedly on their own fired on demonstrators; officers associated with Battalion 303 whom the KODIM commander sent to the demonstration and who failed to prevent their men from firing; and two men accused of assaulting wounded demonstrators. The nine soldiers were accused of violating Article 103 of the military code by disobeying or exceeding orders; the police corporal was charged with assault.

All five of the enlisted men tried had been stationed at KODIM 1627. Three of them, First Sergeants Udin Syukur and Aloysius Rani and Master Sergeant Petrus Saul Mada, all testified at their trials that they had been ordered by the KODIM commander, Lieutenant Colonel Wahyu Hidayat, not to leave the KODIM as long as the demonstration was underway, but they disobeyed after an Indonesian officer, Major Gerhan Lantara, and an East Timorese soldier, Private Dominggus, were brought to the KODIM, bleeding from their wounds after having been stabbed by demonstrators. (The stabbing incident occurred early on in what was otherwise a non-violent march.)

Udin took a G-3 rifle; when he returned to the KODIM, it was missing two bullets. He said he fired the rifle after one of the demonstrators threatened him with a knife. Sergeant Rani said he grabbed a weapon and went to the Santa Cruz cemetery by taxi, where he fired on a demonstrator carrying a Fretilin flag. He told the court he had been

overcome with emotion after seeing the two wounded soldiers at the KODIM. All three sergeants said they rushed out of the KODIM so quickly that they did not have time to put on their uniforms and arrived at the cemetery in a state of partial dress.

Privates Mateus Maya and Afonso de Jesus were East Timorese stationed at the KODIM who were assigned to drive Major Gerhan to the hospital. They were never at the Santa Cruz cemetery but allegedly fired on demonstrators en route to the hospital.

The five enlisted men were tried in Rindam (Resimen Induk Daerah Militer) Udayana in Tabanan, Bali (see Appendix).

The second group consists of the three second lieutenants: Sugiman Mursanib (spelled Mursanip in the court documents); John Harlan Aritonang and Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo. Mursanib, who joined the army in 1965, was the head of the social and political section of the KODIM (Kasi Sospol), and under normal circumstances, reported directly to Hidayat, the KODIM commander. The night before the massacre, he had been out all night on "sweeps." He was back at the KODIM in the morning, without having slept, and it was only some 10 minutes after the demonstrators had passed by the KODIM headquarters that Colonel Hidayat ordered him to lead a three-platoon force company totalling 72 men in all from the KODIM to follow and disperse the marchers. Aritonang, who previously had been decorated for capturing a Fretilin leader, Maukalo, and Sunaryo led platoons II and III respectively from Battalion 303; the third platoon was from Brimob 5486.

Without putting on his uniform, Mursanib rushed out; one fault that was cited in his trial was that while the Brimob unit, presumably with some training in riot control, was at the front when the force left the KODIM, Mursanib moved the two army platoons to the front near the cemetery.

It was at the cemetery that Mursanib gave the orders, supposedly to Lieutenant Aritonang, to advance. He in turn was receiving orders via radio from Colonel Binsar Aruan, the now-sacked commander for the Dili area. Both Aritonang and Sunaryo gave orders to their troops to advance, and when they heard firing from other forces at the cemetery, they opened fire too. Aritonang testified that he tried to prevent his men from firing but to no avail. It was later found that six men from his platoon had fired 60 bullets. Sunaryo was faulted for not having recognized that the order from Mursanib was only meant for Aritonang's platoon. Five of his men also opened fire and shot 33 bullets. Aritonang, according to one press account, was cited for failing to give the orders to his troops to

get in formation. He was also charged with failing to control his subordinates, as were Sunaryo and Mursanib. The Brimob platoon leader, First Lieutenant (Police) Rudolf A. Rodjo, was not charged.

All three officers in the second group were tried by the Military Court III-4 in Denpasar, Bali.

Two men make up the last group. Lieutenant Yohanes Alexander Penpada, 48, the deputy intelligence officer for KOREM 164, was sentenced to eight months for disobeying orders. He had been assigned to report on how the demonstration developed, but after he learned about the stabbing of Gerhan Lantara, his superior, he testified that he got a ride back to the KOREM and went from there to his home. He picked up his pistol and went back to the cemetery where injured demonstrators were still lying. He said he slapped one on the face, but he denied firing the pistol. Penpada was sentenced to eight months by Military Court III-4.

Police Corporal Marthin Alau, 35, the man who slashed the ear of a demonstrator, has been named in an eyewitness report as having deliberately killed two other demonstrators. Those killings did not come up at his trial. Alau told the court members of his family had been killed by Fretilin. He was sentenced to 17 months in a trial that took place in the regional police headquarters in Bali.

Penpada and Alau were the only two persons indicted for involvement in attacks on demonstrators that took place after the shootings: the KPN report indicated that of the 91 wounded acknowledged as having been taken to the Wira Husada Military hospital, 49 were injured by stabbing or blunt instruments.

What Do the Courts-Martial Reveal?

Taken together, the trial testimonies paint a picture of a sloppy, ill-prepared, ill-informed, poorly disciplined and poorly led army, with some soldiers reacting spontaneously to the stabbing of their colleagues and others apparently panicking amid sounds of shooting at the cemetery.

It is not a pretty picture of the Indonesian armed forces, but it is also a partial and misleading one. One of the eyewitnesses to the massacre testified that troops in dark brown uniforms opened fire methodically. Those uniforms would have been Brimob police, but no Brimob member was indicted. The soldiers from the Battalion 303 platoons testified to firing taking place before and after they themselves stopped shooting. The company led by Lieutenant Mursanib appears to have been one of the two companies sent as reinforcements after it became clear that the

demonstration was larger than anyone expected; its dispatch to the scene was clearly a last-minute undertaking. But which troops were already there when Mursanib's men arrived, and why have they not been named or indicted? The June 13 issues of two of the leading newsweeklies in Jakarta, Tempo and Editor openly raise the question of who the unnamed "uncontrolled forces" (pasukan liar) were which were at Santa Cruz when Mursanib and his men arrived.

Even if some spontaneous firing took place after the initial attack, there was no spontaneity about the cover-up afterward, and no new information was produced by the trials about who gave orders to dispose of bodies from Santa Cruz and from the morgue at the military hospital.

The "spontaneous reaction" theory is only one of a number of possible ways of explaining the massacre and not necessarily the most plausible. This is not to assert that the ten men lied; even assuming their testimony was the unvarnished truth, they represent only a very small part of a very complex whole. The question arises as to how these men were singled out for prosecution.

If, as some observers believe, the ten men were tried because they were named in the KPN report (and Asia Watch cannot confirm that they were, since the full report has not been made public), two facts must be kept in mind: most East Timorese were terrified of giving testimony to the KPN, and the local military tried to obstruct the team's investigation. Individuals would have been identified either because East Timorese were willing to name them; because the local military wanted them prosecuted; or because their involvement was too obvious to be ignored.

Shortly after the massacre, Asia Watch obtained an eyewitness account of the stabbing of Private Dominggus, an East Timorese whom a group of demonstrators regarded as having betrayed his own people by serving with the Indonesian army. A similar animosity might have made witnesses testify to the involvement of Mateus Maya, Afonso de Jesus and Marthin Pereira Alau.

Battalion 303 came in for close scrutiny immediately after the massacre and was the first ordered transferred out of Dili, in late November 1991. Colonel Binsar Aruan, with whom the convicted Lieutenant Mursanib was in constant communication at the cemetery, was one of the officers sacked in the aftermath of the killings. Given the prominent presence of 303 soldiers at Santa Cruz, a few key indictments may have been inevitable – and Mursanib was clearly visible in the video footage shown around the world.

The three sergeants at the KODIM who rushed out half-dressed after Gerhan Lantara was brought in bleeding, and the behavior of Lieutenant Penpada in reaction to the wounding of his superior are the core of the spontaneity theory.

A different theory has been put forward by the editors of Indonesia, the journal published by Cornell University. In the April 1992 issue, the editors suggest that a local mafia had been established by middle-ranking Indonesian officers who had no real prospect of promotion and every reason to milk East Timor while they could through business deals, speculation and racketeering. The operational commander for East Timor at the time of the massacre, Brigadier General Rudolf Warouw, had embarked on a campaign to clean up corruption in the military shortly after he took office in December 1989, angering the mafia bosses in the process, according to the Cornell analysis. These bosses, working with local Apodeti (pro-integration) supporters had as a major goal the downfall of Warouw and the popular governor of East Timor who supported him, Mario Carrascalao. A key figure in this operation would have been Lieutenant Colonel Prabowo, President Suharto's son-in-law, whose links to Apodeti were well-established. According to this theory, these middle officers working with Apodeti would have had an interest in using the demonstration on November 12 to discredit Warouw and thus leave their business operations intact. Governor Carrascalao himself has suggested that the demonstration was the result of collaboration between these two forces, but both the demonstration and the response, domestic and international, were beyond what the plotters could have imagined. The Cornell analysis stresses the significance of the mass purge of the "all influential officers in the East Timor apparatus, at the Korem level and within Dili itself, striking right at the heart of the mafia..."

The prominent role of the KODIM and the indictment of the East Timorese might lend support to this theory, but a more rigorous investigation of KODIM and KOREM commanders, Hidayat and Colonel J.P. Sepang would be necessary to test it. Both have been replaced since the massacre; neither appeared as witnesses at the courts-martial, although Hidayat submitted written testimony.

The Charges and Verdicts

The nature of the charges suggest that the investigations of the men involved were not thorough. The indicted men served as witnesses in each other's cases; there were no civilian witnesses called, except in the case of Corporal Alau where the victim

whose ear had been slashed appeared at the trial. Even given the reluctance to testify for fear of reprisals, surely a few of the 49 wounded by stabbing or clubbing and afterwards brought to the military hospital might have been able to identify their attackers.

In preparing this report, Asia Watch has not had access to the Indonesian military code. But a comparative perspective from the United States may be instructive. To bring a charge of murder or manslaughter against a soldier in the U.S., there would have to be evidence that the defendant deliberately or through negligence killed a particular victim. Given the way the demonstrators were massed and the lack of witnesses willing to testify, even if the military tribunals had been fair, it might have been difficult to match victims to perpetrators. It is also true that if a platoon leader had been accused of failing to control his subordinates, it is possible that charges would not have been brought against the subordinates.

But a host of lesser charges, ranging from assault with a dangerous weapon to willfully discharging a firearm, could have been brought against soldiers who fired into a crowd in such a way as to have been likely to produce bodily injury or death. If the three non-East Timorese enlisted men who allegedly rushed to the cemetery after seeing Major Lantara wounded had urged each other to go, a charge of conspiracy could have been brought in connection with one of the charges mentioned above. In the U.S., a charge of assault with a deadly weapon in the context of a large demonstration with a perceived threat of violence against security forces could produce a sentence of four years; the maximum would be eight years. Such extrapolations to a different legal system in a radically different political context have admittedly only limited use, but the outrage against the light sentences of eight to eighteen months seems justified. It is also worth noting that no dishonorable discharges would take place in the U.S. without a court-martial. The peremptory dismissal of senior officers without any kind of judicial procedure may be another way of suppressing evidence.

The leniency of the sentences also raises questions about how far the testimony of those wounded was sought in the prosecutions of the military or whether the prosecution made any attempt to establish a linkage between the pro-integrationists who incited a brawl in front of the Motael Church on October 28 and the shooting that occurred in Santa Cruz on November 12. The fact that the ten men indicted lend credence to the "spontaneous reaction" theory may reflect the lack of political will on

the part of the military prosecutors (oditur) to dig deeper.

Trials of East Timorese Civilians

The sentences given the soldiers are inevitably being compared with those handed down to East Timorese civilians in Dili and Jakarta. There are 13 trials underway in Dili, five in connection with the Motael Church incident of October 28 and eight in connection with the November 12 demonstration. As of mid-June, only two verdicts had been handed down. Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 30, received a sentence of six years, 10 months for taking part in clandestine meetings of resistance supporters to prepare for the visit of a Portuguese parliamentary delegation. Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 34, was accused of taking part in the same meetings and reproducing a cassette of a speech by East Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao. He was given a term of five years and eight months in prison. The sentences requested in the other cases ranged from four years to life.

In a case still in process, Carlos dos Santos Lemos, aged 31, is facing a ten-year sentence for taking photographs during the November 12 demonstration, allegedly on assignment as a journalist for Fretilin. Dos Santos intended to send the photographs to Australia, Portugal and Japan, according to the prosecutor, in order to attract support for the independence movement. Dos Santos is also accused of being a member of the Fretilin Executive Committee and as such, taking part in underground meetings to plan the November 12 demonstration. He is being defended by court-appointed lawyer, Ponco Atmono, S.H., a Dili resident.

Five other East Timorese accused of planning or taking part in a demonstration in Jakarta on November 19 to protest the Dili massacre a week earlier already have been sentenced. Two were tried on subversion charges and received sentences of nine and ten years respectively. Three others who took part in the demonstration received terms ranging from six to thirty months. A complete list of those on trial and the sentences sought by the prosecution appears as Appendix 2.

The government's xenophobia and determination to punish those seen as having fuelled the international outcry, evident in the dos Santos case, was also evident in the trials of Fernando Araujo and Joan Freitas da Camara in Jakarta. While both were accused of contacts with Fretilin through the East Timorese students' organization, RENETIL, the judges focused on their contacts with foreign organizations and the fact that they had received donations of money from Australia and England. An Asia

Watch report on the Jakarta trials is forthcoming.

Conclusions

The courts-martial help give the Indonesian government an appearance of even-handedness. Indeed, journalists in Jakarta were speculating in February, just before the Council of Military Honor's press release was issued, that an equal number of civilians and military would be prosecuted. They were right: the five students in Jakarta and eight resistance supporters in Dili due for trial in connection with the November 12 massacre and subsequent protests matched the eight officers and men scheduled for indictment and five others under investigation noted in the Council release. (The police corporal and one of the two East Timorese privates were apparently not included in the Council's formulation.)

But justice is not the same as even-handedness. The fact that any investigation and any courts-martial at all took place is a step forward for the Indonesian government and should be recognized as such, but there has been no real accounting for the deaths and disappearances that took place on November 12. None of those convicted in late May and early June started the shooting; none organized the disposal of bodies or planned the cover-up which stressed the factor of spontaneity. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the courts-martial were stage-managed for international consumption, particularly when documents which might shed further light on events in Dili, such as the full KPN report and the full report of the Council of Military Honor, have been kept under wraps.

The Indonesian government should be pressed for a fuller response to the Dili massacre. The July 16 meeting in Paris of a new World Bank-led consortium of donor countries which provide aid to Indonesia is one opportunity to do so; the August meetings of the Decolonization Committee of the United Nations (New York) and the UN Subcommission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities (Geneva) are two more; and the Non-Aligned Movement summit in September in Jakarta is a fourth. The United Nations meetings would be particularly appropriate fora to press for the release of a confidential report submitted to UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali by his personal envoy, Amos Wako, who visited East Timor in February to assess the aftermath of the massacre and wrote what insiders characterize as a blistering critique of the Indonesian government.

Embassies in Jakarta should continue to ask questions about the dead and missing.

They should express concern over the cruel and unusual punishment meted out to East Timorese civilians in Jakarta and Dili. They should make it clear to their counterparts in the Indonesian government that they have reservations about the way the courts-martial were conducted, in terms of who was selected for trial and as witnesses. They should strongly urge the publication of the full KPN and Council of Military Honor reports.

The Indonesian press clearly does not believe the official version of what happened on November 12; the skepticism of the international community should be no less.

APPENDIX I: The Courts-Martial

1. Pvt. Mateus Maya; Sentenced to 8 months on May 30, 1992 by a military court in Tabanan, Bali, for disobeying orders. Maya is an East Timorese.
2. Pvt. Afonso de Jesus; Sentenced to 8 months on May 30, 1992 by a military court in Tabanan, Bali, for disobeying orders. De Jesus is also an East Timorese.
3. 1st Corporal (Police) I.P. Marthin Alau, 35; Sentenced to 17 months for torture, in violation of Article 351 of the Criminal Code, by a military court in Denpasar. He was accused of cutting off the ear of an East Timorese demonstrator, Simplicio Celestino de Deus, 19, with the bayonet of his M-16 rifle.
4. 1st Sgt. Aloysius Rani; Sentenced to 18 months on June 3 by a military court in Tabanan, Bali.
5. 1st Sgt. Udin Syukur; Sentenced to 18 months on June 3 by a military court in Tabanan, Bali.
6. 1st Sgt. Petrus Saul Mada; Sentenced to 12 months on June 3 by a military court in Tabanan, Bali.
7. 2nd Lieut. Sugiman Mursanib, 48; A platoon commander, Mursanib was sentenced to 14 months in prison for failing to control his troops. The verdict was handed down on June 3 in Denpasar, Bali.
8. 2nd Lieut. John Aritonang, 26; Sentenced to 12 months for opening fire on demonstrators without orders to do so. The verdict was handed down on June 3 by a military court in Denpasar, Bali.
9. 2nd Lieut. Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo; Sentenced to 12 months on June 5 for ordering troops to fire on demonstrators.
10. 2nd Lieut. Yohanes Alexander Panpada, 48; Sentenced to 8 months for disobeying orders but denied firing on demonstrators.

APPENDIX II: TRIALS OF EAST TIMORESE CIVILIANS

Name Sentence (Prosecution Request)

A. In Jakarta:

Fernando de Araujo	9 yrs
Joao Freitas da Camara	10 yrs
Virgilio da Silva Gutters	2 yrs, 6 mos.
Agapito Cardoso	10 mo
Domingus Bareto	6 mo

B. In Dili, in connection with Nov. 12:

Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, 29	life
Francisco Miranda Branco, 41	15 yrs
Jacinto des Neves Raimundo Alves, 34	8 yrs
Filomeno da Silva Pereira, 34	5 yr, 8 mo (8 yrs).
Juvencio de Jesus Martins, 30	10 yrs (6 yr, 10 mo)
Carlos dos Santos Lemos, 31	10 yrs
Bonifacio Mago	not yet on trial
Saturnino Da Costa Belo	not yet on trial

C. In Dili, in connection with October 28:

Bobby Xavier, 18	4 yrs
Joao dos Santos, 23	not yet requested
Aleixo da Silva alias Cobra, 22	4 yrs
Jacob da Silva	?
Bonifacio Bareto	?

AI: TORTURERS, MURDERERS GO FREE

AFP, London, July 9 - Torturers, murderers and other human rights violators in government employ enjoy impunity in a number of countries in the Asia-Pacific region, Amnesty International said in its 1992 annual report published Thursday.

Violators are given impunity either explicitly through special laws or through attitudes or official policies resulting in failure to investigate or bring perpetrators to justice, the human rights watchdog said in its report covering 1991.

Sri Lanka, despite announcing measures to improve human rights protection, has refused to repeal legislation giving security forces and others immunity from prosecution for acts "in good faith" between August 1977 and December 1988 - when tens of thousands of people "disappeared" or were extrajudicially executed.

In the Philippines, violations continued in 1991 and virtually no perpetrators were brought to justice despite the government's stated commitment to human rights.

Impunity for human rights violations was provided in India "both legally and informally," Amnesty said.

Across the region, prisoners of conscience continued in 1991 to be imprisoned

solely for non-violent expression of their beliefs and people were arrested arbitrarily, held without charge or trial and sentenced after unfair trials.

In China, hundreds of thousands of people were held without charge under various forms of administrative detention, including some political or religious dissidents, notably Catholics in north China and Buddhist monks in Tibet, the report said.

Thousands of political prisoners, including hundreds of prisoners of conscience, remained in prison, many in connection with the 1989 pro-democracy protests. Many were held without charge or trial and some were serving prison sentences imposed after unfair trials.

More than 1,500 possible prisoners of conscience were held in Myanmar (Burma) - a fraction of the thousands of political prisoners believed to be held there. Some, like opposition leader and 1991 Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, were still held without charge or trial. Others were serving sentences after grossly unfair trials.

Hundreds were arrested in South Korea, for political activities including allegedly praising North Korea while in Vietnam over 100 former military personnel were held without trial for "re-education" for much of 1991, some detained since 1975, Amnesty said.

Hundreds of political prisoners in Afghanistan, including possible prisoners of conscience, were still held without charge or trial, some for nine years. Other suspected government opponents were serving sentences after unfair trials.

Unfair trials were common in many countries, with hundreds of political prisoners facing lengthy sentences. In Indonesia more than 150 possible prisoners of conscience were in prison, mostly serving long sentences for subversion, said the report.

Cambodia released hundreds of political prisoners under an internationally backed peace process but admitted it still held 1,260 political prisoners and prisoners of war.

Political detainees and criminal suspects in parts of Asia were subjected to sometimes horrifying torture, for example in India, Pakistan and Myanmar with beatings, electric shocks and rape the most frequently reported methods, Amnesty said.

In six countries - Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, South Korea, Pakistan and Thailand - people died in custody, apparently as a result of torture.

Government forces were responsible for many "disappearances" and extrajudicial executions in the region, particularly in countries in which armed opposition groups were active such as the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

In Indonesia hundreds were executed by government forces in Aceh, East Timor and North Sumatra - some 100 died in one incident in East Timor when troops opened fire on peaceful demonstrators in a cemetery, the report said.

As well as hundreds executed extrajudicially, thousands more died in China as increased use of the death penalty continued. Amnesty documented more than 1,050 executions and 1,650 death sentences in 1991 but believed the real figure to be much higher.

Some 200 death sentences were passed in Pakistan and one man was executed by stoning. Malaysia sentenced 67 to death and Taiwan reportedly executed 50.

Opposition groups were also responsible for human rights abuses in Sri Lanka, the Philippines and in India, Amnesty said.

INDONESIAN EVENTS: REPRESSION AND ELECTIONS

ALATAS ON EAST TIMOR, FORMER YUGOSLAV REPUBLICS

ANTARA in English 22 May 92

Dili (East Timor), May 22 (OANA/ANTARA) Foreign Minister Ali Alatas deplored here Wednesday those giving wrong picture about East Timor, saying all accusations that Indonesia annexed the former colony of Portugal in 1975 were baseless.

Before university students in the youngest province of Indonesia, [words indistinct] Indonesia was present in East Timor as wished by the East Timorese who suffered a lot after the Portuguese colonial forces left following a bloody civil war.

He said the civil war in East Timor 17 years ago was something fabricated by Portugal itself with the hope that it could maintain its colonial rule long. "Divided people obviously are easier to control," Alatas said, adding that it was foolish for the country to say that Indonesia annexed East Timor while decolonization process was still taking place.

He further said, even worse, Portugal has tried to encourage and finance the emergence of the so-called Fretilin, a tiny group active in the efforts to turn out chaotic situation in East Timor.

Alatas deemed efforts to make Fretilin treated as representatives of all East Timorese nothing more than fact twisting.

During the dialog with the students, Alatas also answered questions on the high unemployment rate especially among university graduates, the country's political system, and the government's policies to enhance the welfare of the East Timor people.

Jakarta officially accepted East Timor as the country's 27th province in 1976 after carefully studying the issuance of the Balibo Declaration a year earlier. It was through the declaration that East Timorese stated their wish to integrate with Indonesia.

'Ready' for Dialogue With Portugal

(continuation of same article)

Dili, May 23 (ANTARA)-The East Timor issue is still registered in the United Nations' agenda as a disputed territory which needs solution, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said here Friday.

He mentioned two ways for the solution of the issue, namely dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal, and a struggle in international forums mediated by the United Nations.

Indonesia is prepared to face Portugal in seeking solution to the issue through whatever ways. "In brief, Indonesia is prepared to face whatever ways Portugal will choose, dialogue, voting or other ways."

Minister Alatas explained that Portugal left East Timor when the region was shattered by a civil war but now shamelessly claimed to be the administrator of East Timor.

Portugal's attitude towards East Timor has been very unstable in recent days and never kept its own words, Alatas said.

At the early integration of East Timor, Indonesia once offered to Portugal to return to its former colony but there had never been a firm answer, Alatas said.

The Indonesian offer was made merely based on its wisdom, even though Portugal had no longer right to East Timor because it had ignored its right and responsibility on its former colony, the minister said.

Ironically, however, that Portugal has in recent days sowed groundless rumors in a number of foreign media that the people of East Timor refused the province's integration into Indonesia.

"This is ridiculous, groundless and contradicts the fact of history. The integration was based on the wish of the majority of the people of East Timor, namely the wish of four of the existing five parties at that time," he said.

He admitted that there are now a handful anti-integration persons but the number of these people are very small and are backed by Portugal.

Portugal has incited and financed the activities of the Fretilin Trouble-Maker

Group (GPK) whose number are only a "nail" [sic] compared with the total population of East Timor - in order to carry out a series of anti-Indonesia demonstrations, among others through the November 12 incident in Dili, Alatas said.

In reply to a question, Alatas said that Portugal submitted a resolution to the United Nations, urging Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor, Indonesia would be very encouraged because such a resolution would serve as a ground for Indonesia to start its "struggle" (for solving the issue).

"I am confident Portugal will never submit such a resolution because it realizes its weaknesses in the international forums," the minister added.

INDONESIAN TROOPS REPORTED CROSSING INTO PNG TERRITORY

Sources: PNG paper (name not on clipping, probably Post Courier) 3 June 1992, byline: Dominic Sengi. Times of PNG, 4 June 1992, byline: Barbara Tomi. Abridged.

Indonesian soldiers reportedly crossed about 5 kms into PNG territory at the weekend and wounded two suspected Free Papua Movement (OPM) rebels in a raid on a camp near the coastal border village of Wutung. The wounded men are now recovering in hospital.

Coastal Region police commander Cosmas Pulai confirmed the incursions and said extra police had been sent to Wutung to guard the villagers who were very frightened and angry, not going fishing or gardening for fear of being mistaken for rebels by Indonesian soldiers.

Normally reliable sources said an unknown number of Indonesian troops captured a suspected rebel after he left their jungle hideout looking for greens. "They forced their captive to lead them to the camp where they opened fire, wounding his comrades and forcing others to flee. Unconfirmed reports said the captive was then killed and the camp set on fire.

The two rebels are identified as Jason Malo and Carlos Kosama.

Attempts yesterday to get Foreign Affairs Secretary, Gabriel Dusava, to confirm the incursion failed [PNG Times]

Sources in Wutung said about thirty fully armed Indonesian soldiers opened fire on ten men based at the camp. A confrontation followed, resulting in one rebel being killed. The sources said they could not disclose details of Indonesian casualties. Eyewitnesses saw thick smoke from the OPM camp which was burnt by Indonesian

troops. The Vanimo police are preparing charges against the two wounded men.

Saudaun premier, Egbert Yalu has called on Police Minister Mathias Ijape and Police Commissioner Ila Geno for immediate deployment of addition police manpower. Soldiers stationed in Vanimo have cleared the area and retrieved the body of the rebel killed in the clash. Two truckloads of PNG Defence Force soldiers and a truckload of policemen have been deployed to the area.

