

# Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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

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

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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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**CGI MEETS IN PARIS; AID LINKAGES REJECTED**

**ACTU ON LINKED AID**

*INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU), FAX:218.84. 15 PHONE 217.80.85 TELEX 26785 BRUSSELS*

*Telex News from INFO DIVISION, No. 19, July 3, 1992*

Indonesia: The Australian national centre, the ACTU, has called on its government to stress the link between development and human rights when discussing development aid to Indonesia. It should also stress the essential role played by trade unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in development, said the ACTU in a message on June 26. This is in reaction to the decision by the Indonesian government to prevent local NGOs from participating in the International NGO forum on Indonesia, and its rejection of all Dutch development aid - a response to the Dutch government's concern about human rights violations in the country, in particular in East Timor (see Telex News 13). These decisions were criticised by the ICFTU at the end of May.

**WORLD BANK PROJECTIONS**

*Indonesian Commercial Newsletter, 13 July 1992, p.10-11:-*

The World Bank has forecast that the balance of payment for Indonesia will be 2% of the GNP (gross national product) by 1995. This is based on the assumption that the Indonesian government will continue to implement consistently a macro-economic policy. The deficit in the current accounts will decline to 4% of the GNP in 1992/93; about 3% in 1993/94 and about 2.5% in 1994/95. The decline in the deficit will result in a 2-fold effect namely:- 1. growth rate of more than 5% per annum will be maintained; and 2. The DSR will be reduced to 19.9% by the year 2000 in comparison to 30.1% in 1991.

**SOME TARGETS FOR THE YEAR 2000**

*Indonesian Commercial Newsletter, 13 July 1992, p.6-8:-*

The World Bank reckons that Indonesia will experience a growth rate of between 6-7% per annum in the non-oil and gas sector such that per capita income will stand at USD 1,040 per annum in the year 2000. The overall GDP is expected to rise by between 5-6% per annum. The main source of rise in the GDP lies in the non-oil and gas sector and services which will experience a higher growth rate of 7%. This is due to the rapid growth of the industrial sector (10.5% per annum), the mining sector (10%) and the

construction sector (8%). The agriculture sector is expected to grow at a rate of 3% per annum. Its role in the GDP will decline from 20% to 15% in the year 2000. Three important sub-sectors in the services field include:- 1. services associated with infrastructure (especially electricity, telephone and transportation); 2. Tourist services (which includes accommodation, restaurants and recreational facilities which can raise retail trading); and 3. construction services which are expected to increase in line with increasing new investment.

**JAPAN COALITION TO CGI**

*The following letter was sent to Marianne Haug, Director of Country Department III of the World Bank, with responsibility for Indonesia, by the Free East Timor Japan Coalition. A 3-page overview of the situation in East Timor (not reproduced here) was also sent.*

Dear Ms Haug,

The Free East Timor Japan Coalition, composed of eleven associations in cities throughout Japan, addresses you today out of concern over the tremendous loss of life, denial of fundamental human rights, and suffering endured by the Timorese people during the seventeen-year occupation by Indonesia. It is particularly disturbing, more than half a year after the Santa Cruz massacre of defenseless East Timorese by Indonesian troops, to note the general failure of the international community - including funding organizations and governments - to act effectively to bring about a peaceful

solution to the issue in line with the UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions.

On July 16 the World Bank will convene the first meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia. It behooves the World Bank to respect the growing consensus in the world community that development assistance must be linked to human rights. The statement last November on human rights, democracy and development adopted by the European Community, as well as the four guidelines on ODA issued by the Japanese Government in 1991 and the ODA policy statement issued this June all affirm the importance of this link.

We therefore call on you, as convenor, and the other participants in CGI, to satisfy the following minimum conditions before pledging aid to Indonesia for the coming period.

1. Discussion of Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor and the large-scale human rights abuses that it is perpetrating there.
2. Affirmation by each country that it will actively work in cooperation with the United Nations to achieve a fundamental solution to the East Timor issue, and as a first step will announce its support for the holding of peace talks under UN auspices involving all parties to the conflict.
3. Request to Indonesia to allow human rights organizations, humanitarian organizations, individuals, journalists, and parliamentarians to visit East Timor.
4. Request to Indonesia to guarantee freedom of speech and other basic freedoms, both in East Timor and in Indonesia itself.

In spite of claims to the contrary by several funding governments, including Japan, Indonesia has failed to change in any fundamental way the pattern of repression in East Timor. We humbly submit the enclosed brief overview of the situation, which you may wish to make available to the CGI members, to help insure that your deliberations and decisions will not result in the aiding of further repression in that long-suffering land.

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### ASIA WATCH CAUTIONS DONORS ON HUMAN RIGHTS

*Press Release, July 15, 1992*

Asia Watch today warned that failure of the donor community to seriously address human rights concerns in Indonesia at this week's conference of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) will have adverse

consequences for Indonesia's development in three ways:

- Continuing human rights violations in East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya will only serve to strengthen nationalist sentiment and support for independence in these regions, creating conditions detrimental to development.
- Continuing restrictions on freedom of expression will prevent correctives or alterations to bad development policies and programs.
- Continuing harassment of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) will weaken popular participation in the development process, a stated objective of bilateral and multilateral donors.

The New York-based human rights organization said that the thousands of East Timorese who turned out for the demonstration on November 12, 1991 showed that human rights abuses in East Timor had alienated a whole generation of East Timorese who have grown up under Indonesian rule. The failure to resolve the unanswered questions about the dead and missing following the Dili massacre and the savage sentences handed down to those accused of planning the November 12 demonstration have intensified nationalist feelings, as shown by the willingness of East Timorese students throughout Indonesia to risk arrest a week after the massacre by protesting the killings.

Surveillance of East Timorese has increased since the massacre, not only in East Timor but in Indonesia proper as well. Beginning this week, every East Timorese studying in Bali was called to local military headquarters for questioning about his or her political views (orally and in writing), further fuelling resentment.

Policies and practices aimed at restricting fundamental rights of the East Timorese have not only overshadowed Indonesia's development program in East Timor but have virtually ensured the lack of local cooperation.

In Aceh, the counterinsurgency campaign against members of the armed separatist organization, Aceh Merdeka, left over a thousand dead and disappeared, most of them civilians, between 1989-91, and a policy of summarily executing suspected leaders of the guerrilla organization remains in place. The army has refused to cooperate with relatives seeking information about family members last seen over a year ago in military custody, and no officer or soldier has been prosecuted for human rights offenses.

Freedom of expression, assembly, association and movement in Aceh and East Timor remain at least as restricted as in

Burma or Vietnam. In June, a report on trials of Aceh Merdeka suspects by the respected human rights organization, the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation, was banned by the Attorney General.

Restrictions on freedom of expression more generally prevent criticism of and correctives to harmful or poorly-conceived policies and programs. In Sumatra, an organization helping villagers to protest against pollution by a pulp and rayon plant was briefly banned in late 1991, and its members continue to face harassment. Widespread corruption by the President's family is off-limits to serious criticism by the local press.

Donor countries as well as multilateral lending institutions such as the World Bank have repeatedly expressed their belief in the importance of NGOs, yet Indonesian NGOs are under attack from the government as never before. Last March, members of environmental and labor NGOs in North Sumatra were summoned for lengthy questioning and interrogation about the activities and funding of their organizations after helping organize workers to campaign for better working conditions. Of greater concern, the Minister of the Interior in April banned NGOs from accepting aid from Dutch funding organizations which themselves receive aid from the Dutch government. That ban, a result of Indonesia's anger over Dutch efforts to condition aid on respect for human rights, threatens the autonomy and fiscal base of many important Indonesian NGOs.

Members of the Consultative Group on Indonesia now meeting in Paris have an obligation to raise human rights issues, given the circumstances of CGI's birth: Indonesia's unilateral dissolution of its Dutch-chaired predecessor, the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), on the grounds that the Netherlands had been too critical of human rights violations in East Timor.

But there should be a recognition, above and beyond CGI's origins, that respect for human rights is integral to the development process. While individual donors readily acknowledge the linkage privately, it is crucial for Indonesia to get the message publicly.

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### PRESSING INDONESIA

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, July 15 - Indonesia is virtually assured of well over \$4 billion in fresh aid pledges at its annual donor meeting in Paris this week but will be pressed to open up the economy and improve its human rights record, economists said.

The meeting from July 16 to 17 will be chaired for the first time by the World Bank, replacing the Netherlands which Jakarta earlier this year accused of meddling in its domestic affairs.

"The pace of deregulation is very slow. That's the main problem," said economist and University of Indonesia lecturer Anwar Nasution.

Earlier this month two ambassadors – from the United States and France – publicly castigated Indonesia for not doing enough to encourage foreign investors, citing red tape and corruption as barriers.

The World Bank in June said Indonesia could double its per capita income by the end of the decade but warned it must deregulate the economy, improve infrastructure and grapple with a huge current account deficit and mounting foreign debt, among the Third World's largest at nearly \$80 billion.

If it gets it right the Bank predicted rewards of gross domestic product growth of five to six per cent a year.

The Bank also predicted a fall in poverty and jobs for the two million people entering the workforce each year.

Officials from the donor group – which includes the main international financial agencies and most advanced countries – say they are generally happy with the way the economy is developing and will stump up the money.

The World Bank in its report recommended donors pledge about the same as last year's \$4.8 billion.

"Basically we're pretty optimistic about the economy," one Western aid official said.

Aid officials and economists said a fresh set of deregulation measures early this month mainly to reduce import tariffs were useful but fell short of hopes.

"The further you deregulate the harder it gets to deal with vested interests," another Western aid official said.

"So many items which had been anticipated like flour, sugar and soybeans were not touched at all (in the latest deregulation)," managing director for the private Institute for Economic and Financial Research, Sjahrir, said in an interview.

Sjahrir said political restraints were hampering economic ministers who he charged with having lost credibility for failing to deal with two controversial trading monopolies recently set up by children of President Suharto.

The World Bank report had attacked the monopolies for running counter to the opening up of the economy.

Nasution pointed to the lack of infrastructure, such as electricity and telephones, as major constraints to economic growth and investment.

Corruption and a poor legal framework were also interfering with development.

Other concerns were development of human resources, a more efficient public sector and the environment – all areas aid officials say they will press Jakarta to improve.

Aid officials said the question of human rights would also be raised, particularly following an army massacre of civilians last year in the disputed province of East Timor.

"For sure, it will be raised in the corridors during the meeting," one said.

## CANADIAN PARLIAMENTARIANS STATEMENT FOR CGI

### Parliamentarians For East Timor Urge Government To Press For Suspension Of Aid At Consultative Group On Indonesia

*House of Commons / Chambre des Communes, Ottawa, Canada*

*For Immediate Release: July 15, 1992*

Parliamentarians for East Timor (P.E.T.) is an all party group seeking to end the brutal military occupation of East Timor.

To that end we are requesting that Canada press for suspension of aid at the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) hearings in Paris to be held on July 16 and 17, 1992.

The CGI, formerly known as the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), last year granted Indonesia \$4.75 billion U.S. in aid, accounting for 20% of the country's annual budget. Last year, Canada donated \$46 million Canadian and is expected to give a similar amount again this year. P.E.T. feels that Canada should encourage donor countries (see list) to link bilateral aid to Indonesia on the condition that human rights and U.N. resolutions with regard to East Timor are respected.

The Suharto government has made it clear that it rejects any linkage between human rights and aid. This spring Indonesia suspended all Dutch aid because of Holland's policy of conditionality. The World Bank has replaced Holland as chair of the CGI. Other Paris clubs chaired by the World Bank have halted aid as a result of human rights abuses to such countries as Kenya, Malawi and Togo.

The human rights situation in East Timor has deteriorated considerably. Since the November 12th massacre of over 140 Timorese at the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, foreign press, human rights observers and tourists have been banned access, to the territory. The new military commander of East Timor, General Syafei said "...if something similar to the 12 November event

were to happen under my leadership, the number of victims would probably be higher." Several Timorese have been sentenced to long prison terms of up to fifteen years for participating in peaceful demonstrations in Jakarta and Dili. Amnesty International and Asia Watch have condemned the report into the massacre released by the Indonesian Commission of Inquiry, as "fatally flawed."

The Indonesian government continues to defy United Nations resolutions calling on them to withdraw without delay its armed forces from East Timor.

The U.S. House of Representatives voted on June 25th to suspend military aid to Indonesia. A bill currently before the U.S. Congress (H.R.5176) would eliminate all economic aid to Indonesia.

P.E.T. is calling on the government to take a leading role in promoting its policy of linking foreign aid with human rights by pressing for suspension of aid at the C.G.T.

Signed by:

Dawn Black, M.P.  
Ray Funk, M.P.  
Beryl Gaffney, M.P.  
John Manley, M.P.  
Dan Heap, M.P.  
Lynn Hunter, M.P.  
David Kilgour, M.P.  
Christine Stewart, M.P.  
Ian Waddell, M.P.  
David MacDonald, M.P.  
Howard McCurdy, M.P.  
David Stupich, M.P.  
Svend Robinson, M.P.  
Rey Pagtakhan, M.P.

\*countries which attended IGGI meetings are: Japan, US, France, Netherlands, Germany, Canada, Australia, UK, Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Austria and New Zealand.

For information call 613-995-7325.

### EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK / CANADA:

*For Immediate News Release: 15 July 1992*

*For more information: Peter Monet, 613-567-6187; David Webster, 416-539-9589; Elaine Briere, 604-264-9973*

OTTAWA - The East Timor Alert Network today called on Canada to end its economic aid to Indonesia and urge other countries attending tomorrow's Inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia to do the same.

The Network, a five-year old national solidarity organization based in Vancouver, called on the Canadian government to use the two-day meeting of the C.G.I. as a forum to advance the linkage between foreign aid and human rights. Canada suspended \$30 million in aid to Indonesia in December to protest against the November 12, 1991, unprovoked massacre of civilians in East

Timor by Indonesian soldiers, but still gives Indonesia \$46 million annually.

In the aftermath of the massacre, which drew widespread international condemnation, the Indonesian government promised to prosecute those responsible for the killings. However, Indonesian soldiers have received little more than a slap on the wrist, while the heaviest sentences have been meted out to East Timorese survivors of the massacre. The longest sentence given to a soldier was twenty months in prison, while several massacre survivors have been found guilty of subversion and jailed. One of them, 29-year old dissident Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, was sentenced to life imprisonment. Amnesty International, Asia Watch and other human rights organizations and independent observers have condemned the government's response as "unacceptable" and "a whitewash."

Indonesia recently dissolved the Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), which has traditionally overseen the disbursement of Western aid to that country, saying that it was doing an because IGGI chair Holland was trying to make aid conditional on respect for human rights. The C.G.I. was then formed as a now donor forum and is chaired by the World Bank. It is meeting in Paris on July 16 and 17,

Since the human rights situation in East Timor has only grown worse in the six months since Canada's partial aid suspension, the Network has called for all remaining Canadian aid to Indonesia to be slashed until Indonesia agrees to respect human rights in East Timor and to accede to United Nations resolutions supporting East Timor's right to self-determination. (East Timor was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and has been occupied ever since in defiance of UN resolutions. One in three East Timorese have died since the invasion, according to Amnesty international and sources in the Catholic Church in East Timor.)

The East Timor Alert Network further called on Canadian representatives at the meeting to push other countries to link their aid to Indonesia to that country's respect for human rights, particularly in occupied East Timor. The European Community recently endorsed the principle of linking aid and human rights, and a bill now before the United States Congress (H.R.5176) would eliminate all military and economic aid to Indonesia.

Canada has taken a leading role in promoting the principle of linked aid. Now is the time to follow words with deeds and impose aid sanctions against Indonesia, one of the most brutal human rights violators in the world.

## CGI CONVENES

AFP, Paris, July 16 - A consultative group for Indonesia (CGI) sponsored by the World Bank met in Paris on Thursday for its inaugural session, expected to yield commitments of official aid of some 4.8 billion dollars for the financial year to March 1993, western aid experts said.

The World Bank has recommended donor commitments at this level to make sure disbursements of aid will match the 4.3-billion-dollar total recorded in 1991-92, and so enable Indonesia to pursue structural reforms while maintaining growth at a sustainable pace.

The CGI session, chaired by World Bank vice president Gautam Kaji, in charge of the East Asia and Pacific region, was attended by officials of 15 leading donor countries and several international financing institutions, as well as observers from three Scandinavian countries.

The group was hastily established earlier this year after the disbanding of the Intergovernmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI) chaired by the Netherlands, the former colonial power, which reacted to the November 1991 army massacre of some 50 demonstrators in East Timor by freezing future Dutch aid.

World Bank officials said they expected the meeting to focus on Indonesia's financing needs.

But European aid officials, while echoing the Bank's appreciation of Indonesia's economic policy record in comments ahead of the meeting, cited donor concerns about democratization and alleged corruption.

## FRANCE LECTURES INDONESIA

AFP, Paris, July 16 - Indonesia, in Paris hoping for a multi-billion dollar check and a diplomatic victory, began its three-day visit Wednesday with lunch and a lecture from host France over the East Timor massacre last November.

The inaugural meeting of the consultative group on Indonesia which groups 14 donor nations and eight international organizations under the chairmanship of the World Bank was to officially open Thursday.

At a pre-meeting luncheon, French delegate Georges Kiejman told Indonesian Economy and Finance Minister Radius Prawiro that Indonesia was an exemplary customer of the International Monetary Fund, "a debtor of exceptional discipline."

But he said he was disappointed that Indonesia had not totally gotten a handle on the democratic process, saying it was a shame that such "a great and powerful

country" was suffering a tarnished political image over the massacre.

Kiejman praised Jakarta for the fact that "180 million Indonesians have escaped from misery and attained a decent standard of living."

However he cautioned that "democracy is not a luxury, but a necessity linked to development."

Prawiro brushed aside the criticism on East Timor, saying Indonesia was doing more for the development of that region than for the rest of the country.

The fact that the consultative group was meeting at all was considered an accomplishment.

There were never as many participants at sessions of the Intergovernmental Aid Group for Indonesia (IGGI) which was dissolved earlier this year because of differences with the Netherlands.

The Hague, which had chaired the IGGI since its foundation 24 years ago, temporarily froze future aid to Indonesia after the Indonesian army massacred at least 50 demonstrators in East Timor in November last year.

Indonesia accused the Netherlands of interference and in March this year decided not to accept any further aid from the Hague.

The gesture was highly symbolic. It was popular at home because it was aimed at the former colonial power and it served as a warning to other western powers.

Indonesia did not lose too much by the gesture since aid from the Netherlands totalled around 93 million dollars, far behind that of Japan with 1.3 billion dollars, the United States 125 million, and France 110 million dollars.

Indonesia experienced an initial victory when the Netherlands, saving everyone embarrassment, said their differences were a purely bilateral issue.

At the moment when the consultative group meets in Paris, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek, will be in Jakarta putting the seal on reconciliation. The visit Thursday through Saturday is purely coincidental timing, according to the Netherlands embassy here.

The Netherlands employers' chief, Alexander Runnooy Kan, is currently in Jakarta till July 19 and has meetings planned with several ministers.

Apart from the Netherlands, all the members of the old IGGI, will be in the new consultative group meeting here - Japan, the United States, France, Germany, Canada, Australia, Britain, E.C., Switzerland, Belgium, Spain, Austria and New Zealand, and five institutions, the World Bank, Asian Development Bank (ADB), United Nations Development Programme, International

Fund for Agricultural Development, and the United Nations Children's Fund UNICEF.

South Korea and three organisations which had observer status in the old IGGI – Nordic Investment Bank, Kuwaiti Funds, and the Saudi Development Fund – have also joined the new grouping, according to a source close to the World Bank, another point of satisfaction for Jakarta.

For the year 1991-92 (till March 31) Indonesia obtained 4.75 billion dollars from the old IGGI, including 1.63 billion from the World Bank, 1.32 billion from Japan and 1.1 billion from the ADB.

## INDONESIA LASHES WEST, JAPAN

Reuter, Jakarta, July 16 - Indonesia accused the West and Japan of using environmental and human rights concerns to practise a subtle form of economic protectionism, warning that emerging trading blocs would worsen the problem.

"Protection could take different forms...there are non-tariff barriers... a host of matters which could be used to protect domestic industry," Indonesian Trade Minister Arifin Siregar told an international seminar on free trade agreements.

Siregar said health, environment and social standards were being used by trade groupings as non-tariff barriers to protect domestic industries.

"Health standards can be misused to protect domestic industry," he said, citing as an example Japan's decision to subject shrimp imports from Indonesia to laboratory tests, Siregar said.

A Japanese embassy spokesman said the action was taken earlier this year because the imports did not meet health requirements.