REAL POLITICS IN THE WORKS?

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, June 11 - Indonesia's vote for a largely powerless parliament now over, the country's elite can get on with real politics.

In the next nine months there will be elections for the president and vice-president, the naming of a new cabinet, changes at the top of the powerful military and the setting of guidelines to direct the economy for the next 25 years.

"The election pageant is over. Now there are hard decisions to be made," a Western diplomat said.

Political analysts said that by giving President Suharto's Golkar party a few less votes, Tuesday's general election may have also given those dissatisfied with his rule the leverage to have a greater say in how decisions are made.

Golkar took 67 pct of the ballot in which 107 million Indonesians were eligible to vote, compared with 73 pct in the 1987 election.

"The lower percentage may encourage others to take a tougher position on issues, especially the presidency," an Asian diplomat said.

Those unhappy about his iron rule over southeast Asia's largest country for nearly 27 years look most potent within the military and the ruling Golkar party itself, analysts said.

A senior Golkar official recently told Reuters he was concerned by the way Indonesian politics gave the impression of being as pre-programmed as in North Korea. This was one reason why Golkar had not yet named anyone as its choice for president in 1993.

The People's Consultative Assembly (MPR), a 1,000-strong body which is mostly appointed apart from the 400 elected this week, will decide next March whom it wants as president.

"The MPR could work against him if Golkar works hand in glove with the military in saying there should be a new ticket,"

Yuwono Sudarsono, professor of politics at the University of Indonesia, said.

"But I don't think the Golkar leadership wants to formally challenge him. At a minimum it might get rid of Sudharmono as vice-president. The army would be happy with that," he added.

The vice-presidency has become the focus of most interest.

Sudharmono is not popular with the military and analysts said it would like to get its own man in the job in 1993 and thus most likely secure the presidency when Suharto does go.

"People will see the election figures as an indication that people are looking for change. The military may look at things in that light," another Asian diplomat said.

"I don't know how emboldened people will be but the military could be more aggressive," a Western diplomat said.

INDONESIA RESULT SPURS REFLECTION ON CONSTRAINTS

*Asian Wall Street Journal June 11, 1992
Dateline: Jakarta By: Richard Borsuk Text: Full*

Indonesia's ruling Golkar party should be happy with the results of parliamentary elections – but it probably won't be. The two smaller opposition parties should be upbeat about their improved showings – but they probably won't be either.

That's because the results won't change the way the world's fourth most populous country is governed, and they won't affect President Suharto's thinking about whether, after 26 years, to seek another five-year term next March. But Tuesday's vote, and the campaign that preceded it, have generated some questions about whether the constraints the president has kept on political participation can stay in place indefinitely.

With more than 90% of about 100 million votes counted, Golkar had won 67.3%, compared with 17.5% for the Muslim-based United Development Party, or PPP, and 15.2% for the Indonesian Democratic Party, or PDI. Golkar's result was down from 73% in the last election in 1987, and lower than its target this time of 70%. The drop from 1987 is big enough to attract attention, but small enough not to mean much. A Jakarta-based diplomat described the decline as "significant but not dangerous."

Political analysts agreed that the party's percentage would have had to drop to 65% or less for the vote to be seen as sending a distinct message of dissatisfaction with Golkar and Mr. Suharto.

The president should be satisfied with the results even though Golkar slipped a bit, analysts say. "He'll be comfortable and feels everything is all right," said Dr. Burhan Magenda, a University of Indonesia political scientist.

Some elements of Golkar may be quietly content with the drop, which may slightly enhance the credibility of an election often seen as largely an orchestrated political ritual. Also, analysts say, it's natural that the party's vote should decline. Golkar is Indonesia's "establishment" party and, with a population getting increasingly educated and more urbanized, some dissatisfaction with the status quo should be expected.

But some Golkar cadres won't see it that way, viewing the loss of support as a definite setback. "There's a lot of provincial figures who simply believe bigger is better," said one Indonesian political observer. Golkar, backed by Indonesia's strong bureaucracy, piled on big victories in some provinces with more than 85% of the vote.

Although Golkar scored one of those big victories in troubled East Timor, provincial party officials may be embarrassed. Golkar polled 83% in the province rocked in November when soldiers killed dozens of anti-Jakarta demonstrators. But in 1987, Golkar tallied 93%, and the drop – in Indonesian terms – is significant. In the country's proportional representation system, Golkar will probably lose an East Timor seat for the first time to PDI.

PDI, which favors a more open political system, fared well nationwide, raising its share of the vote from 11% last time. But the party did suffer a surprising setback in Jakarta. PDI, which got 28.5% of the capital's vote in 1987, thought it had a good shot at winning there this time around, a feeling bolstered by a massive campaign rally in which more than a million people flaunted the party's red color and showed their support. But PDI not only failed to win Jakarta, it ended up in last place with 23.2% of the vote, behind PPP with 24.6%. Both opposition parties were crushed by Golkar, which got 52.2%, compared with 50% last time.

"That's stunning," said one Jakarta diplomat. "I can see how Golkar won, but I can't see how PDI did so badly after all the support it appeared to have."

PDI charged in 1987 that Jakarta's vote-counting was manipulated to depress PDI's total, and was virtually certain to make a similar charge this time. The government denies that there were any irregularities in Jakarta or anywhere else.

In the Jakarta vote, PPP got back some ground it lost in 1987, when the party linked unofficially to Islam took a drubbing. Nationwide, PPP edged up from 16% in

1987, a performance a spokesman said couldn't be described as satisfying or unsatisfying.

Some political analysts speculated that PDI's poor Jakarta showing may cause frustration and cynicism among enthusiastic young supporters, who were convinced the party would do well in the capital. But Dr. Burhan [sic.] of the University of Indonesia said he wasn't really surprised by the Jakarta result, noting that many in the PDI rallies were too young to vote.

Another analyst pointed out that others may have been under pressure to stick to Golkar even though they publicly showed a preference for PDI. The older children of civil servants – who make up a sizable Jakarta constituency – usually join their parents in voting Golkar, he said.

Political observers say that the enthusiasm shown during the Jakarta rallies, while it didn't translate to anywhere near a PDI victory, indicates that youth and a still-small but growing middle class do want to see Indonesia's restricted political system opened up. If Indonesia keeps containing public participation in politics to brief, regulated campaign periods once every five years, the risk of economic development proceeding out of proportion to political development will grow, they say.

Dr. Burhan [sic.] said the 1992 campaign and election, while successful, show that Indonesia should be moving to allow more participation. "There should be some changes and some accommodation to other voices," he said. He suggested that one way is for the government to lift the restriction on smaller parties having permanent organization in villages, where the majority of Indonesians live. Under the current system, only Golkar can work in villages full-time.

Another way, Dr. Burhan said, would be to let the parliament be more active. In Indonesia's system, the legislature has a very limited role as political power is concentrated in the president and the military. (Tuesday's election was for only 400 members of parliament. The remaining 100 members representing the military will be appointed later.)

It wasn't immediately clear how many Indonesians had spoiled their votes, showing rejection of the current political system and choices.

TRIAL REPORTS BANNED IN JAKARTA

UPI - Jakarta, June 17 - The government said Wednesday it had banned three books, including a report on trials of separatist leaders, claiming their contents could spark

ethnic conflicts and discredit security officers.

One book, "Resume of the Observation Process of the Trial of Aceh Cases," was banned because it could mislead the public, especially about the government's policy in handling rebels in Aceh province, and could damage national unity, a spokesman for the attorney general's office said.

The book, issued by the Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, charged that Indonesian courts in the province of Aceh apparently violated basic legal principles during trials of the region's separatist leaders.

"Their families were given no explanations either, and were prohibited from meeting them while on military detention," the book said.

The separatist Free Aceh Movement started in 1989 with members campaigning for their own Islamic state instead of remaining within the Indonesian republic, home to the world's largest Muslim population.

In an attempt to quell the rebels, thousands of government troops, including elite paratroopers, were reported to have been sent to Aceh one year later. Since then, clashes between the military and the separatists have claimed hundreds of lives in the province.

Human rights organizations, including U.S.-based Asia Watch and London-based Amnesty International, last year accused the Indonesian troops of resorting to summary executions, torture and arbitrary arrests in their drive to crush the rebels. Indonesian authorities, however, denied the allegations.

The attorney general's spokesman also said it banned the book "Chinese, Javanese and Maduranese in Surabaya's Anniversary," charging it contained racial, social and religious matters that could spark conflicts.

The government also banned distribution of a bulletin, entitled "Progres," published in Australia, saying its contents could lead to a misunderstanding of the country's national leadership.

It also outlawed a pamphlet entitled, "A Hymn on Indonesian Culture," saying it advocates restoration of a cultural organization affiliated with the banned communist party.

Kyodo, Jakarta, June 16 - Indonesia's Attorney General Singgih has banned distribution of three books and an Australian publication for fear they might cause public disorder and undermine the national leadership, according to an official statement issued Tuesday.

One of the banned books mentioned in the statement is a book on the process of trials in Aceh, a troubled province at the northern tip of Sumatra island.

The statement said that explanations in the book, released last year by the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (YLBHI), take a stance that discredits the security apparatus.

"That can create people's distrust and antipathy to the (apparatus) of the law and security and all its policies," the statement said.

Hendardi, a spokesman for YLBH, said the foundation is "shocked" and "regrets" the government's decision.

He said the book is supposed to be a contribution on how the government should properly handle the Acehnese separatists. "The book has been based on facts," he said.

The Attorney General's statement also said that an Australian bulletin "Progres" had also been banned because its details could cause people to have erroneous opinions toward the national leadership.

Another two books were banned because they could lead to ethnic problems and the revival of communism.

The decision banning the publications was made in March according to the statement. Attorney General office officials could not say why the statement was released so long after the original decision.

INDONESIAN LEGAL AID FOUNDATION STATEMENT

ON THE ATTORNEY GENERAL'S BAN ON THE CIRCULATION OF THE 1991 YLBHI PUBLICATION, "SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS OF TRIAL OBSERVATIONS IN ACEH"

Jakarta, June 17, 1992 Translation courtesy of Asia Watch

The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation would like to issue the following statement, in connection with the Attorney General's decision No. Kep. 020/JA/3/1992 dated March 21, 1992 and announced by the Attorney General's public relations office on Tuesday, June 16, 1992, about the ban on the book, *Summary of the Results of Trial Observations in Aceh*:

1. The publication of "Trial Observations in Aceh" by YLBHI was designed to socialize the staff of LBH to juridical aspects of the Aceh Merdeka cases, to raise the professionalism of legal aid service.

In addition, the internal publication was produced to demonstrate the public responsibility LBH undertook in connection with the Aceh Merdeka cases.

2. The reason for the Attorney General's ban on this internal publication is clearly inappropriate, because the contents of the book focus more on the procedure and facts of the trials in the Aceh

Merdeka cases and do not constitute an evaluation of legal policy.

Moreover, the reason given by the Attorney General, that the book "could rupture and divide the unity of the nation," in no way reflects the contents or the objective of this internal publication.

YLBHI's decision to publish the book does not mean that LBH accepts or agrees with the views of the Aceh Merdeka movement. LBH has always worked to instill awareness of the nation in every step it has taken to provide legal aid.

This internal publication was designed as an effort to improve the working of the legal system in Indonesia and the development of Indonesian government policies in Aceh.

On this basis, YLBHI regrets the Attorney General's decision and asks that it be reviewed.

3. The banning of a number of publications by the Attorney General's office in the period 1990-91 (by LBH's count, 26 books have been so banned) illustrates the Attorney General's use of authoritarian powers, which were strengthened by Law No.5/1991 on prosecution so as to close down opportunities for critical communication, which in fact should be opened up to raise the level of democracy in Indonesia.

FIGHTING FOR HUMAN RIGHTS IN INDONESIA (HELMI FAUZI)

Green Left Weekly, issue 59, June 17

Helmi Fauzi, an activist in Indonesia's pro-democracy and environment movements, has been speaking to students and environmental activists in Australia about the political and economic situation in Indonesia. His tour was organised by AKSI (Indonesia Solidarity Action), Resistance and the Environmental Youth Alliance (EYA). Helmi has also just visited Europe, where he spoke to the UN Human Rights Commission on human rights abuses and torture in Indonesia.

Question: Could you explain your involvement in the pro-democracy movement?

I first became involved in politics through the student movement. I joined an organisation called Front for People's Education. This organisation concentrated on building awareness through promoting discussion of social and economic problems at the grassroots level, often using popular theatre.

I also became involved in the Students Action Committee, which struggled for solidarity with the peasants.

For example, in 1988 in Badega village in West Java, a large private company wanted to expand their tea plantation. They forcibly took over the people's land in the surrounding area, with the assistance of the local military. The people refused to accept the takeover and continued to plant their usual market garden vegetables, while at the same time they destroyed the tea trees planted by the company.

Thirteen of the peasant activists were arrested by the military. They were accused of subversion and of continuing the kind of activities that used to be carried out by the mass peasant organisation of the Communist Party before 1965.

Many students began to realise the importance of building an alliance between the student movement and other sectors of society. Real social change could not take place without the genuine participation of those parts of society that were the real victims of development.

Question: Were you involved in campaigns related to Badega?

I visited Badega village to discuss with the peasants their problems and what they could be do about them, and to help organise them. Some of them also visited campuses to create awareness amongst the students.

Prior to this, the students were only concerned with campus welfare issues. The Badega case was the beginning of a reorientation towards more grassroots issues.

Question: Have there been many cases like Badega?

Since the beginning of the 1980s, there has been a big penetration of capital into the village economy. This usually was concentrated in the agribusiness sector, with the big companies taking over land, often by force. Many peasants have been forced to become plantation workers on desperately low wages. For example, a plantation worker usually only earns Rp800 per day or A\$0.60. This kind of development has increased tensions at the village level.

At the same time, the change in outlook amongst student activists resulted in many of them leaving the campuses, going to the countryside and becoming community organisers.

We have seen the mushrooming of committees made up of peasants and students. Since Badega, similar campaigns and protests by peasants have taken place in other places, such as Kedung Ombo, Majalengka, Koto Panjang, Pulau Panggung, Lombok and Bali amongst others.

Over the last few years, there have been at least 50,000 peasants involved in either local or national mobilisations.

Question: What about the urban sector?

The building of alliances between students and workers came after the establishment of alliances with the peasants. Student activists began to realise the strategic position of the workers in the cities for any attempt to carry out structural change in the country.

The campaigns in solidarity with the peasants forced popular issues onto the political agenda. The rural campaigns had a kind of "reinforcement effect" which created a political atmosphere more open to popular issues that had been taboo. This opened up some space that allowed the workers also to begin organising open protests.

They have been campaigning for freedom to organise - because there are no genuine unions. Only one union is allowed, and it is under the regime's control, often staffed by retired or serving military personnel. The other issues of concern are improvements in wages and conditions. For example, the minimum wage in Jakarta is Rp2400 per day and, in fact, there are many people paid below this minimum. These are the lowest wages in ASEAN.

Question: How much worker protest has there been?

Even the student activists have been surprised at how quickly worker protest has spread. Almost every week, there are strikes or protests of one kind or another. In some cases, these have involved up to 15,000 workers. These actions continue to occur in several cities, especially in Java.

Question: What do you see as the main challenge?

The main challenge is to build an instrument which can consolidate the movement in all sectors and give political direction. Only this way can we achieve the structural change necessary to improve the people's condition.

Question: Could you tell me about the National Youth Front which you represent?

This is a coalition of grassroots campaign groups and other people's organisations. The front's main concern is to strengthen the movement for democracy. Our main demands at the moment are the abolition of laws which restrict political parties and ban genuine independent trade unions. We are also demanding the involvement of local people's representatives in all planning of development projects that will affect them, and the official recognition of traditional land rights of our indigenous peoples and

their right to their traditional beliefs and culture.

Question: What do you think Australian supporters of these developments in Indonesia should do?

The key thing is to strengthen solidarity between the Indonesian democratic movement and the Australian people. This can be achieved by participating in campaigns to support the human rights and environmental groups in Indonesia as well as putting pressure on the Australian government to link economic aid and investment with improvements in human rights and environmental policies. One way to do this is to become involved in groups like AKSI.

Question: How do the activists in the National Youth Front view the issue of self-determination for East Timor?

Since the activists of the NYF have come into contact with student members of the East Timorese resistance groups, there has been a quite high consciousness of the struggle of the East Timorese people for independence.

The NYF views the Indonesian occupation of East Timor as not only violating the basic rights of the East Timorese people to self-determination but also as violating the principles launched by the founding fathers of independent Indonesia, namely, that Indonesia should fight to end all forms of colonialism in the world. What Indonesia is doing today in East Timor is just another form of colonialism.

Self-determination should be possible through a referendum carried out under the auspices of the United Nations. But, of course, an essential precondition is the withdrawal of all Indonesian military forces from East Timor. The Australian government should play an active role in promoting such an outcome in international forums and in the United Nations.

ACEHNESE OCCUPY UNHCR KUALA LUMPUR OFFICE

The following press release was issued today, 22 June 1992, in London, by sources close to the Achenese problem:

In a desperate last minute effort to prevent forcible repatriation to Indonesia by Malaysian authorities of Achenese refugees in Malaysia, Achenese refugees and asylum seekers in Malaysia have staged an occupation of the UNHCR's premises in Kuala Lumpur.

Under pressure by the Indonesian government, eager to obliterate all traces of atrocities and strife in Aceh, the Malaysian authorities have agreed to send back the

Achenese refugees held in Malaysian prisoners as 'illegal immigrants' who have fled the killing fields in their own country by Indonesian troops.

Malaysia not being a signatory of the 1961 Geneva Convention which concerns refugees and their international rights and status, the UNHCR has claimed to be 'powerless' to offer any help or recognition to Achenese refugees in Malaysia. To its credit the Malaysian government, fully aware of the horrors happening in Aceh to a 'brother' Muslim people, has tried to drag its feet under constant pressure from the Indonesian government rather than return those Achenese who sought refuge in Malaysia. But finally ASEAN trade agreements and a mutual secret security agreement between the two countries won the day and the Malaysians have been forced to comply to Indonesian dictates.

Apart from Achenese refugees held in Malaysian prisons there are an estimated 1,500 Achenese 'illegal immigrants' seeking refuge in Malaysia. Again under pressure from ASEAN 'big brother' Indonesia, the Malaysian government has given a deadline of June 30th to all 'illegal immigrants' in Malaysia (which includes 'economic migrants' from elsewhere in Indonesia, Muslims from Southern Thailand, Vietnamese, Burmese Muslims fleeing the present pogroms and other refugees and 'illegal immigrants'), either to register with the relevant authorities or be forcibly deported to their country of origin. The move is specifically designed to single out the Achenese refugees, who are unwilling to register with the authorities for fear of endangering their families remaining in Indonesia. After the expiry of the deadline the Malaysian government has threatened to conduct nationwide sweeps of illegal immigrants for which camps are being set up throughout Malaysia to house 'illegal immigrants' prior to deportation.

The occupation of UNHCR premises in Kuala Lumpur is a desperate last-ditch effort to draw world attention to the plight of Achenese refugees in Malaysia and to the hidden killing fields in Aceh, Northern Sumatra, which they have fled, in which an estimated 20,000 have been killed during the last two years alone.

List of Acehnese in the UNHCR, Kuala Lumpur

The following are the names of the forty men, women and children who entered the Kuala Lumpur office of the UN High Commission of Refugees today, 22 June 1992, and are refusing to leave until they are granted political refugee status: Juara Habib Abdul Gani, Aida Fitri, Kena Juri Pemulodia, Win Fikri Azima, Iftah Habib Abdul Gani, Makmur Habib Abdul Gani,

Bazaruddin Lingga, Iqlil Iljas Laube, Ilham Iljas Laube, Musrial Mahfuzd Muhammad, Musanna Abdul Wahab, Zaidi Ubaidillah, Bjahrial Suleiman Abbas, Jahja M. Hasem, Muzakkir Hamid, Achjar Abdul Rasjid, Basri Ismail, Zulkifli Abdullah, M. Jusuf Rani Razak, Muhammad Fajri Abdullah, Mustafa Abdullah, Ghatali Hasan, Arjuna Ahmad, M. Nasir Sjama'un, Masni Daud, Nasrita Daud, Djamaluddin Nasir, M. Rizal Nasir, Anwar Nasir, Sjama'un Abu Bakar, Marjani, wife of Sjama'un; Sutji Sjama'un, 7 years; Aida Sjama'un, 6 years; Rahmat Sjama'un, 2 years; Abdul Gani Husin., Sabian, wife of Gani; Zahara Bah Gani, 12 years; Alhadi Bah Gani, 13 years; Tjut Ali Gaumpang, 25 years.

Adoe Zakaria Saman

Update: According to information from Kuala Lumpur, the Malaysian authorities are blocking news of the occupation. There has been no reporting about it as yet on local television.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL STILL DENIED ENTRY TO INDONESIA

UPI, Jakarta, June 24 - Indonesia has refused to allow a visit by members of the human rights group Amnesty International, and House Speaker Kharis Suhud defended the decision Wednesday, saying the time was "not ripe" for an inspection.

Suhud, who had been asked about the matter by a group of visiting British law-makers, said Indonesia did not want any interference by the London-based monitoring group in what it considers its internal affairs.

A spokesman for Amnesty International in London, which has not been allowed into Indonesia since the 1970s, said Wednesday the group sought permission this year to observe criminal trials in the country.

Suhud said the government has not ruled out a visit by Amnesty some at some point in the future, "but the government believes the time for such a visit is not ripe," the Suara Pembaruan newspaper said.

Amnesty International said recently that serious human rights violations have continued in Indonesia's troubled province of East Timor since the Nov. 12 massacre in Dili, when government troops opened fire on unarmed demonstrators.

The group also said the government's investigation into the incident was flawed and unacceptable.

Indonesia first claimed only 19 people died, but after international condemnation amid reports the true death toll exceeded 100, it conducted an investigation that

concluded about 50 people died and 90 remained missing.

Amnesty International, along with the U.S.-based human rights group Asia Watch also accused the Indonesian army last year of resorting to summary executions, torture and arbitrary arrests in its drive to crush a rebel uprising in the country's strongly Islamic province of Aceh.

The groups claimed hundreds of civilian killings were reported in Aceh, and said an untold number of people disappeared after being taken into military custody.

Indonesian authorities have denied all past allegations of human rights abuses.

ALATAS TO UNHCR: HANDS OFF ACEHNESE

Reuter, Jakarta, June 26 - Indonesia on Friday rejected attempts to get the United Nation High Commissioner for Refugees to solve the problem of people who have fled the Indonesian province of Aceh for Malaysia.

"Up until now there is no (UNHCR) business," Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told reporters.

"Our position is that they are illegal immigrants. There has been agreement between Malaysia and Indonesia," Alatas said.

"We will try to settle the issue bilaterally."

Groups of Acehnese have been sailing in small boats from the island of Sumatra across the Straits of Malacca to Malaysia since last March to escape what they said was fighting between Indonesian soldiers and separatist rebels.

A group of Acehnese - 25 men, five women and 13 children - approached the UNHCR on Monday seeking asylum.

A London-based Indonesian human rights group, Tapol, said in a letter to the UNHCR that the Acehnese would be in grave danger if forcibly to return to Indonesia.

FINAL ELECTION RESULTS

UPI, Jakarta, June 29 - The ruling Golkar party won 282 of the 400 contested seats in parliament, and 68 percent of the popular vote, elections officials said Monday in announcing final results of the June 9 general elections.

National Elections Committee Chairman Rudini, in announcing the results, also acknowledged "problems and weaknesses" could not be avoided but promised to resolve complaints of voting irregularities "in line with existing rules."

The country's only two legally permitted opposition parties, after yet another electoral trouncing in the voting for the rubber-

stamp legislature, complained of irregularities topped by widespread voter intimidation.

The government uses its multi-million member force of public employees to encourage voting for Golkar, and also allegedly uses tactics that include tying local development aid to the support it receives by region.

Golkar swept 68 percent of the 97.7 million votes cast on behalf of the 183 million people who make up the world's fourth-largest nation, a slight decline from the 73 percent it received in the last general elections in 1987.

The final results released Monday showed the Muslim-backed United Development Party, PPP, finished second with 62 seats, up from its 61 in 1987.

The Christian-nationalist Indonesian Democratic Party, PDI, secured 56 seats in the June 9 voting, a marked increase from its 40 seats in the 1987 elections.

The other 100 seats in the 500-seat House of Representatives are reserved for members of the military directly appointed by President Suharto.

The 400 elected legislators were spread about evenly between the densely populated Java island and the sparsely populated islands outside it, Rudini said.

PPP chairman Ismail Hasan Metareum said his party accepted the election results despite noting many irregularities throughout the country.

The PPP lost for the second consecutive time in the heavily Muslim region of Aceh, and the party leader complained that government officials pressured people to vote for Golkar.

PDI Chairman Suryadi also complained of numerous irregularities in many regions, including the rejection of PDI observers at polling stations and the intimidation of its members, and urged the government to do better in the future.

Golkar's secretary-general, Rachmat Witular, had no complaints. "I am very satisfied with the results earned by Golkar despite a slight decline," Witular told reporters.

Rudini, addressing the complaints, said the elections involved a huge number of Indonesians spread throughout archipelago who have various intellectual abilities.

"Therefore," he said, "various problems and weaknesses cannot be avoided."

He also said the elections committee will investigate any complaints from each of the three parties and "solve them in line with existing rules."

WEST PAPUAN ON TRIAL FOR HELPING OPM

Source: Jakarta Post 27 June 1992 Abridged.

Comment: This trial suggests that there have been several groups of people in West Papuan towns maintaining links with the OPM. Some months ago, Theo Rumkabu was tried on similar charges.

PROSECUTOR SEEKS SIX YEARS FOR SUPPORTER OF IRIAN REBELS

A 51-year old Irianese man is facing a possible six-year term for supplying various materials to the OPM (Free Papua Movement). In his sentence demand, the prosecutor said that GP had been found guilty of supplying various necessities to the OPM.

The defendant who pleaded guilty received a letter from OPM leader, Sonny Seseray last October requesting several things. GP then sent the guerrillas who are hiding in Boda village at the border with PNG, lubricating oil for guns, cigarettes, sugar, coffee, facial powder and eucalyptus oil through a middle man, Yeheskiel Patai. GP received another letter from Seseray informing him that the OPM had received the goods and asking the defendant to send them more things but the defendant did not do so as he had no money.

CARLSSON DEATH: OPM NOT GUILTY

Source: PNG Times 25 June 1992 Abridged
Bernard Mawen was host to Swiss film-maker Claudio von Planta who spent five months in the bush in 1989 to make a film about the OPM.

OPM DENIES INVOLVEMENT IN DEATH OF SWEDE

The OPM has denied involvement in the death of the Swede Per- Ove Carlsson who died in Kiunga in April. In a statement written on 6 June and received by The Times last week, OPM commander [in the south-east region of West Papua] Bernard Mawen said the OPM is innocent.

He was commenting on a report broadcast on Australian Broadcasting Commission's Radio Australia stating that the OPM could have killed Carlsson.

Mr Mawen said the OPM had strict rules of conduct. It respects PNG's independence and sovereignty and does not carry out operations in PNG territory. Secondly, the OPM welcomed foreign journalists who come to document OPM struggles against Indonesia. Thirdly, he said that Mr Carlsson's identity and travel plans

were unknown to the OPM at the time of his death. Foreign journalists who want to report on the OPM must make advance arrangements for their movements.

Mawen blamed the Indonesian intelligence organisation BAKIN for Carlsson's death. He said Carlsson's death had the style and sophistication of a BAKIN killing, adding that the type of killing is carried out by BAKIN in (West Papua) and East Timor to suppress the people from speaking out on the Indonesian government.

ACEH POLICE REBEL JAILED

AFP, Jakarta, July 5 - A military court in Banda Aceh, northern Sumatra, handed down a 16 year jail term to a police sergeant accused of involvement in a separatist group, the Antara news agency said here Sunday.

Chief Sergeant Jamaludin bin Usman, 33, cooperated with the outlawed Moslem separatist movement Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh), Antara quoted the judge as saying.

Indonesia is the world's most populous Moslem nation and authorities view any attempt to set up a separate Islamic state, Aceh Merdeka's goal since 1970s, as subversion.

RELATIONS WITH DUTCH ON MEND?

Reuter, Jakarta, July 8 - Relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands could be improved by Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek's visit next week, said Indonesian State Secretary Murdiono on Wednesday.

But the question of aid, which originally caused the rift between Jakarta and their former colonial rulers, was still out of bounds, he added. Van Den Broek is due to visit Indonesia on July 16 and 17.

"We have removed the problem of aid but in the other sectors we can increase cooperation between the two countries," said Murdiono.

Ties between Indonesia and the Netherlands were strained when the Dutch suspended aid to Jakarta following an army massacre in East Timor last November. The Indonesians retaliated by demanding the Netherlands step down from chairmanship of a donors group.

The Dutch were strident critics of the military action in Dili when up to 180 people died after troops opened fire at a crowd gathering at a cemetery in the East Timor capital.

"Indonesia was particularly sensitive to the Dutch criticism because they were their previous colonisers and also because

Indonesia was entering a nationalistic phase," one diplomat said.

The cutting of Dutch aid, which was less than two per cent of the total aid amount of \$4.75 billion in the financial year ending last March 31, is being felt in areas like family planning.

Indonesian Economics Minister Radius Prawiro, who recently returned from a tour of several countries to assess their aid commitments to Indonesia, refused to comment on his expectations for the Paris meeting.

But diplomatic sources say Indonesia expects a higher level of aid this year and has asked countries outside its traditional donor community to match the Dutch amount.

Its efforts have also run into trouble from human rights groups.

Eighteen British members of parliament have called for a suspension of British aid to Indonesia until it improves its human rights record in East Timor, according to a statement from The Parliamentary Human Rights Group.

It demanded the release of all East Timorese tried on charges relating to protests before the massacre and another investigation of the military's role in the violence as conditions for further British aid.

MILITARY TO OPEN TV STATION

Reuter, Jakarta, July 11 - Indonesian military authorities, which play a key role in politics, plan to open a television station to gain public support, Antara news agency reported on Saturday.

The plan was announced on Thursday as a debate heated up in parliament over the military force's powerful traditional functions of ensuring security and promoting social development.

Vice Admiral Soedibyo Rahardjo, military chief of staff, speaking at the opening ceremony of three military-run radio stations on Thursday, announced the proposal and appealed to younger members of the armed forces to conceive programmes for the television station.

Indonesia has four television stations - three commercial and one state-run.

Military spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro said the radio stations at Semarang, Bali and East Timor were set up to spread military policies, mobilise support for its activities and entertain the local people.

A private company helps manage the three radio stations.

DUAL FUNCTION OF MILITARY QUESTIONED

Reuter, Jakarta, July 11 - Political scientists Miriam Budiardjo and Arbi Sanit told a parliamentary hearing on Wednesday that the military authority's 100 allocated seats in the 500-seat parliament should be reduced in phases to strengthen democracy.

The armed forces' role in parliament was no longer relevant, they said at the hearing in an unusually frank expression of views for rigidly-controlled Indonesia.

On the following day, Defence Minister Benny Murdani, a former commander-in-chief of the armed forces, told the same hearing that those who called for a reduced role for the military authority did not understand its dual function.

And State Secretary Murdiono, a retired major general, said the authority's allocated seats were legitimised by law.

The military's high political profile is also under attack from some Western-educated technocrats in the government who deal mainly with economic affairs.

They believe the armed forces have outlived the dual function, failing to take into account modern views on issues ranging from human rights to free-market economics.

They point to East Timor where the soldier's image was tarnished last November after troops opened fire on mourners at a cemetery, killing up to 180 people.

INDONESIA AND FOREIGN AID

EAST TIMOR WELCOMES AUSTRALIA'S AID OFFER

THE JAKARTA POST in English 15 May

Jakarta (JP)-Australian Ambassador Philip Flood said yesterday that the East Timor provincial authorities had welcomed his government's proposed development cooperation program for the province.

The ambassador was speaking in Denpasar, Bali, after spending four days in the former Portuguese colony. He said that he was following up on the agreement for development which was signed during the recent visit to Indonesia of Australian Prime Minister Paul Keating.

He said the current plan by the Australian International Development Assistance Bureau (AIDAB) was to spend Rp [rupiah] 46 billion (A\$32 million) over the upcoming five-year period of 1992 to 1997.

According to the ambassador the largest project that has already been approved was a water and environmental sanitation project. "The project aims to provide clean water and sanitation in the Dili and Covalima regency," he said. According to the ambassador it will help an estimated 100,000 people.

The project, he said, would assist the Indonesian Government in meeting its target for water supply as planned in the fifth Repelita (National Development Plan). The Australian project inputs are estimated at Rp 17 billion (A\$11.7 million).

Under the project three long-term advisers and a number of short-term ones would be assigned to East Timor, Flood said. At present, one Australian expert, a veterinarian, Dr. Tim Buick, has begun work in the province.

"He is assisting in the provision of improved veterinary services for villagers and commercial livestock owners."

Flood added that he expected a positive response to possible Australian commercial investment in East Timor. In particular there was a positive attitude to the interest of two Queensland companies in building a slaughter house and a meat processing works involving the supply of cattle from Australia, he said.

According to Flood a site in the eastern part of the province had been identified for growing pineapples and corn as a feed additive. He added that a feasibility study for the project was now being undertaken.

FRANCE ON BOARD CGI

Reuter, Sydney, June 26 - In Jakarta, Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said on Friday that host nation France had pledged to do its best for the first meeting of Indonesia's aid donors in 24 years to be held without the country's former Dutch colonial rulers.

Alatas told reporters that visiting French junior Foreign Affairs Minister Georges Kiejman had made the pledge regarding next month's Paris meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) in talks with President Suharto.

"Minister Kiejman guarantees that the meeting will run smoothly and that the French government will make all effort for the success of the meeting," Alatas said.

The CGI donors' meeting to be held on July 16 and 17 will be the first since Indonesia said in March it no longer wanted the Netherlands to act as chairman. The World Bank accepted Jakarta's invitation to take over the position.

Jakarta, which receives around \$5 billion a year in aid, accused the Dutch of meddling in its domestic affairs after the Netherlands

threatened to suspend aid following the army massacre in East Timor.

Indonesia's leading donors are the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and Japan. Others include the International Monetary Fund, most of West Europe and the United States.

DEMONSTRATION ANNOUNCEMENT CGI MEETING, PARIS, 16-17 JULY

From Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, 28 June.

There will be a demonstration on July 16 in Paris, at the occasion of the Consultative Group on Indonesia meeting, to protest against the conditions of foreign development aid to Indonesia.

The demonstration will start at 5.30 pm in front of the Indonesian Embassy, 49 rue Cortambert, 75116 Paris, and walk to the Parvis des Droits de l'Homme (Human Rights Square) on the Trocadero. From 7.30 pm to midnight there will be a candle wake on the Parvis, with cultural animation from musical groups, theatre groups, and canvas painting.

At present we expect about 100 people from France, Holland, Belgium, Portugal, Italy and Germany. More participants and animation are welcomed. For further information contact Carlos at +33 (1) 48 33 39 57, fax +33 (1) 48 34 32 16 (do not use this e-mail address).

WORLD BANK ALERT – ETAN/US

The first meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) will be held in Paris on July 16-17. The CGI replaces the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI) which was recently disbanded, and will be chaired by the World Bank. Please write to the US representative to the Bank, asking that aid be made conditional on respect for human rights. Alerts from Tapol and SOS Timor containing more information are enclosed; the alert from SOS Timor includes a sample letter. The address for the US Representative is E. Patrick Coady Executive Director for the US World Bank Room D1328 1818 H Street NW Washington, DC 20433

The general World Bank fax is 202-477-6391. Stop economic aid to Indonesia!

The United States Ambassador

Dear Sir,

Permit me to express my concern about the participation of United States represen-

tatives 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

DONOR GROUP UNLIKELY TO YIELD TO NGO PRESSURE

*Jakarta Post. 26 June 1992. Dateline:
Jakarta. Abridged*

Visiting French Foreign Affairs Minister Georges Kiejman yesterday brushed aside fears that donor countries might yield to intensified pressure from NGOs to link aid to Indonesia with human rights. The Consultative Group for Indonesia is to meet in Paris on 16-17 July.

Speaking to JP, Kiejman said the participants would not succumb to NGO pressure. The donor countries tend to believe such problems can be worked out by the Indonesian government. "But at the moment I quite honestly am not aware of any pressure from NGOs. In any case, the French government does not need to be told how to raise human rights issues," he said.

He said he is convinced the Indonesian government realises there is a problem with its handling of the East Timor incident. He stated that he deplored the heavy sentences given to the demonstrators. "I hope this is the last manifestation of the government's severe attitude towards protest," Kiejman said.

France is Indonesia's third largest creditor after Japan and the USA, providing US\$166.8 million in 1991/92 and \$116.6 million the year before, making up 2 percent of the \$4.75 billion provided last year by the donor countries.

WORLD BANK'S 'TOUGH GUY'

Reuter, Washington, Rich Miller, July 1 - Indonesia has made great strides in reforming its economy but the going will only get tougher as the country prepares to leave the ranks of the world's poorest nations, a senior World Bank official said on Wednesday.

Bank vice president Gautam Kaji said the sprawling archipelago must make its economy more efficient by attacking monopolies, decentralising decision-making and establishing the legal framework for a modern economy.

"The issues they face as an economy moving into the middle income ranks get much more tricky, much more complicated," he told Reuters in an interview. "They are going to find it pretty hard grappling with them."

To help Indonesia in its efforts, the World Bank is asking rich nations and international institutions to promise \$4.8 billion in financial assistance to the country for the fiscal year that began in April.

That's about the same amount of money Indonesia was promised by its donors in 1991/92. The World Bank itself is committing around \$1.6 billion in loans to Indonesia per year.

"If you look at what Indonesia has achieved over the past couple of decades, it's quite dramatic," Kaji said.

But he stressed the need for the country to press ahead with its reform efforts.

"A country the size of Indonesia clearly has to decentralise and that clearly is the way they are going," Kaji said. "But it is easier said than done."

In a confidential report last month, the World Bank criticised two trade monopolies run by sons of Indonesian President Suharto, saying they went against an otherwise praiseworthy deregulation programme.

"I don't think it's a question of who owns the monopolies," Kaji said. "Whether it is Mr X or Mr Y...is neither here nor there for me...Efficiency...is our greatest concern."

That's also the case when it comes to Indonesia's foreign debt, which at some \$78 billion is among the highest in Asia.

"I'm not particularly worried by...how much debt there is (but)...how efficiently they use it," Kaji said.

Indonesia needs to manage its debt carefully, and so far it has done that, he added.

The World Bank is hosting the aid donors' meeting for Indonesia this year the first time, on July 16-17 in Paris.

Indonesia's former colonial ruler, the Netherlands, had hosted the annual aid meeting for the past 24 years.

But Indonesia asked the World Bank to take over after the Netherlands threatened to cut off aid to Jakarta because of an Indonesian army massacre in East Timor last November. The Netherlands will not be represented at this month's talks.

HUMAN RIGHTS AND EAST TIMOR WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE CGI MEETING

Forwarded by Bruno Kahn, 2 July.

According to a diplomatic source, the question of human rights, especially in East Timor, will be raised during the forthcoming Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) meeting in Paris, the 16 and 17 of July.

However, it is unlikely that foreign aid will actually be linked to human rights, the source said.

"Aid profits the Indonesian population first, and we don't want to punish it," it said.

The source also confirmed that France is ready to play a mediating role between Portugal and Indonesia on the East Timor issue. The issue was raised at all opportunities by the Minister delegate to foreign affairs, Georges Kiejman, during his visit in Jakarta last week: meetings in ministries, with President Suharto, with Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, the press, the NGOs.

INDONESIA PLANS ECONOMIC DEREGULATION

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, July 6 - Indonesia on Monday unveiled measures to deregulate the economy in a move seen aimed at placating critics at a crucial meeting of donor countries in Paris next week.

"We hope there will be at least a kind of positive reaction (from Paris)," Finance Minister Johannes Sumarlin told reporters after a news conference in Jakarta to announce the measures.

Sumarlin and Economics Minister Radius Prawiro pledged further measures soon to open areas including the car sector, which analysts say is prone to political pressure.

Prawiro told the news conference several items in the steel industry would be freed from regulation by state-owned Krakatau Steel.

"These deregulation measures are aimed at increasing the efficiency of the economy...and to boost exports," Prawiro said.

Tariffs will be reduced to 10 per cent from 30 for salted meat and tapioca imports, but controls on sugar will remain.

Procedures will be simplified for hiring expatriates, aimed at reducing the current three weeks for a work permit.

The Manpower Ministry in Jakarta will allow its offices in different regions to issue work permits.

A regulation which insists on the local partner of a foreign investment joint venture having to apply for the land use has been diluted in the plantation estate sector.

Joint ventures can now directly obtain the right for up to 30 years and seek an extension of another 25 years.

Prawiro said discussions were going on to deregulate the economy's most prominent area - the car industry, but rejected suggestions it was being slowed down by political pressure.

Industries Minister Hartarto said prices would still be controlled in cement but Asia-Pacific imports would be allowed.

Sumarlin said details of the deregulation package must be finalised this month. He said they had been delayed by the June 9 general election.

The July 16-17 meeting of donors in Paris will be the first to be chaired in 24 years by the World Bank, rather than by the Dutch as scheduled, at Jakarta's request.

Jakarta was angry at a Dutch threat to suspend aid after an army massacre in East Timor last November which killed up to 180 marchers.

Indonesia's earlier deregulation policies have been commended by the World Bank in its latest country report. But the bank advised that monopolies in oranges and cloves, run by two sons of President Suharto, should be wound up.

The bank said they did not help farmers.

CGI TOLD: 1992 ELECTIONS WERE UNFAIR

The Body for the Protection of Political Rights in the 1992 General Election [Badan Perlindungan Hak-Hak Politik Rakyat dalam Menghadapi Pemilu 1992], whose chair is H.J.C. Princen, issued a statement on 3 July 1992, for presentation to the Meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia in Paris on 16 - 17 July. The following are extracts from the statement:

"Societal participation in national policy formation is not only an economic but also a political issue. That is, the extent of such participation is contingent on the capacity of the existing political system to channel societal aspirations. In cases where the political system is incapable of this, economic aid from industrialised to developing countries is unlikely to reach society at large and the result of aid disbursement will be counter-productive to its aims...(and

utilised to the benefit of the few in their efforts to repress the economic and political potential of society at large."

"The recent General Election bring to light the capacity of the political system in Indonesia.... Following the 1992 General Election, several facts have been drawn to our attention:

"Firstly, that the legislation governing political parties and mass organisations, as well as regulations concerning the MPR/DPR [the higher and lower chambers] have yet to fully ensure the realisation of societal aspirations. As present, limits continue to be placed on the legal number of political parties, the floating mass concept - which limits the political space of political parties - continues to exist, and still, 60 per cent of MPR/DPR members are appointed.

"Secondly, the implementation of the 1992 General Election was fraught with fraudulent practices and violations of the basic principles of the election (direct, general, free, honest and just). Not all party contestants were allowed to monitor the vote-counting and many people were pressured into voting for a certain party.

"This brings us to conclude that the existing political system is not yet capable of ensuring the appropriate channelling of societal aspirations or of ensuring societal participation in the formulation of national economic policy. This means that there is no guarantee that aid disbursed via CGI will be channelled appropriately to realise the social welfare in Indonesia....

"Thus we demand that the CGI sets down clear conditions for the disbursement of aid in order to guarantee that the channelling of such aid will be in the interests of realising social welfare, in both its economic and non-economic sense."

U.S. EVENTS

JUSTICE DENIED IN INDONESIA (SEN. LEAHY)

STATEMENT OF SENATOR PATRICK LEAHY, JUNE 10, 1992

Mr. President, the world was horrified on November 12 of last year when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on unarmed, peaceful demonstrators in East Timor, killing between 50 and 100. That massacre was only the latest in a long history of human rights atrocities by Indonesian security forces in East Timor and in Aceh. It attracted international attention because several foreign journalists, including two Americans one of whom was badly beaten

by soldiers, were at the scene and filmed the shooting.

I spoke on this floor shortly after the November 12 massacre, and again on April 1, when I called on the administration to submit a report to the Appropriations Committee by August 1, 1992, on the Indonesian government's response. I was particularly concerned that the government fulfill its pledge to punish those who were responsible for the massacre, since in the past such atrocities have routinely gone unpunished.

Last week I got my answer. A total of ten soldiers were disciplined in court martial proceedings, none for murder. Their sentences ranged from 8 months to 18 months in jail. The longest sentences were given to two sergeants who shot without orders from their commanders. A 17 month sentence was given to a police corporal who cut off a demonstrator's ear with his bayonet.

These short sentences for the cold-blooded slaughter of dozens of innocent people are an insult in themselves, but they are an even greater insult when compared with the 9 and 10 year sentences for the two demonstrators who have been prosecuted thus far. Other prosecutions of demonstrators are pending, including against the person accused of organizing the demonstration, who is facing a life sentence. The person who was convicted of planning a peaceful demonstration on November 19 to protest the November 12 massacre was sent to jail for 9 years, even though he was not present when the demonstration took place.

Mr. President, these sentences are revealing for what they say about the Indonesian government's attitude about the massacre. They reinforce the theme, expressed by top military commanders shortly after the killings, that the victims got what they deserved. That was also the unmistakable message of the preliminary report of the National Commission of Investigation, issued on December 26. The final report was never made public, nor was the report of the military's own investigation.

The Indonesian government said that justice would be done. It has failed to do justice. It has perverted justice. Dozens and dozens of defenseless people were ruthlessly and senselessly killed, and not a single soldier has even been accused much less convicted, of murder. What kind of justice is that?

Many questions remain, and must be answered, most importantly, who planned the military response, who gave the order to shoot, and who else fired the shots? What happened to the bodies of the missing? And

what has been done to ensure free and regular monitoring of human rights in East Timor and Indonesia by human rights groups?

The United States has been a major donor of aid to Indonesia, as have the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank, both of which receive substantial contributions of American tax dollars. Indonesia is also a major purchaser of American weapons.

The administration, which expressed what I believed was hasty and undeserved praise for the National Commission of Investigation's preliminary report, has said it will weigh the Indonesian government's response to the November 12 massacre when it decides on future aid to Indonesia. I commend them for that. That is what the American people want. For too long the administration has issued bland statements of regret and turned a blind eye to these kinds of abuses, while the aid kept flowing.

The first opportunity to do so is on July 16, at the donor consortium in Paris, chaired by the World Bank. Indonesia, with the fourth largest population, is facing urgent economic, social and environmental problems, and the United States has an interest in helping solve those problems. But the people of East Timor and Indonesia deserve better. The administration should make a strong, public statement expressing its continuing distress at Indonesia's failure to adequately protect human rights. Any decision on aid at that meeting should fully reflect the Indonesian government's handling of the East Timor massacre.

Mr. President, I frequently speak on the floor on matters of human rights, as I did last week when I spoke against most favored nation trade status for China, one of the world's most repressive governments. Internationally recognized human rights are not simply a domestic concern, as some have asserted. They are rights shared by all humanity, and of legitimate concern to all humanity.

Foreign aid and human rights are inseparable. Too often we have given aid to repressive governments, only to find those countries engulfed in civil war and our aid suspended when the people rose up against dictatorship. Somalia, which consumed hundreds of millions of our aid and is today a smoldering relic of a country, is a classic example. The administration needs to recognize that the American people are not going to support foreign aid in the future unless we stop squandering it on governments that abuse their own people and violate the principles our country stands for.

Patrick J. Leahy is a Democrat and the senior Senator from Vermont. He is up for

re-election in 1992 and considered a sure winner. His Leahy-Dodd amendment, passed by a wide margin in 1990, cut military to El Salvador by 50% and conditioned future aid on human rights improvements and an effort on the part of the Salvadoran government to negotiate with the rebels. He is Deputy Majority Whip and Chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, Committee on Appropriations. A lawyer by profession, he is Catholic. Address: SR-433 Russell Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510-4502. Phone: (202) 224-4242.

ETAN/US MAILING TO MEMBERS

June 21, 1992

Dear ETAN Contact:

Enclosed are two recent pieces on East Timor: a speech made on the floor of the U.S. Senate by Patrick Leahy, and an article in the current issue of the Nation. East Timor continues to demand and receive attention.

If you haven't yet written to Congress to support H.R.5176, now is the time. ETAN members who wrote have gotten a few new co-sponsors, with responses like these:

"Like you, I am appalled at the continued human rights violations which have occurred in East Timor since 1975. ... I am indeed a cosponsor of H.R.5176. ... I believe that this withdrawal of funding is a necessary concrete expression of U.S. opposition to these human rights atrocities. I also believe that human rights violations will continue in East Timor until its citizens are free to determine their own future." - Edolphus Towns

"I agree completely with what you had to say about ending military aid until all human rights abuses are ended and East Timor is freed from Indonesia's brutal military occupation. ... I have joined Congressmen Downey and Hall in introducing legislation... We believe that the bill is crafted so as not to allow any loopholes for the Administration to continue aid without the consent of Congress." - Nita M. Lowey

"I share your concern ... By continuing arms sales to Indonesia, and turning a blind eye to the list of Indonesia's atrocities, the United States indirectly supports the cruelty and deaths. ..." - Charles E. Schumer

John Miller, Eleanor Hoffman, Noah Madlin and I spent the last two days at the Clearwater Revival, where we filled ten pages of petitions with signers for a cutoff of U.S. aid to Indonesia. Many promised to write their Representatives, and we were reminded of the effectiveness of WBAI ra-

dio in getting the word out. Elaine Briere's photo exhibit grabbed a lot of attention. If you any prospects for public outreach, let us know and we'll get you materials and the exhibit.

Eleanor and I did a live cable TV show this week, together with Max Stahl's Cold Blood: The Massacre of East Timor video. If you would like the video for non-commercial use, give us a call (\$25 for sale, free to local East Timor groups). We'll have a new shipment of buttons and T-shirts shortly, so now is the time to order them (\$1 for buttons, \$12 for T-shirts, please specify size). We can provide materials on consentment for local groups.

The next meeting of ETAN/US will be on Sunday, June 28 at the home of Max Surjadinata, 100 LaSalle Street, Apt.21B, Manhattan (212/222-1899). We'll watch Cold Blood at 2:00, and start the meeting at 3:00. Fretilin U.N. Representative Jose Luis Guterres will probably be with us. LaSalle is between Broadway and Amsterdam just above 123 Street. The closest subway stop is 125 St. on the #1 or #9. Several upcoming items will be discussed, on which we would like your thoughts even if you can't be there:

- On June 29, the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce will hold a reception in New York for Robert L. Barry, the U.S. Ambassador-designate to Indonesia. Barry is a career diplomat and an expert on Soviet and East European affairs. We want to familiarize him with Americans' concerns about East Timor, and to decide how to approach this event.
- The U.N. Decolonization Committee hearings on East Timor are the week of July 20, in New York. East Timor supporters from around the world will be here to testify, as will ETAN/US. As the de facto "hosts," we should provide hospitality and welcome for our colleagues; we need your ideas and offers of help.
- We did a 100-piece mailing last month to foundations and prominent individuals asking for financial support and for service on our advisory committee. This has already brought in some money, and a few key endorsements (Noam Chomsky said "The work of ETAN has made it possible to hope that the people of East Timor may at last enjoy the right of self-determination for which they have struggled with such courage and dedication."), but needs to be expanded and followed up.

That's enough for this letter - except to welcome the newly-organized ETAN/San

Francisco, which joins a dozen other local groups across the country. Please keep us posted on your activities, and don't let summer torpor make you miss the last few months of the Congressional session.

Thanks for your past and future good work for East Timor, and don't forget that contributions are always needed: tax-deductible ones to "WESPAC Foundation/ETAN;" if you don't need the deduction, please make the check out to "Foreign Bases Project/ETAN." Thanks again.

For Peace with Justice,
Charlie Scheiner, Coordinator

US SENATORS CAUTION BAKER

United States Senate
Washington, DC 20510
June 21, 1992

The Honorable James Baker Secretary of State U.S. Department of State Washington, D.C. 20520

Dear Mr. Secretary:

We are writing to express concern about U.S. participation in a World Bank-chaired donor consortium for Indonesia which will meet in Paris on July 16. We believe that given the circumstances under which that consortium was established it, it is imperative that the Administration make a strong, public statement noting its continuing distress at Indonesia's human rights record and its determination to monitor that record closely.

As you know, the Government of Indonesia dissolved the existing donor consortium, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), last March, on the grounds that the Netherlands, which chaired the IGGI, had been too strident in its criticism of Indonesian human rights abuses and too quick to suspend aid after the November massacre in Dili, East Timor. Indonesia's action in demanding the dissolution of the IGGI was one salvo in an ongoing effort to reject any conditioning of foreign aid on human rights grounds.

By making a strong statement of concern over the appalling record of abuse in East Timor and in Indonesia proper at the Consultative Group meeting, the United States would be sending an appropriate signal to the Government of Indonesia that its human rights behavior is of international concern which will affect international support for its development program.