"The same is true of environmental or social standards," Siregar said. "Some countries say we're not going to let in imports produced by labourers not free to choose their own labour unions."

Some international labour and human rights groups have accused Indonesia of hindering unionisation efforts.

On Japan, Siregar said: "Relations between the government and the business communities there are very close. It could very well be that a government official gives a hint to a businessman not to import certain goods...you can't see it officially."

"The European Community says its single market is not a Fortress Europe. It could be true as far as duty rates are concerned, but what about non-tariff barriers... environmental standards, social standards, whether labourers are free to become mem-

bers of a labour union or a trade union," he added.

Siregar said European and U.S. producers protested against depletion of the rain forests in developing countries because they were afraid of competition from tropical timber.

## REPORT ON THE CGI DEMONSTRATIONS

*From Bruno Kahn, AGIR POUR TIMOR*

Two demonstrations were held in Paris on July 16, at the occasion of the CGI meeting of July 16 and 17. The first one took place in the morning, avenue Kleber, in front of the Conference centre where the meeting was taking place. The second one, in the afternoon, started near the Indonesian embassy, marched to the nearby Human Rights square of the Trocadero and continued until midnight as a wake, animated by various cultural groups.

### 1. Staging

a) The morning demonstration comprised some 150 people carrying banners and posters. The large attendance was thanks to the Timorese, Indonesian, Moluccan and Dutch participants who had arrived some days earlier. Demonstrators were not allowed to get near the building itself, but journalists crossed the street to come talk to them. Especially Indonesian journalists were keen to interview Indonesian participants. British and Dutch journalists were also present, as well as a rather suspicious-looking RFO camera team (the cameraman was an Indonesian!).

Posters prepared by participants from Holland, saying (in French) "Indonesia tortures Timor - stop aid - Paris 16-17 July - CGI gives FF 24,462,500,000 to the dictatorial regime of Indonesia" had been stuck nearby earlier. Other banners included "Ganyang Suharto," "Fight for Democracy and Human Rights," "Agir pour Timor," "ABRI harus angkat kaki dari Timor-Timur!," "Timor = Koweit," "No aid for Genocide in East Timor" (signed Free East Timor Japan Coalition), paintings by an Indonesian artist, some caricatures and a bloody flag.

The police attendance was 30 or 40.

b) The afternoon demonstration grouped between 200 and 250 people. It had been planned to start in front of the Indonesian embassy but the police prevented it. 3 anti-riot police vans were on the spot, but no incidents took place. The embassy filmed and photographed the demonstration throughout (apparently nobody thought of preventing them: according to French law it is illegal to film or take a photo of someone without his/her consent).

There was a confusion initiated by a police officer who reported that the Ambassador might agree to receive a petition. After some consultation it was decided that it was worth the effort, and two demonstrators (Antonio Dias and Donaciano Gomes) went to the embassy. But they were requested to sign in as any visitor, leaving their names and addresses and saying who they wanted to see! All that time they were dutifully filmed by an employee of the Embassy. Finally they left, leaving the petitions to the staff on duty.

After this, the cortege, headed by coffin bearers, started moving towards the Trocadero Human rights square, where it settled until midnight. 50 wooden crosses and the morning posters were displayed. Yayak, an Indonesian who had drawn a controversial calendar in Java last year, had come from Germany and painted on the spot a huge canvas with the help of some other people. Indonesian and Timorese musical groups performed, later joined by a group of French Portuguese rappers!

c) The next day, a concert was staged at the House of Portugal by the Timorese group Lifau; about 100 persons attended.

### 2. Organisation

- A support meeting 3 weeks before the demonstrations (see #3).

- A press conference one week before (see #4).

- The Aubervilliers township kindly lent a gymnasium (with shower facilities) to house foreign participants.

- 100,000 tracts calling for the demonstration were printed and distributed in the days prior to it. Most of them (80,000) were distributed on markets, near churches... in Paris and the suburbs, the preceding week-end.

### 3. Attendance and support

People came from various European countries for the demonstrations: many (40?) from Holland, including Dutch, Indonesians and Moluccans. (A first group of Moluccans arrived the 15th and participated both demos. A second group arrived unexpectedly on the 16th, in the middle of the morning, and left almost immediately without any participation, apparently because they had only a 24h visa and had rented their coach only for 24h.) From Lisbon came a coach of Timorese (but no Portuguese), from Porto and Braga came 17 Portuguese and 2 Timorese. Other people came from Belgium (1), Switzerland (1, Timorese), Germany (2, including Yayak) and the United States (3). Apparently nobody came from other countries.

On the French side support was, to say the least, scant. Most of the French participants were really Portuguese living in



France. Agir pour Timor and FDI had previously sought support from various French NGOs. A few responded and even fewer sent anybody. Three weeks before the demonstrations, we had invited about 60 NGOs, trade unions, political parties... to a meeting to discuss their support and organisation. None attended!

Support eventually came from: The Greens (one of the two Ecology parties), MRG (a small centre-left party), PCF (the communist party), Alternative Rouge et Verte (a combination of green-leftists), CGT (a trade-union linked to PCF), and CNID. Those who actually sent someone were CGT, PCF, CNID. MRAP, an anti-racist movement close to the communists, was represented by Michel Robert, also president of ASTO, the other French East Timor solidarity group. (ASTO itself did not participate.) Individual members of other organisations, like Agir Ici, ACAT and Amnesty International, also came in their own names. One trade-union, CFDT, actually refused to support the demonstrations!

The ruling Socialist party, although it had organised a hearing with us on East Timor in June (see earlier posting), failed to support the protests. During this meeting it had been announced that the party would ask publicly for a postponement of the delivery of French aid (ibid.), but we did not see any such communiqué published.

#### 4. Media coverage

Surprisingly for demonstrations of this size, the media coverage, at least in France, was close to nil. Reportedly *L'Humanité* (communist) did something but we didn't see it. *Le Monde* published an article on the outcome of the summit, but apparently failed to notice any protests. Liberation dealt with the summit in a paragraph. No other dailies seem to have considered the topic.

A week earlier we had organised a press conference on the meeting. It could be more appropriately called "conference without press": no journalists were present, except for the two Portuguese local radios of Paris.

Those two radios were the only French media to cover the event - and they did a superb job, following the demonstrations, carrying interviews live... they can be thanked for having brought to the wake extra groups of Portuguese, who arrived unexpectedly around 10.30/11 pm.

#### 5. Meetings with officials

Prior to the demonstrations, we had 2 meetings (3 counting the Socialist party hearing) with French 'officials': one with a senior diplomat from the Quai d'Orsay, and one with the head of the French delegation in CGI.

a) The Quai d'Orsay diplomat told us very clearly that foreign aid would not be linked to human rights record, but he added that the question of human rights would be raised during the conference. Reportedly this was done... by the US! True, the diplomat did not say France itself would raise the matter, but this is certainly what he led us to expect. It is not clear to us if France raised the issue privately (a favourite stance of the French diplomacy in some occasions) since its visit to Indonesia at the end of June.

To our request that France use its influence to have Amos Wako's UN report made public, he answered that it was out of the question. It had already been difficult enough to have this visit take place at all, and it was under the condition that the report would not be made public.

b) The head of the French delegation explained that the Quai d'Orsay took political decisions but that he was only an economist who makes no politics. As a citizen and a Christian, he was concerned. But France would continue its aid normally. Just as the Quai d'Orsay diplomat, he explained that this money goes to the Indonesian people and that Indonesian corruption is not as bad as, say, African corruption, because it is invested in Indonesia itself! French aid is once again the second in volume among donor countries, after Japan and before the US.

#### 6. Conclusion

Logistically preparation and handling of the demonstrations was a big strain for us. All was done by 4 or 5 people altogether. It was particularly disappointing to convene a meeting and a press conference with no attendance at all. Even many members of our own group didn't show up or participate in any way, while their help would have been sorely needed. The bad response from the media was also a bad surprise.

One reason for this was probably the bad timing of the demonstrations (the CGI's fault!), which took place in the holidays period, just after the 14th of July (Bastille day). But another, deeper reason is probably that interest and support for freedom struggles in East Timor and Indonesia are still very weak in France, and very difficult to get.

Still the outcome of these demonstrations should probably be seen as positive. There are not so many demonstrations of this size in favour of East Timor or Indonesian rights, outside East Timor and Indonesia. I was not present on the 16th of July, but reportedly the demonstrations went smoothly and were a success, thanks in part to the excellent organisation on the Dutch and Indonesian sides. If the impact of unreported

demonstrations is not clear, these show that at least they can be done well. The experience gained this time could be useful for future events of this kind... next year?

Bruno (in absentia)

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## INDONESIA TRIUMPHS AT CGI

Reuter, Paris, Alan Raybould, July 17 - Indonesia has been promised all the aid it needs for 1992/93 and is not looking for help from the Netherlands, the former colonial power that was a major donor, Indonesian Economics Minister RADIUS Prawiro said on Friday.

The Netherlands coordinated aid for Indonesia for 24 years from 1968 but threatened to cut off assistance after a massacre of civilians by troops last November in East Timor, a former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia.

In retaliation, Indonesia said in March that it did not want any more aid from the Dutch.

The Netherlands was absent from the two-day aid meeting that the World Bank agreed to chair here on Thursday and Friday.

The Bank said in a statement that the countries and multilateral agencies present promised Indonesia aid worth \$4.94 billion for the 1992-93 fiscal year that began on April 1.

Asked at a news conference whether he expected any aid from the Dutch in 1992/93, RADIUS said: "We are not expecting any aid this year because we have been able to get our support from this meeting, fully. In fact, even slightly more than we expected."

But he stressed that relations with the Netherlands "are becoming very good, even better than before."

Trade was normal and Dutch investment in Indonesia was continuing, he said.

The World Bank had estimated prior to the meeting that Indonesia would require some \$4.8 billion in external assistance in 1992/93.

A Japanese embassy official in Jakarta said on Friday Japan pledged \$1.32 billion at the meeting, with another \$500 million to come from Japan's Export and Import bank.

RADIUS said Japan's contribution was much the same as last year and that new donor countries compensated at this meeting for the funds that would now be lacking from the Netherlands.

There was no mention of human rights in the statement issued by the World Bank, and Gautam Kaji, the Bank's Vice President with responsibility for East Asia, told the news conference the meeting had been about economics, not politics.

He said that donors were unanimous in their praise of Indonesia's macroeconomic programme and that the country had made great strides in reducing poverty.

"(This) makes Indonesia stand out in comparison to a number of developing countries," Kaji said.

But he pointed out that its per capita income was only \$570, and, while it was on its way to becoming a middle-income country, it would still need external aid for some years to come. "However well it has done, it still has a long way to go."

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 17 - An international group of donors chaired by the World Bank agreed Friday to give Indonesia 4,948 million dollars in aid for fiscal 1992, Japanese officials here said.

The Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI) agreed on the amount at a meeting in Paris which started Thursday.

The record amount of aid surpasses the World Bank's 4.8 billion dollar recommendation for aid to the country.

It is also larger than the 4.75 billion dollars pledged last year by the now-dissolved Intergovernmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI).

Of the total pledge, 1,112 million dollars will be granted in the form of fast-disbursing aid.

Most major industrialized countries and main international financial institutions and organizations are included in the CGI.

New contributors which were not in the earlier donor group are South Korea, the Nordic Investment Bank, Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, and the Saudi Fund for Development.

The bulk of the money will come from the World Bank, which pledged 1.6 billion dollars, but Japan has also pledged 1.32 billion dollars, and the Asian Development Bank has offered 1.2 billion dollars.

Japanese officials here said that in addition to the official development assistance, Japan's Export-Import Bank has also committed to extend 500 million loans.

A 300 million dollar, two-step loan will be used to support the commercial activities of small and medium-size businesses, and the remaining 200 million dollars will focus on improving infrastructure bottlenecks in the power, telecommunications, and transportation industries.

#### **HILL & KNOWLTON PRESS RELEASE**

PR Newswire, Paris, July 17 - A newly formed consortium of donor countries and multilateral agencies convening here under the auspices of the World Bank today committed funding of US\$4.94 billion to the

Republic of Indonesia to assist in development programs during the coming year.

The group, comprising 18 donor countries and 12 multilateral agencies, praised Indonesia for "sound policies of a more robust, diversified and competitive economy...accelerating economic growth and progressively reducing poverty."

Known as the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI), the new consortium was formed in March following the reorganization of a similar group known as the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, formerly under the chairmanship of The Netherlands. Meeting last year at The Hague, the IGGI membership pledged US\$4.75 billion to Indonesia for fiscal year 1991-92. This year's pledge represents an increase of four percent.

Commenting on this week's meetings of the CGI, World Bank Vice President Gautam Kaji described Indonesia as "a model among developing countries."

Mr. Kaji, who served as chairman of the Paris-based meetings, said the donor countries and institutions "were unanimous in praising Indonesia for the quality of the country's macro-economic management." He said the group commended Indonesia on the progress it has made in several key areas. These include: economic growth, poverty reduction, wealth distribution, social services and quality of life.

In a formal statement following the conclusion of the CGI meeting, the World Bank announced total pledges are "consistent with the estimated requirements for development assistance." (In its annual country report on Indonesia published earlier this year, the Bank estimated Indonesia's funding needs this year to be \$4.8 billion).

Of this year's total pledges, the Bank noted that a total of about US\$1 billion will take the form of fast-disbursing assistance. These funds are used to support Indonesia's balance of payments position, with the remaining funds applied to individual development projects.

In addition to the \$4.94 billion pledged under the auspices of the CGI, the Bank indicated an additional \$1 billion had been committed during the same period by an independent consortium of lenders, led by the EXIM Bank of Japan.

Commenting on the results of the meeting, Indonesia's senior economics minister said his delegation was "naturally very pleased by the successful outcome."

Leading the Indonesian delegation to the Paris meeting, Minister Radius Prawiro said "the level of dialogue, the spirit of cooperation and the generous pledges of assistance are testimony to the willingness of the donor community to serve as active

partners in Indonesia's development process."

Participation at the CGI meeting showed an increase over membership in the IGGI. Countries attending this year's Paris meeting comprised the following: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Multilateral organizations participating at the CGI included the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank, the European Community, the International Finance Corporation, the International Fund for Agricultural Development, the International Monetary Fund, the Islamic Development Bank, the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development, the Nordic Investment Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Saudi Fund for Development, the United Nation's Children's Fund and the United Nations Development Program.

The Consultative Group said it would reconvene in 1993 to review Indonesia's need for external funding assistance in a year's time.

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*CONTACT: Paul M. Matulic of Hill and Knowlton, Inc., 212-697-5600*

AFP, Paris, July 17 - Indonesia secured pledges of official development aid totalling 4.94 billion dollars for the financial year to March 1993 as the World Bank's newly-created consultative group for Indonesia (CGI) ended its first session here on Friday.

The total, which includes about one billion dollars in quick-disbursing aid to help bolster the country's balance of payments, compared with commitments of 4.75 bn dollars from donors for the previous financial year, which yielded actual disbursements of 4.3 bn.

The outcome was "even slightly more" than the level recommended by the World Bank, Indonesia's coordinator minister for finance, economics and industry Radius Prawiro said.

CGI chairman Gautam Kaji, the World Bank's vice president for the East Asia and

Pacific region, told a news conference the donor community was "unanimous in their appreciation of the quality of macro-economic management" in Indonesia.

The donors had also noted the "quantity and quality" of growth in Indonesia and the impact it had achieved on reduction of poverty and improved social services for disadvantaged people.

They also welcomed Indonesia's commitment to continued structural reforms, he said, stressing the "quite dramatic" growth of the country's non-oil sector.

Kaji declined to detail individual donor countries' contributions, but Radius said Japan, the biggest bilateral donor, which pledged aid worth 1.32 bn dollars for 1991-92, had made "the same pledges as last year - no more, no less."

Kaji skirted questions on political developments that led to the dissolution earlier this year of the Inter-governmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI), chaired by the Netherlands, the former colonial power, and creation of the CGI to replace the IGGI. The group discussed economics, not politics, he said.

However, the Indonesian minister said relations with the Netherlands were now becoming "very good, even better than before."

He said cooperation was continuing in other fields, including Dutch investment in Indonesia and cultural activities.

Asked whether the improved relations could entail a resumption of Dutch aid, he said Indonesia was not expecting any aid from the Netherlands this year, since its requirements had been fully met.

A communiqué said the CGI "commended" the Indonesian government for the "significant progress in economic adjustment" achieved in the past year through monetary stringency, fiscal restraint and prudent external borrowing policies.

These measures, it said, held the current account deficit to about four percent of GNP, and inflation at less than 10 percent while growth reached 6.8 percent.

Structural reforms had helped create "the foundation for the rapid growth needed to raise living standards further and to employ productively a growing population and labor force," the communiqué said. It noted the country's dependence on oil had declined sharply, with the oil sector now accounting for one-third of public revenue against two-thirds a decade ago, officials said.

Continued sound macroeconomic management and deregulation would provide the basis for "sustained growth with equity and stability" in the 1990s, the communiqué said.

It said Indonesia had substantially expanded its infrastructure over the past two

decades "but much remains to be done to meet the needs of a fast-growing and rapidly-urbanizing economy."

"Indonesia will need substantial continued support" from donors to meet challenges in infrastructure and human resource development, the group agreed.

The first-ever CGI session was attended by officials of 18 donor countries, including three Scandinavian countries listed as observers, and 12 international financing and development institutions.

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## BILLIONS IN AID FOR JAKARTA DESPITE HUMAN RIGHTS ROW

by Angeline Oyog, IPS

Paris, Jul. 17 (ips) - the Indonesian government obtained Friday almost five billion dollars in development aid from international donors while pre-empting any talk on human rights abuses.

Speaking to journalists after the two-day meeting with international donors in Paris, Indonesian minister radius Prawiro for economic affairs cut short any questions on charges against Jakarta for human rights abuses, particularly the killing of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor in November 1991.

José Ramos Horta, special representative of a coalition of forces opposing the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, feels "scandalised" by the decision of the donors.

"These industrialised countries who talk so often and so loudly about respecting human rights are the same ones who have just given five billion dollars to one of the worst dictatorships in the world," he said.

According to Prawiro, human rights and the killing of the demonstrators in 1991 should be discussed at a bilateral level. "It is not appropriate to discuss political issues in a forum for economic and financial matters.

"Respecting human rights is a part of our system. it is one of our pillars of principles," added Prawiro. "We are open to bilateral talks. They just need to talk to us."

Accusing it of a campaign of "lies and defamation," Jakarta has since 1989 consistently refused to allow the human rights group Amnesty International to visit the country.

The Consultative Group for Indonesia (CGI), chaired by the World Bank, took over the Inter-Governmental Group for Indonesia (IGGI) which had coordinated international aid for Jakarta for the past 24 years until its dissolution last April.

Jakarta unilaterally disbanded the IGGI after Dutch development aid minister Jan Pronk stopped development aid in protest of Indonesian human rights abuses. The

Netherlands did not attend the Paris meeting. Jakarta also sought the exclusion of the Netherlands, former colonisers of the country, from the CGI.

"We are not expecting any more aid from the Netherlands, because we got full support from the CGI," said Prawiro.

Dutch foreign minister Hans van den Broek, visiting Indonesia this week, has been told that Indonesian president Suharto would restore normal relations with the Netherlands if Pronk resigns from the cabinet.

At the Paris meeting, the donors comprising the CGI commended Indonesia for the "significant" progress in its economic adjustment programme and its growth of 6.8 percent in 1991. It noted the tight monetary policies, fiscal restraint and the prudent external borrowing policies.

It said, however, that much more remains to be done to meet the needs of a fast-growing and rapidly urbanising economy. Making electric power, telecommunications, transport, water supply and other services available and more reliable will be the key element in sustaining growth and improving quality of life.

"We need the 4.8 billion dollars to accelerate our achievements of our development objectives and to maintain fiscal and monetary stability," said Prawiro.

According to official figures Indonesia's foreign debt stands at about 53 billion dollars, guaranteed by the rich resources of the country. Critics of the Suharto government say the foreign debts are a heavy burden for generations to come.

"Indonesia up till now has always honoured its financial commitments and we will continue to do so in future. We will pay back every cent of our foreign debts," a spokesman for Suharto said in Jakarta Friday.

Gautam Kaji, World Bank vice-president for the Asian region, said that only economic and financial matters were brought up during the two days of meetings with delegations from Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, Korea, New Zealand, Norway, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom and the United States.

Delegations from the Asian Development Bank, the European Community, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the Islamic Development Bank, UNICEF and the United Nations development programme also attended the meetings.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS HYPOCRISY

Reuter, Tokyo, Aya Takada, July 21 - Japan is being hypocritical when it says it wants to use its overseas development aid

(ODA) to improve human rights, market economies and good government in recipient nations, foreign aid experts say.