We are also concerned by recent statements by the Indonesian Minister of Interior forbidding Indonesian social organizations and institutions from participating in the International NGO Forum on

Indonesia (INGI) and from receiving funding from Dutch sources. This action harms in particular the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation and Indonesian environmental groups. We believe that the United States should state its support at the consortium meeting for direct links between NGOs operating in Indonesia and the Consultative Group.

Recent actions taken by the Indonesian government in prosecuting East Timorese for their involvement in the November 12th demonstration in Dili and the November 19th demonstration before foreign embassies in Jakarta, protesting the treatment of East Timorese by the Indonesian military deeply concern us.

Two East Timorese have been sentenced to nine and ten years in prison. Others have been sentenced to lesser but still significant terms. Yet the ten Indonesian military personnel court-martialed for their participation in the massacre were given light sentences of 18 months or less and none were charged with murder despite U.S. Embassy estimates that between 75 and 100 East Timorese were killed. At the same time, the full report of the National Commission of Inquiry which might shed further light on which units of the military were responsible for the killing, has not been made public, nor has the report of the Honorary Military Council.

We would appreciate learning what actions the United States intends to take at the Consultative Group meeting to impress upon the Indonesian Government that respect for internationally recognized standards of standards of human rights is an essential component of its development strategy and program.

Sincerely,
Claiborne Pell, Patrick Leahy, John Kerry, Malcolm Wallop, David Durenberger

WOLFOWITZ IN JAKARTA

AFP, Jakarta, June 22 - North Korea was described Monday as a "very serious" but "manageable" threat by a U.S. official, who added that the risk of attack from other Asian "relics of communism" had disappeared.

"I guess I have again to make an exception of North Korea," Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told a press conference in Jakarta, referring to international suspicions that Pyongyang is attempting to build a nuclear bomb.

He complained of North Korea's "enormous investment in conventional forces," and said the "efforts it seems to be making, or had been making at least in the nuclear area," are "clearly a danger."

However, Wolfowitz said the collapse of the Soviet Union and its replacement by Russia's non-communist government, combined with international cooperation, had helped make the North Korean threat "manageable."

"Even China" had helped with this "terribly difficult nuclear problem," along with other regional powers such as Japan and South Korea, he said.

Defending a call for a continued strong U.S. military, despite calls at home for more cuts, Wolfowitz said North Korea was an example of a danger that could surface if the United States and its allies allowed their defenses to be weakened.

"If we go too far in cashing in the peace dividend," he said, "then maybe five or ten years from now some future aggressor will look around and discover there is nothing to stop him. And that would be a very dangerous world."

Wolfowitz, 48, the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia from 1986 to 1989, was received by President Suharto, Defense Minister Moerdani and other officials.

He said it was possible the U.S. navy – which has withdrawn from its bases in the Philippines – could use the shipyards of Indonesia's Surabaya port on a "commercial" basis.

Wolfowitz, the number three official in the Pentagon, arrived Friday on the first stop of an Asian tour. On Tuesday he is to hold meetings in Malaysia, before moving on to Singapore, South Korea and Japan.

US DISSATISFIED ON TIMOR!

AFP, Jakarta, June 22 - A high-ranking U.S. official indicated Monday that Washington was still dissatisfied with measures taken by the Indonesian government after a massacre by its troops in East Timor last year.

Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz told a press conference that Jakarta's response to the massacre was "a piece of unfinished business."

The November 12 firing by troops left at least 50 officially dead, according to an official enquiry. Independent sources says as many as 90 protesters have disappeared since.

After the enquiry, Jakarta took what for Indonesia was unprecedented action against the military, resulting in sacking and imprisonment of some officers.

Wolfowitz noted that the United States had applauded the disciplinary actions and said he had discussed the East Timor massacre with President Suharto. But he declined comment on the conversation, saying he wanted to "keep it as a private discussion between our two governments."

There was "frank discussion" of the massacre with government officials, said Wolfowitz, acknowledging that "quite a few (U.S.) senators and congressman have opinions about it."

But "I am not going to get into a public analysis precisely of what's been done and what hasn't been done," he said.

Wolfowitz, 49, was the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia from 1986 to 1989.

NEW U.S. AMBASSADOR TO INDONESIA APPOINTED

SENATOR CRANSTON'S STATEMENT AT CONFIRMATION HEARING

Following is an excerpt from a public statement released June 24, 1992 by Senator Alan Cranston (Democrat, California), in his capacity as Chairman, Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate. Senator Cranston will retire in 1992 at the end of this term. He has served in the Senate since 1969. Phone: (202) 224-3553. Address: SH-112 Hart Senate Office Building, Washington, DC 20510-0501. The Barry confirmation hearing to which he refers was about as uneventful as such things go, and Barry's confirmation as the new U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia seems a certainty at this point; it was discussed in the Senate on July 2.

The Subcommittee on East Asian and Pacific Affairs convenes this afternoon to consider the ambassadorial nominations of three accomplished career officers: Charles B. Salmon, Jr. to be Ambassador to the Lao People's Democratic Republic; Robert L. Barry to be Ambassador to the Republic of Indonesia, and David C. Fields to be Ambassador to the Republic of the Marshall Islands.

... Ambassador Barry, with whom my office had frequent contact when he was Special Assistant for Eastern European Affairs, has been nominated to serve in another difficult environment, Indonesia.

The massacre last November of East Timorese by the Indonesian military has cast a pall over our otherwise strong bilateral relationship. The continued persecution of East Timorese, illustrated by the long prison terms meted out to the East Timorese, while those military personnel implicated in the murders have escaped with at most eighteen months in jail, is a sign that the Indonesian government has not yet recognized the seriousness of its problem with the United States.

Ambassador Barry, if confirmed, I hope will vigorously press the Indonesian government to address the underlying causes of the continued conflict in East Timor.

ETAN DISCUSSION WITH U.S. AMBASSADOR-DESIGNATE TO INDONESIA

On June 29, 1992, the American-Indonesian Chamber of Commerce hosted a reception in New York City for Robert L. Barry, the incoming U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia. Several Timor activists (including Bishop Paul Moore, Amy Goodman, Charles Scheiner and Allan Nairn) attended, engaging the Ambassador and about 40 attending businesspeople in conversation about human rights in East Timor and Indonesia, and their responsibility to try to improve the situation. Bishop Moore had a long conversation with Ambassador Barry about East Timor.

The entire plenary discussion was devoted to East Timor. After Mr. Barry's brief opening statement on how he would not make on-the-record comments as he was awaiting Senate confirmation, Bishop Moore spoke from the floor about the moral irresponsibility of doing business with people engaged in mass killings. An Indonesian businessman responded, citing Los Angeles to show that the United States' record was not so great. When Allan Nairn began answer him, AICC Director Wayne Forrest cut him off, asking if there were questions or comments on business issues – the real reason for the gathering. When there were none, people went back to their individual conversations.

After the reception broke up, Allan Nairn, Amy Goodman and Charlie Scheiner stayed for another hour, talking with AICC Chairman Forrest and Tony Whittingham, a vice president of Hill and Knowlton (a public relations firm that represents Indonesia on trade issues). Whittingham agreed that there was no atrocity bad enough that it would cause Hill & Knowlton to drop Indonesia as a client, but if they missed a payment on their foreign debt, that would cause H&K to seriously question the account. (However, as H&K has recently gotten bad publicity over their activities in support of Kuwait and against abortion rights, they are being more careful about taking on controversial issues.)

Forrest acknowledged that East Timor was a liability for foreign businesses working in Indonesia, but felt that the number of people raising such questions had declined since earlier this year. Although he personally would like to see human rights improved, it is not the role of AICC or foreign businesspeople to raise such questions with the Indonesian government.

ETAN presented the following letter to Ambassador Barry. An information packet was given to other guests who expressed interest.

ETAN/US
June 29, 1992

Dear Ambassador Barry,

We are a national network of individuals and organizations who are concerned about human rights and self-determination for the people of East Timor. We congratulate you on your new appointment, and would like to share some of our concerns.

Last week, the House of Representatives took Congress' first substantive action on East Timor, when it cut off U.S.-supplied military training for Indonesia. As Congressmen from both parties stated in the floor debate, this is the first step in a renewed commitment by the American people and their representatives to end the tragedy of East Timor.

As you know, Indonesia invaded the neighboring half-island of East Timor in 1975, and has occupied it militarily since then. For seventeen years, Indonesia has terrorized and killed the East Timorese, resulting in the deaths of close to 200,000 people – one-third of the population. For seventeen years, the United States has supplied weapons and diplomatic support to enable the continuing slaughter.

As our new Ambassador to Indonesia, you have an unprecedented opportunity to stop the killing. Since the Santa Cruz massacre last November, worldwide and American abhorrence of Indonesian brutality in East Timor have reached new levels. European concerns about human rights caused Indonesia to demand the dissolution of the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia. In the United Nations, as well as in many countries allied with the United States, people and governments have been re-awakened to the situation in East Timor, are taking action.

In addition to last week's cut in IMET funding, the House of Representatives is considering a more comprehensive bill, with bipartisan sponsorship. H.R.5176 will suspend all bilateral military and economic aid, arms sales, trade preferences, and U.S. support for multilateral aid until Indonesia withdraws from East Timor and allows its people to hold a U.N.-supervised referendum to determine their own political future. We hope you will reconsider your stated opposition to the IMET cut and other aid suspensions, and see such actions as helpful to your efforts to resolve what Defense Under-Secretary Paul Wolfowitz called the "unfinished business" of the Santa Cruz massacre and the future of East Timor.

As our Ambassador to Jakarta at this time, you have an unprecedented opening for change. You can represent human values and public opinion to help persuade the Indonesian government that their continued control of East Timor is not worth the economic and political costs. With the United States as unchallenged leader of the free world, you have an obligation and an opportunity to help the East Timorese people enjoy the rights expressed in our Constitution and Declaration of Independence.

Alternatively, you could continue the policies of U.S. administrations since 1975, protesting human rights violations with words while providing support for them in deeds. You could go along with the double standard that rewards generals scapegoated for the Santa Cruz massacre with leaves of absence to study at American universities (leaving the real perpetrators unpunished), and sentences peaceful Timorese activists to up to 15 years in prison.

We trust that you will take the former course, and use your position to help bring an end to the long nightmare of the people of East Timor. We look forward to working with you, and will be glad to provide any information or support you need to help persuade General Suharto to comply with international law and withdraw his troops from East Timor.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,
Charles Scheiner, coordinator
East Timor Action Network

RESOLUTION BY THE U.S. CONFERENCE OF MAYORS

HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR

Resolution No. 42 approved by the 60th Annual United States Conference of Mayors. Houston, Texas. June 21, 1992.

- 1) WHEREAS, on November 12, 1991, Indonesian security forces killed over 100 people and injured as many as 100 more when they fired on a Roman Catholic funeral procession in which demonstrators were attempting to place flowers on the grave of a youth killed by Indonesian troops on October 28, 1991 in Dili, East Timor; and
- 2) WHEREAS, Indonesian soldiers also beat several foreign journalists, including two Americans from The New Yorker and Pacifica Radio, who were observing the procession; and
- 3) WHEREAS, Indonesia, in violation of international law, illegally invaded East Timor in 1975, annexing the territory

without consideration for the rights of self-determination enjoyed by the East Timorese; and

- 4) WHEREAS, over 100,000 out of a population of approximately 600,000 died in the fighting, famine, and disease that followed Indonesia's invasion of East Timor; and
- 5) WHEREAS, since Indonesia's invasion, a state of intermittent conflict continues to exist in East Timor and Amnesty International, Asia Watch, and other international human rights organizations frequently report evidence of human rights abuses, including torture, arbitrary arrest and repression of freedom of expression; and
- 6) WHEREAS, the Government of Indonesia continues to restrict access by international organizations and foreign journalists to East Timor; and
- 7) WHEREAS, the United States and Indonesia have maintained close bilateral relations for the past 25 years, including a program of economic and military assistance which totalled \$50 million in Fiscal Year 1991,
- 8) NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED, that The U.S. Conference of Mayors urges the President of the United States and Congress to support the immediate introduction of a resolution in the General Assembly instructing the United Nations Commission on Human Rights to appoint a Special Rapporteur for East Timor to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict, providing for self-determination by the East Timorese people. The President should also request that the Government of Indonesia permit an investigation by the United Nations Special Rapporteur on Summary and Arbitrary Executions of the situation in East Timor and elsewhere in Indonesia.

Submitted by the Honorable Mayors

Dave Karp, San Leandro (CA)
Alfred Del Vecchio, White Plains (NY)
Sheri Barnard, Spokane (WA)
Greg Sparrow, DeKalb (IL)
E.W. Withrow, Jr., Alameda (CA)
Mike Johanns, Lincoln (NE)

WHY DID PRESS IGNORE EAST TIMOR MASSACRE?

From Washington Journalism Review, July-August, 1992. By Brigid Schulte, a reporter for States News Service.

It was a scene that few reporters ever witness: the brutal murder of at least 150

peaceful marchers by an occupying army. Correspondents Allan Nairn of the New Yorker and Amy Goodman of Pacifica Radio were among those who did November 12 in East Timor; Indonesian soldiers who spotted them administered beatings that left Nairn's skull fractured and Goodman bruised.

A British cameraman hid in a cemetery on the South Pacific island to video-tape the soldiers' systematic efforts to find and execute survivors. He buried some of his video and later smuggled it out of the country.

Harrowing tales, but for what? Who's ever heard of East Timor? Much less that the soldiers used U.S.-supplied M-16's to kill civilians and beat Nairn and Goodman. Or that Indonesia in 1975 invaded East Timor with tacit approval from the White House. Or that in the ensuing 17 years, some 200,000 people, fully one-third of the island's population, have been massacred or beaten to death. Nairn and Goodman place the blame for the lack of awareness squarely on the shoulders of the American press, which they say lets Washington set its agenda. "The press is not out there making an issue of the stories that are inconvenient to Washington," Nairn charges. President Bush shouldn't be able to make a story go away by not talking about it.

Many news organizations did report or publish opinions about the massacre, among them CBS, National Public Radio and several newspapers. But Mario Crespo of Portuguese TV was the only reporter asking questions at State Department briefings, and the story never hit the front pages. Nor was there any follow-up. "If it were the State Department's intention to bring Indonesia to heel like Panama, then it would have been covered more extensively," says George Jamieson, a senior producer for the Canadian radio program, "As It Happens," which aired several stories.

Nairn and Goodman continue to push for more coverage and action to improve conditions in East Timor. Because of that, some say the reporters have become advocates. "The same people reporting the story and then making it a human rights issue is questionable says NPR Managing Editor John Dinges.

Nairn responds that "as American citizens, we're obligated to let other Americans know what happened. In proportional terms, this was one of the largest massacres of the 20th century, and the U.S. government was directly involved."

Some editors say that tight news holes and a shift to domestic coverage force them to choose stories that interest the largest segment of their audience. Because East Timor is about as far away physically and

politically from the United States as the moon, it doesn't always make the cut. Media critic Ben Bagdikian doesn't accept that explanation "That's the standard excuse for not doing an important story," he says. "But how many people are really interested in the prime rate? Yet the papers are filled with it every time it changes."

"I can only put my eyes on so many places in the world," counters Jamieson. "How'd you like to be a Kurd? Or the guys in Azerbaijan who are killed regularly? I've never known how to handle it except incrementally – and incrementally will never be enough for people that burn with a blue flame."

"Look, Timor is an interesting, sad, horrible story," adds Michael Mossetig, senior producer for foreign affairs at the MacNeil-Lehrer News Hour. "Unfortunately, there are a lot of interesting, sad, horrible stories all around the world. And unfortunately, a number of massacres around the world are done with weapons purchased from the United States."

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CUTS MILITARY TRAINING

SUTRISNO DECRIES U.S. CALL TO END BILATERAL AID

THE JAKARTA POST in English 19 May

Jakarta (JP) Armed Forces Commander General Try Sutrisno decries the recent call by a United States congressman for an end to all bilateral assistance to Indonesia because he believes it is endorsed by a very few persons.

Speaking to reporters after a meeting with President Suharto at Bina Graha [Presidential Office] yesterday, Try said that "It is their right to do it, because they are paid for that. But we should not forget that the proposal was made by a meaningless number of people."

Representative Tony Hall (Democrat from Ohio) on Friday [15 May] introduced a bill in the U.S. House of Representatives calling for the termination of bilateral assistance and suspension of the Generalized System of Preference trade benefits for Indonesian products because of what he called "Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor," press reports said.

The bill would also require the U.S. representative to the World Bank to oppose any loans to Jakarta.

Try said he was convinced that there were other groups in the U.S. Congress who had their eyes and ears open and knew exactly how good U.S.-Indonesian relations were. He said Indonesia was a self-confident nation which had done a lot of good things.

"They should not use their yardstick to evaluate our performances because we have our own criteria."

He denied allegations that Indonesia had violated human rights. He said this country has demonstrated its understanding by allowing people from any part of the world, whether they are government officials or members of parliament, to visit here "as long as they are not troublemakers."

According to Try, Indonesia had only closed the door to those who wanted to create trouble here. "If they only want to paint bad pictures of this country, why should they come here?"

According to Try, in the post-Cold War era, the most important thing to do was to work for the people's welfare. "Speaking bad about other people is a thing of the past."

Asked whether there had been any infringements of the rule of the game during the current electoral campaign, Try said "yes," adding that he did not expect there would be none. "But I warn them not to go too far."

TOWNS CO-SPONSORS H.R.5176

I recently received the following in response to my letter to my member of Congress, Ed Towns (D-NY, 11th District). Letters and phone calls can have an impact!
John M. Miller

June 5, 1992

Dear Mr. Miller,

Thank you for contacting me to urge my support for H.R. 5176, legislation to address the continued human rights violations perpetrated by Indonesia in East Timor and to promote self-determination for the people of East Timor. It was good to hear from you.

Like you, I am appalled by the continued human rights violations which have occurred in East Timor since 1975. In addition to many senseless shootings, these violations include summary executions, disappearances and torture. You will be pleased to know that I am indeed a co-sponsor of H.R. 5176. As you know this legislation terminates bilateral assistance to Indonesia and requires the Secretary of the Treasury to instruct the U.S. representative at the World Bank to oppose any loan or other utilization of bank funds for Indonesia. In addition, this bill

suspends trade preferences for Indonesian products. These actions would remain in effect until the President has certified to Congress that: (1) Indonesia is permitting immediate and unrestricted access to East Timor for international human rights organizations; (2) international human rights organizations report that Indonesian Government forces have ended all forms of inhumane treatment; (3) Indonesia is in compliance with U.N. General Assembly Resolution 3485 and U.N. Security Council Resolutions 384 and 389; and (4) Indonesia allows a U.N. supervised referendum on self-determination for the people of East Timor.

I believe that this withdrawal of funding is a necessary concrete expression of U.S. opposition to these human rights atrocities. I also believe that human rights problems will continue in East Timor until its citizens are free to determine their own future.

Once again, thank you for contacting me on this important issue. I am pleased that we agree. Please do not hesitate to contact me again on any matter of concern to you.

Sincerely,
Edolphus "Ed" Towns
Member of Congress

ACTION ALERT: CUT U.S. TRAINING FOR INDONESIAN MILITARY

*From East Timor Action Network, US
June 23, 1992*

An amendment will be introduced *today* to delete funding for training the Indonesian military from the Appropriations Bill for Fiscal Year 1993.

The amendment will be voted on by the Rules Committee on Tuesday, June 23, and perhaps by the full House on Wednesday, June 24. Call or fax your Congressperson immediately to urge him or her to speak and vote for it. Representatives Joseph Moakley (D-MA, Rules Committee chair) and David Obey (D-WI, floor manager for the bill) need to hear from people all around the country.

The amendment is submitted by Ronald Machtley (D-RI), who is a co-sponsor of the comprehensive East Timor/Indonesia sanctions bill (H.R.5176). Machtley proposes to delete all funding (about \$2 million) for IMET (International Military Education and Training) for Indonesia from H.R.5368, the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993. When this bill was reported from subcommittee, they left the funding in but suggested that it be removed:

"To express its continuing concern (about human rights violations in East

Timor), the Committee has added Indonesia to the list of countries for which aid must be notified. The Committee does not believe that Indonesia should receive any United States military assistance under the IMET program."

Joseph Moakley (D-MA), Chair of the Rules Committee, will decide whether the amendment gets to the House floor. Although Moakley is a cosponsor of the sanctions bill, he needs to know there is enough grassroots feeling to make it worth forcing a floor debate. Moakley's fax number is 202-225-7804 and his phone number is 202-225-8273.

David Obey (D-WI) chairs the Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations and is floor manager for the Appropriations Bill. He should be encouraged to put teeth behind his Committee report and support the Machtley amendment. Obey's telephone number is 202-225-3365.

On November 12, 1991, the Indonesian military shot into a peaceful funeral procession, slaughtering over 140 unarmed Timorese civilians. In the wake of this atrocity, the Pentagon proposed to increase IMET funding for Indonesia from \$1.9 million to \$2.3 million, claiming that the training will teach human rights values to the Indonesian armed forces. This is like rewarding a bank robber with an M-16 while warning him that if he uses it we won't be happy.

Yesterday, Under Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz (U.S. ambassador to Indonesia from 1986-9) told a Jakarta press conference that he had discussed the massacre with President Suharto, but he declined comment on the conversation, saying he wanted to "keep it as a private discussion between our two governments." There was "frank discussion" of the massacre with government officials, said Wolfowitz, acknowledging that "quite a few (U.S.) senators and congressman have opinions about it."

Let's make those opinions aware, active and visible!

HOUSE RULES COMMITTEE PASSES EAST TIMOR AMENDMENT

FLOOR VOTE TOMORROW (THURSDAY, JUNE 25)

An amendment by Representatives Ronald Machtley (R-RI) and Tony Hall (D-OH) to eliminate funding for U.S. military training of the Indonesian armed forces was approved by the House Rules Committee this afternoon (6/24) and sent to the floor,

where it will be debated for 30 minutes and then voted on tomorrow.

The amendment to the Foreign Operations Appropriations Bill (H.R.5368) deletes the entire \$2 million for IMET (International Military Education and Training) for Indonesia from the fiscal year 1993 federal budget. It was one of one five amendments (out of 50) approved by the Rules Committee this afternoon.

The Indonesian military is responsible for nearly 200,000 civilian deaths in East Timor over the past 17 years, including a deliberate, unprovoked massacre of over 150 participants in a peaceful funeral procession last November 12. The amendment is an expression of Congressional disgust at the ongoing genocide in East Timor, and build momentum towards passage of H.R.5176, a comprehensive aid and trade sanctions bill against Indonesia until East Timor is allowed to determine its own political future.

HR 5176 ENDORSEMENTS

From Richard Koch, ETAN, 26 June.

HR 5176 has been endorsed by the national (US) organizations of SANE/FREEZE and Pax Christi. Both have included HR 5176 in their legislative alerts. Since local chapters of SANE/FREEZE and Pax Christi may not be familiar with East Timor, it may be a good idea to contact local chapters to educate them and encourage them to act on HR 5176-you could suggest a showing of the video "In Cold Blood." New Jersey SANE/FREEZE became very interested when Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman spoke at a conference it had organized on arms transfers.

The following New Jersey organizations have endorsed HR 5176. You may wish to approach similar organizations near you.

- * New Jersey SANE/FREEZE
- * New Jersey Pax Christi
- * Peace and Justice Commission of Newark Archdiocese of the Catholic Church
- * Social Concerns Office of Trenton Diocese of the Catholic Church

My impression is that most dioceses of the Catholic church have a "social concerns" or "human concerns" or "peace and justice" office; some parishes also have their own committees

- * New Jersey Portuguese-American Congress (not absolutely sure that they have made a formal endorsement but have been active on the issue.)
- * New Jersey League of Women Voters. Before a state chapter can take action on a national issue the issue must be debated at a national level; the New Jersey

chapter acted on the basis of a national policy opposing military aid to developing countries. Who would have ever suspected that they were such a bunch of radicals!

- * New Jersey Vietnam Veterans Against the War
- * New Jersey Veterans for Peace

The New Jersey Council also agreed to participate in visits to Senators Bradley and Lautenberg (requests for visits have been made but no word yet on whether they will be granted) but has not had an opportunity to consider HR 5176.

The letter sent by the New Jersey League of Women Voters to all New Jersey Representatives in Congress follows; Bradley and Lautenberg received similar letters asking them to consider introducing a companion bill.

League of Women Voters of New Jersey
204 West State Street, Trenton NJ 08608
June 10, 1992

The Honorable _____
House Office Building Washington DC
20515

Dear Congressman/woman:

Because Indonesia's extensive violation of human rights in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor has recently been called to our attention, the State Board of the League of Women Voters of New Jersey has voted to urge your support of the bill introduced by Congressman Tony Hall of Ohio, H.R. 5176, to cut off all U.S. aid to Indonesia until such violations have ended. Such a cut-off would prevent any further transfer to the Indonesian military of the arms they have used to suppress the East Timorese people. The bill also calls on Indonesia to comply with United Nations Resolutions demanding Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor and recognition of East Timor's right to self-determination.

In view of the LWVUS position that "military assistance" is not an "appropriate means to further the League's stated paramount interest in developing countries," the LWVNJ believes it is highly important for a wise and equitable U.S. foreign policy that both Houses of Congress vote for immediate termination of this type of assistance to Indonesia. Please let us know your response to this position, and your intended vote on the Hall bill.

With appreciation of your courtesy,
Sincerely,
Ann Auerbach, President, LWVNJ

CONGRESS MOVES TO CUT AID TO INDONESIA

by John M. Miller, June 29

Congressional efforts to punish Indonesia for last November's massacre of over 150 civilians in East Timor were given substance when the House of Representatives agreed unanimously to delete funding for military training to Indonesia from the foreign aid appropriations bill. Though non-binding resolutions have in the past condemned Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, this was the first time that Congress had taken substantive action on the subject. The Senate will take up the amended foreign aid bill later this summer. Activists are pressing Senators to follow the House's lead.

Earlier this year, Representative Tony Hall (D-OH) introduced H.R. 5176. This bill would end U.S. aid to Indonesia until it withdraws from East Timor, stops human rights violations, and allows a U.N.-supervised referendum on self-determination. East Timor activists see the legislation as the best hope for reversing Indonesia's illegal invasion of the former Portuguese colony which began shortly after the former Portuguese colony declared independence in 1975. 200,000 Timorese have died as a result of the occupation which has been condemned by the United Nations.

The bill would require the suspension of security assistance and most bilateral economic assistance. Arms sales would end, and the U.S. representative to the World Bank would be required to oppose loans to Indonesia. Aid and arms sales could only resume after the President certifies that international observers have been permitted access to East Timor and international human rights organizations report that Indonesian security forces have ended all forms of inhumane treatment. Indonesia would also have to implement U.N. resolutions which call for its withdrawal from East Timor and an internationally supervised referendum on self-determination.