Kiyoko Furusawa, who teaches development economy at Tokyo Woman's Christian University, doubts whether Japan would apply this to nations with which it has close business ties.

"I agree with linking ODA policies with human rights abuses by recipient governments, but I do not feel our government is serious about implementing the principles," she said.

She pointed out that Japan did not suspend aid to Indonesia even after government troops killed scores of East Timorese civilians last November.

"We have asked the foreign ministry to make withdrawal of the Indonesian troops from East Timor a prerequisite for continuing ODA, but it won't listen to us," Furusawa said.

Azusa Hayashi, director of the aid policy division of the Foreign Ministry's Economic Cooperation Bureau, said Japan was currently reviewing aid to several recipient countries.

This could lead to ODA being reduced or suspended if these nations were not complying with four basic principles.

"We have made various proposals to several recipient governments," Hayashi said. "(Their responses) will be taken into account in future allocation of ODA."

He declined to name the countries involved.

But many aid experts dismiss such policy statements as posturing, saying it would be a long time before Tokyo suspended aid to an important recipient.

Japan's ODA totalled \$10.95 billion in 1991, up 20.8 pct from the previous year, making it the second biggest donor in the world after the U.S. Asia receives some 60 pct of the aid, with Indonesia, China and the Philippines the main recipients.

The Foreign Ministry is eager to counter the belief that its ODA is merely an instrument to promote Japan's exports and seek favour from countries that provide the essential raw materials for Japanese industry.

"Basically, Japan will maintain its stance of meeting the requests of recipient governments but Japanese proposals need to be accepted in some cases, especially concerning environmental protection," Hayashi said.

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## WATANABE PROBED ON THREATS TO INDONESIA

AP, Tokyo, July 21 - An adviser to one of Japan's most powerful politicians pressured the Indonesian government to award a

Japanese consortium a major construction project, according to a report published today.

The San Jose (Calif.) Mercury News' story from Tokyo said a letter sent by one of Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe's aides to a leading Indonesian businessman in 1988 threatened that if Indonesia considered other countries for the \$220 million airport project it would be seen as disloyal to Watanabe.

The report quoted the letter as saying such disloyalty might cause "a bad relationship between the two countries in the future."

Watanabe, who leads the second largest faction within the governing Liberal Democratic Party, was head of the party's policy committee at the time the letter was allegedly written.

The newspaper said Jakarta selected a Japanese consortium's proposal over those of U.S., French and Australian companies a few days after the letter was sent. It quoted an unidentified source close to the deal as saying Watanabe stood to profit.

Japanese officials in Tokyo had no immediate comment on the report.

The consortium of 58 Japanese companies, called the Jakarta Development Corp., includes the trading house Nissho Iwai, the Industrial Bank of Japan and the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund.

The report said the OECF helped finance the project with a \$61 million loan. It added that the letter had the signature and stamp of the consortium's director, Mitsuo Marume.

Watanabe's office acknowledged after earlier San Jose Mercury News reports that Marume sometimes traveled to Southeast Asia with Watanabe as an interpreter and adviser. But it has denied any financial link between Marume, the consortium and Watanabe.

The Foreign Ministry has also previously denied that Watanabe could have used his clout to influence any specific aid deals or that he received any kickbacks.

The project - a joint venture that also involves a private Indonesian company and the Indonesian government - is to develop a large trade, convention and entertainment complex on the grounds of an old airport.

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## URGE LINKING OF HUMAN RIGHTS, INDONESIAN AID

*Green Left Weekly issue 64, July 29, by Max Lane*

Governments of 18 industrialised countries, including Australia, have agreed to provide Indonesia with further loans totalling US\$4.8 billion. The biggest lenders are

the World Bank and Japan, followed by the other big Western powers.

Representatives of the 18 met on July 17 in Paris met to conduct their annual vetting of the Indonesian economy. The group is now known as the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) and is chaired by the World Bank.

Previously the lending governments met as the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia (IGGI), chaired by the Netherlands. However, Indonesia has refused to collaborate further with the IGGI while the Netherlands chaired the group because of the Netherlands' attempt to link aid and human rights.

The Netherlands suspended aid to Indonesia in the wake of the Dili Massacre on November 12.

To balance its budget, the Suharto government depends on huge inputs of foreign aid, mostly in the form of loans. Despite being a major exporter of oil and the world's biggest exporter of liquid natural gas as well as a major exporter of tropical timber, the government has now run up a debt of over US\$100 billion.

According to Indonesian government figures, approximately 50% of all government expenditure on development comes from foreign aid. "Revenue" from loans is included on the income side of Indonesia's national budget, which means that it is nearly always "balanced."

The US ambassador in Jakarta made very strongly critical statements of the Suharto regime prior to the CGI meeting. He was not, however, critical of the level of political repression or poverty but the extent of corruption and red tape that bedevils foreign investors. US investment has been dropping off over recent years.

Some of the European countries, led by Portugal, did express some concern over human rights violations in Indonesia and East Timor. But the CGI as a whole seemed to believe that such issues should not be linked to aid.

Human Rights organisations, including New York-based Asia Watch, TAPOL (the British Campaign for Human Rights in Indonesia), several of the Netherlands-based Indonesian pro-democracy groups and Aksi (Indonesia Solidarity Action) in Australia, have urged governments to make such a link. Asia Watch sent a memo to the CGI arguing for the linking of democratisation and development assistance.

Australian foreign minister Gareth Evans has made it clear several times that the Australian government will not link human rights and aid. When the US House of Representatives blocked US\$2 million of military aid to Indonesia, Evans condemned the Congress as being too punitive.

Australia provided \$106 million in 1990-91 and an estimated \$113 million in 1991-92 in economic assistance, mostly to projects involving Australian companies. Australia also conducts a development cooperation program with the Indonesian military, including joint exercises, training and other exchanges.

Aksi groups in Sydney and Canberra have decided to launch a petition campaign demanding the Australian government link economic assistance to improvements in Indonesia.

In particular, Aksi is calling for the Australian government to raise: the release of all political prisoners; the repeal of laws restricting political and social organisations, especially the law enforcing a single ideology and banning new parties; the end of restrictions on trade unions; the end of violent repression of people calling for self-determination in West Papua, Aceh and East Timor; and the start of peace talks with the East Timorese.

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### **SUHARTO: NO POLITICAL STRINGS ON FOREIGN AID**

Kyodo, Jakarta, Aug. 4 - Indonesian President Suharto reiterated Tuesday that Indonesia will reject foreign aid with political strings, the official Antara news agency reported.

Suharto said last December following the November 12 killings in East Timor that Indonesia will not bow to pressures from nations threatening to discontinue aid.

"Now, in our development, we still receive aid from foreign countries. We aim not to hold our hands upward but downward, meaning we (will offer) aid to other countries," he was quoted as saying by Antara.

Suharto, who will chair the 105-member Non-aligned Summit in September, made the statement to an audience in South Sumatra after he inaugurated new highway and electricity projects.

In March, Indonesia rejected further development aid from the Netherlands charging that the aid was being used as an instrument of intimidation.

The move was made following aid suspension from the Dutch in response to the East Timor killings.

In mid-July, Indonesia requested aid from a World Bank-chaired international group of donors and received a pledge of 4,948 million dollars for fiscal 1992 which ends in March next year.

Xinhua, Jakarta, Aug. 5 - President Soeharto said Indonesia was determined not to be dependent on other countries any

longer and would reject any conditional economic assistance.

The President made the remarks Tuesday in South Sumatra province after inaugurating a number of development projects, according to local press reports here today.

While admitting that in carrying out development efforts, Indonesia still received assistance from other countries, Soeharto said, "We will not remain an aid recipient. It is instead our noble goal to become an aid-giving nation in the future. It means we would give aid to other nations some day."

Soeharto reiterated the crucial importance of human resources in the development of a nation, suggesting that this factor be made top priority in the second stage of Indonesia's long-term development plan beginning in April 1994.

He said that without qualified human resources, the nation would have difficulties in keeping pace with the development progress in the midst of the increasing globalization dynamical process in the future.

Appealing to the people to constantly improve their working spirit and social solidarity, the President reiterated the need to boost education for the people in a strife to move up people's working spirit.

The projects dedicated by the head of state at a total cost of 126.5 billion rupiah (63 million U.S. dollars) include the 534-meter-long Musi Bridge II, the longest in Indonesia, road and rural electrification projects.

High costs were involved to build these projects and, therefore, the best possible maintenance by the local people was a requisite, the President said.

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### **DUTCH FOREIGN MINISTER VISITS JAKARTA**

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#### **VAN DEN BROEK ARRIVES IN JAKARTA**

AFP, Jakarta, July 16 - Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek arrived here Thursday for a three-day official visit aimed at improving ties between the Netherlands and Indonesia, strained by a row over aid and human rights.

Van den Broek is the second Dutch minister to visit the country since bilateral relations soured following Jakarta's abrupt decision in March to refuse development assistance from the Netherlands citing political issues here, including human rights.

The minister was greeted at Jakarta's Sukarno-Hatta international airport by his Indonesian counterpart and host, Ali Alatas.

He is scheduled to hold talks with Alatas later Thursday and pay a courtesy call on Indonesian President Suharto Saturday.

During his stay, Van den Broek is also slated to meet with several other senior government officials, including Coordinating Minister of Political and Security Affairs Sudomo, Home Affairs Minister Rudini and Education and Culture Minister Fuad Hasan.

The Dutch minister said before leaving for Indonesia that his discussions here would include bilateral as well as regional and international issues, including ties between the European Community and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

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### **DUTCH FIRM ON HUMAN RIGHTS**

AFP, Jakarta, July 16 - The Netherlands' position on human rights remains unchanged despite friction with Indonesia over the issue, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek said after meeting with his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas.

"I do not think one can say that anything has changed as far as the principal matters are concerned," said Van den Broek, who arrived earlier Thursday on a three-day visit.

Indonesia abruptly refused Dutch development aid in March, saying it was being used as a "tool of pressure" by The Hague amid concern there for human rights in this former Dutch colony.

Van den Broek spoke to the press after more than two hours of talks with Alatas.

Their discussions, Van den Broek said, touched on many issues "including human rights and the situation in Timor following the undertaking of the Indonesian government at the time after the dramatic events in November."

Alatas said after the meeting that he and his guest had "a very good discussion, primarily on bilateral relations."

Without elaborating, he said that at Van den Broek's query, "I gave an explanation to my colleague on the latest developments in East Timor."

Later Thursday, Van den Broek was to meet State Secretary Minister Murdiono, Home Affairs Minister Rudini and Coordinating Minister of Politics and Security Affairs Sudomo.

He was also to have a working dinner with Alatas, and on Saturday call on President Suharto.

Van den Broek is the second Dutch minister to visit Indonesia since March. Dutch State Secretary for Trade Yvonne Van Rooy came at the end of April.

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 16 - The Netherlands and Indonesia likely will not change their differences over human rights, Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van Den Broek said Thursday.

Van den Broek said his two hours of talks with his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas covered a broad range of topics, including human rights and last year's shooting of civilians by Indonesian troops.

"I don't think one can say that anything has changed as far as the principal matters are concerned," he said of a row in March when Indonesia said it would reject further development aid from the Netherlands over Dutch criticism of the November shootings in East Timor.

Van den Broek said he did not expect any change from Jakarta, "and one would not expect it from us." But, he said, "We want to look toward the future."

The Dutch minister is to meet with several other cabinet ministers and, on Saturday, with President Suharto.

The Netherlands, the former colonial ruler of Indonesia, had joined international condemnations of the shootings and the Jakarta government's response.

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## DUTCH OPPOSE PORTUGAL'S POSITION

Reuter, Jakarta, July 18 - Dutch foreign minister Hans Van den Broek said on Saturday that the European Community would not be dragged into a dispute between Portugal and Indonesia over East Timor.

EC member Portugal, whose colonial rule of East Timor preceded an invasion by Indonesia in 1975, has waged a long diplomatic battle over Jakarta's annexation of the impoverished territory.

"The European Community takes the stand that this is...a dispute between Indonesia and Portugal and would in no way like to undermine the efforts that are being (made) by the Secretary-General of the United Nations together with the parties to find a solution," Van den Broek told reporters after meeting Indonesia's President Suharto.

Earlier this week, Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro said Lisbon would block an EC pact with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), due to be signed in October, unless Indonesia improved its human rights record.

"I have pledged to our Indonesian partners that we will do our utmost to see to it that the negotiations between ASEAN and the EC about a new trade and cooperation agreement will be finalised by that time," Van den Broek said.

He urged the international community to take a balanced view of the situation in East Timor, where a dwindling guerrilla army is still battling Jakarta rule, and for Indonesia to understand the world's concern over human rights.

It was his own country's outcry over the East Timor killings that prompted Indonesia last March to refuse any more aid from its former colonial rulers.

He said his government regretted the decision but that his official three-day visit had provided a "new impulse" to bilateral relations.

UPI, Jakarta, July 18 - Dutch Foreign Minister Hans Van den Broek Saturday called on his government, Indonesia and Portugal to cooperate to solve the problems of East Timor.

Van den Broek, in Indonesia on a three-day visit, met with President Suharto Saturday and later told a press conference that all parties involved should cooperate to prevent the simmering conflict from "lingering on."

Van den Broek said the dispute had disrupted Indonesia's relations with Portugal, adding that the Netherlands followed with great interest the efforts of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Ghali to find an "equitable solution to the dispute."

On bilateral relations, Van den Broek said the two governments had agreed to strengthen and deepen their ties in various fields and to forget any existing sourness over Indonesia's decision in March to refuse development assistance from the Netherlands.

Indonesia moved to refuse development aid from its former colonial ruler after the Netherlands criticized Jakarta's handling of the aftermath of the November massacre in East Timor which left at least 50 people dead and more than 90 injured.

AFP, Jakarta, July 18 - Visiting Dutch Foreign Minister Hans van den Broek called Saturday for open-mindedness in finding solutions to the problems facing the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Van den Broek told journalists after meeting with Indonesian President Suharto that there had been contacts between Indonesia and the European Community (E.C.) over developments in East Timor.

However, he said that it was more important that "there is an open-mindedness on both sides" with Jakarta understanding "the genuine concerns" existing abroad for the unresolved situation in East Timor.

Van den Broek was the second Dutch minister, after Trade Secretary Yvonne van Rooy, to visit since the Indonesian govern-

ment in March called for the cessation of Dutch development aid to Indonesia.

Van den Broek also said the E.C. should take a balanced view on the situation in East Timor and that Indonesia and Portugal should continue dialogue towards reaching a solution.

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## ASEAN MEETS IN MANILA

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### S.E. ASIA ARMS RACE

UPI, Manila, July 19 - Talks scheduled to begin here Tuesday among the foreign ministers of six Asian nations underline a host of growing security concerns raised by the end of the Cold War.

The decline of East-West military rivalry has eased tension in Europe and other areas, but has brought new uncertainty to the countries of Southeast Asia.

The fading U.S. military presence in the region has triggered anxiety over a possible power vacuum. Border and trade disputes and increased competition for natural resources have added to the tension.

Partly in response to these concerns, several Southeast Asian nations are rapidly increasing their armed capability.

Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Indonesia and Brunei say they plan substantial increases in military spending over the next five years. Japan, South Korea, and Burma also are strengthening their armies, although at a slower pace.

Julius Caesar Parrenas, a senior analyst at the Manila-based think tank Center for Research and Communications, forecast the build-up to expand and said it would become an increasingly crucial issue.

"If the U.S. continues to ease its presence in Asia and the region makes no moves toward a collective security arrangement, then we may have a problem," he said. "I really think some bold moves need to be made."

Although no major announcements are expected from the 25th ministerial meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations which runs from Tuesday through Sunday, diplomats say the talks provide a timely forum to discuss the region's evolving security needs.

Several diplomats and analysts see China's action in the Spratlys as part of a general push to increase its military influence in Asia. This, they say, could raise tension with Japan, which is cautiously trying to assume a greater role in the region.

"The Japanese are very concerned about the moves of China both in the Spratlys and in general," Parrenas said. "They have not

said a lot but have very quietly expressed their concerns.”

Some ASEAN diplomats said they were worried their countries could be drawn into a Japan-China rivalry.

“You cannot avoid geography,” Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus told reporters recently. “China and Japan have a love-hate relationship...the whole of Southeast Asia is caught in the middle.”

Besides a perceived power vacuum, regional diplomats say they are concerned about tensions in Cambodia and Burma and reported North Korean efforts to develop nuclear weapons.

“All of these things may amount to nothing,” an ASEAN diplomat said. “But then again they might. That is why it is important to at least begin seriously talking about some kind of military cooperation.” Reaching such a consensus would be difficult.

Efforts to bolster arsenals have increased distrust between several Asian countries, Parrenas said, adding that the lack of a clear external threat provided little incentive for ASEAN to form a collective military alliance.

The American security umbrella in the Pacific allowed ASEAN to concentrate on economic initiatives since it was founded in 1967.

But last year Manila rejected a proposal to extend the U.S. lease on Subic Bay Naval Base, Washington’s largest military installation in Asia. U.S. forces are scheduled to leave the base by the end of the year.

U.S. officials said they would make no effort to totally replace Subic, relying instead on a smaller network of military access agreements with several Southeast Asian countries.

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## SPRATLYS RESTRAINT

Reuter, Manila, Riben Alabastro, July 21 - Indonesia and the Philippines on Tuesday urged rival claimants to the Spratly Islands to resolve their differences peacefully before they erupt into destructive confrontation.

Philippine President Fidel Ramos and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas told the opening session of an ASEAN foreign ministers’ conference that the Spratlys dispute was a cause for growing concern among countries in the region.

“We cannot any more postpone the urgent necessity to seriously seek a solution...lest the unsettled situation lead to perilous developments,” Ramos said.

A peaceful solution could lead to joint exploration and development of resources in the potentially oil-rich cluster of islands in the South China Sea, he said.

Alatas cited the need for “self-restraint in order not to complicate the situation.” The area’s resources could be developed jointly pending settlement of the sovereignty claims of rival countries, he said.

“Indonesia strongly believes that if all parties...heed this call for constructive collaboration, we may yet be able to transform the potential of mutually destructive confrontation in the South China Sea into the reality of mutually beneficial cooperation among countries in the region,” Alatas said.

The Spratlys, which lie astride strategic shipping lanes, are claimed wholly or in part by China, Taiwan and Vietnam and ASEAN members Malaysia, Brunei and the Philippines.

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, also includes Indonesia, Singapore and Thailand.

Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, who is in Manila for talks with ASEAN ministers, said on Monday that Beijing favored a negotiated settlement to the Spratlys issue.

“When conditions are ripe, we can start negotiations. When negotiations are not ripe, we can shelve these disputes,” he told reporters.

Beijing has in recent weeks frequently resisted proposals for a formal international conference on the islands.

Diplomatic sources said the ASEAN meeting was expected to issue a declaration calling on claimants to the Spratlys to renounce force in solving the issue.

All claimants, except Brunei, have stationed troops on various tiny islands in the group. In 1988, three Vietnamese naval boats were sunk and 72 Vietnamese killed in a clash with China.

Ramos, a former general who took office last month, called for increased defence cooperation among ASEAN states.

“Such ASEAN activities as defence cooperation, military consultations and exercises at various levels should be intensified and expanded,” he said.

He said regional security could be enhanced by strengthening economic cooperation among Southeast Asian countries, adding that his government was firmly committed to the establishment of an ASEAN free trade area.

The two-day ministerial conference will be followed by meetings with ASEAN’s western partners, including the United States, Japan, Australia, Canada, New Zealand and the European Community.

The ASEAN ministers are also to hold separate talks with ministers from China, Russia and Vietnam.

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## ASEAN BECOMES ‘SECURITY FORUM’

AFP, Manila, July 22 - ASEAN called Wednesday for restraint in the Spratly Islands dispute and an end to the Cambodian impasse, continuing its transformation into a major forum for regional security in the wake of the Cold War.

Security concerns preoccupied the foreign ministers in the Association of Southeast Asian Nations – Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand – as they concluded their two-day annual meeting.

In a special declaration, they called for restraint among the six Spratly claimants – including three ASEAN members – and continued dialogue and joint activities in the disputed area to defuse tensions.

The Spratlys, a reputedly oil-rich chain in the South China Sea, are claimed wholly or in part by China, Vietnam, Taiwan, Malaysia, the Philippines and Brunei.

ASEAN officials fear the Spratlys could become the next regional flashpoint after the Cambodian conflict, and said the decision to issue a declaration apart from their joint communiqué underscored the importance of the issue.