Charles Scheiner, coordinator of the East Timor Action Network, believes that "the Indonesian military is worried about the Hall legislation. Holding on to East Timor may not be worth trade sanctions and a cut off of arms. If the costs of keeping East Timor become too high, they may decide to give it up." The U.S. gives Indonesia about \$50 million in direct bilateral aid each year.

Jose Ramos Horta, spokesperson for the National Council of Maubere Resistance, the principal coalition of Timorese resistance groups, speaking in New York shortly after the Hall bill was introduced said that the U.N. will watch action in the U.S. Congress very closely, using it as a guide to how far it is willing to go in pressuring Indonesia.

Recently, Indonesian courts have given sentences of up to 15 years to Timorese activists involved in demonstrations against Indonesian occupation and the November 11 massacre. A handful of low-level soldiers involved in the massacre have received sentences of months. Senator Leahy (D-VT), speaking on the Senate floor, condemned the lenient sentences given to a handful of soldiers involved in the November massacre as "an insult."

Leahy called the sentences "revealing for what they say about the Indonesian government's attitude about the massacre. They reinforce the theme, expressed by top military commanders shortly after the killings, that the victims got what they deserved."

OZ HITS HOUSE IMET CUT

Reuter, Sydney, June 26 - Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans on Friday criticised a U.S. Congress vote to cut military aid to Indonesia over last year's army massacre in East Timor, saying Australia would not follow suit.

"We believe that essentially punitive responses from the international community are not appropriate," Evans told reporters in Melbourne.

He said the November 12 massacre in the former Portuguese colony by Indonesian troops had not been a deliberate act of Jakarta's policy.

The U.S. House of Representatives vote on Thursday cutting more than US\$2 million from education and training programmes with the Indonesian military is still to be ratified by the Senate.

Canberra refuses to link aid to Indonesia with Jakarta's human rights record.

**AFP. 26 JUNE, CANBERRA.
ABRIDGED.**

Australia criticised Friday the US House of Representative's decision to clash

military aid to Indonesia because of the Dili massacre. Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said punitive action against Indonesia was "not appropriate" because November's army massacre of civilian protesters was not an act of state policy. He conceded there were grounds for the international community to be "somewhat critical" of the relatively light sentences imposed on troops involved in the massacre, compared to long jail sentences for demonstrators, but said there was no case to be "supremely critical."

At the same time Evans rejected suggestions that the US Congressional vote showed Australia had been "too forgiving" in its response to the Dili killings.

The US has been one of the main suppliers of hardware to the Indonesian military, and troops involved in the Nov. 12 massacre were armed with US-designed M-16 rifles. The House decided to cut two million US dollars from the military education and training programme intended for the Indonesian armed forces.

TRY "INDIFFERENT" TO IMET CUT

AFP, Jakarta, June 29 - The head of Indonesia's joint chiefs of staff Try Sutrisno said Monday the withdrawal of U.S. military aid was of little importance to the country.

"I am quite indifferent to it," he told reporters during an announcement of the official results of June 9 legislative elections.

The aid, worth two million dollars, "was solely for assistance in the training of Indonesian military personnel," he said, adding Indonesia was relying on its own resources in this area.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted Thursday to withdraw more than a billion dollars in military aid to a number of countries. The Senate, however, must still ratify the measure, and President George Bush will have the chance to oppose it with his veto.

Parliamentary Vice President Sukardi, a member of the ruling Golkar party and a retired general, added that there was no need to be concerned by the unprecedented aid withdrawal.

Sukardi, quoted by the official Antara news agency, said if the United States wanted to increase, or reduce its military aid, "it is up to them and we should not worry ourselves."

Reuter, Jakarta, June 29 - Indonesia's armed forces chief General Try Sutrisno said on Monday that a U.S. Congress vote to cut military aid to Jakarta would not harm his country.

"We can't force people to help us. I won't start getting restless about the decision. We believe in ourselves," Try told reporters.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted last week to cut more than \$2 million from education and training programmes with the Indonesian military because of alleged human rights violations involving an army massacre in East Timor last November.

The U.S. Congress decision is still to be ratified by the Senate.

ABRI WORRIED ABOUT IMET CUT-OFF (TEMPO)

Source: Tempo, 4 July 1992. Summary

While senior armed forces officers are trying to shrug off the decision by the US House of Representatives to end funding for IMET, the International Military Education and Training, to Indonesia, it is clear that the decision is being taken very seriously.

The chief spokesman of ABRI, Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro is quoted as saying that the suspension "will have no effect because ABRI has for long been able to stand on its own feet. US aid is only supplementary."

But navy chief-of-staff Vice-Marshall Soedibyo Rahardjo said that the US programme is very important to their education programme. Twenty officers are sent annually to the Naval Post Graduate School. "So, personally, I regret that this aid is being cut. But as an official, I am not entitled to say this," he told Tempo.

According to Tempo, IMET funds about 150 ABRI officers every year for visits ranging from just a few days to two-year courses.

Two years ago, the comment continues, IMET to Malaysia was ended because of the Malaysian government's policy of turning back 'boat people' from Vietnam, considered to be a human rights violation. But the State Department wanted the programme to continue, saying that the Malaysian armed forces were not involved in formulating that policy.

In the post Cold War era and with a grim economic situation in the US, foreign aid has become very unpopular, particularly programmes relating to the military. So it is understandable, the journal says finally, for US and Indonesian military circles to be busily looking for an alternative to the IMET programme.

TRANSLATED EXCERPTS FROM THE SAME TEMPO ARTICLE:

Dateline: Washington. By Bambang Harymurti.

EAST TIMOR: NEW THREAT FROM WASHINGTON

This is the strongest message ever delivered by the US Congress concerning East Timor.

But a State Department official said legislative discussion on foreign aid was "not yet final." Bills are passed into law in the US only if the House and Senate agree.

George Bush's administration supports the IMET program for Indonesia. It regards the program as assisting in the exposure of foreign military officers to US values of military professionalism, including respect for human rights and democracy.

The US General Accounting Office also found that no IMET recipient was directly involved in the Dili incident. National Security Council [Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Asian Affairs] Douglas Paal [202-395-5746, NSC, Old Executive Office Bldg., 17th St. & Pennsylvania Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20500] said, "Personally, I think the IMET program has to be increased."

What does Jakarta say? "If the aid is decreased, this won't have any influence because ABRI has long been autonomous. American aid is only supplementary," said ABRI Information Center Head Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro. According to ABRI Headquarters Chief of General Staff Vice Admiral Soedibyo Rahardjo, American aid had greatly benefited ABRI's education program.

For example, 20 ABRI officers were sent to the Naval Post Graduate School each year. "So, personally, I regret this loss. But as an official, I'm not allowed to say things like that."

The IMET program usually is used to pay the expenses of about 150 ABRI officers a year, ranging from visits of just a few days to education in the US running as long as 2 years.

Two years ago IMET for Malaysia was eliminated because of the Malaysian government's policy of rejecting the entry of boat people from Vietnam. This was regarded as violating their basic human rights. The State Department at that time supported continued IMET aid for Malaysia and stated that Malaysia's military was not involved in the formulation of that policy.

Foreign aid is less popular these days, especially military aid. It is natural that the US and Indonesian military get busy finding alternatives to IMET.

ABRI CONCERNED ABOUT U.S. STRATEGIC INTERESTS

Comment: Notice that the message has changed from Try's purported "indifference" to an implied threat, the kind of thing which might break out into significant "anti-Americanism" in Indonesia were there to be a larger-scale aid cutoff. Also, the 'message' has not been delivered directly through the ABRI Commander but indirectly through someone lower ranking via the Defense and Security Department-owned newspaper. This might mean ABRI wants to proceed carefully and avoid escalation, though I tend to think it more likely reflects a willingness to escalate if necessary.

Reuter, Jakarta, July 7 - A senior Indonesian air force officer said the United States must consider whether it would hurt its strategic interests in southeast Asia if it went ahead with cuts in military aid, the armed forces daily reported on Tuesday.

The Angkatan Bersenjata quoted Vice Marshal Teddy Rusdy as saying Indonesia would not be affected by a U.S. House of Representatives vote last month to cut military aid following last November's army massacre in East Timor.

Up to 180 people died when Indonesian troops shot at civilians mourning the death of a separatist in the East Timor capital Dili.

The U.S. Senate has still to ratify the cut of more than \$2 million from education and training programmes.

"The easing of U.S. attention on (Indonesia's) defence would not have any impact," Rusdy told the daily, adding that it was up to the United States to determine whether the move would be against its interests in Southeast Asia.

Rusdy, an aide to military chief General Try Sutrisno, said cuts could make Jakarta seek the support of other countries like Australia, France, Germany and England.

Diplomats expect Indonesia to raise its military profile as a result of a six-way regional dispute over the Spratly islands in the South China Sea and the impending U.S. withdrawal from its bases in the Philippines.

Rusdy said cuts in aid could mean Indonesian troops would not take part in joint military exercises with the United States next year.

"If the United States feels it doesn't need Indonesia any more, there's no point in having joint military exercises," he said.

He said Indonesia would boost regional defence cooperation with its neighbours, including Australia and New Zealand.

ALERT ON SENATE ACTION FOR IMET AND ARMS SALES

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES CUTS FUNDING FOR INDONESIAN MILITARY!

THE SENATE WILL ACT THE WEEK OF JULY 20. ASK THEM TO STOP WEAPONS SALES AS WELL.

Action alert from East Timor Action Network/US, July 9, 1992

The House of Representatives decided June 25 to stop funding the Indonesian military. An amendment by Ronald Machtley (R-RI) and Tony Hall (D-OH) to delete \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) funding for Indonesia from the fiscal 1993 foreign aid appropriations bill (H.R.5368) was approved by unanimous voice vote. Although non-binding resolutions have passed before, this is the first time Congress supported has the East Timorese people by cutting funding.

The Indonesian newsweekly *Tempo* called the cut "the strongest message ever delivered by the US Congress concerning East Timor." Under IMET, the US has trained more than 2,600 officers since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, and about 150 Indonesian officers attend U.S. war colleges under the program. Their Navy Chief of Staff said "Personally, I regret this loss. But as an official, I'm not allowed to say things like that." Jakarta's official line has been "indifference" accompanied by threats to withdraw from joint military exercises and seek other partners for defense cooperation.

In addition to Congressmen Machtley and Hall, Thomas Downey (D-NY), David Obey (D-WI), Nita Lowey (D-NY) and Frank Wolf (R-VA) spoke for the amendment; nobody spoke against it. Machtley told his colleagues "this is only the beginning." Together with Hall and others, he has introduced H.R.5176, a bill to suspend military and economic aid, arms sales, and trade preferences for Indonesia until Indonesia withdraws from East Timor and allows a UN-supervised plebiscite for Timorese self-determination.

The Senate Appropriations Foreign Operations Subcommittee will mark up the bill during the week of July 20. Call or write Subcommittee Chair Patrick Leahy (D-VT), urging him to support the IMET cut and go further by halting commercial and government (FMS) arms sales. During fiscal 1992, the US delivered \$116 million in commercial weaponry to Indonesia and signed \$15 million in new FMS agreements. In fact, the US has supplied the bulk of the

weapons the Indonesian military has used to kill 200,000 people (one-third of the population) in East Timor over the past 17 years.

In addition to Leahy, you should contact your own Senator and Claiborne Pell (D-RI, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee). Leahy's subcommittee includes Democrats Daniel Inouye (HI), J. Bennett Johnston (LA), Dennis DeConcini (AZ), Frank Lautenberg (NJ), Tom Harkin (IA), and Barbara Mikulski (MD). Republicans (not to be written off on this issue) are Robert Kasten (WI), Mark Hatfield (OR), Alfonse D'Amato (NY), Warren N. Rudman (NH), Arlen J. Specter (PA) and Don Nickles (OK). Senators can be written at US Senate, Washington, DC 20510. Pell's phone is (202)224-4242; Leahy's (202)224-4642. All Senators and Representatives can be called at (202)224-3121.

During the three days the House amendment was being considered, the East Timor Action Network deluged the House with faxes and calls from around the country. We must repeat that for the Senate. Let us know if you would like to be on ETAN's fax/email rapid response list.

On November 12, 1991, the Indonesian military shot into a peaceful funeral procession, slaughtering over 140 unarmed Timorese civilians. In the wake of this atrocity, the Pentagon suggested increasing IMET funding for Indonesia from \$1.9 to \$2.3 million, claiming that it would impart human rights values to the Indonesian army. This would be like rewarding a bank robber with an M-16 while warning him that he mustn't use it. Similarly, canceling IMET while continuing to sell weapons is hypocritical complicity in the genocidal policies of the Indonesian military dictatorship. 27 years is enough!

Sample letter to Senator Leahy:

International Human Rights Law Group
1601 Connecticut Avenue, Suite 700
Washington, DC 20009
Tel.(202)232-8500 fax (202)232-6731

July 9, 1992

Senator Patrick Leahy
Chairman, Foreign Operations Sub-
Committee
Senate Appropriations Committee
S-128 Capitol Building
Washington, DC 20510-6015

Dear Senator Leahy,

The U.S. Senate now has the opportunity to take effective action to curb Indonesian abuses in occupied East Timor.

The International Human Rights Law Group, a public interest law center which

seeks to bring international human rights norms to play in the foreign policy process, urges you to uphold Sections 116 and 502(B) of the Foreign Assistance Act by cutting off aid to Indonesia for its consistent pattern of gross violations of human rights in Timor.

As you know, the House of Representatives approved the Machtley-Hall amendment to the FY'93 Appropriations Bill cutting off training to the Indonesian military under the IMET (International Military Education and Training) program.

Under IMET, the U.S. has trained more than 2,600 Indonesian officers since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975. During that time an estimated 200,000 East Timorese – one third of the population – have been killed, many of them victims of massacre and execution and an army policy of enforced starvation. Last November 12, Indonesian troops killed at least 140 East Timorese at a memorial procession in Dili, the capital of East Timor. The massacre was witnessed by international journalists, including two Americans who were beaten by the troops. Wounded Timorese were left to bleed to death in the road, as the army sealed the area and kept them from receiving medical attention. Many Timorese who witnessed the massacre were subsequently “disappeared;” there are reports that many have been executed.

The Senate has a chance to reaffirm the House action and to use its own discretion to halt the flow of all U.S. military goods and services to the armed forces of Indonesia. As you know, the U.S. provides Indonesia with both commercial and FMS military sales. In FY'92 there were \$115,842,000 in U.S. commercial military deliveries, as well as an estimated \$15,000,000 in new FMS agreements. For FY'93 the Pentagon and State Department project \$69,505,000 in commercial deliveries and another \$15,000,000 in FMS agreements.

Beyond this, we would urge you also to support the withholding of economic aid along the lines proposed in HR 5176 (“Bill to Promote Self-Determination of East Timor”) which would cut most US aid to Indonesia (including weapons deliveries and economic assistance) and impose trade sanctions until Indonesia complies with UN resolutions calling on it to withdraw its armed forces from East Timor and allow the Timorese a UN-supervised vote to determine their future political status.

Thanking you for your consideration of this matter, I remain

Yours truly,
Reed Brody,
Executive Director

EVENTS IN EUROPE

EAST TIMOR FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY HEARING

Forwarded by kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr, Thu Jun. 11 by Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor

The French Socialist Party held a hearing on East Timor in Paris on June 10th. Unless mistaken, it is the first such hearing ever. However the S.P. has held other hearings on similar situations, like El Salvador and Burma, earlier this year. The aim of such hearings is to help it determine its positions and policies regarding such issues.

The Socialist Party has been in power in France since 1981, except for a short period between 1986 and 1988. However it suffered a severe setback in last March's municipal elections, and it is not clear whether it will retain power after next year's Parliamentary elections. The French S.P. will chair the Socialist International starting mid-September.

Present at the meeting were: 6 members or associates of the S.P., Jose Ramos Horta, Donaciano Gomes and four members of Agir pour Timor. The two Timorese had been received earlier in the day by Gerard Fuchs, the National Secretary for International Relations. The hearing lasted about 2 1/2 hours.

Without giving a detailed account, here are some of the main points that were discussed in the meeting:

- S.P. policy. It has two aspects:

A) As a matter of principle, the Party supports the right of peoples to self-determination, and does not recognise the Indonesian annexation of East Timor. Also the context of the East Timor struggle for independence is one important to French public opinion (although perhaps not important enough). For these two reasons, the S.P. in principle supports this struggle.

B) However, it must be taken into account that Indonesia is one of the most populated countries on the planet, and the largest in the Muslim world. Concerning France especially, ‘we’ have links with Jakarta as copresidents of the international peace conference on Cambodia.

These constraints can hamper the action of a State. The S.P. is very largely represented in the power, yet problems of the State are not a priority in this hearing. Besides, the Party is bound by the Socialist International's December statement on East Timor.

The following further remarks or informations were provided by S.P. members or associates:

a) Up to now, public positions have been taken solely relative to human rights violations (be it in ET or in Indonesia). Is it the time to change?

b) Relative to the CGI meeting, the Party has decided to take soon a public position asking for a delay (maybe six months) in the payment of the French contribution.

c) In Indonesia, an opposition starts structuring and there is a will of outside contacts from the opposition parties there.

d) The relations of France with ASEAN countries are not very good anyway, because of the lack of democracy (except for the Philippines).

Jose Ramos Horta declared that the 12 November massacre was not an isolated case, and that the heart of the question is self-determination. Although he is convinced that the Indonesians have lost the political battle in ET and that independence is now only a matter of time, he wondered why Western countries help dictators to maintain themselves into power. If there are no conditions on foreign aid on the 16-17 July, it will be a whitewash.

Answering the remark on the Cambodia peace conference, he said that Indonesia is not able to destroy the peace process in its present stage of advancement. He observed that while Indonesia is the 50th economic partner of France, Portugal is the 10th, not to speak of the cultural links between the two countries. Why then does France support Indonesia rather than Portugal? Why does it still sell arms to this country? This was understandable in Cold War time, but not anymore now.

He suggested that this could create tension between Portugal and France, as it has between that country and the US. (This US/Portuguese tension was then questioned by an S.P. member.)

To these questions, an S.P. member answered that the Party had supported East Timor very long, in fact longer than any other socialist party. But when it discovered that it was alone... Now support is coming back, so they support again.

Trying to have stable relations with an unstable regime is not a coherent position; the Foreign Ministry will have to realise that one day. But at the moment one has to start from the situation as it is.

France could play a positive role by supporting the action of Portugal and the UN Secretary General, said Horta. He went further in this direction, suggesting that Portugal, as a weak country, needs a strong partner in the EC. France would be a great such partner, notably as a permanent member of the Security Council. For example, it could support a SC meeting on East Timor.

An S.P. associate pointed out the difficulty of this, taking the example of Burma for which any SC meeting is out of the question [because of China?]. In the case of East Timor, if such a meeting were held there would be a big risk of an American veto, not counting China which might take the opportunity to further enhance its new relations with Indonesia. However there are possibilities re the CGI meeting.

Horta was asked how the resistance was building relations with the Indonesian opposition. He said they were trying to have relations with Sadikin, Nasution, Wahid... he had made a public statement about this the last week-end at Terre d'Avenir (a big international development forum sponsored by CCFD), referring to the need of a future dialogue with East Timor. However the Indonesian opposition is very weak. The Democratic Forum seems promising.

To the question of how they see future relations with Indonesia and the insertion of East Timor in the region, Horta answered that in any case relations with Indonesia were necessary. He recalled that already in 1974 Fretilin had said that an independent East Timor would join ASEAN. He added that East Timor was a cultural crosspoint for the Pacific, Australia and Indonesia, and could be a bridge between this region and the EC (through its links with Portugal). Besides, solving the East Timor question could contribute to solve the tensions between Indonesia and Australia.

Another question asked to Horta was how the resistance saw the future of East Timor after self-determination. Indeed, the Socialist Party has supported the liberation movements in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa, but after 17 years of independence is seriously wondering if it is happy with this, given their democratic record. Also, what will happen to the Indonesian transmigrants?

Horta answered that the resistance is committed to democratic ideals. The CNRM's position is to propose to the Assembly on the first day of independence to ratify all UN treaties and instruments regarding Human Rights, and also to proclaim a general amnesty. Furthermore, all transmigrants will be encouraged to stay and help build the country. (He said all these are official CNRM positions).

To another question on the treatment of prisoners by Falintil, Horta said that at the moment the resistance does not have the means, materially, to keep prisoners. Those were therefore either immediately executed or freed. He knew instances of the two cases. Freeing prisoners (after taking their weapons, uniforms, medicine) was not

(only) a humanitarian gesture, but also good for propaganda among the Indonesian army.

However, he said that earlier, when the resistance was taking prisoners, he would be informed of them, communicate the list to the ICRC in New York which in turn would communicate it to Indonesia. But Indonesia never accepted to acknowledge these prisoners, because it did not recognise it had a war with Fretilin. (An S.P. member remarked that the French had done exactly the same with the Viet Minh in the fifties, during the Indochina war, and that the issue was still running sore now 40 years later.) If the ICRC can manage to be present and able to implement the Geneva convention, the resistance will have the means to protect prisoners.

An S.P. member said that these informations were very important in view of the attitude of other liberation movements like Polisario, ANC, even recently the Burmese students. He encouraged Horta to publicise these facts and the CNRM's positions.

JOINT STATEMENT TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY SUMMIT ON THE SITUATION IN OCCUPIED EAST TIMOR

The following joint statement has been agreed on the occasion of the Summit Meeting of the European Community which is to be held in Lisbon this week. It was submitted today, 22 June, to the British Government; it will be submitted to other EC governments in the next day or two, and will be submitted to the Summit Meeting in Lisbon by the CDPM and other Portuguese solidarity groups.

Lisbon, 26 & 27 June 1992

The undersigned organisations address the following statement to the Summit of the European Community as the Portuguese Presidency of the EC draws to a close:

Portugal took over the Presidency of the European Community seven weeks after Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration at the Santa Cruz Cemetery, in Dili, the capital of East Timor, killing at least 180 people and wounding many more. This atrocity plunged the entire people into mourning. Nothing the forces of occupation has done since then has alleviated the profound grief of the East Timorese people. Under the new military commander, Brig. General Theo Syafei who has banned visits by foreign journalists, the people of East Timor live in the grip of terror, prevented from making any protest or informing the outside world of their opposition to the continued occupation of their country.

It is incumbent on the heads of state of the European Community to give due recognition to the grave situation in East Timor in the Communiqué they issue at the end of their Summit Meeting in Lisbon. The following points in particular need to be addressed:

Human rights and foreign aid

On 28 November 1991, two weeks after the Santa Cruz Massacre, the EC Council of Ministers adopted a Declaration explicitly linking foreign aid to human rights observance. Since then, however, the Community has failed to exert pressure on Indonesia to improve the human rights situation in East Timor.

In March this year, Indonesia cut aid links with the Netherlands which, along with Denmark, had suspended aid to Indonesia in response to the Santa Cruz atrocity. Turning principle on its head, Indonesia accused the Dutch government of using aid for purposes of intimidation. It is a matter of profound regret that the EC failed to respond to Indonesia's attempt to subvert the Community's policy of linking aid to human rights observance.

The Summit should condemn Indonesia for its rejection of the universal principle that human rights abuses are the legitimate concern of the international community. All EC member-states which attend the meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia in Paris on 16/17 July should undertake to ensure that human rights become the central issue at that meeting. If the EC's acceptance of the principle of aid conditionality is to have any meaning, all EC member states which have aid links with Indonesia should suspend aid until human rights violations in East Timor end, until an international investigation of the Santa Cruz Massacre takes place and until Indonesia recognises the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination.

These guidelines should also be applied when the Community negotiates its new treaty on economic cooperation with ASEAN countries later this year.

The civilian and military trials

To persuade the international community that the Santa Cruz atrocity would be dealt fairly with by the courts, President Suharto ordered his ministers to conduct trials. Ten low-ranking soldiers, court-martialled for 'disobeying orders,' have been sentenced to 18 months or even less, although they admitted in court that they opened fire on the demonstrators with fatal consequences; no-one in the army has been tried for murder. By contrast, eight East Timorese victims who survived the bloodbath in Dili are receiving savage sentences; one has been sentenced to six years while another could

get life for taking part in the peaceful protest on November 12. In Jakarta, East Timorese who protested peacefully have been given nine and ten years.

The EC Summit should condemn these trials and call for the immediate release of all East Timorese already convicted or about to be convicted. It should stress that the EC will not be satisfied until a proper international investigation of the atrocity has been conducted and those responsible are charged with murder.

Peace talks

At a time when several international conflicts have been or are being solved by negotiation, the need for peace talks to resolve the question of East Timor is paramount. The prospects for peace talks are further enhanced because East Timor is now high on the political agenda in Indonesia, due largely to the world outrage at the Santa Cruz Massacre. The East Timor resistance has time and again declared its readiness to enter into peace talks with Indonesia, without preconditions, under UN auspices. The Portuguese government wrote to the UN secretary general earlier this year, proposing that talks on East Timor take place, involving Portugal, Indonesia and East Timorese.

The EC Summit should endorse peace talks with the participation of East Timorese representatives as the crucial step to end 17 years of occupation and ensure due recognition of East Timor's right to self-determination.

This statement is endorsed by:

SOS Timor, Belgium
 Mouvement Chretien Pour La Paix, Belgium.
 Association pour Solidarit avec Timor
 Oriental, France.
 Agir pour Timor, France.
 Watch Indonesia, Germany.
 Initiative fr die Menschenrechte aller Brger
 der ASEAN
 Staaten (IMBAS), Germany.
 Gesellschaft fr Bedrhte Volker, Germany.
 Pazifik -Netzwerk, Germany.
 East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign,
 Ireland.
 Komitee Indonesi, Netherlands.
 International Platform of Jurists for East
 Timor (IPJET), Netherlands.
 X minus Y, Netherlands.
 Front Demokrasi Indonesia, Netherlands.
 Comiss o para os Direitos do Povo Maubere
 (CDPM), Portugal.
 A Paz Possivel em Timor-Leste, Portugal.
 British Coalition for East Timor, United
 Kingdom.
 Praxis, United Kingdom.
 Indonesia Human Rights Campaign (TAPOL),
 United Kingdom.

ETAN/US WRITES EC PRESIDENT

East Timor Action Network - U.S.
 June 30, 1992

Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro
 European Community Presidency Ministry
 of Foreign Affairs, Lisbon
 by fax: 351-1-605927

Dear Minister de Deus Pinheiro:

As Portugal's Presidency of the European Community draws to a close, we would like to express our deep dismay with the lack of a statement on East Timor from the European Summit.

Like many other people in East Timor and around the globe, we had hoped that the coincidence of Portugal's Presidency and the renewed public awareness of East Timor following last November's Santa Cruz massacre would be an opportunity for the European Community to express itself strongly in support of human rights and self-determination for the people of that troubled half-island.