China’s recent assertion of sovereignty over the area, including an oil-exploration deal with a U.S. firm, has worried its neighbors, but Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen told his ASEAN counterparts that Beijing was open to a peaceful compromise.

The 25-year-old ASEAN, worried that fresh conflicts will harm its members’ growing prosperity and their standing pledge to create a regional free market within 15 years, also sought an end to the political impasse in Cambodia.

But they stopped short of condemning the Khmer Rouge for stalling the implementation of the Paris peace agreement.

In a joint communiqué, the ASEAN foreign ministers urged “all parties in Cambodia to cooperate fully in the implementation of the agreement in order to end the sufferings of their people.”

More optimistically, ASEAN, founded during the Vietnamese war as a non-military but anti-communist bloc, embraced Vietnam and Laos after they signed the group’s Bali treaty of friendship binding them to the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

The treaty will allow them to pursue full membership in the association.

The Manila meeting marked the first time ASEAN has included regional security on its official agenda, and occurred against the backdrop of the collapse of the Soviet

Union and the U.S. military pullout from the Philippines.

The ASEAN ministers said in their final communiqué that the end of the Cold War had a "profound impact" in terms of "new strategic uncertainties and fresh opportunities."

Thai Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin said his group, which will meet at the weekend with U.S. State Secretary James Baker and counterparts from other major trading partners, would reject any attempt by the West to force ASEAN to adopt a hard line against Burma.

Arsa said ASEAN would continue its policy of engaging Burma, ruled by a military junta since 1988, in a constructive dialogue to wean it back into the international community.

The Burmese junta has been condemned by western countries for violating human rights and ignoring the results of a 1990 general election won by the opposition, led by the detained Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi.

The communiqué also said "environmental and human rights concerns should not be made as conditionalities" for economic aid, a position distinct from Washington's.

"Human rights, while universal in character, are governed by the distinct culture and history of, and socio-economic conditions in, each country," it said, adding that "their expression and application are within the competence and responsibilities of each country."

ASEAN also demanded immediate action on thousands of Indochinese economic refugees who languish in camps in the region due to delays in their repatriation.

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### ASEAN OPPOSING LINKED AID?

IPS, Manila, July 22 - Reflecting what appears to be an emerging ASEAN position, the foreign minister of Thailand yesterday criticized donor countries for tying yet more strings to their development aid programs.

Thai Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin did not name names, but analysts said he was clearly referring to attempts by Western donors, particularly the European Community, to link development aid to human rights, military spending and environmental policies.

Sarasin made the remarks at the start of the 25th ministerial meeting of the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN), which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

"We should tell our dialogue partners that what we seek is not aid, especially

when it is offered with strings attached," he said. "What we seek is a more equal partnership of trade and investment."

"As partners, we find it unacceptable should there be any attempt to use these dialogue relationships to impose certain conditions and their standards on us" he added.

ASEAN has seven dialogue partners – the United States, Japan, the European Community, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and Korea.

Though only Thailand raised the aid issue at today's opening ceremonies, the Thais do not seem to be alone.

A draft of the joint communiqué to be issued at the end of the ASEAN meeting tomorrow says: "The foreign ministers expressed their belief that environmental and human rights concerns should not be made as conditionalities in economic development cooperation."

"They noted that human rights are governed by distinct culture, history and socio-economic conditions in each country and that their expression and application are within their competence and responsibility," the draft added.

Both human rights and environmental concerns have been thorny issues in relations between ASEAN members and Europe. Individual ASEAN countries have already taken their respective positions on these issues.

Indonesia for example has scrapped a Dutch-led aid program when the Netherlands suspended aid following the massacre of protesters in East Timor last year.

Malaysia and Indonesia have clashed with European governments and environmental groups urging limits to the export of tropical timber which account for a big share of the export revenues of these countries.

But recent developments appear to be pushing ASEAN to firm up common positions on these aid conditionality issues.

Western donor countries including Japan have been talking more and more of linking development aid with such concerns as human rights, "good government" and political pluralism.

Even multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund have called on countries to cut military spending, implying that poor countries that do not may be left out.

India and Pakistan, which both have huge poverty problems and fat defense budgets, have been singled out for criticism on this score.

Closer to home, ASEAN is currently negotiating a new cooperation agreement with the European Community to replace an earlier pact signed in 1980.

EC officials have made it clear that the new accord will have to contain provisions covering human rights. There is also growing pressure within Europe to link development assistance with environmental protection.

ASEAN was also prompted to form a common position on environmental issues in the run-up to the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held last month in Rio de Janeiro.

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### U.S. GIVES NOTICE TO TYRANTS AT ASEAN

Reuter, Manila, Rene Pastor, July 24 - The United States on Friday told a 13-nation conference it would remain a strong military power in Asia and served notice it would not allow tyrants to threaten its security interests in the region.

U.S. Undersecretary of State Robert Zoellick also asked the help of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) in securing Vietnam's cooperation in accounting for the more than 2,000 Americans missing from the Indochinese war.

But he bitterly criticised ASEAN's policy of quiet diplomacy towards Burma's military regime and suggested firmer action.

Zoellick spoke at the opening session of three-day talks between the six-nation ASEAN and its seven industrial partners: the United States, Japan, the European Community, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea.

"The United States is committed to maintaining a continuous operational and deterrent capability in Asia," Zoellick said.

"This means troops, fleets and air power deployed forward," he said, adding the United States was the only power in the post-Cold War era that had a "truly global reach."

"As the United States demonstrated in the Gulf War, we will not stand by when new tyrants threaten our national security interests. We have national security interests in the Pacific too," Zoellick said.

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, South Korean Foreign Minister Lee Sang-ock and Japanese Parliamentary Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Koji Kakizawa welcomed the U.S. pledge, saying it was vital to the region's stability.

Zoellick said he hoped the accession of Vietnam and Laos to the ASEAN treaty of amity would help defuse regional tensions.

"As this process unfolds, however, we urge that you remember our POWs (prisoners of war) and MIAs (missing in action). There is no more important issue to my government and my people," he said.

"We will not forget the young men who came to this region for all of us but who



never came home. We ask for your ongoing support for our efforts to obtain the fullest possible accounting of our compatriots."

Washington has made a full accounting of Americans missing in the Vietnam War a condition for normalising ties with Hanoi.

The talks highlighted differences between ASEAN and its partners on how to deal with Burma because of its human rights record.

Saying that the Burmese military's "brutal action" against dissenters was a source of instability, Zoellick asked: "Isn't it time to say 'enough is enough'?"

"Isn't it time for all of us, together, to tell the military regime it must release all political prisoners - including Aung San Suu Kyi - and engage them in a good-faith dialogue to restore constitutional government at an early date?" he said.

Burmese opposition leader and Nobel peace laureate Aung San Suu Kyi has been under house arrest for three years since the government crushed pro-democracy protests in 1989.

Canadian Minister for External Affairs Barbara McDougall called for a military embargo against Burma.

ASEAN - linking Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines - has refused to condemn Burma's military rulers, saying its policy of "constructive engagement" will encourage Rangoon to reform.

"We perceived that our policy has yielded some results," Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus told reporters.

On Cambodia, ASEAN and its partners were unanimous in deploring the Khmer Rouge's refusal to disarm in violation of the Paris peace accords.

"There was a clear communality of views that the Khmer Rouge are standing alone. There will be limited tolerance by the international community for their non-subscription to the Paris agreement," a Canadian official told reporters.

### **U.S. WILL BE GUARDIAN OF STABILITY**

UPI, Manila, July 24 - Japan urged the United States Friday to remain the chief guardian of stability in Asia, and Washington reiterated it planned to keep a forward military force in the region.

"The presence and involvement of the United States remains extremely important for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region," Japanese Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Koji Kakizawa told a meeting of Southeast Asian foreign ministers.

"Japan strongly wishes that the United States continues in the future to maintain its forward (troop) deployment in this region."

Under Secretary of State Robert Zoellick said despite the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the Philippines by the end of the year, the United States would continue to be a Pacific force through a network of military access agreements.

"The United States is committed to maintaining a continuous operational and deterrent capability in Asia," he said. "This means troops, fleets and air power deployed forward."

Secretary of State James Baker is expected to discuss military access agreements with ministers of several Southeast Asian countries when he arrives in Manila from the Middle East Saturday.

Washington already has such an arrangement with Singapore. It is reportedly also interested in access agreements with Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines. The United States retains permanent military bases in South Korea and Japan.

"We've explained our reliance on increased access to a number of regional military facilities and our expectation that this approach will lead to a stronger sense of mutual and shared responsibility," Zoellick said.

"In the post-Cold War world, the United States must remain a leader - perhaps the one leader with truly global reach - but we will seek to operate through partnerships," he said. "We need to rely on one another."

Japanese troops occupied much of Southeast Asia during World War II, and Kakizawa sought Friday to allay fresh regional concerns over Tokyo's recent decision to allow peacekeeping troops to be deployed overseas for the first time since the end of the war.

"We are determined," he said, "to take into account the lessons of the past...to firmly uphold our peace constitution, to never embark again on the road towards a military power."

DPA, Manila, July 24 - The United States Friday said it will remain in Asia to deter aggression and a revival of insecurities that could upset the peaceful balance in the region.

"The U.S. is committed to maintaining a continuous operational and deterrent capability in Asia. This means troops, fleets and air power deployed forward" said U.S. undersecretary of state Robert Zoellick.

"The end of the Cold War does not mean the end of dangerous leaders and regimes, threats of force, and potential conflicts," he said.

Zoellick spoke on behalf of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at the opening Friday of the post ministerial conferences between the six member nation Association

of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its seven dialogue partners.

Baker's arrival in Manila has been delayed by developments in the Middle East. He is expected to arrive early Saturday.

Zoellick said the U.S., in the post-Cold War period, will remain a leader with a global reach, operating through partnerships with its allies and partners, like the ASEAN which consists of Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Reuter, Manila, Rene Pastor, July 24 - The United States is the only remaining global power and is firmly committed to using its might to defend its interests in Asia, a senior U.S. official said on Friday.

"The United States is committed to maintaining a continuous operational and deterrent capability in Asia," Undersecretary of State for Economic Affairs Robert Zoellick told southeast Asian foreign ministers.

"This means troops, fleets and air power deployed forward," he said, adding that the United States was the only power in the post-Cold War era that had a "truly global reach."

Zoellick was addressing the opening session of a three-day meeting between Association of Southeast Asian Nations foreign ministers and officials from what ASEAN calls its "dialogue partners."

"As the United States demonstrated in the Gulf War, we will not stand by when new tyrants threaten our national security interests. We have national security interests in the Pacific too," Zoellick said.

But he added that the United States would rely increasingly on its allies in the region because the U.S. military budget had shrunk with the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

Security fears have been heightened by the U.S. withdrawal from its military bases in the Philippines following a dispute with Manila over the terms of their lease.

Japanese Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs Koji Kakizawa said Tokyo wanted to strengthen its security ties with Washington and the United States must "maintain its forward deployment in the region."

"The presence and involvement of the United States remains extremely important for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region amid the changing international environment," he said.

"The presence of American forces serves as a stabilising factor of the region not only in military but also political terms," Kakizawa said.

Kakizawa and South Korean Foreign Minister Lee Sang-ock told the opening

session that North Korea was a threat to regional stability because of its nuclear weapons programme.

"Serious concern is being entertained on the possible development of nuclear weapons by North Korea and this is serving as a destabilising factor in this region," Kakizawa said.

AFP, Manila, July 24 - Japan wants the United States to remain the chief guarantor of Asian security and has no ambition to regain its own military prowess, Vice Minister for Foreign Affairs Koji Kakizawa said here Friday.

Kakizawa told a meeting of Southeast Asian foreign ministers and counterparts from main trading partners that "the presence and involvement of the United States remains extremely important for the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region amid the changing international environment."

"The presence of American forces serves as a stabilizing factor of the region not only in military but also political terms," he said.

"Japan strongly wishes that the United States continues in the future to maintain its forward deployment in this region," Kakizawa said.

The dialogue was launched after ministers of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) held an annual meeting dominated by regional security concerns after the Cold War.

ASEAN groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. Its "dialogue partners" are the United States, Japan, the European Community, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Korea.

American troops will pull out of the Philippines bases by December but will remain in Japan and South Korea. Singapore has signed an air and naval access agreement with the United States to soften the effects of Manila's rejection of new base treaty with Washington.

"We welcome the cooperation also being made by ASEAN countries for the maintenance of forward deployment by the United States," Kakizawa said.

In an apparent reaction to Southeast Asian wariness about Tokyo's decision to send troops to help peacekeeping missions overseas, he said "we cannot and will not conduct such cooperation of our own accord."

"We are determined to take into account the lessons of the past based on a full and accurate grasp of history, to firmly uphold our peace constitution, to never embark again on the road towards a military power," he said.

Much of Southeast Asia suffered Japanese aggression and occupation during World War II.

Reuter, Manila, July 27 - U.S. Secretary of State James Baker promised Southeast Asian allies on Sunday that the United States would remain a Pacific power.

Baker also urged the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to send a "loud and clear" message to Burma about what he called its deplorable human rights record.

Association members have in general been reluctant to speak out about Rangoon's record, preferring what they call a policy of constructive engagement.

In a speech to foreign ministers of the economic and diplomatic alliance, set up in 1967 partly in response to communist expansion in the region, Baker sought to calm fears that the end of the Cold War would mean a diminished American role in the area.

He acknowledged that the U.S. withdrawal from Subic Bay Naval Base in the Philippines by year-end means there will no longer be permanent American bases in Southeast Asia.

But he insisted: "This development has not altered our interest in, nor our commitment to, Asian security. The form of our presence may have changed but the substance of our commitment is firm.

"The United States is a Pacific power and will remain one," he said, stressing that "our forces are forward-deployed in Japan, South Korea and Guam." Baker said there were new agreements granting the United States limited access to facilities in other countries, like Singapore and Malaysia.

"America's resolve to honour its treaty commitments, to promote economic growth and to support the peaceful resolution of disputes remains the bedrock of our policy toward Asia," he added.

ASEAN groups Thailand, the Philippines, Indonesia, Brunei, Singapore and Malaysia.

He expressed concern over "disturbing problems" with the United Nations-administered peace settlement for Cambodia.

The Khmer Rouge faction, responsible for more than a million deaths when it ruled Cambodia from 1975 to December 1978, has refused to join three other factions in disarming most of its men.

Baker said there had been "some positive but very limited changes" in Burma in the last year, including the release of a handful of political prisoners.

"But this minimal progress cannot obscure the reality that Burma's human rights situation remains deplorable," he added, noting that Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung

San Suu Kyi was beginning her fourth year of house arrest on political charges.

"Collectively, our message to the Burmese military authorities must be loud and clear: release all political prisoners immediately and begin a dialogue aimed at rapidly transferring power to a democratically-elected government," he said.

Baker also called attention to what he called the tragic plight of more than 270,000 Rohingya Burmese Moslem refugees driven from their homes into Bangladesh, and of another 70,000 forced into Thailand.

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## ASEAN-EC RIGHTS CLASH

UPI, Manila, July 25 - ASEAN foreign ministers said Saturday they were disappointed that a major agreement with the European Community had to be scuttled over the issue of human rights, but remained hopeful a treaty could still be reached.

Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus and EC leaders said the signing of a new ASEAN-EC cooperation agreement to replace a 1980 pact was vital in light of major political and economic developments in both regions.

Diplomats said Friday the EC foreign ministers decided to defer discussions on the proposed agreement July 20 following protests by Portugal over alleged human rights abuses in Indonesia, an ASEAN member.

Foreign ministers of the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations met Saturday with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, whose nation holds the EC presidency.

Hurd said despite efforts on both sides at coming up with an agreement, "We are not today at the stage where formal negotiations can start."

He said EC foreign ministers have agreed "to come back later to this matter" after "the issue of the respect of human rights in East Timor was raised."

Japan, the United States, the EC and other ASEAN major trade partners in the West said Friday they would increasingly tie economic aid to human rights conditions in recipient countries.

But the emerging democracies of ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore, said such restrictions violates their cultural integrity.

AFP, Manila, July 22 - ASEAN foreign ministers rejected Wednesday donor nations' moves to tie economic aid to human rights concerns, saying they would rebuff any western attempt to force them to take a hard-line stance on Burma.

“Environmental and human rights concerns should not be made as conditionalities in economic and development cooperation,” they said in a communiqué after the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) annual foreign ministers meeting.

“Human rights, while universal in character, are governed by the distinct culture and history of and socio-economic conditions in each country, and their expression and application in the national context are within the competence and responsibility of each country,” the communiqué added.

Thai Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin also said Wednesday that ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, would reject attempts by major trading partners to censure Burma for its human rights violations.

“We have the Asian way to resolve this problem. We feel our way is the better way,” he told reporters.

Arsa said ASEAN would continue its policy of engaging Burma, ruled by a military junta since 1988, in a constructive dialogue to wean it back into the international community.

The ministers rejected a request by the United States and the European Community (E.C.) at ASEAN’s 1991 meeting in Kuala Lumpur for a harder line against Burma, but decided to send a special envoy, Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus, to Rangoon for low-key talks.

Kyodo, Manila, July 24 - The European Community (EC) assured the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Friday of closer ties despite the EC’s integration into a single market, but reminded the group that respect for human rights was a basis for their relations.

British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd made the comments in a speech at the opening of an annual ASEAN conference with its dialogue partners – the United States, Canada, Japan, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand as well as the EC. Britain is the current EC president.

“We are not, and I want to emphasize this, building a wall around what we are constructing,” Hurd said.

“The community will remain a committed player on the international stage, developing its links with a wide range of countries,” he said.

“ASEAN is important to us, and we will continue to develop our dialogue, to our mutual benefit.”

The human rights issue, however, is “an integral part of the understanding between peoples and societies, and between states,” Hurd said.

“An understanding of this ensures the stability of a society and creates the circumstances for economic prosperity.”

The reference to human rights was made in the wake of complaints about the human rights records of some ASEAN countries, notably Thailand and Indonesia.

Hurd also gave the EC’s commitment to conclude the Uruguay Round of multilateral talks on trade which he said will boost the world economy and give new opportunities to expand international trade.

AFP, Manila, July 24 - The European Community (E.C.) called off plans Friday to renegotiate a cooperation agreement with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to protest Indonesian human rights violations in East Timor.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd told his Indonesian counterpart, Ali Alatas, that Portugal had vetoed the talks to signal its objections to Indonesian conduct in its former colony which Jakarta annexed in 1976, a British spokesman said.

The Hurd-Alatas meeting took place over lunch shortly after annual talks between ASEAN foreign ministers and those from the group’s major trading partners – including the United States and Japan – got under way.

ASEAN officials said their economic ministers from Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand had been scheduled to finalise a new agreement with their European counterparts later this year.

Hurd, representing the community’s 12 members, which include Portugal, told Alatas that Lisbon had withdrawn the E.C.’s mandate to renegotiate the pact intended to cover an upgrading of already extensive links between the two regional groups.

Analysts said the E.C. move would hurt ties between the two economic groups although both ASEAN and community officials said the talks could resume at a later date if Portugal changed its mind.

Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Badawi expressed disappointment. “We hope the E.C. will not allow Portugal to obstruct wider ASEAN-EC cooperation,” he said.

E.C. diplomats said Portugal had found unacceptable the massacre of scores of pro-independence protesters in Dili, the East Timor capital, in November last year.

The E.C. and the United States have also been unhappy with ASEAN’s refusal to censure Burma’s ruling junta for ignoring the results of elections in 1990 and jailing Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi.

AFP, Manila, Cecil Morella, July 24 - The United States and other donor countries on Friday prodded ASEAN to promote human rights and exert pressure on the Burmese junta, linking future aid to democratization and free market policies.

Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd of Britain, the current holder of the European Community (E.C.) presidency, U.S. Undersecretary of State Robert Zoellick and Japanese Vice Minister Koji Kakizawa all insisted on the linkage despite protestations from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

The three were taking part in a dialogue between the six-member ASEAN and seven major trade partners.

“Burma is now exporting pain and death outside its borders in staggering terms” as a consequence of the military’s “illegitimate and brutal action,” Zoellick told ASEAN ministers, referring to heroin trafficking and the exodus of the Rohingya Moslem minority to Bangladesh.

ASEAN, however, issued Wednesday a joint communiqué rejecting moves to tie economic aid to human rights concerns and saying ASEAN members would rebuff any attempt by the west to force them to take a hard-line stance on Burma.

The United States and the E.C., along with Canada and Australia, prodded ASEAN to abandon its policy of quiet diplomacy in favor of “more vocal and firmer action,” in the words of Canadian External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall.

The military suppression of pro-democracy protests in Thailand, and the fatal shooting by soldiers of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor by Indonesia, were also cited by Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, although he acknowledged the two ASEAN governments’ efforts to address the problems.

Kakizawa declared that respect for human rights, a free market economy and “environmental conservation” were key conditions in Japan’s consideration of official development aid to the region.

“Full attention should be paid to efforts for promoting democratization and introduction of a market-oriented economy, and the situation regarding the securing of basic human rights and freedoms in the recipient countries,” Kakizawa said.

Hurd conceded that human rights was a “sensitive” topic for ASEAN, but argued that “this issue will not go away.”

“It is an integral part of the understanding between peoples and their governments within societies and between states,” he said. “An understanding of this ensures the stability of a society and creates circumstances for economic prosperity.”

Evans said that "while there have been some slight recent signs of willingness to relax pressure and resume dialogue, it is clear that Burma's rulers are not contemplating the early installation of a democratic government, with the result that their economy and human rights records are likely to continue to languish among the world's worst."

Zoellick said the Burmese junta which has ruled the country since 1988 is "not immune to world attention."

He called on ASEAN to tell Rangoon to free all political prisoners, restore constitutional government as soon as possible, and allow the United Nations to monitor the repatriation of 270,000 Rohingya Moslems, chased out by the junta into exile in Bangladesh and Thailand.

The United States and Canada singled out the case of Burmese opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, who is under house arrest.

"If we forget her, we forget our humanity," Zoellick told ASEAN ministers.

McDougall criticized China for the continued support it "appears to be giving" to Rangoon, and urged U.N. members to "collectively call for a military embargo on Burma" at the U.N. General Assembly later this year.

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### EC/ASEAN TALKS HIT BY ROW ON EAST TIMOR

*Financial Times, 26 July 1992 By Victor Mallet*

(Manila, 26 July) Negotiations between the European Community and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) over a new co-operation agreement have been halted by Portuguese objections to Indonesia's human rights record in East Timor.

The dispute is embarrassing for the EC whose 12 members cannot agree on how to proceed, and frustrating to ASEAN, which was hoping to continue the talks on upgrading relations at a meeting of foreign ministers yesterday in Manila.

"It's a very unfortunate development," said Mr Abdullah Badawi, the Malaysia foreign minister. "We will not want to abandon EC-ASEAN cooperation simply because of Portugal." ASEAN groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

One senior EC diplomat said he feared the disagreement would have an insidious effect on relations between the two blocs. "Effectively, we can't start (negotiations) until we've cleared the roadblock," he said.

Whereas the existing accord is a bland statement of good intentions, the proposed

new agreement would include provisions on resolving trade disputes and on European Investment Bank lending to ASEAN states. EC-ASEAN trade has risen to 27bn in 1990 from 8bn in 1980, and has been rising by 25 per cent annually for the last three years.

Even before the Portuguese blocked further talks, EC and ASEAN officials were unable to agree on the inclusion of clauses on human rights and the environment in the new agreement. ASEAN ministers explicitly rejected any linkage between economic co-operations and environmental or human rights concerns at the end of an ASEAN meeting in Manila on Wednesday.

Portugal maintains that it is contrary to EC policy to upgrade relations with countries which have poor human rights records. Indonesia annexed East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975, and Indonesian troops shot dead at least 50 civilian protesters there in one incident in November last year.

Mr Douglas Hurd, the British foreign secretary, said yesterday the human rights issue "will not go away," but he sought to mollify his counterparts by emphasising universal rather than western principles on human rights.

"We are not talking of the imposition of the values of one section of the world on another section with different values," he said. "We are talking about an understanding of shares values and agreement on how they can be applied."

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 22 - The U.S.-based human rights group Asia Watch has sent a letter to U.S. Secretary of State James Baker urging him to raise human rights issues at a meeting with Southeast Asian foreign ministers starting Friday in Manila.

In the letter, obtained Wednesday, Asia Watch asked Baker to express specific concerns over the human rights situation in Thailand, Indonesia, East Timor, and Burma. The letter is dated July 17.

Indonesia and Thailand are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) which also groups Malaysia, Brunei, the Philippines, and Singapore.

ASEAN foreign ministers end their two-day annual meeting Wednesday and will follow it up Friday through Sunday with meetings with ASEAN's so-called "dialogue partners," including the U.S. and Japan.

Asia Watch said its primary concerns in Thailand relate to the Thai military's continued close relations with the Khmer Rouge of Cambodia and the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) of the military junta in Myanmar.

It said the Thai military's business dealings with the Khmer Rouge in gem-mining

and logging provide the guerrilla group with the financial support to continue fighting.

Another primary concern is the failure to account fully for the military bloody crackdown in Bangkok in May, the letter said.

"We urge you to discuss with the U.S. Department of Defense the possibility of a freeze on high-level contacts between the Thai and U.S. militaries and a ban on resumption of aid, weapons sales, or joint exercises until an accounting has taken place and support for the Khmer Rouge ceases," the letter said.

On Indonesia, Asia Watch urged Baker to express concern at the failure of the Indonesian government to account for the dead and missing in East Timor and Aceh.

Asia Watch concerns on East Timor relate to the November 12 killing of civilians last year.

Aceh is a troubled Indonesian province in northern Sumatra where there have been clashes between Indonesian troops and a separatist movement seeking to form an independent Islamic state.

Asia Watch also urged Baker to reiterate concern at the human rights situation in Myanmar, raised at last year's ASEAN post-ministerial meeting.

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### SOUTHEAST ASIANS, WEST AT ODDS OVER RIGHTS

*Washington Post, July 26, 1992 By William Branigin*

MANILA, July 25 - Western countries today urged Southeast Asian nations to take a firmer stand against human rights violations in the region, particularly those committed by the ruling Burmese military junta.

While the West wants to increase pressure on the Burmese junta, widely viewed as one of the world's worst violators of human rights, the six-member Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) is resisting all moves to impose sanctions on the military government and has emerged as one of its leading defenders. ASEAN comprises Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III flew to Manila today after his latest round of Middle East diplomacy to participate in meetings between ASEAN foreign ministers and envoys of the group's seven main industrialized trading partners. Besides the United States, these ASEAN "dialogue partners" are Canada, the European Community, Australia, New Zealand, South Korea and Japan.

Groups in the United States, including the Congressional Human Rights Caucus and Asia Watch, have urged Baker to raise

human rights issues in his talks with ASEAN leaders. Asia Watch cited close relations between Thailand's armed forces and both the Burmese junta and Cambodia's notorious Khmer Rouge guerrilla group. It also urged Baker to express concern about Indonesia's failure to account for dead and missing opposition activists in East Timor and in the province of Aceh.

In meetings with ASEAN, officials of the United States, Canada and Australia have strongly condemned the Burmese junta and called for concerted pressure on it, only to hear ASEAN defend its policies of "constructive engagement" and "quiet diplomacy," participants said.

ASEAN and the Western states even disagree about what to call the country. Australian, Canadian, British and U.S. officials used the traditional name, Burma, in their speeches, while ASEAN officials tend to use Myanmar, the name decreed by the junta in 1989.

While the rift over the Burmese situation represents a relatively minor exception to the harmony between ASEAN and its trading partners on most issues, it encapsulates a larger divergence of views on human rights in general.

In a joint communiqué at the end of a foreign ministers' conference Wednesday, ASEAN said environmental and human rights issues should be left out of "economic and development cooperation." Human rights are "governed by the distinct culture and history and socioeconomic conditions in each country," it said.

As ASEAN was deliberating this week, Aung San Suu Kyi, the Burmese opposition leader who won the 1991 Nobel Peace Prize, began her fourth year under house arrest without charge or trial.

The Burmese junta, made up of protégés of longtime dictator Ne Win, took power in 1988 amid a bloody crackdown against democracy demonstrators. In 1990, the opposition won 80 percent of the seats in a parliamentary election, but the junta refused to cede power and jailed, intimidated or drove into exile most of the winning candidates. Many opponents of the junta have been killed or tortured, tens of thousands of Burmese have been brutally pressed into forced labor as porters in counterinsurgency campaigns, and more than 270,000 Muslims of the Rohingya ethnic minority have fled to Bangladesh to escape persecution by troops.

In a speech Friday, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans said it was "clear that Burma's rulers are not contemplating the early installation of a democratic government" and that the country's human rights record remains "among the world's worst."

U.S. Undersecretary of State Robert B. Zoellick told the ASEAN ministers, "Burma is now exporting pain and death outside its borders in staggering terms." Besides the refugees who have flooded into Bangladesh and Thailand, he said, "Burma is also a primary source of heroin for addicts around the world. . . . Isn't it time to say enough is enough?"

In response, Philippine Assistant Foreign Secretary Romualdo Ong told reporters, "We have a unique ASEAN approach to our esteemed neighbor, and we plan to follow that track." He said, "Human rights are indeed a universal problem, but when you assess individual human rights, it is important to consider the local context."

Ong said today that ASEAN is satisfied with "encouraging indications of a more liberal tendency by the Myanmar authorities," including "the release of a large number of political prisoners" and junta permission for family members to visit Aung San Suu Kyi. He said she was "free to leave anytime" on condition that she remain in exile.

Ong said ASEAN views the Burmese junta as a "legitimate" and "legally constituted" government. Regarding Aung San Suu Kyi's detention, he said: "We don't like to stand in public judgment of a neighbor. . . . We have to assume that the Burmese have their own reasons for keeping things the way they are."

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### ASEAN CLASHES WITH EC

Kyodo, Manila, July 25 - The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) clashed with its main European trading partners Saturday over human rights.

During ASEAN's discussions with the EC, Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus expressed ASEAN's regret over the EC's failure Monday to reach a decision on a new bilateral cooperation agreement.

Senior EC officials attending the talks said Europe has "strong reservations against Indonesia" because of its policy toward East Timor, which it unilaterally annexed in 1976 in a move not internationally recognized.

They said the EC will oppose the proposed ASEAN-EC agreement until Indonesia makes "substantial changes" in its East Timor policy.

Portugal, which claims the territory, and other EC members hardened their stance toward Indonesia after it opened fire on demonstrators in East Timor last November, killing scores of people.

AFP, Manila, July 26 - Southeast Asia's prosperous non-communist states closed annual talks with the United States and other allies Sunday facing the uneasy pros-

pect of having to respond to Western pressure to uphold human rights as the price for increased cooperation, analysts said.

They said rapid growth was transforming ties between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its major trading partners from that of donor and recipient to a relationship of equals carrying a host of economic and political obligations for the fast developing states.

Of more immediate concern to the ASEAN states however was a Portuguese veto of the European Community's (E.C.) planned renegotiation of a 1980 cooperation pact to protest alleged violations of human rights in East Timor, Lisbon's former colony annexed by Jakarta in 1976.

The row highlighted increasing friction between ASEAN and its major Western trading allies seeking greater respect for human rights which regional governments say amounts to little more than direct interference in their domestic affairs.

ASEAN officials continue to argue that observance of human rights should not be made a condition for cooperation, a line that the Portuguese veto indicates will continue to meet Western resistance.

Although the Portuguese veto will not immediately disrupt already extensive cooperation, ASEAN had hoped that a so-called third generation agreement with the EC would provide the framework for even larger inflows of foreign investments which have fuelled growth in the region.

Japan also announced here that respect and observance for human rights would in future be taken into account before Tokyo disburses low-interest loans under its Official Development Assistance programme.

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### ASEAN: 'SEE NO EVIL'

UPI, Manila, Michael di Cicco, July 26 - Calling Burma's military regime a source of "great instability," Secretary of State James Baker urged ASEAN Sunday to help prod Rangoon into freeing political prisoners and handing power to a democratically elected government.

In comments underscoring an increasing rift between the Association of Southeast Asian Nations and its major economic partners over human rights issues, Baker painted a bleak picture of the pace of social reform in Burma.

"We have seen some positive but very limited changes in the last year," he said during a meeting with the six ASEAN foreign ministers. "A handful of political prisoners has been released. A few small steps have been taken which might lead to a constitutional convention."

"But this minimal progress cannot obscure the reality that Burma's human rights

situation remains deplorable.... Right now, Burma is a source of great instability and tremendous refugee flows," he said.

"Collectively, our message to the Burmese military authorities must be loud and clear: Release all political prisoners immediately and begin a genuine dialogue aimed at rapidly transferring power to a democratically elected government."

Baker's call for ASEAN to join Western pressure on Burma echoed that of several of the group's other six major economic partners during three days of talks here.

And it, like other prodding on human rights issues, is likely to go unheeded.

ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand, bristle at assertions by its economic partners that they would increasingly link economic aid to human rights conditions in recipient countries.

ASEAN ministers said human rights is a domestic issue and linking it to economic aid violated their cultural integrity. They spurned Western suggestions to isolate Burma's military junta, which they asserted is the country's legitimate government.

"We are not attracted to the idea of a joint ASEAN demarche on Myanmar (Burma)," Philippine Ambassador Romualdo Ong said Saturday. "We don't like to stand in public judgment of a neighbor."

The junta took power in 1988 and has refused to surrender to the democratic forces that defeated it at the polls in 1990. Opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi is in the fourth year of house arrest.

The disagreement between ASEAN and the West on human rights issues is hardly new. But diplomats gathered here this week said it is becoming increasingly important because it threatens burgeoning economic links between ASEAN and the West.

"Economic relationships are more and more driving political relationships," a Western diplomat said. "Disagreements on human rights...will increasingly affect relations (with the West) as the Far East becomes more and more of an economic power."

ASEAN is the world's fastest growing region economically. The United States invested \$12 billion in the region in 1990 - about double the figure of a decade earlier.

The association's trade with the 12-nation European Community reached a record high of more than \$50 billion in 1991.

Portugal recently blocked a major EC-ASEAN agreement that would bolster economic links further, saying it was protesting reports of human rights abuses in East Timor, a former Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas charged Sunday the move injected "a sour

note into the otherwise very good relationship" between the two regions.

"This is the first time that something like this has been used so blatantly in the ASEAN-EC relationship," he said.

ASEAN ministers said Saturday night they regretted Portugal's decision and hoped the treaty could be finalized during talks scheduled for October in Manila despite the disagreement.

Reuter, Manila, Rene Pastor, July 26 - Southeast Asian nations and their major trading partners ended talks on Sunday deeply divided over how to temper human rights abuses in Burma.

The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) stuck to its guns that a policy of "constructive engagement" would encourage the military junta in Burma to introduce reforms.

Its industrialised partners, led by the United States, strenuously urged a tougher line.

"Collectively, our message to the Burmese military authorities must be loud and clear: release all political prisoners immediately and begin a dialogue aimed at rapidly transferring power to a democratically-elected government," U.S. Secretary of State James Baker told ASEAN foreign ministers on Sunday.

Baker conceded there had been "some positive but very limited changes" in Burma in the last year, including the release of a handful of political prisoners.

"But this minimal progress cannot obscure the reality that Burma's human rights situation remains deplorable," he added, noting that Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi was beginning her fourth year of house arrest on political charges.

"We are perhaps a bit more of a hard cop on this issue because we do not see much progress on the human rights front and we see zero progress towards democracy," Baker told a news conference later.

"We are the soft line," replied Thai Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin. "I do see positive developments there... It's going in the right direction."

Arsa defended ASEAN's policy of quiet diplomacy because "we do believe we should engage them in order to encourage them to move in this positive direction."

ASEAN cited Rangoon's decision to free political prisoners and allow visits to opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi as proof that its approach is working.

The foreign ministers of ASEAN - which links Indonesia, Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei and the Philippines - said their policy represented the "Asian way" of doing things.

Canada and Australia had lobbied ASEAN to impose an arms embargo against Burma and take other measures to isolate its government.

The dispute over Burma was one of the main issues in the talks between ASEAN members and their seven trading partners - the United States, the European Community, Japan, Canada, Australia New Zealand and South Korea.

But both groups were united in blaming the Khmer Rouge for stalling implementation of the Paris peace agreement that was supposed to end 13 years of war in Cambodia.

Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus said ASEAN and its partners had agreed that "none of the Cambodian parties should be permitted to derail the peace process and that the Paris accords were not subject to renegotiation or reinterpretation."

The Khmer Rouge, blamed for the deaths of a million Cambodians when it ruled the country in the 1970s, has refused to surrender its arms as it had promised to do under the United Nations-sponsored peace plan.

The next ASEAN foreign ministerial conference will be held in July 1993 in Singapore.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS-AID LINK DEBATED AT ASEAN

by Ramon Isberto

Manila, Jul. 27 (ips) - Sharp disagreements over human rights in recent talks between the association of south-east Asian nations (ASEAN) and major western nations were a fresh reminder for developing countries that the world's aid donors were becoming more and more conditionality-minded.

The most pointed exchanges during last week's meetings between the ASEAN foreign ministers and their counterparts from seven rich countries were over Burma and Indonesia.

U.S. state secretary James Baker said that, given the military regime's dismal human rights record, the U.N. general assembly should repeat its resolution last year censuring Burma, which now calls itself 'Myanmar.'

"We should all do what we can to ... try and effectuate change there," baker said.

In contrast, Thai foreign minister Arsa Sarasin said recent releases of political prisoners by Rangoon and the loosening of restrictions on opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi were "positive developments."

"I think things are going in the right direction," he said, adding that ASEAN would

continue its policy of 'constructive engagement' with Rangoon.

For ASEAN, much closer to home was the case of Indonesia, which came under worldwide criticism after Indonesian army troops last year fired on demonstrators in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony until it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

A member of the European community (EC), Portugal vetoed a new economic co-operation agreement now under negotiation between the EC and ASEAN.

In Manila, Portuguese deputy foreign minister J.M. Durao-Barroso said Lisbon would not withdraw its opposition to the new treaty – which is meant to replace a 1980 pact – until Jakarta undertakes "fundamental changes" in its current policy towards East Timor.

Since the Indonesians are not expected to oblige the Portuguese, the new ASEAN-ec economic agreement is likely to be frozen for some time.

So far, the Indonesians have kept international outrage over the East Timor massacre from harming its efforts to secure foreign aid. In mid-July, Jakarta got aid pledges worth 4.75 billion dollars from a new consortium of international aid donors chaired by the World Bank.

This consortium replaces the Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia, an aid coalition chaired by the Netherlands. Jakarta abandoned the group after the Dutch suspended their aid programme to Indonesia because of the East Timor killings. The new consortium raised no human rights conditionalities.

Indeed, opinion among donor governments and agencies on the wisdom of tying human rights to aid programmes is far from unanimous.

Britain, which has assumed the EC presidency, and the European commission are said to be unhappy about Portugal's stand against a new ASEAN-EC agreement.

British foreign secretary Douglas Hurd was at pains to stress that the EC was not out to impose its values on human rights, but rather was seeking common understanding on "share values" as spelled out by the United Nations' Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Still, EC commissioner Abel Matutes warned the community was "more and more linking the issue of human rights to cooperation" (meaning, development aid) with developing countries.

As Durao-Barroso stressed, linking human rights with development assistance was a community policy stated in a policy declaration by the EC council's in November 1991.

But while the Europeans are perhaps the most emphatic in raising human rights, they

are not the only ones. nor are human rights the only concern being raised by aid donors.

Both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have been talking of the need for developing countries to slash military budgets to free more resources for basic needs like education and health.

This has fed fears that the Bretton Woods institutions may eventually make arms reductions a condition for lending to developing countries in the future.

One of the more prominent advocates of this arms-for-aid linkage is former world bank president Robert McNamara who said such a policy should be an essential part of the post-cold war international order.

In its 1990 human development report, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) urged that the ratio of military to social expenditure should be one of the criteria for external assistance.

The countries most at risk under such a policy would be south Asian giants of India and Pakistan, which both face massive poverty problems and maintain fat defence budgets.

At odds since independence from British rule, both countries are among the world's biggest arms buyers, spending much more on the military than on hospitals and schools.

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## HUMAN RIGHTS SCUTTLE ASEAN DISCUSSION

MANILA, Philippines (UPI, 27 July) – ASEAN foreign ministers said Saturday they were disappointed human rights complaints had scuttled a major economic agreement with the European Community, but remained hopeful the treaty could still be completed.

Foreign ministers from both regions said the proposed ASEAN-EC Cooperation Agreement, which would replace an outdated 1980 pact, was vital to expanding trade and other economic links.

Portugal derailed the proposed agreement July 20, refusing to enter into the deal with ASEAN in protest of alleged human rights abuses in Indonesia, which is one of six ASEAN members.

"Indonesia invaded East Timor," Portuguese Secretary of State José Barrosa said Saturday. "They created the problem. They have to explain it to their colleagues in ASEAN."

"We will not accept an agreement with ASEAN until Indonesia makes some fundamental changes in its policies over East Timor."