In Washington, historically one of the least advanced capitals on this question, the U.S. House of Representatives voted unanimously last week to cancel U.S.-supplied military training for the Indonesian armed forces. A pending bill would suspend all military and economic aid (except humanitarian aid), arms sales, and trade preferences for Indonesia until the East Timorese have human rights and are allowed to hold a U.N.-supervised referendum to determine their political future. A new initiative, jointly undertaken by U.S. and Japanese parliamentarians, urges the Secretary-General to establish a U.N. presence in East Timor, begin negotiations, and take steps to implement General Assembly and Security Council resolutions for self-determination.

On this side of the Atlantic, there is finally some activity that could end the seventeen-year nightmare of the East Timorese people. We are disappointed that concern on that side appears to be waning.

We hope that the EC's lack of action does not represent a trend. While we appreciate Portugal's advocacy on behalf of the Timorese people, we feel that the lost opportunity of the European Summit will require all the more effort here and at the Consultative Group on Indonesia meeting in Paris to make sure that the reawakened global consciousness about East Timor does not dissipate, that the Timorese people do not have to endure another 17 years of genocide.

Thank you very much for your attention.

CDPM CRITICISES LISBON SUMMIT

The following is a very rough translation of a Press Release issued by the CDPM (Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People) in Lisbon on 30 June 1992:

1. The final communiqué of the European Community Summit in Lisbon made no reference at all to the question of East Timor. Nor was East Timor mentioned in any of the official documents produced by the Summit. Under the heading, 'Relations between the Community and its Member States and Developing Countries,' there is a paragraph which mentions the problem of human rights in connection with economic assistance; even here, there is no mention of any particular situation, including East Timor. [See below for this paragraph.]

2. This happened at a time when in another world power with strategic interests and capabilities in the region, the USA, Indonesia is facing growing difficulties. The failure of the EC to take a position contrasts with the announced suspension of US military assistance and could have a negative impact on decisions about to be made.

The EC's and in particular Portugal's obligations towards East Timor are greater than those of the USA. The EC is obliged by resolutions of the European Parliament and of its own Council of Foreign Ministers to play an active role in seeking a negotiated settlement to the conflict that accords with the interests of the East Timorese.

3. We would not want to say that the objective of solidarity work is the adoption of verbal statements of sympathy (which are often inadequate), but we want to stress the importance of an explicit mention of East Timor. In present circumstances, this would have more than symbolic value as a valuable instrument for diplomatic activity. Whilst realising that some bilateral and multilateral contacts need to be undertaken in secret, public statements are the only basis for public opinion to gauge the commitment of states and governments.

4. This event is all the more serious since it is known that the Portuguese presidency had prepared a text in which East Timor was specifically mentioned, along with other cases, as an issue requiring the attention of the Community. Whether because of ineptitude or a lack of political will on the part of Portugal which, as President, had the responsibility to present it, the document was not presented for consideration by the Twelve. Why?

Facts such as these raise serious doubts about the credibility of Portugal's external policy on East Timor. Portuguese public

opinion is entitled to a plausible explanation. It is up to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to speak.

Extract from the EC Summit Final Communiqué:

5. Relations between the Community and its Member States and developing countries

.... The easing of international tensions with the end of the Cold War provides new possibilities and resources for development but also favours the emergence of new forms of co-operation, namely at the inter-regional level. At the same time, a political consensus is growing around the fundamental relationship between pluralistic democracy, respect for human rights and development regarded as an equitable and sustainable process focussed on the individual.

The European Council, recalling its Declaration on Human Rights in Luxembourg as well as the Resolution of the Development Council on Human Rights, Democracy and Development on 28 November 1991, reaffirms that the respect, promotion and safeguarding of human rights is an essential element in international relations and therefore one of the cornerstones of co-operation as well as of relations between the Community and its member States and other countries. It attaches special importance to positive initiatives designed to ensure active support to those countries which are instituting democracy, improving human rights performance as well as promoting good governance.... [Original English]

FRANCE OFFERS TO FACILITATE INDONESIA-PORTUGAL TALKS

Jakarta Post, 27 June 1992 Abridged

France is ready to help facilitate a resumption of talks between Portugal and Indonesia on East Timor under the auspices of the UN, visiting French Junior Foreign Affairs Minister, Geores Keijman said here yesterday.

"France does not intend to play a central role but if Indonesia wants to discuss the matter with other parties, France will gladly make itself available to all concerned to facilitate a solution." The minister was speaking after a meeting with President Suharto.

Alatas who also attended the meeting said the French hope "that this problem can be solved through negotiation" and "if France can aid in facilitating dialogue between Indonesia and Portugal under the

aegis of the UN, then France is ready to do so as a friend of Indonesia."

Before his departure yesterday, Kiejman said that Suharto understood that France highly respected human rights. He said any dialogue to achieve an amicable solution to East Timor issues would have to take Indonesia's sovereignty into consideration. This was apparently an indirect reminder of the need to approach the problem carefully

During the meeting, Suharto expressed his appreciation for France's willing to host the CGI meeting in Paris, scheduled on 16-17 July. Up to now none of the donors have officially announced the exact figures they intend to give Indonesia. Kiejman said yesterday that France would consider increasing the amount of its aid if the US should cut its aid.

The US House of Representatives decided on Thursday to cut 2 million dollars from the military education and training programme for Indonesia. "The figure from France will be something of the order of 700 million francs," Kiejman told JP. "We will increase our aid so that we will become the second largest after Japan." France currently ranks third with US dollars 110 per annum.

PARTICIPATION OF TIMORESE IS 'ABSOLUTELY INDISPENSABLE' - PORTUGUESE FM

Publico 2 July 1992 Translated summary

The Portuguese Foreign Minister considers that participation of the Timorese in future negotiations with Indonesia about East Timor is "absolutely indispensable" according to a spokesperson of the minister. He added that the Portuguese side is willing to consider the 'modalities' for bringing about this participation which could be in the form of autonomous representation as an interested party, being integrated into the Portuguese team or participation as observers.

The Foreign Minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, said in a letter to the UN Secretary-General in May that Portugal would only agree to negotiate with Indonesia if that country accepted Timorese participation. Although there has been no official response from Indonesia, it is known from public statements by the Suharto Government that it will not accept this Portuguese condition.

The spokesperson also said that no date has yet been set for any negotiations but they could restart in September.

IRISH SENATOR WANTS ARMS TRADE STOPPED

*Source: Sunday Tribune, Dublin 5 July 1992
Byline: Kevin Dawson Abridged*

NORRIS CALLS FOR AN END TO ARMS TRADE WITH INDONESIA

Senator David Norris has called on the government to use its influence at EC level to end the hundreds of millions of dollars in arms exports from community countries to Indonesia in view of that country's continuing "genocide" in East Timor. The Department of Foreign Affairs says however that no facility exists for using such influence at EC level.

In spite of EC calls on the Indonesian government to investigate fully the fatal mass shooting of unarmed Timorese civilians by Indonesian troops last November, Senator Norris says, massive arms shipments to Jakarta continue, Ireland should use its EC membership to exert a moral influence where it lacks economic and military clout, he said.

"I would call on the Irish government in the name of humanity to request its European partners to desist from selling arms which are being used to support a military dictatorship in the act of genocide against a defenceless people," he said.

EVENTS IN BRITAIN

ADVERTISEMENT FOR EAST TIMOR

The British Coalition for East Timor placed a one-page advertisement entitled, MASSACRE IN EAST TIMOR, in Britain's leading Sunday paper, The Observer, on 7 June, calling for support for the presentation of a petition to Prime Minister John Major to press for an International Commission of Inquiry into the Dili massacre of November 12, to press for the cessation of all arms trade and aid to Indonesia while it illegally occupies East Timor, and full compliance with UN resolutions calling for a negotiated peace settlement, with East Timorese participation.

The advertisement reproduces three photographs of the November 12 massacre, two by Steve Cox/O Independent and one from Yorkshire's film, 'Cold Blood, the Massacre of East Timor.'

The text reads:

"On November 12, 1991, at a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Dili, East Timor, the Indonesian army opened

fire on the crowd killing more than a hundred and fifty men, women and children.

"Since Indonesia invaded and illegally annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1975, it has murdered two hundred thousand Timorese, one-third of the population, by bombing, massacres, torture, and starvation. Amnesty has catalogued what it describes as the "gross and systematic violation of human rights" in East Timor. Since the November 12 massacre, military rule in East Timor has become harsher than ever. Scores more people have been taken from their homes and murdered.

"Survivors of November 12 have been charged with subversion or criminal offences and have been sentenced to long terms of imprisonment for "being involved" in the demonstration. Two East Timorese students who peacefully protested one week later in the Indonesian capital, Jakarta, have been given sentences of nine and ten years for "subversion." Three others have also been sentenced.

"Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has been condemned by the United Nations, which has passed ten resolutions calling for its withdrawal from the territory. Indonesia defies these resolutions, but the world community has taken no action to end the oppression of the East Timorese. Even the filmed evidence of the massacre on November 12 has failed to move the UN to set up an independent investigation into the events of that day.

"Britain supports the Indonesian regime by giving aid - this year 12 million - and selling it arms. The UK is the second largest arms supplier to Indonesia, after the USA. In this way, Britain helps to maintain the status quo in East Timor.

"We want to end the suffering of the East Timorese and we need your help. If you would like to join us, please add your name to ours. Please fill in the coupon and return it to us now, for presentation to 10 Downing Street as soon as possible."

The advertisement lists the names of nearly 360 individuals from all walks of life, including academics, MPs, MEPs, church leaders, solidarity/peace/human rights organisations, as well as the very popular U2 group. There are also several dozen signatories from Ireland and the Netherlands.

Amnesty ad includes East Timor

In the same issue of The Observer, the British Section of Amnesty published an advertisement, marking the third anniversary of the Tiananmen massacre. The ad moves from massacre to massacre - in Peking, then the killing of three people in Moscow in the aftermath of the coup against Mikhail Gorbachev, then East Timor:

"It happened again last year in East Timor.

"A peaceful unarmed memorial procession was confronted by troops with automatic weapons.

"The troops opened fire, killing at least a hundred people.

"It was November 12th, 1991, on the tiny island of Timor.

"Indonesia occupied East Timor in 1975, since when about 200,000 of its 600,000 inhabitants have died.

"Most of those deaths were never reported in the world's media.

"This latest slaughter might have gone unnoticed, had it not been for the courage of a documentary cameraman who caught the whole thing on videotape.

"The sensational footage caused a huge international protest. It must never happen again, the media cried, and we agreed.

"But before long the silence returned. And it happened again."

[Here the ad turns to the massacre of demonstrators in Thailand.]

The same Amnesty advertisement was also published in several London dailies earlier in the week, including The Guardian and The Independent.

INDONESIA CLOSE TO SIGNING DEAL FOR 40 BAE FIGHTERS

*Guardian 25 June 1992 Dateline: Jakarta
By Patrick Donavan*

Is this why the British Government has been keeping quiet about East Timor? Wants to clinch this deal? It could be worth about 575 million pounds, or almost US\$1bn.

British Aerospace is close to clinching a deal worth hundreds of millions of pounds to supply up to 40 Hawk fighter-trainers to the Indonesian government. Plans are expected to conclude an agreement that parts of the Rolls-Royce-powered aircraft could be transferred for final assembly by Indonesia's own aircraft factories.

The deal would represent BAe's biggest order in the burgeoning Indonesian market and play an important role in establishing the Hawk amongst air forces of Asean countries.

News that BAe is moving towards an agreement comes after more than a year of hard bargaining between the company and Indonesia. An initial memorandum of understanding was signed last June. Since then little information has been forthcoming.

Indonesia, which already operates a squadron of Hawks, is understood to have

been swayed by the promise of a 'technology transfer' element to the deal.

Setting up partial assembly of the Hawk in Indonesia is expected to be phased in over several years. It will match similar assembly agreements for the Hawk fighter which have been struck with Malaysia, a \$400 million deal to supply 28 planes, and Finland. The deal is likely to involve up to 40 aircraft, according to diplomatic sources.

BAe's regional representative, Tony Hayward, last night confirmed that "negotiations are continuing." However, he declined to reveal further details. Rolls-Royce's representative, Rod Williams, said a deal could be very important for the company. "Indonesia is a very exciting part of the world." Rolls-Royce is also expected to offer the Indonesians the opportunity of setting up a local engine maintenance centre as part of the deal.

Both companies view the deal as a vital step in carving out greater footholds in the Pacific-rim basin. The deal with Indonesia could help establish the latest generation Hawk as a widely used fighter-trainer in the region as Asean countries are fast standardising their military forces after regional defence co-operation agreements.

BAE HAWK FIGHTER DEAL CLOSE?

Reuter, London, June 24 - British Aerospace Plc <BAEL.L> is close to clinching a deal worth hundreds of millions of pounds to supply up to 40 Hawk trainer-fighter aircraft to the Indonesian government, the Guardian newspaper said.

Parts of the aircraft, which would be powered by Rolls-Royce <RRPL.L> engines, could be moved to Indonesia's own aircraft factories for final assembly, it said. The deal would be BAe's biggest order in the growing Indonesian market and establish the Hawk amongst air forces in neighbouring countries.

A deal would follow a year of negotiations after an initial memorandum of understanding was signed in June 1991, it said.

Reuter, London, June 25 - British Aerospace Plc said talks are continuing to sell Hawk trainer-fighter aircraft to Indonesia and it was uncertain when it might conclude a deal.

Negotiations have been proceeding since it was announced in June 1991 that BAe had agreed with Indonesia's IPTN Nusantara Aircraft Industries to produce the Hawk for the Indonesian government, said BAe spokesman David Kamiya.

He was commenting on a Guardian newspaper report that BAe was close to clinching a deal to supply 40 of the aircraft to Indonesia. "It's into the detailed discussion and planning stage with nothing definitive yet," Kamiya said.

TAPOL WARNS BRITISH GOVERNMENT OF WAVE OF PROTEST IF HAWKS DEAL GOES AHEAD

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release on 25 June 1992:

The British Government was today warned by the London-based Indonesia Human Rights Campaign that there would be a wave of protest in this country if it grants a licence to British Aerospace to sign a deal to supply forty Hawk fighter-trainer aircraft to the Indonesian armed forces.

Today's press report follows months of silence after the signing in London last June of a memorandum of understanding between British Aerospace and IPTN, Indonesia's state-run aerospace company, regarding the joint production of dozens of Hawk aircraft. TAPOL believes that the negotiations were probably kept under wraps following the massacre at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor last November when at least 180 people taking part in a demonstration were shot dead by Indonesian troops.

In a letter to Foreign Secretary, Douglas Hurd, Carmel Budiardjo said: "It is hard to believe that the British Government will licence such a deal, after the outrage that followed the Santa Cruz massacre. Besides the killing fields of East Timor there are the killing fields of Aceh where Indonesian troops have killed an estimated 2,000 people in the last two years."

"It is groundless," she went on, "to argue that the aircraft would not or may not be used in East Timor, or in Aceh, or in West Papua. This deal, like others that have preceded it, is material support for the Indonesian armed forces, the very institution which is responsible before any other for the killings, massacres and atrocities that continue unabated in these three territories."

The deal is worth nearly 600 million and would be the largest by far of all British contracts to supply weaponry to the Indonesian armed forces. Since the mid 1980s, Britain has been second only to the USA as a supplier of arms to Indonesia.

On 16-17 July, Indonesia's aid donors meet in Paris to consider a request for economic assistance of nearly US\$5 billion. The Hawk deal will eat up the equivalent of 20 per cent of this year's aid packet.

Indonesia's current foreign debt stands at \$78 billion.

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, sent the following letter to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Douglas Hurd, on 25 June 1992:

Dear Mr Hurd,

I am writing to you following press reports today that British Aerospace is about to conclude a deal to supply Indonesia with forty Hawk fighter-trainer aircraft.

Can we have your assurance that this deal will not be allowed to proceed? It is hard to believe that the British Government will licence such a deal, after the outrage that followed the Santa Cruz massacre. Besides the killing fields of East Timor there are the killing fields of Aceh where Indonesian troops have killed an estimated 2,000 people in the last two years. Much less is known about military operations in West Papua but recent press reports indicate that they continue. The recent killing of resistance leader, Marthen Prawar is evidence of that.

It is groundless to argue that the aircraft would not or may not be used in East Timor, or in Aceh, or in West Papua. This deal, like others that have preceded it, is material support for the Indonesian armed forces, the very institution which is responsible before any other for the killings, massacres and atrocities that continue unabated in these three territories.

TAPOL has protested on numerous occasions about British arms sales to Indonesia. Only recently, we protested about the Green Rover deal. More recently, we queried plans of the Society of British Aerospace Manufacturers to hold a seminar in Indonesia. On top of all this comes the Hawk deal, worth around 575 million.

The British Government should be aware that, since the Santa Cruz massacre, public opinion in this country is acutely aware of the repressive nature of the Indonesian regime. This latest deal is therefore likely to unleash a wave of protest.

We would welcome your assurance that Her Majesty's Government will refuse to grant a licence for this Hawk deal.

[Others wishing to write should fax their letters to 071 270- 2833 or write to: Right Hon. Douglas Hurd, MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs, Downing Street, London SW1A 2AL.]

ARMS AND THE BUSINESSMEN

The following letter from Dr Peter Carey, Fellow and Tutor of Modern History at Trinity College, Oxford, was published in The Guardian, July 1, 1992.

In a week which saw swinging 15-year sentences passed by Indonesian courts on East Timorese involved in the November 12 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, under the state's draconian "subversion" law, is it really appropriate for British Aerospace and Rolls-Royce to have negotiated a multi-million pound deal with the Indonesian avionics industry for the supply of 40 Hawk fighter-trainers (Guardian 25 June)? It is well known that these aircraft are readily adaptable for ground-attack and counter-insurgency operations. Fifteen are already in service with the Indonesian air force from earlier deals with Jakarta, and some of these have been seen at Baucau airfield in East Timor where they have been used against the Fretilin resistance.

Since Indonesia's invasion of the former Portuguese colony, over 200,000 people (nearly a third of the population) have perished at the hands of the Indonesian military, and massive abuse of human rights continue to be perpetrated against the remaining inhabitants. Yet, in that very same period, Britain has become one of Indonesia's major arms suppliers, selling 290 million worth of equipment in the 1986-90 period alone, with British Aerospace accounting for well over half of that figure. Indeed, Britain is now central to the establishment of an independent Indonesian military avionics industry, whose focus is almost entirely on domestic counter-insurgency. Is this really the sort of association Britain should have with one of Southeast Asia's most repressive autocracies?

BRITISH AEROSPACE

Reuter, London, July 2 - British Aerospace Plc played down a newspaper report its chairman was discussing a possible regional aircraft joint venture with Taiwan.

The new chairman John Cahill is in Taipei and will also visit Japan, a spokesman for the company said. He said the visits were largely courtesy calls on BAe's existing partners in the region.

BAe has said it is looking for partners for its regional aircraft division which lost around 37 million stg in 1991.

Taiwan is keen to establish its aerospace industry and has been considering a tie-up with McDonnell Douglas Corp. <MD.N>.

A report in the Financial Times quoted the chairman of Taiwan Aerospace as saying BAe was interested in co-producing medium range passenger planes for sale in the region.

BAe has sold a number of its 146-series jets to China and Thailand, and Indonesia has bought the smaller Advanced Turboprop aircraft.

"We've been talking to the Japanese for a number of years...it's a potential market for the 146," BAe said.

The talks have mainly concentrated on marketing the aircraft in the region, and have sometimes touched on production, the spokesman added.

Taiwan Aerospace, 29 pct government-owned, has postponed finalising a preliminary deal with McDonnell Douglas under which Taiwan would buy a stake of up to 40 pct in McDonnell's commercial aircraft operation for \$2 billion and would make parts for the U.S. manufacturer's planned new jumbo jet, the MD-12.

COMMONS MOTION AGAINST HAWKS DEAL

The following Early Day Motion was tabled in the House of Commons on 30 June 1992, sponsored by three Liberal-Democrat and three Labour MPs:

EDM 362 - British Aerospace and Indonesia "That this House recalls the massacre in Dili, East Timor, last November when Indonesian troops fired on peaceful demonstrators, killing up to 180 people; recalls also the army killings in Aceh, North Sumatra, resulting in up to 2,000 deaths in the past two years; is dismayed at negotiations between British Aerospace and the Indonesian government to supply Indonesia with 40 Hawk fighter-trainer aircraft; is concerned that such a deal would signify this country's approval for the crimes of the Indonesian armed forces in East Timor and Aceh; and urges Her Majesty's Government not to grant a licence for the British Aerospace deal."

All British contacts who see this are asked to urge their MPs to sign this EDM. Make your representations soon please as the present session of Parliament ends on 16 July. As many MPs signatures as possible are needed as the deal could well be signed during the recess and efforts to stop the licence being granted must be made before then.

TAPOL

LETTERS CRITICAL OF THE UK

The following letters have been made public on the occasion of British assuming the presidency of the European Community:

East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign, which organised a vigil outside the British embassy in Dublin on 1 July [more of that event later], had the following letter published in Ireland's leading daily, The Irish Times:

Your readers will scarcely have forgotten the invasion of East Timor which resulted in the loss of over 200,000 lives. Many will also be aware of the massacre of over 180 innocent mourners at the Santa Cruz cemetery on November 12 1991 by the Indonesian army. As a result of considerable international pressure, the Indonesian government finally agreed to a token trial of some of the perpetrators.

There is however an astonishing discrepancy between the length of sentences handed out in this instance and the fate of the Timorese victims of the massacre. The cynicism of this exercise is underlined by the fact that simultaneously with a public relations charade a select targeted group of victims themselves is being subjected to legal harassment, imprisonment and torture. I feel that a sense of justice and fair play of the Irish people resulting from our own long and frequently tragic experience of colonialism will revolt at this and would appeal to your readers to make their feelings known to their public reps.

It's a tragic irony that many European countries including the United Kingdom and France continue to discreetly supply the instructions of warfare and oppression to a morally indefensible regime in Indonesia. Indeed, at this very moment it is reported that BAe [British Aerospace] is about to sell 40 Hawk fighters to the Suharto regime. The sale of weapons to Indonesia is out of purely economic self-interest and in defiance of what one supposes to be the decent feelings of the vast majority of citizens of those countries.

Signed: Tom Hyland, Director ETISC.

The British Coalition for East Timor sent the following letter to the Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on 1 July 1992, the day the UK took over the presidency of the European Community:

We deeply regret that the recent communiqué marking the end of the Portuguese presidency of the European Community and the beginning of that of the United Kingdom, failed to make any mention of the

situation pertaining in the territory of East Timor - which in international law is still the responsibility of a European Community member country.

In the last week we have also heard of the sentencing of Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha to life imprisonment for his part in the November 1991 independence demonstration in Dili. This is in sharp contrast to the short sentences given to the perpetrators of the massacre in the Santa Cruz cemetery, and continue a trend which clearly demonstrates the contempt of the Indonesian authorities for respect of internationally accepted standards of human rights.

To grant the necessary licenses allowing the export of Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia and to participate in the forthcoming Consultative Group on Indonesia, can only further serve to alleviate any fears the Indonesian establishment had that the European Community was serious in its commitment to make future aid conditional on specific improvements in human rights.

We strongly urge Her Majesty's Government to make clear its revulsion at the severity of the punishment meted out to young people expressing their desire for freedoms guaranteed under international law, and to rebuke the Indonesian State for its lenient treatment of those who shot, in cold blood, unarmed demonstrators in Dili in December last year.

TIMORESE REFUGEES VISIT UK EMBASSY

A group of East Timorese, relatives of several of the East Timorese who have been tried in Dili and Jakarta, visited the British embassy in Lisbon to urge the British government to become active on the question of East Timor during the British presidency. They handed over a letter to Prime Minister John Major.

The group included the father, brother and sister of Francisco Miranda Branco, who has been sentenced to fifteen years, the brother-in-law of Carlos dos Santos Lemos, still awaiting sentence after the prosecution asked the court to give him ten years, and the fiancée of Fernando de Araujo, sentenced in Jakarta to nine years. They were accompanied by Luisa Teotonio Pereira of the Commission for the Rights of the Maubere People.

They were received by John Buck, political counsellor at the embassy with special responsibility for the question of East Timor

The letter they wrote to John Major is as follows:

2 July 1992

The Right Hon. John Major MP, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, President of the European Community c/o UK Embassy, Lisbon

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

We are East Timorese refugees now forced to live in exile because our country has been illegally occupied by Indonesia for the past 16 years. Some of us are relatives of East Timorese who have been prosecuted in Indonesian law courts in Dili or Jakarta in the last few weeks.

We congratulate you as you take on the Presidency of the European Community and would like to convey to you our heartfelt concerns and hopes.

First, it pains us deeply that the Lisbon Summit held last week made no reference to the tragedy of our long-suffering people, even though the Indonesian government, our persecutor, is an important trading partner of almost all the EC countries. Some of us testified at the European Parliament Hearing on Human Rights in East Timor last April. Why were our grave concerns not reflected in the Final Communiqué of the EC Summit? We have heard that it may have been difficult for Portugal, as President, to push the question of East Timor because of its close involvement. If this is true, we urge you to take up the issue more forcefully than Portugal did during its Presidency. Our people desperately need your help, Sir.

Second, the British Government was one of the first EC countries to state its adherence to the principle of linking economic aid to the human rights record of the recipient country. We congratulate you for that, and sincerely hope that you will stand by this principle in your dealings with Indonesia which so brutally oppresses our people. We urge you to raise this at the Paris meeting of the Consultative Group for Indonesia and make it clear to Indonesia that British assistance will not be given until human rights abuses in East Timor end and our people can express their views on the future of our country.

Our third worry concerns the report we have seen that British Aerospace is planning to sell Indonesia forty Hawk fighter-trainers. As we understand it, the deal can only go ahead with a licence from the British Government. Please, Mr Prime Minister, remember that if you issue this licence, you will be supporting the Indonesian armed forces, the very body which so oppresses East Timor.

Finally, our personal concerns are profound. Our brothers, fathers, uncles and dear ones in Dili and Java have received harsh sentences merely for demonstrating

peacefully on the streets of Jakarta and Dili. Two weeks ago, Francisco Miranda Branco was sentenced to fifteen years and yesterday, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha was given a life sentence. Why are they being punished like this when in fact the guilty ones are the troops who opened fire on the demonstrators in Dili on 12 November killing nearly 200 of our people, and the officers who ordered them to open fire? The British Government and the European Community cannot remain silent while our dear ones are treated so harshly. Please use your distinguished position as British Prime Minister and as president of the European Community to condemn these sentences and call for the immediate release of all the East Timorese who have been convicted or held in prison since the tragic Santa Cruz Massacre on 12 November.