Portugal alleges some 100,000 people have been massacred in East Timor since

Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese territory in 1976.

The protest underlines a growing rift between ASEAN and its major economic partners in the West over the issue of human rights.

In talks earlier this week, the group's seven biggest trading partners said they would increasingly link economic aid to human rights records in recipient countries, directly contradicting the official ASEAN position.

The emerging democracies of ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore, insist such restrictions violated their cultural integrity.

The group maintained Saturday it would resist the prodding of Western countries to publicly pressure Burma on its alleged human rights abuses and said it was satisfied the military regime in Rangoon was the country's legitimate government.

ASEAN ministers said they made no progress on reviving talks on the proposed economic agreement during meetings Saturday with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, whose country holds the presidency of the EC, and EC Commissioner Abel Matutes.

Despite the impasse, Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus said he hoped the proposed agreement could be signed during an ASEAN-EC meeting scheduled to be held in Manila in October.

ASEAN "deeply regrets this development, after both sides have long worked towards the conclusion of a new cooperation agreement," he said. "Despite our disappointment, ASEAN continues to hope that a new agreement will be negotiated soon."

Trade between EC and ASEAN, the world's fastest growing region, has continually expanded, reaching an all-time high in 1991 of more than \$50 billion.

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## STUMBLING BLOCK; INDONESIA-EC AGREEMENT DITCHED BY TIMOR ISSUE

*Far Eastern Economic Review, 30 July 1992. By Shada Islam in Brussels, Adam Schwarz and Suhaimi Aznam in Jakarta; Abridged*

Portugal has blocked EC plans for an ambitious new cooperation agreement with Asean because of what Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro denounced on July 20 as Indonesia's "unacceptable violation of human rights in East Timor."

Portugal's decision to hold up the long-awaited EC-Asean pact has embarrassed both the EC Commission - which has

spearheaded the drive to upgrade the Community's relations with Asean - and the British government which has promised to start paying more attention to Asean and the South Asian countries during its six month stint as EC president.

The EC already has a trade cooperation agreement with Asean but the commission wants a new agreement covering a wider range of topics. European Commissioner Abel Matutes has argued that the EC must draw up a new enhanced cooperation agreement with Asean in order to boost the Community's political and economic presence in the region.

The new agreement, he insisted, would encourage increased European investments in South East Asia, allow the EC to push for better protection of intellectual property rights in the region and increase EC influence over how Asean runs its environment policy.

Commissioner Matutes - who was to accompany British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd to ASEAN's dialogue with its main trading partners following the Asean ministerial conference in Manila - quickly criticised Portugal's action in blocking the agreement as regrettable. The commissioner, who favours a more subtle approach to human-rights issues, pointed out that by refusing to sign up to the new accord, Portugal was in fact undermining the EC's political clout in the region.

Portugal's decision to block the start of negotiations on the EC-Asean agreement followed Lisbon's unsuccessful attempt to have Indonesia's human rights record formally raised by the EC at the meeting of a new international aid consortium for Indonesia which met in Paris on 16-17 July, which pledged US\$4.94bn in development aid to Indonesia.

With this fresh funding, the new aid consortium indicated that it was not tying aid to human rights. The outcome of the aid consortium meeting showed a clear gap between Portugal's stance on the East Timor issue and that of other Western countries but comments by Portuguese officials suggest that Lisbon is in no mood to be conciliatory. Foreign Minister Pinheiro told the Review that he would "never accept" any plans for a reinforced cooperation unless Jakarta "showed clearly" that it would start respecting human rights.

Portugal wants Indonesia to agree to direct UN-sponsored talks on the future of East Timor. Pinheiro said again in Brussels that the people of the territory should be allowed to decide their own future and that representatives from East Timor should be included in any negotiations.

Indonesia says it wants to restart stalled talks with Portugal under UN auspices but

accuses Portugal of shifting its ground on the issue of Timorese participation in the talks. "The Portuguese agreed to discussions with no pre-conditions and then turned round and said they wanted Timorese representatives at the talks," said Wiryono Sastrohandoyo, an official at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Officials in Jakarta are hoping the dialogue process will get a nudge in September when a European Parliament delegation - including three Portuguese delegates - is due to visit Jakarta. But there is little optimism in Jakarta about an early end to the Timor problem. "I think it will take at least another 2-3 years before East Timor will drop out of the spotlight again," said one Asian ambassador in Jakarta.

Privately, senior Indonesian officials worry that persistent criticism of Indonesia's handling of East Timor may not only damage relations with the EC. A more serious worry is that the issue could mar the upcoming summit on the Non-Aligned Movement, which Jakarta will host in September. The East Timor case is also likely to surface at the UN General Assembly session in September.

In response, Indonesia will soon take a more aggressive line in defending its East Timor policies, officials say. "There will be a change from passive posture to a more forceful, sophisticated approach," says parliamentarian Marzuki Darusman. The Foreign Minister has retained US public-relations firms Smith NcCabe and Burson Marsteller to produce an English-language brochure explaining its East Timor policy.

Despite these efforts, criticism from abroad seems unlikely to ease in the foreseeable future. Since early May, four Timorese have been convicted on subversion charges for organising anti-integration activities, receiving sentences from nine years to life. By contrast sentences of 18 months or less were given to 10 soldiers court-martialled for their involvement in the 12 November killings in Dili, the East Timor capital.

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### ASIA SECURITY TALKS THIS FALL

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Kyodo, Tokyo, July 28 - The first working-level meetings on security and politics in the Asia Pacific region will be held this fall, a top Foreign Ministry official said Tuesday.

The agreement to hold the talks was made during an annual conference of foreign ministers from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and its major trading partners in Manila, which closed Sunday.

The ASEAN nations and their seven dialogue partners will discuss political and security matters in the region, he said.

ASEAN groups the Philippines, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand, Brunei, and Singapore. Its seven trading partners are Japan, the United States, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, South Korea, and the European Community.

In the working-level meetings, one of the ASEAN member countries will represent the organization in separate talks with the seven dialogue partners, the official said.

The participants will also discuss such matters as using the Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation as a forum for political discussions, dealing with ASEAN nations' requests to the summit of seven major industrialized nations and mulling global trade talks, he said.

The meetings will be held by request if necessary, the official said.

Deputy Foreign Minister Kunihiko Saito will attend the first between Japan and Singapore as early as October, he said.

In May, Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa created a private panel to help him lay out a vision for Japan's role in Asia in the 21st century.

Miyazawa has indicated the necessity of creating a framework similar to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

In the ASEAN conference in Manila, Parliamentary Vice Foreign Minister Koji Kakizawa proposed the working-level Japan-ASEAN forum be elevated "to an occasion for wide-ranging policy dialogue on various subjects, including political and security matters."

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### EUROPEAN COMMUNITY LIMITS AID TO ASEAN

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### RAMOS-HORTA CRITICIZES PORTUGUESE PRESIDENCY OF EC

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

In a Lusa interview, José Ramos Horta was unbridled in his criticisms of the efforts of the Portuguese foreign office and government during the semester of the Portuguese EC presidency. He had words of praise, however, for the positions taken by President Soares who he said had been much more active than either PM Cavaco Silva or foreign minister de Deus Pinheiro. "On a scale of 0 to 5, I would give a 1," he added, remarking that, in recent months, de Deus Pinheiro had "spoken less and less of East Timor."



Horta said that it was incomprehensible that in the foreign office there was only one diplomat working part-time on the East Timor dossier, whereas what was needed was a team working on the question. "I blame the minister," said the Timorese representative who went on to say that he also considered it "absolutely necessary" to reinforce the staff at a number of key embassies in the EC capitals and in the US.

Other Timorese leaders here were less critical of the Portuguese performance, Abilio Araujo (FRETILIN) holding that Portugal had contributed towards "a firmer position on the part of the Twelve" and Paulo Pires (UDT) being of the opinion that "the Community has recognized that the East Timor problem must be resolved (...) and it has been putting discrete pressure on Indonesia to accept talks with Portugal on the question."

Some Portuguese opposition MPs echoed Horta's comments, however. Narana Coissoro (Christian Democrat spokesman) said. "The government has let the matter drop. The Standing Commission (on East Timor) has not functioned for some time. It has reverted to its traditional posture of silence." (Publico 12 May)

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## EC TALKS UP DEMOCRACY

IPS, Brussels, July 16 - Should the Third World open the cupboard of the British European Community (EC) presidency what could it expect to find over the next six months besides pledges of increased aid?

According to Britain's overseas development minister Linda Chalker, if they look carefully, they should find a draft for family planning policy plans and also a guarantee for EC backing for upholding democratic principles.

But they can also look out for slap on the hand if they break the bottle boldly labelled 'human rights.'

Chalker revealed what is in store for the developing countries at a European parliamentary meeting here today.

People in developing countries should be given "children by choice not by chance," Chalker said.

"Family planning is central to our aim to overcome poverty. The Roman Catholic church has become more effective in family planning and strides should be taken in the Muslim community too. Guidelines for an EC policy should be drawn up as soon as possible."

The European Commission is already preparing for a scheduled November 18 EC development ministers debate to determine its future stance on family planning programs.

A report is also being drawn up by the commission on how to go about backing those governments who are transforming to democracies, and to sanction those who consistently flout human rights.

In November 1991, the EC issued a "landmark resolution" allowing EC member states to give additional aid to help fledgling democracies and halt aid in known cases of human rights abuses. But numerous European parliamentarians have highlighted the difficulties of creating the ground rules.

"When we are talking about a democratic system, does this mean the setting up of a house of lords," asked British socialist Euro MP Terry Wynn.

Fellow British socialist, Michael McGowan felt that there was a danger of overplaying good government theory. "Sometimes we stress democracy as an excuse for not addressing a magnitude of problems like food shortages, better commodity prices and the arms trade."

Not to be drawn into a philosophical debate, Chalker however insisted that aid for good governments or removal of aid should be decided on a "case-by-case" basis - a principle already laid down in the EC November resolution.

Some Euro MPs however raised the question of partiality, saying individual EC territories might turn a blind eye to human rights abuses because of trade of historical links.

During the Portuguese presidency of the EC which ended last month, Portugal lobbied strongly, but in vain, for sanctions against Indonesia for the government's role in the Dili massacre of November 1991.

By contrast, the EC halted economic aid to Zaire for human rights abuses of a similar nature like for the Lubumbashi University massacre of May 1990.

But Chalker insisted that this was not a case of double standards. "We have expressed our serious concern over the situation in Indonesia and will be issuing a statement on human rights in the country to coincide with the World Bank consortium meeting on July 17," she said.

In its witch hunt against wasteful EC spending, the British presidency also intends to improve on how funds are disbursed.

A recently published self-critical paper looking at EC development policy to the year 2000, says that the community's development funds are not hitting the intended target - that is, it is not being put to the best use in the developing countries.

The EC has set aside some 3.5 billion European currency units (\$4.5 billion) per annum on development aid.

"We are very conscious of the need for the best value for money for developing countries," said Chalker.

Some European parliamentarians are however disappointed that debt relief measures do not feature on the British presidency's agenda.

"The UK presidency of the EC provides an opportunity to press for more comprehensive and wide-ranging debt relief measures," said a representative of Oxfam, a British non-governmental organization (NGO).

"In Oxfam's view the EC should now press for full implementation of the original Trinidad terms."

The 1990 Trinidad terms, named after the Caribbean island where British Prime Minister John Major, then chancellor of the exchequer, called on a two-third write off of developing countries' debt relief at a stroke of the pen.

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## PORTUGAL BUCKS E.C. ON TIMOR

DPA, Lisbon, July 17 - Portugal said Friday it is going to block a proposed cooperation agreement between the European Community and ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) on account of its conflict with Indonesia over East Timor.

The five-year agreement was due to be signed Monday at a session of E.C. foreign ministers.

A foreign ministry spokesman said Portugal was willing to make separate agreements with individual ASEAN members but not with Indonesia which took possession of East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, in 1975.

The annexation was never internationally recognized and Portugal has accused Indonesia of carrying out several massacres among the population.

"Portugal is not going to sign an agreement with a country which does not respect human rights," said spokesman Fernando Balsinha.

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## PORTUGAL BLOCKS EC-ASEAN DEAL OVER EAST TIMOR

(Reuter, Brussels, 20 July) Portugal on Monday blocked a European Community cooperation agreement with six southeast Asian states in protest at the killing of demonstrators in the former Portuguese colony of East Timor.

Community foreign ministers abruptly dropped their discussion of a planned cooperation accord with the ASEAN after a

passionate speech by Portuguese Foreign Minister, Joao de Deus Pinheiro.

Deus Pinheiro, addressing his colleagues in restricted session during the General Affairs Council, launched what one participant called an impressive appeal in which he listed atrocities allegedly committed in East Timor.

"There was complete silence when he had finished speaking," he said, adding that ministers then simply dropped the matter without further debate.

Portuguese officials said before the talks that the EC had many times stressed the link between cooperation agreements with non-EC countries and the latter's respect for human rights.

The Portuguese intervention in the debate came after Commissioner Abel Matutes outlined the proposed mandate for concluding a cooperation with ASEAN which groups Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore Thailand, and Brunei.

Ministers said the matter would go back on the agenda for debate when foreign ministers meet again after the summer recess.

The Portuguese officials said Lisbon wanted Indonesia to release East Timorese political prisoners and to condemn what they called the massacre in November last year of East Timorese who were protesting at a cemetery over the killing of other demonstrators.

AFP, Brussels, July 20 - Portugal prevented its European Community partners on Monday from carrying on negotiations on a new cooperation agreement with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), diplomatic sources said here.

At a meeting of E.C. foreign ministers, Portuguese minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro pointed to what he termed Indonesia's non-observance of human rights in East Timor in explaining Portugal's stand.

A Portuguese spokesman commented, "Since 1991, the European Community has made a clear connection between human rights and signature of cooperation agreements. Moreover, it has condemned Indonesia at the United Nations because of the situation in Timor."

Portugal wants the E.C. to ask Indonesia to show some accommodation in the matter, for instance, by releasing the political prisoners in Timor. East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 and then annexed.

On Monday, Portugal suggested to its partners that the community should conclude bilateral agreements with the other ASEAN members: Malaysia, Thailand, the Philippines, Singapore and Brunei.

An E.C.-ASEAN meeting is scheduled for Manila July 24-26. But diplomatic sources commented that the agenda, which called for negotiations on renewal and strengthening of the cooperation agreement between the two sides that has existed since 1980, could not be followed.

Reuter, Brussels, July 20 - Portugal blocked a European Community cooperation agreement with six southeast Asian states on Monday in protest at the killing of demonstrators in its former colony of East Timor.

EC foreign ministers abruptly dropped their discussion of a planned accord with the Association of South-East Asian Nations (ASEAN) after Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro made a speech listing alleged atrocities in East Timor.

"There was complete silence when he had finished speaking," one participant in the meeting said, adding that ministers simply dropped the matter without further debate.

The Portuguese intervention came after EC Commissioner Abel Matutes outlined the proposed mandate for concluding a cooperation agreement with ASEAN, which groups Indonesia, the Philippines, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand and Brunei.

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Portuguese officials said Lisbon wanted Indonesia to release East Timor political prisoners and condemn the killing last November of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor.

DPA, Brussels, July 20 - Portugal has blocked a new European Community cooperation agreement with six Southeast Asian countries because of Indonesia's human rights record.

Portugal's Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro told his 11 E.C. colleagues at a meeting in Brussels Monday that Portugal was unwilling to sign a new deal with the Association of Southeast Nations (ASEAN) unless Jakarta agreed to hold bilateral talks with Lisbon on improving human rights.

An E.C. spokeswoman said the European Commission "regretted" Portugal's decision to hold up the planned E.C.-ASEAN agreement.

"The new agreement we are proposing will include a human rights clause," she said, adding that such a provision would have given the E.C. "more power and influence" in Asia.

## PORTUGAL'S CONDITIONS ON EC/ASEAN ACCORD

Reuter, Manila, July 25 - Portugal said on Saturday it would approve an economic agreement between ASEAN and the European Community only if Indonesia changed its policy towards East Timor.

"Indonesia invaded East Timor. They created the problem," Portuguese secretary of state for foreign affairs José Durao Barroso said when asked why Portugal refused to approve the accord.

"We think that Indonesia does not respect human rights," Barroso told reporters, adding Portugal cannot approve a new agreement with ASEAN "unless there is a fundamental change in Indonesia's policy over East Timor."

The agreement was scheduled to be approved in October by the EC and economic ministers of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

It defines the framework of future economic relations between the EC and the ASEAN states, which include Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei and the Philippines.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed the predominantly Roman Catholic island in 1976.

Delia Albert, in charge of ASEAN affairs at the Philippine foreign ministry, has described the dispute over East Timor as a bilateral matter between Lisbon and Jakarta that should not block a new accord.

But Durao Barroso said the issue is "not a bilateral question" and concerns EC policy on "human rights, democracy and development."

Portugal has strongly condemned a massacre of protesters in East Timor last November in which Indonesia said 50 people died while independent observers placed the death toll at 180.

British Foreign Minister Douglas Hurd, whose country currently chairs the EC, met his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas on Friday and told him the agreement will not be approved until Portugal lifts its objections, diplomats said.

UPI, Manila, Martin Abbugao, July 25 - ASEAN foreign ministers said Saturday they were disappointed human rights complaints had scuttled a major economic agreement with the European Community, but remained hopeful the treaty could still be completed.

Foreign ministers from both regions said the proposed ASEAN-EC Cooperation Agreement, which would replace an out-

dated 1980 pact, was vital to expanding trade and other economic links.

Portugal derailed the proposed agreement July 20, refusing to enter into the deal with ASEAN in protest of alleged human rights abuses in Indonesia, which is one of six ASEAN members.

"Indonesia invaded East Timor," Portuguese Secretary of State José Barroso said Saturday. "They created the problem. They have to explain it to their colleagues in ASEAN.

"We will not accept an agreement with ASEAN until Indonesia makes some fundamental changes in its policies over East Timor."

Portugal alleges some 100,000 people have been massacred in East Timor since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese territory in 1976.

The protest underlines a growing rift between ASEAN and its major economic partners in the West over the issue of human rights.

In talks earlier this week, the group's seven biggest trading partners said they would increasingly link economic aid to human rights records in recipient countries, directly contradicting the official ASEAN position.

The emerging democracies of ASEAN, which groups Brunei, Malaysia, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore, insist such restrictions violated their cultural integrity.

The group maintained Saturday it would resist the prodding of Western countries to publicly pressure Burma on its alleged human rights abuses and said it was satisfied the military regime in Rangoon was the country's legitimate government.

ASEAN ministers said they made no progress on reviving talks on the proposed economic agreement during meetings Saturday with British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd, whose country holds the presidency of the EC, and EC Commissioner Abel Matutes.

Despite the impasse, Philippine Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus said he hoped the proposed agreement could be signed during an ASEAN-EC meeting scheduled to be held in Manila in October.

ASEAN "deeply regrets this development, after both sides have long worked towards the conclusion of a new cooperation agreement," he said. "Despite our disappointment, ASEAN continues to hope that a new agreement will be negotiated soon."

Trade between EC and ASEAN, the world's fastest growing region, has continually expanded, reaching an all-time high in 1991 of more than \$50 billion.

## PORTUGAL WILL BLOCK FURTHER AID

Kyodo, Manila, July 25 - Portugal said Saturday it will keep blocking a new Europe-Southeast Asia cooperation agreement unless Indonesia makes "substantial changes" in its policy on East Timor.

A top Portuguese official said Jakarta's policies on East Timor, a former Portuguese colony where Indonesian troops gunned down demonstrators last fall, is a sticking point in cooperation between the European Community (EC) and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

"We have nothing against ASEAN," José Durao Barroso, Portugal's secretary of state for foreign affairs and cooperation, told a press conference. "But we have strong reservations against Indonesia because of the policy of Indonesia towards East Timor."

Witnesses said more than 100 people died after soldiers fired on unarmed mourners at a procession in November in East Timor's capital of Dili. Jakarta says soldiers were provoked by an unruly mob and that 50 died and 90 remain missing.

The incident and subsequent arrests and convictions of demonstrators provoked an international outcry, which Indonesia has angrily rejected as intrusion in its domestic affairs.

At Saturday's press conference, British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said the EC cannot overrule Lisbon's opposition as the 12-nation grouping operates on the basis of consensus.

But despite the snag over the new agreement, Hurd said, cooperation between the two regional blocs, whose two-way trade last year totaled 50 billion dollars, will continue under a 12-year-old agreement.

EC foreign ministers put off a decision last Monday on a draft for the new ASEAN-EC cooperation agreement because "the issue of the respect of human rights in East Timor was raised," Hurd said.

Barroso said Portugal was the only state to speak out in "very strong terms" against the proposal but insisted that "the Portuguese position has a great understanding of most European states."

Indonesia seized East Timor in 1975 after its Portuguese colonial rulers left and the next year annexed the area in a move not internationally recognized.

During the ASEAN-EC talks, Philippine Foreign Secretary Raul Manglapus expressed ASEAN's disappointment over the EC's failure to reach a decision on the issue.

"We deeply regret this development, after both sides have long worked towards the conclusion of a new cooperation agreement," he said at the start of the meeting.

Manglapus said ASEAN hopes the new ASEAN-EC agreement will be signed in October when representatives of the two groups meet in Manila.

## ALATAS REGRETS EC DELAY OF ASEAN TALKS

Manila, July 25 (OANA-ANTARA) - Indonesia and the other fellow member countries of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) regretted the decision of the European Community (EC) to postpone the talks on renewal of the ASEAN-EC cooperation merely because Portugal objected, Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas said here Friday night.

Speaking to Indonesian journalists, Alatas pointed out that even if there was a problem between Portugal and Indonesia, it was a bilateral matter supposed to be apart from the ASEAN-EC context.

Alatas also confirmed that Portugal [word indistinct] its approval of formal negotiations with ASEAN as there were some quarters in the former master of East Timor which could not justify certain conditions in Indonesia.

Reliable sources at a bilateral meeting between British External Affairs Minister Douglas Hurd and Alatas on Friday morning said the Portuguese "veto" on a new ASEAN-EC cooperation agreement was due to what Portugal termed as violations of human rights in its former colony.

At a meeting scheduled in Manila on October 28, ASEAN economic ministers will discuss a new ASEAN-EC accord with their counterparts from the 12 EC member countries.

"We regret and do not understand the EC attitude," Alatas said, at the same time questioning the linking of multilateral cooperation with bilateral issues.

Another surprising thing was that the EC could be "paralyzed" by a country like Portugal, said Alatas, adding that like ASEAN, the EC now tended to make decisions on a consensus basis.

Referring to his meeting with Hurd, Alatas admitted there were still some temporary difficulties in the issue.

"But this does not mean that the EC lacks interest in closer relations with ASEAN. On the other hand, the EC sees its cooperation with ASEAN as important," Alatas said quoting Hurd as saying.

In the meantime, Alatas said the regret was a common stand among all the ASEAN member countries, which was among other things reflected in Malaysian Foreign Minister Abdullah Badawi's recent statement that "we hope the EC would not

allow Portugal to obstruct efforts at a wider ASEAN-EC cooperation.”

Alatas said the matter was a new development, but within that context the ASEAN still could not agree with the linking of bilateral matters with its cooperation with the EC.

Indonesia, he pointed out, was always ready if Portugal raised its bilateral question with Indonesia within the ASEAN-EC context.

“If Portugal or the EC start pointing to the domestic affairs of an ASEAN member country, in this case Indonesia, we also can do the same thing for instance with the Basque question in Spain, New Caledonia with France, or Northern Ireland with Britain, he said.

And if this happened, it would be a sure thing that the ASEAN-EC cooperation would be “finished,” he added.

He further stated that the talks on the issue would obviously be taken up during the dialogue of six plus one (ASEAN-EC) under the coordination of Philippines Foreign Minister Raul Manglapus on Saturday.

Referring to the prospect of the ASEAN-EC cooperation, Alatas said in case no new accord has been established, both parties may extend the agreement concluded in 1990 by the time it expired.

He added that it would be more favorable for both sides to establish a new accord as it would contain the latest issues such as the environment, drug trafficking, and others.

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### EC ‘SALVAGING’ ASEAN PACT?

Reuter, Kuala Lumpur, July 28 - British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said on Tuesday the European Community (EC) and ASEAN states should make better use of their existing economic agreement following Portugal’s veto of a new pact.

“What we can do now is to make better use of the existing economic agreement (signed in 1980),” he told reporters on arrival in Kuala Lumpur for a two-day visit.

Hurd, whose country chairs the Community, described the new pact as “a perfectly good agreement.”

He added: “The possibility of signing the agreement has been blocked for the time being. There was no consensus...no unanimity by EC members. It’s a pity, we’ll have to wait.”

ASEAN, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations, groups Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

Portugal said it would not approve the new agreement unless Indonesia changed its policy towards East Timor. Indonesian

soldiers massacred scores of protesters last November in the former Portuguese colony, which Jakarta annexed in 1976.

Diplomats said the delay in signing the agreement could put pressure on Indonesia to improve its human rights record but added that the move would not be initiated by ASEAN.

“ASEAN will view that situation as a bilateral problem between Portugal and Indonesia and not one concerning ASEAN members,” said a Malaysian diplomat who attended last week’s ASEAN foreign ministers’ meeting in Manila.

Hurd will meet Prime Minister Mahathir Mohamad, Finance Minister Anwar Ibrahim and Defence Minister Najib Razak.

He said his visit would strengthen the “good friendship” between the two countries. In the past Malaysia had launched a “Buy British Last” campaign in protest at Britain’s decision to raise tuition fees for foreign students.

“Trade between us had doubled, thanks to Malaysia’s economic growth. Our links will grow stronger,” Hurd said.

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### MORE ‘CONDITIONALITY’ COMING?

IPS, Manila, July 29 - Sharp disagreements over human rights in recent talks between the Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) and major Western nations were a fresh reminder for developing countries that the world’s aid donors were becoming more and more conditionality-minded.

The most pointed exchanges during last week’s meetings between the ASEAN foreign ministers and their counterparts from seven rich countries were over Burma and Indonesia.

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said that, given the military regime’s dismal human rights record, the U.N. General Assembly should repeat its resolution last year censuring Burma, which now calls itself “Myanmar.”

“We should all do what we can to... try and effectuate change there,” Baker said.

In contrast, Thai Foreign Minister Arsa Sarasin said recent releases of political prisoners by Rangoon and the loosening of restrictions on opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi were “positive developments.”

“I think things are going in the right direction,” he said, adding that ASEAN would continue its policy of ‘constructive engagement’ with Rangoon.

For ASEAN, much closer to home was the case of Indonesia, which came under worldwide criticism after Indonesian army troops last year fired on demonstrators in

East Timor, a former Portuguese colony until it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976.

A member of the European Community (EC), Portugal vetoed a new economic cooperation agreement now under negotiation between the EC and ASEAN.

In Manila, Portuguese Deputy Foreign Minister J.M. Durao-Barroso said Lisbon would not withdraw its opposition to the new treaty – which is meant to replace a 1980 pact – until Jakarta undertakes “fundamental changes” in its current policy towards East Timor.

Since the Indonesians are not expected to oblige the Portuguese, the new ASEAN-EC economic agreement is likely to be frozen for some time.

So far, the Indonesians have kept international outrage over the East Timor massacre from harming its efforts to secure foreign aid. In mid-July, Jakarta got aid pledges worth \$4.75 billion from a new consortium of international aid donors chaired by the World Bank.

This consortium replaces the Inter-governmental Group on Indonesia, an aid coalition chaired by the Netherlands. Jakarta abandoned the group after the Dutch suspended their aid program to Indonesia because of the East Timor killings. The new consortium raised no human rights conditionalities.

Indeed, opinion among donor governments and agencies on the wisdom of tying human rights to aid programs is far from unanimous.

Britain, which has assumed the EC presidency, and the European Commission are said to be unhappy about Portugal’s stand against a new ASEAN-EC agreement.

British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd was at pains to stress that the EC was not out to impose its values on human rights, but rather was seeking common understanding on “share values” as spelled out by the United Nations’ Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

Still, EC Commissioner Abel Matutes warned the community was “more and more linking the issue of human rights to cooperation” (meaning, development aid) with developing countries.

As Durao-Barroso stressed, linking human rights with development assistance was a community policy stated in a policy declaration by the EC council’s in November 1991.

But while the Europeans are perhaps the most emphatic in raising human rights, they are not the only ones. Nor are human rights the only concern being raised by aid donors.

Both the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank have been talking of the need for developing countries to slash

military budgets to free more resources for basic needs like education and health.

This has fed fears that the Bretton Woods institutions may eventually make arms reductions a condition for lending to developing countries in the future.

One of the more prominent advocates of this arms-for-aid linkage is former World Bank president Robert McNamara who said such a policy should be an essential part of the post-cold war international order.

In its 1990 Human Development Report, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) urged that the ratio of military to social expenditure should be one of the criteria for external assistance.

The countries most at risk under such a policy would be South Asian giants of India and Pakistan, which both face massive poverty problems and maintain fat defense budgets.

At odds since independence from British rule, both countries are among the world's biggest arms buyers, spending much more on the military than on hospitals and schools.

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## **UN DECOLONIZATION HEARING IN NEW YORK**

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### **INDONESIAN OCCUPATION OF EAST TIMOR CONDEMNED BEFORE UN COMMITTEE**

*By John M. Miller for the Portuguese  
American Journal*

In a day of testimony before the United Nations' special committee on decolonization, speakers repeatedly condemned Indonesia's occupation of East Timor. The committee heard moving testimony from eyewitnesses to the November 12 Santa Cruz massacre in which up to 200 Timorese died. Groups testifying included Timor support groups from Australia, Europe and North America and Timorese political parties. All actively called on the UN to take the initiative in ending human rights violations and promoting self-determination for the Portuguese colony.

The hearing began dramatically on July 27 as José Ramos Horta, Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (CNRM), told the committee that instead of reading his own testimony he would read a message to the committee from Xanana Gusmao, the head of CNRM and the commander of FALINTIL, the Timorese guerrilla army. The message had arrived only a few days before from East Timor.

Xanana's message evoked many of the themes that would characterize the testimony that followed. The changing international situation, "a historical whirlwind," was setting the stage for achieving the United Nations' objective of eradicating colonialism by the year 2000. The November 12 massacre had "jolted the international conscience" and revealed the brutal nature of Indonesian rule.

"Totalitarian regimes are now on the path toward full respect for fundamental freedoms," he said. Sanctions against Iraq and Libya "suggest that the universal concept of justice should breach national boundaries." Resolutions on Yugoslavia show "that the universal principles of self-determination should prevail... in all latitudes and in all circumstances." Namibia's achievement of independence demonstrated that even long-standing problems could be resolved.

Concretely, Xanana urged that relevant UN resolutions, both those specific to East Timor and those more generally applicable, be fully obeyed. He stressed that the future status of East Timor be decided by the East Timorese people in an internationally recognized act of self-determination. Xanana called for a dialogue "without pre-conditions" between all parties to the conflict: Portugal, Indonesia and the East Timorese. The exact form of Timorese participation in the talks could be worked out, but Bishop Belo and the local Catholic Church would be involved. He said that strong roles for the UN and Portugal, as the administering power, were essential to the success of the peace process.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, soon after it had declared independence. Its larger neighbor annexed the half-island the next year. The UN continues to recognize Portugal as the administering power, and three members of parliament from Portugal spoke before the committee. Since 1979, Portugal has informed the Secretary-General that it is unable to fulfill its obligations as administering power because of the Indonesian occupation.

Indonesia, in a letter to the chair of the committee, objected to the entire hearing. The letter said that "the process of decolonization in East Timor has been carried out in conformity" with UN principles. This view was strongly rejected by many at the hearing. Vicente da Silva Guterres of the Uniao Democratica Timorese (UDT) said that the request for integration with Indonesia by four Timorese parties "did not have any legitimacy!" The members of the UDT that signed the request did so without any authority from the party and were formally expelled. Guterres like most of the those testifying reiterated the CNRM call

for Indonesian military withdrawal, the active involvement of the UN and its agency in the territory and an eventual vote of the Timorese people on their political status.

Indonesia's massive human rights violations were highlighted during the hearing. Asia Watch and Amnesty International outlined their findings of escalating human rights violations. In recent years, Indonesia has sought to repress younger Timorese who have taken up the cause of independence. All who testified noted the light sentences given to a handful of soldiers involved in the Santa Cruz massacre, while those who gave the orders to shoot are free. Meanwhile, pro-independence demonstrators, including survivors of the massacre, have received sentences as long as life in prison.

Alan Nairn and Amy Goodman, two American journalists who witnessed the November 12 massacre, told their stories to the committee. Nairn called Indonesia's actions that day "a cold blooded execution." Far from being an exceptional event, the massacre's significance comes from the fact that journalists witnessed the event and videotape of it was shown around the world.

Li-Lien Gibbons – whose step-brother Kamal Bamadhaj was allowed to bleed to death after being shot November 21st – told the committee. "I am not here because Kamal is any more or less important than any other victim. But I can speak before this committee without putting other members of my family at risk. East Timorese can not." Bamadhaj was Malaysian with New Zealand citizenship.

Indonesian government investigations of the massacre were widely condemned. Statements by Indonesian generals typify the military's attitude toward Timorese rights. In early July, Major-General Mantiri, recently installed as commander of the region that includes Timor, said "We don't regret anything. What happened was quite proper....They were opposing us, demonstrating....To me that is identical with rebellion, so that's why we took firm action."

Those testifying repeatedly urged the UN to release the report of S. Amos Wako, who as special representative of the Secretary-General, visited Timor in February of this year to investigate the events surrounding the massacre. Up to now, Wako has only reported privately to the Secretary-General.

Spokespeople for East Timor support groups from Britain, Canada, the U.S. and Australia strongly condemned their own governments' support for Indonesia. However, Charles Scheiner of the East Timor Action Network/US told the committee of the House of Representatives' recent deci-

sion to cut military training aid and the resolution by the US Conference of Mayors urging Congress and the President to "assist in the resolution of the conflict, providing for the self-determination of East Timor." Scheiner reminded the committee that "the views conveyed by the Bush administration do not always accurately reflect what is happening in this country."

After speaking before the committee, Guido Orlando de Freitas Rodrigues, a member of the Portuguese parliament from the ruling Social Democratic Party, told the Portuguese-American Journal that now that Portugal no longer held the presidency of the European Community it would take "more powerful action in order to force negotiations" with Indonesia on the future of East Timor. He cited the vote blocking EC negotiations with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations on a new cooperation agreement as evidence of Portugal's new resolve on the issue.

Rodrigues said his government was awaiting Indonesia's response to its proposal to begin negotiations without preconditions before determining its next steps. However, Ramos Horta, speaking to activists after the hearing, said that Portugal had not done enough to prepare to block possible Indonesian initiatives on East Timor at either September's meeting in Jakarta of the movement of non-aligned nations or this fall's session of the UN General Assembly. East Timor was first placed on the decolonization committee's agenda in 1960. The committee itself has little power, but the information it gathers is used by the Secretary-General and other UN bodies.

#### **LIST OF UN COMMITTEE ON DECOLONISATION EAST TIMOR PETITIONERS, 27 JUNE 1992**

Morning:

1. José Ramos Horta, National Council of Maubere Resistance (reading statement from Xanana Gusmao)
2. Victoria Forbes Adam, Amnesty International
3. Liem Soei Liong, Tapol
4. Douglas MacGregor, Hobart East Timor Committee
5. Charles Scheiner, ETAN-US
6. Sidney Jones, Asia Watch
7. Kan Akatani, Japanese Catholic Council of Justice and Peace; Free East Timor Japan Coalition
8. Richard Koch, Netherlands East Timor Action Group and Commite Indonesia
9. Vanessa Ramos, American Association of Jurists
10. Russell Rollason, Australian Council For Overseas Aid

afternoon:

11. Roger Clark, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor
  12. Alex Robinson, British Coalition for East Timor; East Timor Ireland Solidarity Campaign
  13. Eleanor Hoffman, WESPAC
  14. Li-Lien Gibbons, ETAN Canada and Parliamentarians for East Timor
  15. Amy Goodman, journalist
  16. Allan Nairn, journalist
  17. Joao Rui Gaspar de Almeida, Partido Socialista Portugues
  18. Guido Orlando de Freitas Rodrigues, Partido Democratica e Social
  19. Miguel Tavares Rodrigues, Partido Comunista Portugues
  20. Thomas Mahedy, Pax Christi International
  21. Vicente da Silva Guterres, Uniao Democratica Timorese
- Morning, 28 July 1992
22. José Luis Guterres, FRETILIN
  23. Ken Simons, War Resisters' International

#### **TAPOL STATEMENT TO DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE**

*The following the full text of the statement submitted to the UN Decolonisation Committee (Committee of 24) in New York on Monday, 27 July 1992 by Liem Soei Liong, on behalf of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign:*

Mr. Chairman and honourable members,

On behalf of TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, I thank you for the opportunity to petition your Committee about East Timor. Our organisation has followed events in East Timor since the Indonesian invasion of 1975. I would like to make an assessment of recent developments in East Timor, in particular since the Santa Cruz Massacre of 12 November.

#### **The international outcry and its impact on the Jakarta Government**

The massacre in Santa Cruz was not an 'incident,' as the Indonesian authorities claim, but part of a history of mass killings in East Timor. It was the presence of foreign journalists and a British cameraman when Indonesian soldiers opened fire on a defenceless crowd that made all the difference. The Suharto government, which has one of the worst human rights records, faced an unprecedented wave of protests.

Also unprecedented was President Suharto's decision to set up two commissions: a National Inquiry Commission and a Military Inquiry Commission. The commissions were created for two reasons, to resist

strong demands for an independent inquiry by convincing world opinion that the matter was being taken seriously; and to use the tragedy to 'clean out the stable' by adjusting policies, punishing and replacing military personnel, and so on. It is well known that Suharto's policies in East Timor had been encountering opposition at army headquarters for some time. Suharto's efforts at damage limitation resulted in several governments welcoming the measures as "credible," "evenhanded" and "encouraging."

Nothing could be further from the truth. The preliminary report of the National Inquiry Commission (KPN) served to deny access to an international inquiry into the killings. Members of the Commission which was led by a retired general hardly spoke with the victims. A deep-rooted fear among the Timorese would have made it impossible even for a genuinely Indonesian commission to get at the truth. The KPN ignored graphic evidence in the film, *Cold Blood* and statements by foreign eyewitnesses, Allan Nairn, Amy Goodman, Max Stahl and Russell Anderson.

Jakarta's 'evenhandedness' meant that both peaceful Timorese demonstrators and Indonesian military were tried. Timorese students demonstrating in Jakarta a week after the massacre were sentenced to up to 10 years; Timorese tried in Dili for participating in the 12 November memorial procession got from 6 years to life. In contrast, responsible military commanders were 'punished' by being sent to the US for further studies while low-ranking soldiers who admitted to shooting at the innocent crowd received sentences averaging less than one year.

Mr. Chairman and honourable members,

In this post Cold War period, the role of the UN has been greatly enhanced. We therefore welcomed the initiative of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to send Dr. Amos Wako as his special representative to Indonesia and East Timor in February and to talk to people on the spot. We look forward to publication of Dr Wako's report in the belief that it will contribute to a proper understanding of the real situation in East Timor.

Regarding the Wako visit we must draw your attention to grave restrictions. Although official visits to East Timor are routinely stage-managed, the Wako visit was unique. The newly appointed commander of East Timor, Brig. General Theo Syafei treated the visit as a test case. No effort was spared to control the entire region. Several layers of military patrols were stationed round Dr. Wako's hotel to prevent anyone approaching him. The Jakarta-based Legal Aid Institute (LBH) reports:

“... repressive measures were taken. The local apparatus arrested and detained about 120 youngsters who had previously been held in connection with the 12 November 1991 event. The arrested youngsters were ‘invited’ by their respective village head and the local army NCO to attend compulsory courses. The invitation told them to bring enough clothes for several days. In fact, they were taken to the KODIM (Military Subdistrict Command) and told to sign statements that they would make no attempt to meet Amos Wako. According to a witness who met them, the 120 youngsters were then taken to the barracks of Infantry Battalion 744 in Taibessi, Dili and split into 3 groups of 40. Nobody was allowed to meet them. Then, on 15 February, they were taken for several days to Same sub-district, about 100 kms from Dili.”

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei boasts of being a hardliner and blames his predecessor, General Warouw, for being too soft on the Timorese. This same Theo Syafei has warned the Timorese that if a demonstration like the one on 12 November were to happen during his commandership, there would probably be even more casualties.

The other newly installed commander is Major-General Mantiri, responsible for the Nusa Tenggara region which includes East Timor, has also shown the true face of the Indonesian army. In a recent interview he said of the Santa Cruz massacre:

“...We don’t regret anything. What happened was quite proper. As military this is so. They were opposing us, demonstrating, even yelling things against the government. To me that is identical with rebellion, so that’s why we took firm action.”