Our people are still suffering from that Massacre. The bodies of the dead have not yet been returned to the bereaved families. We are still a people in mourning. Please help us by speaking out.

ABRI OFFICER TRAINING IN UK EXPOSED

Original document 2 July 1992 Unabridged

Comment: Information about UK-government training of military personnel is one of the best-kept secrets in this country's highly secretive administration. So here is a breach worth savouring. It may take a week or so before Lord Avebury's questions are answered.

Addressed to the Duty Clerk of the House of Lords:

Lord Avebury to ask Her Majesty's Government:

Whether Kustanto Widiatmoko, platoon leader in the First Armour Squadron of the Indonesian Presidential Security Service has been offered a place at the Royal Military College of Science, Cranfield, starting October 1992 to read for an MSc in Information Technology or Defence Administration, whether the cost of this award is to be met partly from the Foreign and Commonwealth Office Scholarships and Awards Scheme and partly from the UK Embassy in Jakarta's 'UKMTAS allocation; what these initials mean; what is the total size of the Embassy's 'UKMTAS allocation; who are the other beneficiaries of this money and what amounts are to be allocated to them in each case; and whether they still consider it appropriate to give British hospitality to members of an army which massacres civilians in East Timor, Aceh and West Papua.

Whether Akhmad Buldan, communication platoon leader of an infantry battalion in the Indonesian army has been offered a place at the Royal Military College of Science, Cranfield, starting October 1992 to read for an MSc in Military Electronics Systems Engineering; how many other officers of the Indonesian armed forces have been offered places at United Kingdom institutions of higher education at the expense of the taxpayer for the academic years 1991-2 and 1992-3 respectively, and how they reconcile these awards with the doctrine of conditionality, under which aid is dependent on human rights performance by the state concerned.

Whether Minulyo Suprpto, weapon and vehicle base workshop officer in the Indonesian army, has been offered a place at the Royal Military College of Science, Cranfield, starting October 1992, to read for an MSc in Indonesian Technology or Materials Engineering, whether this officer completed a 5-week general English course at the British Council's English Language Centre, Jakarta, in October 1991; and whether they will suspend all training of personnel from the Indonesian armed forces until the commanders of the troops responsible for the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor, on November 12 1991 have been charged, and until they have had an opportunity of considering the report of the United Nations Secretary-General by his special representative Dr Amos Wako on the circumstances of the massacre, which has so far been withheld from member states.

Whether they are aware that Major-General Mantiri, commander of the IXth Udayana Regional Military Command, which includes East Timor, was reported in the Jakarta weekly 'Editor' this week on the Santa Cruz massacre of November 12, 1991, to have said 'What happened was quite proper.... People abroad are yapping away, magnifying things"; whether they are also aware that on June 30, an Indonesian court sentenced Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, one of the survivors of the massacre, to life imprisonment for 'subversion,' and whether they will urge the United Nations Security Council to restate its demand for the withdrawal of Indonesian armed forces from East Timor, so that a referendum on the political future of the territory can be held, in accordance with the Charter and with Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

UK DUBLIN EMBASSY FACES PROTEST

TAPOL report, July 3

The East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign (ETISC) staged a protest outside the British Embassy in Dublin on 1 July, as the UK took over presidency of the European Community. More than thirty people were present, with banners proclaiming 'Stop supporting Indonesian atrocities in East Timor,' 'Stop crucifying East Timor' and 'Pax Christi, Stop the killings of the Timorese.'

Michael D. Higgins, foreign affairs spokesperson of the Irish Labour Party, gave a ten-minute address on the plight of the East Timorese people and the right to self-determination, and made a scathing attack on the Suharto regime. Blainid Reilly read a poem by Borja da Costa, the East Timorese poet who was murdered in Dili on 7 December, the day of the Indonesian invasion.

Tom Hyland, director of ETISC, strongly criticised the British government for supplying weapons to the Indonesian regime, and condemned in particular the proposed sale by British Aerospace of 40 Hawk fighter aircraft to Indonesia.

Groups represented at the protest besides the ETISC were the Irish development agency AFRI, Pax Christi, the Catholic aid agency TROCAIRE, Amnesty International, the Green Party and the Irish El Salvador Group.

In a letter to the British government, which was handed into the British embassy, the ETISC wrote that it was dismayed at plans to sell Hawk planes to Indonesia. "We will vigorously oppose this sale and continue to highlight the plight of the people of East Timor."

ETISC came into being earlier this year in the wake of the Santa Cruz massacre; it is the first group to work for East Timor in Ireland, a country with a long tradition of solidarity. The group has already taken initiatives to coordinate international solidarity actions and was instrumental in calling on East Timor solidarity groups in several EC countries to take action as the UK assumes the EC presidency.

The ETISC's first action was a vigil in Dublin on Good Friday to commemorate those who died at Santa Cruz last November. Its director, Tom Hyland, recently took part in a one-hour phone- in programme on one of Ireland's leading radio programmes on the question of East Timor.

MP'S AND PEERS FROM ALL PARTIES WANT AID TO INDONESIA SUSPENDED

The Parliamentary Human Rights Group issued the following Press Release today, 7 July 1992:

Eighteen members of the House of Lords and the House of Commons wrote today to Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd calling on the British Government not to give aid to Indonesia until the human rights situation in East Timor improves.

The letter was sent ten days before the World Bank-led international aid consortium for Indonesia meets in Paris to consider this year's allocation of economic assistance to Indonesia. Last year, foreign donors gave Indonesia US\$4.75bn; the UK share was 18.7m. Indonesia hopes to receive even more foreign aid this year. The letter says that recent moves by Indonesia to reject the principle of linking aid to the human rights conduct of recipient countries should not go unchallenged. "The principle of conditionality has been advanced by you (and Baroness Chalker) over the past year and was of course reiterated in the Queen's Speech at the opening of this Parliament."

The letter, the first of its kind to get support from parliamentarians of all the major parties, asked the Government to issue a statement on the occasion of the Paris meeting "emphasising its deep concern about the human rights situation in East Timor." This relates in particular to the Santa Cruz massacre in Dili, East Timor in November last year when Indonesian troops opened fire on a peaceful demonstration outside the Santa Cruz cemetery, killing up to 180 people. The letter said:

"We propose that Her Majesty's Government make known its dissatisfaction with the commission of inquiry set up by the Indonesian Government and the savage sentences passed on survivors of the November 12 massacre. We hope that the Government will make it plain that British aid to Indonesia cannot continue unless all East Timorese held and tried in the wake of the massacre are released and the bodies of all those who died in the massacre are returned to their families. There should also be a proper investigation to establish who in the upper echelons of the army was responsible for the massacre. HMG should signal that giving sentences of a few months each to a handful of low-ranking soldiers is unacceptable in response to the call by the international community for those in the armed forces responsible for murder to be brought to justice."

The signatories also asked Douglas Hurd to press for the immediate publication of the

report of Amos Wako, the UN secretary general's special representative, of his visit to Dili in February this year. The report, which is understood to be critical of Indonesia's handling of the Santa Cruz massacre, should, they said, be available to all donor countries in advance of the Paris meeting.

The signatories to the letter are:

Peers:

Viscount Brentford (Con)
Lord Avebury (Lib Dem)
Lord Judd (Lab)
Lord Rea (Lab)
Lord Ennals (Lab)
Lord Hatch of Lusby (Lab)

Members of Parliament:

David Alton (Lib Dem. Mossley Hill)
David Anderson (Lab. Swansea E.)
Dale Campbell-Savours (Lab.

Workington)

Ann Clwyd (Lab. Cynon Valley)
Anthony Coombs (Con. Wyre Forest)
George Foulkes (Lab.Co. Carrick,

Cumnock & Doom Valley)

Edward Garnier (Con. Harborough)
Nick Harvey (Lib Dem. Devon N.)
Jim Lester (Con. Broxtowe)
Elizabeth Lynne (Lib Dem. Rochdale)
Alice Mahon (Lab. Halifax)
David Trimble (Ulster Unionist)

TORY PRESSURE IN PARLIAMENT GROWS

TAPOL report, 8 July 1992.

The Joint Letter to Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd on 7 July, calling for Britain to stop granting aid to Indonesia because of the situation in East Timor, had the support of several senior Conservatives in Parliament. Viscount Brentford in the House of Lords has displayed a deep concern and raised many questions about East Timor since the Yorkshire TV film, 'Cold Blood, the Massacre of East Timor' was shown in January. He was one of several Tories to meet Jose Ramos-Horta during his recent visit to London. Edward Garnier, another who met Horta, and signed the letter to Douglas Hurd, is secretary of the Conservative Party's back-bench committee on foreign affairs. Jim Lester, another Tory who signed the letter, was on the Commons Select Committee in the old Parliament. The new Select Committee has not yet been announced.

The fourth Tory signatory was Anthony Coombs, who is secretary of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group. On 2 July, he asked the Leader of the House the following question:

"My Right Hon friend will be aware of the concern of the parliamentary human rights group about the human rights abuses by the Indonesian Government in East Timor, which have cost 200,000 lives over the past ten years. May we have a statement or a debate next week, so that we can discuss both the conditionality of aid being given to countries with human rights records such as that of Indonesia, and the publication of the recent report on those appalling problems by Amos Wako, the representative of the Secretary-General of the United Nations?"

Replying, Leader of the House Tony Newton said something about 'other opportunities next week which I have already mentioned,' a round-about way of saying No.

This is the first time that any Tory has called for a debate on Indonesian policy in East Timor.

TIMOR RESOURCES

A RECORD FOR EAST TIMOR

Luis Manuel, a well-known Portuguese singer, has taken the initiative of recording a song in support of the struggle of the Timorese people.

The record is titled *Agir por Timor* (Act for Timor), in evocation of the Paris solidarity group *Agir pour Timor*. The following Portuguese artists living in Paris have contributed to the recording: Vasco Jorge, Tony Carreira, Luis Manuel, Sylvi, Graciano Saga, Jorge Kito, Manuel Afonso, Isabel Lima, Davide Alexandre, Arminda Marco, Didi, Mendes Carlos Sarmento, Lucy, Gerard Adat, Sheila Franco, Angi, Sabrina.

The venture was supported by the Portuguese Cultural Community of Trappes, Discoteca de Sol, Dyam Producoes, Radio Alfa and Portugal FM. The sale of the 1,000 records will go to East Timor solidarity.

For more information, contact: *Agir pour Timor*, 22bis rue Jouvenet, 75016 PARIS (France) or e-mail kahn@mathp7.jussieu.fr

BRIEFING BOOKS ON CONTEMPORARY INDONESIA

These Briefing Books are the new July 1992 looseleaf compilations on ten key subjects involving Indonesia from Indonesia Publications' analytic and documentary periodicals.

In our best effort to meet your needs, the Briefing Books help you become current quickly on vital topics, permit an in-depth appreciation of issues, supplement news periodicals from us and your other news sources, provide hard-to-get, full-text primary source documents, provide translations available nowhere else, constitute invaluable reference works for any private or institutional library, may be used like regular textbooks, may be disassembled and re-combined to yield customized textbooks, may be reproduced by you in any numbers for courses or members of your organization or business without further permission by paying a flat token "royalty" of \$5 per Briefing Book copy directly to Indonesia Publications, – are made available in updated editions every 3 months (January, April, July, October) so you, your library, or your organization or business can always get the latest information. – may be obtained as a full set on a \$25 discounted standing order basis every 12 months.

Briefing Books (looseleaf, in folders):

The Indonesian Military Elite (109 pp, \$36); Law and Political Liberty in Indonesia (378 pp, \$104); The Petition of 50 Group and the Tanjung Priok Incident (100 pp, \$34); Transmigration, the Environment, and Indigenous Peoples (243 pp, \$73); Political Islam in Indonesia (154 pp, \$48); Irian Jaya (126 pp, \$41); East Timor (278 pp, \$78); Aceh (110 pp, \$36); Indonesia's Economy (190 pp, \$57); Recent Dissertations on Indonesia (137 pp, \$46)

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TIMOR'S ANSCHLUSS — INDONESIAN AND AUSTRALIAN POLICY ON EAST TIMOR 1974-1976

Sue Rabbit Roff has written a new 128-page book which draws on Indonesian-language sources to reconstruct "the events leading up to the spurious act of self-determination in May 1976." She takes her accounts "primarily from the Indonesian press to demonstrate how much of the Indonesians' intention to seize East Timor was available even from the highly-controller Jakarta press. It would be have been difficult for Canberra's analysts to misunderstand..."

The book is copyright 1992 and published by the Edwin Mellen Press, Box 450, Lewiston NY 14092 (also in Queenstown, Ontario and Dyfed, Wales).

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

EAST TIMOR UPDATE, THE ACTIVIST, TORONTO

June 8, 1992 Reprinted from *The ACTIVIST*,
736 Bathurst Street, Toronto, M5S 2R4,
Canada. Subscriptions \$10 for 12 issues.

Contents this month:

- Bata Shoes Boycott launched
- "Subversive" students jailed
- The aid tango
- Torture goes on
- US Congress considers aid cutoff
- Xanana to UN: don't forget East Timor

Bata Shoes Boycott launched

East Timor supporters in Toronto have launched a campaign calling on the more than 300 Canadian companies operating in Indonesia to divest from Indonesia because of the Indonesian government's appalling human rights record and its wars against the people of East Timor and West Papua. The first company to be targeted is Bata Shoes, a Toronto-based multinational which operates two factories in Indonesia.

In the late 1970s, following the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Canada ranked ahead of the United States in investments in Indonesia. Even today, Canada is the fifth largest investor. The Canadian government has invested more than \$1 billion in the Indonesian economy, notorious as one of the world's most corrupt.

Canadian companies active in Indonesia include Inco (nickel and gold mining), Groupe SNC-Lavalin (engineering studies), Gulf Canada Resources Ltd. (oil), General Electric Canada, and ten military companies led by Pratt and Whitney Canada (aircraft engines). One of the largest Canadian investments belongs to Bata Shoes, a privately-owned company vulnerable to consumer pressure. A 1980s boycott forced Bata to divest from South Africa.

Protesters disrupted the opening of the new Bata Shoe Museum to publicize Bata's record in Indonesia and other Third World countries. In a meeting with Aqeel Zaman and Maggie Helwig, Bata general counsel Tom Drucker refused to consider a call to divest from Indonesia. Accordingly a consumer boycott has been called.

The next action is set for Saturday, June 20, 12 Noon, at Bata's Dufferin Mall store in Toronto.

"Subversive" students jailed

Two East Timorese students studying in Indonesia have been sentenced to long jail

terms for organizing a demonstration in support of East Timorese independence last November, while three participants are also headed for jail. Joao Freitas da Camara and Fernando de Araujo have been sentenced to jail terms of ten and nine years respectively for "subversion," despite the protests of Amnesty International and other human rights groups around the world, and the support of Indonesian human rights organizations.

"I want to say once again that I am not Indonesian," Araujo said. "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 trials of other Timorese protesters continue. Three of them have been sentenced to between six and 30 months in jail for "expressing hostility towards the (Indonesian) government."

Another group of Timorese students, including two men charged with subversion, is on trial in Dili, East Timor, accused of provoking Indonesian soldiers to fire on an unarmed crowd at the Santa Cruz cemetery last Nov. 12. As many as 200 people died in the subsequent massacre, which was filmed by a British TV crew. (The documentary of the massacre, *Cold Blood*, has recently been given an award by Amnesty International. It is available, for educational screenings only, from ETAN.)

Independent observers have placed the blame for the Santa Cruz massacre on the generals at the head of the Indonesian armed forces, but only rank-and-file soldiers have been charged. Ten soldiers are being court-martialled on charges of "disobeying orders" by shooting on the crowd. Several have been sentenced to jail terms, ranging from four to seventeen months.

Meanwhile, the United Nations still has not released the conclusions of its special envoy Amos Wako, who was sent to Indonesia and East Timor to investigate the Santa Cruz massacre. Sources at the UN say the report will be kept secret because it is "too damaging to Indonesia."

The aid tango

Following a request by the Indonesian government, the World Bank has agreed to chair a new consortium to co-ordinate economic aid to Indonesia. The Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) will meet July 16-17 in Paris. 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. The CGI now joins the pack of World Bank-led Paris Clubs which coordinate aid for many developing countries.

Indonesia's economy is heavily dependent on overseas aid. Last year the \$4.7 billion received through the IGGI accounted for 20 per cent of the country's budget.

According to TAPOL, the London-based Indonesian human rights campaign, "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."

Human rights are not presently on the agenda for the CGI, but other Paris Clubs chaired by the World Bank, among them consortiums on Kenya, Malawi and Togo, have halted aid because of human rights abuses. Canada is among the countries that are being heavily lobbied in advance of the meeting, and the Canadian stance there will have a major influence on other countries. Canada suspended \$30 million from its 1992 aid package, which was to have totalled \$76 million, because of the killings in East Timor. It is the only country that still has aid sanctions against Indonesia in place.

Torture goes on

The crackdown on East Timor announced by new Indonesian military commander Brig.-General Theo Syaifei early this year continues unabated, according to recent letters from East Timor made public by José Ramos Horta, external representative of the Timorese resistance. Much of the clandestine resistance behind Indonesian lines has been arrested, tortured, and prevented from functioning, but resistance still continues.

"Among the cruel treatment of the wounded," one letter from Dili says, "the (Indonesian security forces) 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."

US Congress considers aid cutoff

A bill that would end all American economic and military assistance to the

Indonesian government has been introduced in the US House of Representatives. "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?" asked Tony Hall, an Ohio Democrat who is the prime mover behind the bill.

HR 5176 would end American aid, military sales and intelligence co-operation (leaving intact only humanitarian aid) until Indonesia agrees to allow a referendum on self-determination in East Timor (as proposed by East Timor Bishop Carlos Belo), allows free access to East Timor to humanitarian agencies, complies with United Nations resolutions on East Timor, and ends all violations of human rights in the territory.

If the bill is successful, it would be a major blow to the Indonesian government. The United States is Indonesia's main military supplier and its second-largest aid donor after Japan.

Blood-pouring verdict postponed

A verdict will be handed down June 22 in the trial of Maggie Helwig and Joanne Young, who were charged with mischief over \$1,000 for throwing blood on the doors of the Indonesian Consulate in Toronto last February while Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was visiting Canada.

The trial on May 29 heard testimony from Abe Barreto Soares, recently appointed Canadian representative for the East Timorese resistance. Defence lawyer Paul Bernstein argued the right to freedom of speech took precedence in this case, as all other avenues of protest had been tried.

Xanana to UN: Don't forget East Timor

East Timorese resistance leader Kay Rala Xanana Gusmao has written to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the new secretary-general of the United Nations, to call for renewed international action on East Timor, as mandated by repeated UN resolutions that call for Indonesia to withdraw its troops and allow the East Timorese the right to self-determination.

"We believe that peace is not the privilege of just a few peoples, because peace is essentially an aspiration of mankind," Xanana wrote from the interior of East Timor. "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."

The full text of the letter is available from ETAN/Canada on request.

"WATCHING RIGHTS" (ARYEH NEIER)

The Nation Magazine, 29 June 1992

Last November 12 in Dili, the capitol of East Timor, Indonesian troops opened fire on what had been a peaceful demonstration. According to a National Commission of Inquiry, a body established by the Indonesian government in response to the international protests, about fifty people were killed and some 90 are still missing. Observers say the death toll was higher and, as in Bangkok six months later, that the army carted away truckloads of bodies. The Catholic Bishops of East Timor estimated that 180 were killed; others put the figure at more than 200.

Demonstrations involve considerable risk in East Timor, occupied as it is by a country that over the past three decades has compiled one of the bloodiest records on human rights anywhere in the world. For much of that period the number of political prisoners - in absolute terms and as proportion to population - has been exceeded probably only in China. The residents of Dili may have been encouraged in the mistaken belief that they could demonstrate safely on this occasion by the presence of a U.N. human rights official, Pieter Kooijmans, the world body's special rapporteur on torture.

The demonstration began after a mass was celebrated for a young man who had been killed by the army two weeks earlier just outside the church. People marched down the street carrying banners and flags in support of independence for East Timor. Some may have been trying to reach the hotel where Kooijmans was staying but were blocked by security forces from heading in that direction. They proceeded to the cemetery where the young man had been buried. At the cemetery, troops opened fire on them.

Last month two army officers and a police corporal were tried before a military court in Bali for the killings. Six other members of the security forces are expected to be tried as well, though neither the names nor the charges have been made public. So far, the highest penalty is a token eighteen-month sentence for disobeying orders. Yet any prosecution for violating human rights in unprecedented in Indonesia, and reflects international pressure. Although the United States has refrained from criticism - as is its practice in the case of Indonesia - it has sent observers to the trials. Canada and the European Community have been forceful in their denunciations. In April, the European Parliament held an unusual public hearing on East Timor at which my colleague Sidney

Jones, director of Asia Watch, who had investigated the massacre in Dili and written a report about it, provided testimony.

The Indonesian Government, however, is also taking steps to dispel any impression that the prosecution of the officers is a sign of increased tolerance for dissent. At about the time the trial in Bali was getting underway, another trial was held in Jakarta. Five East Timorese students were convicted for their part in a peaceful demonstration in the Indonesian capital on November 19 to protest the massacre in Dili. Fernando de Araujo, 26, was sentenced to nine years on subversion charges for planning the Jakarta demonstration. The presiding judge said that de Araujo had "disgraced the nation in the eyes of the international community." De Araujo was also accused of heading a student group that supported Fretilin, the armed independence movement in East Timor, and of communicating with international human rights groups. Three other students got lesser sentences for "expressing hostility to the government": Agapito Cardoso, 25, got ten months; Virgilio da Silva Guttierrez, 25, got thirty months, and Dominggus Barreto, 29, got six months. A fifth man, Joao Camara, was also accused of having links to Fretilin as well as planning the demonstration, and was sentenced to ten years in prison for subversion. In another case pending in Dili, the prosecution has demanded a life sentence for an East Timorese, Gregorio Saldanha, for planning the November 12 funeral march. Seven others are also being tried.

It has long been something of a puzzle that Indonesia has not figured more significantly on the international human rights agenda. Several explanations come to mind, none entirely satisfactory. They include the geographical remoteness from the main centers in which human rights campaigns have been organized in Western Europe and the United States, the relatively small number of political exiles in the West; and the unfamiliarity of the language. Timing has probably been a more important factor. The bloodbath that followed the suppression of a purported Communist coup attempt in 1965 took place more than a decade before the emergence of the international human rights movement as a significant force. By the late 1970s, when human rights became important politically, more of the more than 1 million political prisoners held without trial since 1966 or 1967 had been released. Yet severe repression has persisted: mass killings in East Timor following the invasion and annexation of the former Portuguese colony in 1975; summary executions and disappearances in recent years to suppress a separatist movement in Aceh, at the other

end of the country; continuing persecution of aging former political prisoners and even of their children; executions of some of the alleged organizers of the attempted coup after they had been held in prison for two decades; and an anti-crime campaign in the early 1980s in which police arbitrarily murdered thousands of suspected criminals.

The international response to the massacre in Dili last November was far greater than what has been customary where Indonesia is concerned. If that is followed by a strong reaction to the savage prison sentences imposed on the young men who had the audacity to denounce the massacre, perhaps the Indonesian government will get the message that its immunity from such denunciations is coming to an end. It is about time.

PETITION BEFORE THE U.S. TRADE REPRESENTATIVE ON LABOR RIGHTS IN INDONESIA

Submitted by Asia Watch June 1992

Asia Watch is hereby submitting a petition requesting a formal review of labor rights practices in Indonesia, pursuant to Section 502(b)(8) of the Trade Act. Although well-documented labor rights petitions on Indonesia have been submitted to the U.S. Trade Representative for consideration during the past several years, and Indonesia's labor rights practices have been reviewed on two occasions, Indonesia still continues to benefit from the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) program. In 1991, the AFL-CIO submitted a labor rights petition to the USTR, yet the petition was not accepted for review. According to labor rights activists, the USTR did not make its rationale for rejection of the AFL-CIO's petition available until June 1, 1992, although the rationale is dated January 1992.

As this petition describes, Indonesian workers are not afforded basic labor rights. The right to freedom of association, the right to strike, and the freedom from forced labor are not guaranteed in Indonesia. In fact, when workers have attempted to form independent unions or to carry out strikes, they have been hindered by excessively restrictive government regulations and by harassment, intimidation, intervention and beatings by members of the Indonesian security forces.

Freedom of Association

Only one, government-controlled trade union is legally recognized in Indonesia, the All-Indonesia Workers Union, better known by its Indonesian acronym, SPSI. The requirements for obtaining legal recognition

as a trade union are so onerous – representation in at least 20 of Indonesia's 27 provinces, branch offices in at least 100 districts (kabupaten) and 1,000 units in factories or plants – that they clearly violate international standards of freedom of association. Article 7, Convention No. 87 of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) states:

“The acquisition of legal personality by workers' and employers' organisations, federations and confederations shall not be made subject to conditions of such a character as to restrict the application of the provisions of Articles 2, 3 and 4 hereof. (Articles 2, 3, and 4 pertain to the right to associate without interference by public authorities.)”

The formation of a new labor organization, Serikat Buruh Sejahtera Indonesia (SBSI) was announced on April 25, 1992. The Indonesia press reports that it is composed largely of workers who are dissatisfied with the official union, SPSI. As of June 1, it had not been recognized by the government.

The SPSI's lack of independence from the government has been noted by the U.S. State Department in its Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 1991 on Indonesia, which explains that: “The Government and employers have considerable influence over SPSI affairs; a retired military lieutenant colonel and GOLKAR [ruling party] district chairman with some prior union experience is chairman of the largest provincial branch of SPSI, primarily due to government backing.”

The Indonesian government has maintained, in response to allegations made by the AFL-CIO in earlier petitions to the U.S. Trade Representative, that many professional federations such as the Indonesian Teachers Association (PGRI) and the Indonesia Journalists Association (PWI) function as unions. In fact, such organizations are also government monopolies, professionals have no choice but to join, and the annual congresses function as a rubber-stamp of government policy.

The teachers' association, PGRI, was in fact recognized as a union in 1990 but as the State Department's Country Reports notes, PGRI “has not...attempted to bargain over wages and working conditions, preferring its traditional role of working with the Government to pursue the interests of its members. Some PGRI officials are employees of the Ministry of Education.” In fact, teachers who have questioned the practices of the PGRI have been persecuted.

The emergence of a small, independent labor union in late 1990 called Setia Kawan (Solidarity) Free Trade Union led to the harassment and occasional detention of its

members. The union, which has not been formally banned, has not been allowed to register and its leaders are constantly under military surveillance. On June 2, 1991, the then Secretary General of Setia Kawan, Saut Aritonang, was abducted on the street by armed men believed to be members of a military intelligence unit. He was released on June 5. During his detention, he was questioned about his union activities.

In the absence of independent unions, workers seeking access to management to air their demands have requested representation by the government-controlled SPSI federation. Unfortunately, SPSI officials are usually chosen for their closeness to company or factory owners; they do not function effectively as a voice for labor.

Workers at factories where SPSI units do exist understand that the SPSI does not protect their rights. When workers went on strike at the PT SS Utama shoe factory in Tandes, near Surabaya, East Java on September 23, 1991, they demanded that the SPSI unit at their factory be dissolved because the workers believed it did not represent their interests. The workers also demanded higher wages.

In some factories, payment of membership dues for the SPSI unit is mandatory and deducted from workers' wages. In reaction to this practice, workers at the PT Star Angkasa factory in Surabaya asked for the SPSI unit to be dissolved, their money to be returned, and an accounting of how their compulsory dues had been used.

In Malang, East Java, in September 1991, workers walked out of a factory called PT Usaha Loka-Joe Oen because of physical abuse by the employer. In desperation, the workers tried to get help from the local office of SPSI but it refused to intervene, saying it would not act as long as the owner refused to permit an SPSI unit to be set up on the premises. SPSI had never actively attempted to protect the rights of the workers, even though it was clear that the workers had suffered from physical abuse.

Right to Strike

The right to strike is severely restricted in Indonesia. A 1963 presidential decree, PP No.7/1963 bans strikes in both private and state-owned industries considered “vital.” Civil servants are also banned from striking.

In 1990, a new Presidential Decree was promulgated (Keppres 27/1990), rescinding Presidential Decree 123, which was an attachment to the 1963 law listing 60 individual firms or plants in which strikes were forbidden (such as the national telephone company, Perumtel); the national electric company, PLN; and the oil company, PT Shell Indonesia). The government attempted to portray the repeal of

Presidential Decree 123 as an improvement in labor rights. However, without the delineation of which industries are considered vital, the 1963 strike prohibition on "vital" industries can now be interpreted as broadly as the government wishes, since the term "vital" is not defined in the 1963 law. (See Annex I.)

Strikes are permitted, in theory, in all workplaces which are not public enterprises and not deemed "vital," but only after a good faith effort at resolution of the dispute has been made and one side has rejected negotiation. All employees of state enterprises and the civil service must be members of the government-controlled and non-union organization called KORPRI, whose members are under heavy pressure to vote for the ruling party, GOLKAR, in Indonesia's parliamentary elections. Mediations are often made more tense by the presence of the military or police during formal negotiations. A body called the Local Committee for the Settlement of Labor Disputes (Panitia Penyelesaian Perburuhan Daerah) must be informed of any intent to strike; it then takes charge of mediation efforts. The Committee is headed by a representative of the government's Ministry of Manpower.

For several reasons, strike procedures as mandated by law are often ignored in practice. Since no legitimate unions are allowed to operate at the workplace, workers are not familiar with strike procedures. Moreover, management often only agrees to negotiate if the workers' threat to strike is made credible by a work stoppage or other industrial action. Wildcat strikes are thus increasingly common, and military intervention is the rule rather than the exception as the following examples illustrate.

Military Interference with the Right to Strike

On June 8, 1991, soldiers from the 061 Regional Military Command (KOREM) in Bogor, West Java, apprehended and interrogated three workers, Marsidin, 23, Dedi, 22, and one other man of the PT Evershinetex textile factory, accusing them of instigating a strike on May 4. The factory's 3,600 workers had been demanding better working conditions, higher wages, transportation and food allowances, and vacation time. During the strike, some of the workers threw mud and stones at some of the management personnel. The three men taken in by the military were forcibly held until they signed formal letters of resignation and apologies to the factory for their involvement in the strike.

Ten days later, workers from Evershinetex and four other textile factories

in the area held a demonstration in front of the Ministry of Manpower office in Jakarta to protest the forced dismissals of the three men. On June 22, the KOREM summoned three more workers from Evershinetex, Mikun, 30; Ujan, 30; and Kasturi, 27, and accused them of masterminding the protest. They had been with the factory for ten, five, and 12 years respectively. All three were forced to sign letters of resignation.

Finally, on June 26, the KOREM arrested three more men from Evershinetex, Wardoyo, Latif and Syamsudin, interrogated and beat them over a 12-hour period. To stop the pain, the workers said, they signed letters of resignation and apology.

In addition to their treatment of the workers, the local military and police took part in the negotiations that eventually took place between the Evershinetex workers and management of the factory. Such participation is routine and serves to intimidate the workers to accept what management offers.

When 14,000 workers from the PT Gajah Tunggal group went on strike on August 1-2 and again on August 20-21, 1991, not only the local police and military (subdistrict and district level) were called in, but also combat units from army battalion 203 and Metropolitan Jakarta military command, on the grounds that the security of the district of Tangerang was threatened.

Workers in the Gajah Tunggal complex, which is located in Tangerang and consists of 14 factories making everything from tires to fan belts to sports shoes, went on strike because they were receiving less than the minimum wage, no insurance and no paid vacation leave. They also demanded that the SPSI unit be dissolved, as they believed it was being used as a tool to control workers. (The day before the first strike, for example, the SPSI head reportedly threatened to dismiss any worker who took part in any industrial action for higher wages – further evidence of SPSI's spurious description as a union interested in protecting workers' rights.)

The strike took place after an announcement on July 30, 1991, that the wages of workers who had been employed less than three years would be adjusted to meet the minimum wage standard, but that those employed for more than three years would not receive raises.

The following day, workers on the night shift at Plant A refused to work. The military was called in the following morning, August 1, and the head of the intelligence section of the district military command, Captain Ginting, fired warning shots in the air, while instructing all workers to assemble outside. By 9 a.m. workers in all 14 plants were outside, surrounded by the armed

forces. Two more trucks of troops in combat gear arrived shortly thereafter. The soldiers fired plastic bullets into the air and ordered the workers to choose their representatives to negotiate then and there with the factory's directors. Workers refused, saying that anyone they chose would be fired as a result. Management promised that no one would be dismissed, and the assembled workers then chose 140 of their own to represent the 14 factories.

These delegates and representatives of the company, the Ministry of Manpower, SPSI and the police, produced a letter of guarantee that those representing the workers would not be fired and that in the bargaining that was to take place, both sides would respect the right of the other to speak. Negotiations began at 3 p.m., with one worker representing each factory in the complex and with the police, the district military command and the subdistrict military command in attendance, and the police commander reportedly threatened the workers that if they continued with the strike, they would be charged with subversion. An agreement was announced at 6 p.m. after the workers in all 14 factories had been reassembled.

The agreement fell short of the original demands, and the strike continued. As a result, the 14 worker representatives were called in by the security forces and government representatives and interrogated about how they had conveyed the agreement to their colleagues. They were then sent back to the factories to get acceptance. Workers returned to their jobs on August 3, but continued to press their demands in a letter signed by one Zulkifli Saleh, the man who had become their chief spokesman.

On August 16, 1991, Zulkifli was arrested by the district military command (KODIM), without a warrant. Eight other workers were taken to the KODIM on August 19 and interrogated from 1:30 p.m. until just after midnight. They saw Zulkifli but were not allowed to speak to him, and were accused of being communists, of being subversives and engaging in sabotage against the factory. During the interrogation, a sergeant from the KODIM told them they had better be careful, as he had already killed 20 people. The end result was that the eight resigned as worker representatives.

Hearing about this, the Gajah Tunggal workers assembled at 1 p.m. on August 20 and decided to go on strike immediately, demanding that Zulkifli be freed, that their demands be met and that the SPSI unit be dissolved. Four truckloads of combat-ready soldiers from Infantry Battalion 203 and other units were called in and sealed off all exits from the complex. According to press accounts, the soldiers started beating the

strikers who fought back, throwing stones and destroying one vehicle.

The next day, more than 5,000 workers marched to the local parliament building in Tangerang. They were prevented from entering by fully armed troops and riot police. The next day, the army marched around the Gajah Tunggal complex firing shots into the air and beating up on some of the workers they accused of insulting the military and engaging in vandalism. Four workers were arrested and detained in the local police headquarters. By September 4, two of the four had resigned, presumably under compulsion. Two other worker representatives, Sam'un and Suwalan, were summoned to the district military command at 3 p.m. where they were beaten up. They returned to the factory the next day, September 5. On September 7, another worker, Sunardi, was arrested at the factory and taken to the BAKORSTANAS or internal security agency's headquarters in Jakarta and asked who had instigated the strike. He was released around midnight. The next day he resigned. Five others were called in by the military and released; they, too, resigned immediately after their release, suggesting they were pressured to do so during interrogation.

In early November 1991, workers walked out of two factories in Bekasi, an industrial town east of Jakarta. One of them, PT Daimi Azis, is a garment factory in the village of Pasirsari, subdistrict Lemahabang, Bekasi which makes ready-to-wear jackets. Some 900 workers walked out on November 1 because transportation and meals provided by the company had been deducted from their daily wage of Rp.2100 (US\$1.05), the then-minimum wage for the Jakarta area, leaving them with only Rp.1600 (80 cents). Overtime which only amount to Rp.200 (10 cents) an hour had not been paid at all during the preceding month. When management agreed to negotiate, the chief of police for the town of Bekasi was called in to witness the negotiations.

Moreover, an effort in September 1991 by the local Bekasi office of the SPSI to inform workers in the area of their rights was deemed by the government to be a security threat. SPSI Bekasi had circulated a flyer summarizing the rights of workers in Indonesian law to a minimum wage, vacation, overtime, and the right to form a unit of SPSI within a factory. The Ministry of Manpower deemed the SPSI flyer to be an illegal pamphlet (*selebaran gelap*) which could be damaging to national security, and the district-level authorities, including the military commander, decided on September 19 that any circular issued by SPSI had to be submitted to local security forces for approval first.

On February 10-12, 1992, workers in the Medan Canning Company in Medan, North Sumatra, went on strike, demanding higher wages, a day off on Sundays, menstruation leave for women in accordance with Indonesia's own labor law, and the establishment in the factory of a unit of the SPSI. The strike was successful and the company raised wages, but on February 16, five women involved in the strike were arrested by the 0201 district military command (KODIM) and held overnight as a means of punishing them for striking. On February 29, four men, including two workers and two labor organizers from a non-governmental organization called KPS, were arrested and held for questioning for a week until March 7, when they were released. Their heads were shaved during detention, an indignity usually reserved for prisoners. (See Annex II.)

Forced Labor

The Indonesian government has violated the prohibition on forced or compulsory labor, as the fate of a group of East Timorese workers illustrates. In Dili, East Timor in December 1990, a private foundation run by President Suharto's daughter, Siti Hardijanti Hastuti, better known as Tutut, and the Ministry of Manpower began recruiting young East Timorese workers between the ages of 15 and 25, offering them high-paying jobs on Pulau Batam, an industrial development site off the coast of Sumatra. They were also promised three months' skill training. With a high unemployment rate in Dili, some 600 youths, men and women, signed up. They found themselves sent not to Pulau Batam but to enterprises throughout Java and Bali working as menial labor for wages which were at or below the minimum wage. Some found themselves in a textile plant, other cleaning chicken cages. One group of 100 workers (part of a boatload of 283 who arrived in Surabaya on June 6, 1991) ended up being given military, not vocational training, and were under constant surveillance by the Indonesian army's Special Forces (KOPASSUS). (See Annex III.)

When young people are lured from their homes by the promises of good jobs and high pay, only to find themselves working at menial jobs with substandard wages with no way to return home, it becomes tantamount to forced labor. ILO Convention No. 105 defines forced or compulsory labor "as a method of mobilising and using labour for the purposes of economic development."

[Annexes omitted]

REPORT: JUNE 12 DEMO IN TOKYO

By Aki Matsuno

Tokyo East Timor Association, Tokyo affiliate of Free East Timor Japan Coalition, organized a demonstration at the Indonesian embassy in Tokyo, on June 12, 1992. This is the second demo to commemorate the Santa Cruz massacre since May 12, after the group decided to organize a demo on 12 every month. The representatives of the demonstrators handed over a letter to the guardsmen of the embassy, which was addressed to the Indonesian ambassador, Poedji Koentarso.

Organizing a demo in Japan is not an easy thing, since we need a permission beforehand from the police. Demonstrators may not stop in front of an embassy and must walk on the opposite side of the road the embassy stands facing.

PORTUGUESE/INDONESIAN TEACHERS' LETTERS ON EAST TIMOR

The following correspondence was received by the Portuguese National Federation of Professors (FENPROF).

Teachers Association of the Republic of
Indonesia
February 24, 1992

Mr Robert Harris Secretary General
W.C.T.O.P 5 avenue du Mouline 1110
Morges, Switzerland

Dear Mr Harris:

We apologized for delaying to reply your letter of November 9, 1991. Realizing that the content of PENPROF letter might have led to some misunderstanding about the facts relating to East Timor (hereinafter namely Timor Timur) especially among our fellow teachers, we feel quite responsible for making things clear and giving explanation of what has been occurring in Timor Timur.

1. Whatever has been stated by PENPROF in its letter to WCOTP really was not true and PENPROF was distorting the truth and did not know what was really happening in Timor Timur.
2. In accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and the resolution 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV) of the General Assembly, the people of Timor Timur has clearly expressed their willingness to be independent from Portuguese and was integrate to Indonesia by making a petition on September 7, 1975. This petition was followed by the declaration of independence and integration to Indonesia on November 1975 in Balibo

(Timor Timur) and was signed by the leaders of major political parties (UDT, APODETI, TRABALHISTA and KOTA) in Timor Timur. Fretilin was the only party which was not signed the declaration. Indonesia never intended nor had any ambition to invade and annex any territories. Indonesia agree to the integration of Timor Timur as a part of Indonesia due to the petition and support of the majority of the people of Timor Timur and also with the humanity and solidarity.

3. Since the integration, we would like to say that the development in Timor Timur has increased rapidly in every aspect of development such as; public utilities, health, economics, transportation, education and any other aspects of life, faster and bigger than the other provinces because Timor Timur at that time was far behind. At present, after being provinces of Indonesia for 16 years, the life of Timor Timur as well as the other provinces, has been economically, socially, and culturally developed as the other provinces of Indonesia. The life of Timor Timur is comparably equal to the other provinces. It is based on one of the five basic principle of the Republic of Indonesia is practising equality, prosperity and justice in every aspect for the whole country. As an example we would like to inform you about education development in Timor Timur as follows:
 - Before 1975 (during the Portuguese colonization for about 400 years) there were only 40 primary schools (in general four years), 5 Junior High Schools, one General Senior High School and one Technical Senior High school.
 - Since the integration up to now (1991; 16 years of Hie integration) there are 580 primary schools (six years), 94 Junior High Schools (three years), 44 Senior High Schools (three years), and one Polytechnique with about 1300 students.
4. Indonesia is a very unique country which is diverse in cultural, ethics and arts including languages. Indonesia has about 360 difference languages and dialects (mother tongue). The Indonesian Constitution guarantees the usage and develops all these languages. Indonesia needs a national language as a lingua franca and an official language for unifying the nation. Our founding fathers had chosen Indonesian language as a national language. The mother tongue (local languages and dialects) is also learned locally by the pupil in primary schools besides the Indonesian language. So it is

not true that the mother tongue of Timor Timur was banned by Indonesian government. You can find difference kind of languages spoken in the whole country in Indonesia in daily life including the Timor Timur languages, but in official papers and formal communication we use only Indonesian language.

5. PGRI (The Teachers Association of the Republic of Indonesia) disagrees with PENPROF accusations in its totally letter and strictly opposes all kinds of interference in internal affairs from other countries. It is of wonder if PENPROF brings forward this problem after 16 years of Timor Timur integration with the Republic of Indonesia. Meanwhile PGRI delegates had attended WCOTP Assembly for several times and we had met each other but this problems had never been discussed or arisen to the surface.
6. As we all know, and we have learned from the Indonesian and foreign media, on November 12, 1991 an incident occurred in Dili (the capital [city?] of Timor Timur). Indonesian Government and all Indonesian people are very sorry and deeply regret that this incident had happened. The Indonesian Government set up a National Inquiry Commission as a free and independent body to look for facts about the whole situation before, during and after the incident. This Commission was chaired by a Deputy of High Supreme Court of Indonesia and have independent members. The result of this Commission has been handed over to the President of the Republic of Indonesia and at the same time was openly and freely published to the public and the press of national as well as international news agencies. The President of the Republic of Indonesia extended his condolence and sympathy to all the victims and casualties and their families involved in Dili incident and instructed to all relevant body to take any action and prosecute anyone who was involved in Dili incident. It has been proven that a few members of Fretilin and a few foreigners were the masterminds behind the plot but they do not feel guilty for jeopardizing the lives of innocent people in Dili incident.

With the information above which we heartly present to you, we do hope that there will be no misunderstanding and misinterpretation from our fellow teachers about Timor Timur and that this letter will clarify the problems arised by PENPROF.

The teachers organizations in developing countries are facing a lot of teachers and educational problems such as; increasing the

quality of life, the social status of teachers, highly performance of teachers profession, and the fight against illiteracy in remote areas. It would be better for us to discuss and assist the developing countries to overcome their problems and keeping in mind that the main purpose of our teachers association is dealing on matters pertaining to the teachers and educational problems and not interfering in internal affairs of others countries.

Finally, in line with the WCOTP charter and authorized procedures, we earnestly appeal and do hope WCOTP will take no action as requested by PENPROF.

Thank you in advance for your attention and cooperation.

With best wishes, Yours Sincerely,
W.D.F. Rindorindo, Secretary General.
cc; Mr Aloysius Mathews Asia/South
Pacific Representative of WCOTP.

WCOTP/CMOPE World Confederation of
Organizations of the Teaching Profession
5 avenue du Moulin 1110 Morges
Switzerland

March 4th 1992

P G R I M. W.D.F. Rindorindo
Secretary General
Jalan Tahan Abang Tiga 24
P.O. 2405 JAKARTA INDONESIA

Dear Colleague,

Thank you for your letter of February 24th 1992, giving us details on the situation in East Timor.

In this case, it is fitting that we pass your comments on to FENPROF to allow the organisation to respond.

For the time being, we prefer not to enter the debate, nor to take a position on the situation.

However, we were surprised at your accusation of "interference" by FENPROF.

We would like to point out that when a country joins international community, participates in the activities of the United Nations or its agencies (UNESCO; WHO etc) and ratifies international conventions (such as those of the ILO) that country, de facto, allows other members states "the right to interfere." That is to say, the UN and its members states have the right, and responsibility to intervene or formally complain should that country not honour its international commitments.

NGO's (non governmental organisations), such as WCOTP, also take part in these activities regarding the respect of international conventions, particularly human and trade union rights. Other complaints have been submitted to the UN Human Rights Commission. As well as submitting

official complaints, we have often sent letters of protest to guilty governments.

For international trade union organisation such as WCOTP, interference is not only a right but a duty [interference, right and duty underlined in the original].

Therefore, we do not share at all your point of view in your letter when you refer to "interference in internal affairs from other countries." As far as human rights, rights of peoples or trade union rights are concerned, there are no "internal affairs."

I hope the content of this letter will help you to better understand WCOTP's interventions.

Kind regards,
Bourdon, for Marc-Alain Berberat
Deputy Secretary General

Australian Teachers Union
Level 2, 18-20 Lincoln Square
North, Carlton, Victoria 3053
Federal Secretary: David Robson.
Federal President: Di Foggo.

30 April 1992

Antonio Teodoro Secretary General
Federacao Nacional dos Professores
(FENPROF) AV. Miguel Bombarda 61-7o
1000 LISBOA PORTUGAL

Dear Antonio,
Re: East Timor

I am writing with regard to the submissions made to WCOTP on the issue of East Timor by FENPROF and the Australian Teachers Union.

As you may know, WCOTP referred these complaints to the PGRI (Indonesia) in accordance with the resolution on the handling of complaints about human rights abuses. I pointed out to the WCOTP Secretary-General that East Timor was not actually an internal matter for Indonesia since the United Nations has not recognised Indonesia's takeover of East Timor. In a technical sense, Portugal is recognised as the power in East Timor and therefore the views of FENPROF should have been sufficient for WCOTP to take action. Nonetheless, I did not pursue the matter any further.

At the WCOTP Executive meeting in late March, the Secretary-General referred this matter to the Executive. I moved that the WCOTP make protest in accordance with the requests from FENPROF and the ATU. P. Ramanathan from Malaysia moved that WCOTP make further enquiries about the situation and, if those enquiries revealed anything, to then make appropriate representations to the Indonesian Government. He claimed that the Indonesian Government's response to the Santa Cruz

massacre was satisfactory in that they had disciplined the army officers involved.

This was put as an amendment and carried 6-5 after the President voted in favour of it. I wasn't all that particularly concerned about it because I said to the Executive that once further information was obtained it would show that the Indonesian response was totally unacceptable and inadequate.

Since then, I have been forwarding a lot of material to the WCOTP about the response of the Indonesian government. This included material from Amnesty International showing that the Government had, rather than really disciplining the army officers concerned, made very serious charges against many East Timorese. I have strongly urged the WCOTP to take the representations to the Indonesian Government before it is too late.

...

The East Timor issue is a very big one in Australia. One of our members was involved in the voyage of the "Lusitania Expresso" which was a splendid initiative of the Portuguese peace movement.

Needless to say, we are quite ashamed of the policy stance of the Australian Government on this issue.

I hope you don't mind me putting forward this suggestion. I think it would greatly assist in our efforts to bring the East Timor issue before the world teaching community and further the campaign that FENPROF initiated in connection with this issue.

Please let me know your reaction.

Yours sincerely,
RICHARD WALSHAM Deputy
Federal Secretary WCOTP Executive
Committee Member

INDONESIAN EXILES TORN BETWEEN HOPE AND FEAR

By Guido de Bruin

Amsterdam, Jun. 22 (ips) – "As a poet, I need to get the Indonesian people back into my heart," writes Agam Wispi, a 60-year-old Indonesian exile, who longs to return home, but fears for his life.

"We have wasted half of our lives in exile," says Eddy Tahsin, 70, a former diplomat, who complains that the international community is hardly paying notice to "gross" human rights abuses in Indonesia.

These two are among some 500 Indonesian politicians, diplomats and artists who remained in China in 1965 when Gen. Suharto mercilessly put down a coup attempt, and later installed a military regime which is still ruling the country.

Most of the alleged coup plotters were communists or supporters of deposed

President Sukarno. They knew they would be arrested if they went back to Indonesia. Letters with Chinese stamps could mean trouble for their families, so contact with relatives came to an abrupt halt.

Now, 25 years later, most of them have left China and live in Europe. Disillusioned and fearing for their own lives as well as those of their families, they have never publicly told their story – that is until recently when three, exiled in the Netherlands, spoke about their experiences in a Dutch TV film.

Copies of the film have been sent to Indonesian officials and opposition groups, but up to now there's been no reaction from Jakarta.

"Only six months ago, Suharto invited us to come back, but added that we would be interrogated first," says Wispi, whose poetry is banned in Indonesia. "How can we go back then?"

Tahsin has twice returned home using a Dutch passport. He was also contemplating going back in 1983 following an abortive coup attempt, but was dissuaded by his sister.

"As long as Suharto is alive, there will be no change," he says, adding that he will spend the rest of his years in the Netherlands. He arrived here in 1977, having spent ten years in China.

Similarly, Agam Wispi is losing hope that he will ever get together with his family again. He has not seen his wife nor daughter for 25 years. He writes of his daughter, who was seven years old when he last saw her: "My child, our love is proof of our resistance against every form of tyranny."

Unlike Tahsin, Wispi had a difficult time in China and became disillusioned with the communist system. His years were spent in an internment camp, surrounded by walls and barbed wire and guarded by an armed sentry. "one day in his room a young man goes mad with nostalgia," wrote Wispi in one of his poems.

"The situation in China grew so depressing that we couldn't live there anymore," adds Wispi, who fled to former East Germany, and from there to the Netherlands.

"Freedom is my bread," he says, and though he doesn't think he will ever enjoy it in Indonesia, he is still anxious to return home. "I may be alienated after 25 years, but I need to go back to Indonesia, if only as a tourist. seeing my own country will give me courage, inspiration, energy," Wispi says.

"Our hopes are in the younger generation," adds Tahsin. "They are critical, courageous and unspoilt by dogmas, but they have no means. The question is

whether they are able to take blows again and again.”

Tahsin was a member of president Sukarno's "partindo" and wrote for the communist party paper. "Sukarno will come up again as a symbol of ideal leadership," says Tahsin, adding that opposition circles espouse Sukarno's "democratic ideas for Indonesia."

According to Tahsin, international pressure is desperately needed to end Gen. Suharto's bloody military rule. but he is afraid that the United Nations will only pay lip-service to human rights considerations.

Both exiles praised Dutch development minister Jan Pronk for his criticism of the harsh Indonesian human rights record.

Pronk's decision to suspend development cooperation aid to Jakarta after the killing of dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in Indonesian occupied east Timor last year earned him the wrath of the Indonesian government, which reacted by cutting development ties with its former coloniser.

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

Tahsin also called on the Dutch government to continue to pressure the Indonesian authorities to release political prisoners in Indonesia, and to raise the issue of the exiles most of whom now live in the Netherlands, Sweden, France and Germany.

SPECIALIST SEES RELENTING ON EAST TIMOR

The Dominion, July 10.

(Melbourne, AAP, July 10) Indonesian attitudes to East Timor have changed greatly since the Dili massacre and independence for the territory is inevitable, according to United States specialist Benedict Anderson.

Professor Anderson said comments by Indonesian authorities suggested Indonesia was preparing to eventually abandon East Timor. Such a development would leave Australia, one of the few countries to give legal recognition to Indonesia's claim to East Timor, isolated and shamefully embarrassed.

Dr. Anderson, who is visiting Melbourne, is professor of international relations and director of the Modern Indonesia Project at Cornell University, New York. He said hints of a change in Indonesia's views had become apparent since last November's massacre of pro-independence protester in Dili, the East Timor capital.

He cited an interview by the East Timor army commander in February at the time of a protest voyage by the Portuguese ship Lusitania Expresso.

The commander said if the ship arrived at Dili he feared an "explosion by the masses."

Dr. Anderson said that previously, Indonesia had said the only resistance it faced was from a dwindling band of independence fighters in the hills.

In March, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas was quoted as saying Indonesia faced an important choice on East Timor. "Timor is like a sharp piece of gravel in our shoes," he said.

Dr. Anderson said: "Alatas doesn't spell out what the choice is, but he's implying you should take your shoe off and get rid of the gravel."

In February, Indonesia's President Suharto said "we were invited in" to East Timor, a former Portuguese colony. Dr. Anderson said: "If you're 'invited in,' it raises the possibility of being 'invited out,' and Suharto went out of his way to say this."

These official utterances indicated Indonesian rulers were recognising that the price they were paying for control of East Timor - in money, lives and international reputation - was too high.