Last week the Indonesian army revised its casualty figure for the Santa Cruz massacre. The official number of dead is now said to be 19 (the figure first given by General Try Sutrisno but later dismissed as ‘too low’ by the KPN); 31 of the 115 ‘missing’ persons have now allegedly been found ‘alive and well,’ leaving a total of 66 persons ‘unaccounted for.’ Who do the Indonesians think they can fool with such concoctions? Why has the army still failed to produce the name of a single victim? Why have no bereaved families been able to bury their loved ones? And, as if to mock the grieving Timorese, Brig. Gen. Syafei said on 20 July that he hopes all the 66 are dead.

Mr. Chairman,

TAPOL has made statements to this committee on many occasions primarily to inform this august body about the military situation in East Timor. We want to continue this tradition.

Ever since the Indonesian invasion in 1975, East Timor has been run like a mili-

tary operation. A special military structure was designed with a direct line of command to military headquarters in Jakarta. In June this year, Brig. General Theo Syafei announced that changes would be likely to occur in East Timor in September when combat troops would be withdrawn and the special military structure Kolakops would be dissolved. Let us take a closer look at the so-called demilitarisation of East Timor.

Firstly, the withdrawal of combat troops. Anybody familiar with the 16-year history of East Timor’s occupation knows that the major, traditional battles between ABRI (the Indonesian armed forces) and Falintil (the armed wing of the East Timorese resistance) took place from 1975 to 1978. ABRI, superior in weaponry and the number of men under arms, gradually took control of large parts of the country. Falintil adjusted its strategy and diversified into small guerrilla units, while ABRI’s role became increasingly territorial, to control the majority of the population in the cities and resettlement camps. The entire eighties was taken up by a huge territorial effort by the army to pacify the East Timorese. Commander Theo Syafei has said in recent interviews that the main security threat is not the small, roaming guerrilla units but the expanding anti-colonial movement among young East Timorese. The withdrawal of combat troops only highlights this strategy but it does not mean that armed resistance has ceased to be a threat. Only this month, Brig. General Syafei admitted that between 7 and 10 clashes occur every month.

The withdrawal of some combat units from East Timor should also be assessed against the background of increased guerrilla activities in Aceh and West Papua, the two other trouble-spots for Jakarta. General Edi Sudradjat, the army chief-of-staff, has warned that insurrections in these three areas are an obstacle to economic development:

“That’s why all kinds of separatist movements led by any group of extremists that want to divide the unity of the Indonesian Republic must be wiped out”

In recent months, territorial operations have been reinforced by a huge increase in the number territorial troops in the area. In trouble spots such as the villages around Dili, as many as five platoons have been stationed in each village. As with combat troops, territorial troops from all parts of Indonesia are usually stationed for between 6 months and 2 years.

Should Falintil step up guerilla activities, army head-quarters can always dispatch KOSTRAD rapid deployment forces which have two combat-ready battalions in Java. The new territorial strategy is explained in a paper, “Perspectives for territorial opera-

tions in the development of human resources in East Timor” by the Kolakops commander, Theo Syafei.

Implicitly, the paper admits that they have lost the hearts and minds of the youth and see the short- and medium-term task as being to create a sense of security - in other words, protecting the population from pro-independence elements. Another task is to create cadres, in other words, to make Indonesians out of the East Timorese, and to establish desa binaan (guided villages), in other words, villages with a heavy presence of territorial soldiers, controlling and indoctrinating the villagers. General Syafei said that he would take four approaches: persuasive, educational, preventive and repressive:

“To implement persuasive and educational methods, a certain supportive condition is needed to help villagers develop their village wholeheartedly and with full concentration. Therefore, preventive measures will be taken, including setting up security posts, patrols and compulsory night-watches. These measures are intended not to frighten the population but protect them and allow justice to prevail. These measures will also be taken against foreign visitors who use the hospitality of the East Timorese to spread issues and vilify East Timor

The dissolution of KOLAKOPS is a cosmetic measure. Even without a formal structure, East Timor will continue to be a special military project for the army. Strong emphasis on the territorial structure will minimise the use of special command units; in emergencies Brig. General Theo Syafei will be able to rely on special combat units from Java.

Mr. Chairman and honourable members,

Much has changed in the world today, good things as well as bad things. So it is with East Timor. The tragic events in Santa Cruz had a positive result by bringing East Timor onto the international agenda. Far more people realise that a political solution for East Timor is crucial. As East Timorese say, wherever they are - in East Timor, in Indonesia or in exile in Australia and Portugal - peace negotiations are long overdue. It is for the international community, the United Nations, to take the initiative and bring the parties concerned to the negotiating table. The Timorese resistance is prepared to talk with the Indonesians without preconditions, in the international spirit of today, an offer the Indonesians cannot reject. We are convinced that this Committee will take the important step of advising the Secretary General to accelerate this peace process.

Thank you.

## ETAN/US STATEMENT TO DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE

*Presented by Charles Scheiner, full text.*

Mr. Chairman, distinguished members of the committee and guests, my name is Charles Scheiner, and I am coordinator of the East Timor Action Network / United States. ETAN/US is grateful for the opportunity to speak with you today, and for your continued attention to the situation in East Timor. We will try not to repeat others' statements, but to supplement them.

The East Timor Action Network was formed at the beginning of this year. Several of us had been aware of the ongoing tragedy of East Timor, but despaired that people there would ever be allowed to determine their own political future. We were shaken and moved by the horrendous Santa Cruz massacre in Dili last November 12. In a manner never seen before, there were foreign witnesses and videotape to document the inhuman brutality of the Indonesian military for the outside world. If East Timor was ever to be free of Jakarta's oppression, the time to act was now.

We created the East Timor Action Network/U.S. as a grassroots movement to help change American, international, and ultimately Indonesian policy on East Timor. We hope that the Special Committee on Decolonization and the other organs of United Nations share our understanding that the present moment carries both opportunity and responsibility. We urge you to act now to support human rights and self-determination for the East Timorese people, and not to prolong their 17 years of suffering and struggle. ETAN struck a chord in the United States: in six months we have local chapters in a dozen cities, and several hundred members in more than half of the fifty states.

Members of the United States Congress, continuing their record of concern for East Timor, are taking unprecedented action. In November and December, both houses passed strong resolutions against human rights violations in East Timor, and 52 Senators signed a letter to President Bush initiated by Republican Malcolm Wallop, urging the President to seek a diplomatic resolution of the situation. In May, Representative Tony Hall and other Congresspeople from both parties introduced H.R.5176, which would suspend military and economic aid, arms sales, and trade preferences to Indonesia until it allows human rights observers into East Timor and complies with U.N. resolutions requiring military withdrawal and a plebiscite for self-determination.

On June 25, the House of Representatives unanimously voted to terminate U.S. military training for the Indonesian armed forces under the International Military Education and Training (IMET) program, which has trained more than 2,600 Indonesian officers since 1975. Under IMET, roughly 150 Indonesian officers have attended U.S. war colleges every year. The U.S. Senate will soon act on the IMET cut, and may well take even stronger action to protest ongoing repression in East Timor.

Although last month's vote is the first time the U.S. Congress has cut aid to Indonesia, it builds on a long history of bipartisan Congressional concern. That concern continues to expand; in fact, several Representatives took the floor during the discussion of the IMET suspension to warn Indonesia that this is only the beginning.

On June 21, the United States Conference of Mayors (which includes the chief executives of every city in the United States) passed a resolution on human rights in East Timor, urging the President and Congress to support General Assembly action to "assist in the resolution of the conflict, providing for the self-determination of the Timorese people."

I go into detail on developments in the United States because the views conveyed by President Bush's administration to the international community do not always accurately reflect what is happening in this country. Although Undersecretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz referred to the "unfinished business" of the Santa Cruz massacre during his recent visit to Jakarta, Americans have the uneasy feeling that the White House and the Pentagon are reluctant to strongly pressure Indonesia to resolve the situation. We look hopefully toward the upcoming election in the United States, but we hope that your Committee will not wait until then to take action.

Mr. Chairman, I am not going to give you a long list of recommendations from the East Timor Action Network. We concur with the suggestions from other NGO's that the report of Special Envoy Amos Wako be released and that the Secretary-General facilitate negotiations including Indonesia, Portugal, and representatives of the Timorese people, leading to self-determination for East Timor. We also urge this Committee to recommend that the General Assembly act this fall to reaffirm its decade-old resolutions calling for human rights and immediate Indonesian withdrawal from East Timor.

We do, however, want to share with you the urgent appeal presented by the National Movement of the East Timorese Students in Jakarta last November 19. Many of the

presenters of this appeal were arrested; some have been sentenced to as long as ten years in prison for peacefully appealing to the international community to safeguard their human rights. I hope you will pay close attention to these translated words from young Timorese patriots who sacrificed their freedom to convey them to you:

"Because:

"1. The invasion of East Timor by Indonesia was a flagrant violation of the General Assembly of the United Nations Resolution 3485 (12 December 1975) and of the UN Security Council Resolution 384 (22 December 1975), which recognize the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, according to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of the Colonized Countries and Peoples in Resolution 1514 (XV) of December 14 1960;

"2. Resolution 384 of 22 December 1975 by the UN Security Council appeals to all states to respect the Territorial Integrity of East Timor;

"3. The above resolutions appeal to the Indonesian Government for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of all forces from East Timor;

"4. The very same resolutions recognize Portugal as the administrative power;

"5. The similarity of the invasion and occupation of East Timor by Indonesia with that of Kuwait by Iraq;

"6. The struggles of the people of Namibia and the Western Sahara, which are similar to that of Maubere People (East Timorese), have attained their national political goals;

"7. The enforced presence of Indonesia in East Timor for the last 16 years is, in the light of the International Principles, illegal and obsolete according to the dynamic evolution for the Human Society;

"8. The enforced presence of Indonesia in East Timor escalates day by day the suffering of the already martyred Maubere People through conscious, systematic and routine violation of the most elementary Human Rights.

"We, the East Timor Nationalist Students in Indonesia, in our own name and that of all those Heroes innocently felled by the Indonesian military assassins over the last 16 years, but mainly our brethren who were cruelly and inhumanely killed en masse on November 12 1991, ask and demand of the United Nations:

"1. a) To maintain strong and continuous pressure on Indonesia so that all efficient measures can be taken to carry out the



General Assembly and Security Council resolutions which have already been voted upon and that recognize the right of the East Timorese people to Self-Determination and Independence;

- “b) According to those above mentioned UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions, Indonesia, as a member of that Organisation, has no right to try and condemn all East Timor nationalists who have arduously fought for their Right of Self-Determination and Independence;
- “2. To exert strong political, economical and mainly military pressures on the Jakarta government as is happening with Iraq;
- “3. To demand of Indonesia an absolute respect for the Fundamental Rights of the East Timorese People and their identity as a People and as a Nation;
- “4. To demand that Indonesia immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its beligerently repressive apparatus, be it military or bureaucratic, from East Timor;
- “5. To demand the Portuguese Government as the Administrative Power to co-operate fully with the United Nations in order to create the conditions for the People of East Timor to enjoy freely their Right to Self Determination and Independence;
- “6. Finally, and in conclusion, our Petition and Protest for the Genocide barbarously perpetrated by the Indonesia army on 12th November 1991. We ask the UN General Assembly and the Security Council to take urgent, and efficient measures to safeguard the lives of all those Timorese Nationalists, mainly the political prisoners;
- “7. We request U.N. representatives in Jakarta, together with the Indonesian Parliament, to issue safe-conduct papers to guarantee the personal security of all Timorese Nationalist Students who are under coercive resistance in Indonesia. Trusting that Your Excellency will do your best to consider and identify yourself with our aspirations and wishes as a People and a Nation,

We are, yours sincerely,

Joao Freitas da Camara (Jakarta)  
 Agapito Cardoso (Bali)  
 José Luis de Oliveira (Yogyakarta)  
 Domingos Bareto de Jesus Vas  
 (Semarang)  
 Virgilio da Silva Guterres (Malang)  
 José Dias Quintas (Surabaya)  
 Gregorio de Araujo (Bandung)”

Nearly all of the 70 students who presented this appeal were arrested. Seventeen

were imprisoned for four months before being released without charges. Five were put on trial, although they refused to accept the jurisdiction of Indonesia's courts. At the trial of Agapito Cardoso, co-defendant Joao Freitas da Camara denied that the demonstration was planned to hurt the government, but said that “We could not stay inactive while our brothers were being shot dead. We wanted to protest against all the actions in East Timor which were not in accordance with human rights from the beginning until the tragedy of November 12.”

For helping to organize this peaceful appeal, Fernando de Araujo received a nine-year prison sentence. Joao Freitas da Camara got ten years, and three others got sentences of up to 30 months. None were accused of any violent activities or any actions which could be considered illegal if Indonesia honored the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – all they did was appeal to the international community to live up to its previously-expressed findings.

Mr. Chairman, the past year has shown that there is a new generation of East Timorese activists, infants at the time of the Indonesian invasion, who are willing to risk all for their independence. Your Committee and the United Nations have the power to end the 17-year nightmare of the Timorese people, to begin a process which will spare these idealistic youth from the horrible hell that was inflicted on their parents' generation. I hope you will use it.

Thank you.

### XANANA GUSMAO STATEMENT TO DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE

*Statement from Xanana Gusmao, head of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, to the U.N. Decolonization Committee in New York, July 27, 1992. Translated from the Portuguese and delivered by José Ramos-Horta, External Spokesman, CNRM.*

East Timor

National Council Of Maubere Resistance

National Liberation Armed Forces Of East Timor

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished members of the Special Committee on Decolonization:

I have the honor to address this Committee on behalf of the people of East Timor.

It is with faith that I am addressing this prestigious United Nations body in the current international context. I believe it to be appropriate to note that so many independent States were born in the shadows of

the principles that are embodied in this Committee. These are the same principles that are inspiring the birth of new states in the old Continent.

This Committee took upon itself the task of eradicating colonialism by the Year 2,000. With this promising vision the Special Committee on Decolonization asserts itself as the guardian of the hopes and aspirations of the peoples still under a backward system of domination.

In the decades that crowned the struggles for national liberation, this Committee was the forum for the defence of the international rights of the colonial countries and peoples. These historical achievements are our source of faith and hope and this is even more so with the approaching end of colonialism from the face of the Earth.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished members of the Special Committee on Decolonization:

With the inclusion of East Timor in 1960 on the UN GA List of Non- Self-Governing Territories, this committee undertook total responsibility to see to it that the principles embodied in the Charter are fully applied to this territory.

In the history of the struggle against colonial expansionism, the oppressed peoples were always left with no alternative but to resort to violence to assert their rights in the face of the arrogant use of force by the colonizers. This is what happened to us when we were brutally invaded on 7 December 1975. Till this very day we are resisting the Indonesian criminal military occupation by all means available to us, including armed resistance.

However, we are in the midst of a historical whirlwind, underscored by political changes in various latitudes. Terrorist states have seen their very foundation smoldered by the democratic conscience of their citizens. Totalitarian regimes are now on the path towards the full respect for fundamental freedoms. Dictatorships in the Third World, installed by the West, are being overthrown in the face of popular protests. Humanity is indeed on the road towards a New World Order.

We have to continue to build a New world order that is based on the elimination of all the evils that affect so many regions of this planet. This Committee, with only eight years ahead before the Year 2,000, has the daunting task of sweeping from the face of the Earth all the manifestations of colonialism.

Regrettably, some Member States use double standards on identical situations, namely, East Timor and Kuwait. In spite of this, I am certain, the Special Committee on Decolonization will not betray the sacred

principles that gave birth to it. We are also certain that in dealing with the question of East Timor it will be guided by International Law and all the relevant norms on self-determination and independence.

We are certain that East Timor will not be an exception in the decolonization process. Indonesia, a member of this august body, used it in the past as a forum to denounce Portuguese colonialism. Now again it is using this Committee as a forum to defend its own colonial aggression, annexation and military occupation of East Timor in complete disregard for the relevant Security Council Resolutions 384 (1975) and 389 (1976).

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished members of the Committee:

It was only yesterday, so to speak, that the world was divided into two major military blocs, led by the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., both sides using at will the veto power to preserve their respective spheres of influence. We note with consternation that even after the dismantling of the old Soviet empire and the communist bloc, the West continues to make use of its veto power whenever just causes affect their economic interests.

The sanctions against Iraq seemed to suggest that gone is the taboo of state sovereignty and domestic jurisdiction; the measures adopted against Libya seem to suggest that the universal concept of justice should breach national boundaries when it comes to the application of universal principles; the Security Council resolutions on Yugoslavia seem to suggest that it now belongs to the past the notion that only the powerful and rich could determine the fate of peoples and that the universal principles of self-determination should prevail in time, in all latitudes and in all circumstances.

More than 200,000 dead and a continuing practice of persecution, imprisonment and massacres are the balance of more than 16 years of our resistance to Indonesia's military occupation of our country.

The 12 November 1991 massacre of East Timorese civilians jolted the international conscience. Some governments, even though accomplices in the physical, ethnic and cultural genocide of our people, were not able not to hide their horror in the face of the Santa Cruz massacre. However, a few months have elapsed, and their conscience slipped back to business as usual.

Much has been said about the 12 November 1991 massacre and the images of the massacre revealed the nature of the annexation of East Timor. 12 November underscored the historical fact that people's nationalism cannot be liquidated by repression, nor can it be alienated by so-called

economic development. Namibia emerged as an independent state 40 years later. Small and large independent states whose right to self-determination and independence were denied blossomed 40 years later.

The referenda in the Baltic States were a model in conflict resolution. The world is shocked by the armed conflicts in Yugoslavia and Armenia. However, the international community is only harvesting the fruits of historical mistakes perpetrated by oppressive regimes that assaulted human conscience and regarded their fellow beings as mere pawns of the ambitions of the economic oligarchy to which they belonged.

A referendum process is now in preparation in Western Sahara. We are perplexed by the news that Indonesia reportedly offered a contingent to participate in the UN multinational force in Western Sahara.

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished members of the Committee:

Indonesia claims that the people of East Timor have already chosen integration by "free will." If this is the case, then why so many restrictions in East Timor? If this is so, why does it, fear a ratification of the act under international supervision? if this is so, why did it create so many obstacles that aborted the projected Portuguese Parliamentary Mission to East Timor? Why did Indonesia close the territory following the 12 November massacre? Why are foreign visitors subjected to pro-Indonesia criteria? Why does East Timor remains closed to international humanitarian organizations?

Why all this if the people of East Timor chose by its free will integration with Indonesia? Why all this if, according to the Indonesian generals, only a few "marginal" continue to think about independence?

The new democracies, conscious that they are part of the community of nations, have shown political good will by inviting international supervision of their inaugural electoral processes. Why does the international community allows East Timor to remain a large prison? Is it because the people of East Timor wanted their island to be a prison?

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Members of the Special Committee on Decolonization:

I believe that in regard to East Timor, there are three fundamental resolutions that should be taken into consideration:

a. Security Council Res. 384 of 22 December 1975 and 389 of 26 April 1976 which, inter alia, reaffirm:

"the inalienable right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and independence in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independ-

ence to Colonial Countries and Peoples contained in General Assembly Res. 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960."

The above-mentioned resolutions called "on all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor as well as the inalienable right of its people to Self-determination in accordance with GA Res. 1514 (XV); and " ... the government of Indonesia to withdraw without delay all its forces from the territory."

The Security Council finally called upon "all states and all interested parties to cooperate fully with the United Nations in its efforts to finding a peaceful solution to the prevailing situation and to facilitate the decolonization of the territory."

b. Yearly resolutions between 1975 and 1981 met with the indifference of the international community which in turn served only to encourage inflexibility on the part of Indonesia. In 1982, the General Assembly adopted Res. 37/30 which states and I quote:

"Recognizing the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and independence in accordance with the United Nations Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, contained in Res. 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, of 14 December 1960,

"Requests the Secretary-General to initiate consultations with all parties directly concerned with a view to exploring the avenues for achieving a comprehensive settlement of the problem and to report thereon to the General Assembly at its 38th session."

Mr. Chairman,

Any solution to the problem of East Timor must be based on the respect for the expressed will of the people of East Timor. We are conscious of the fact that it is particularly difficult for the government of Indonesia a solution that put in question the fundamental interests of the Indonesian state, but we cannot abdicate from our own interests and rights.

Dialogue is the means to solve conflicts. This is the trend in today's world. Indonesia herself continues to play an important role in the resolution of the Cambodian conflict. The whole argument of "internal affair" has been invoked time and again by the powerful. We witnessed it in the Gulf. What is happening in Yugoslavia, now focus of peace-making efforts by the UN and the EC, exposes the arrogance of those who continue to create obstacles to the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

Dialogue without pre-conditions preserves the mutual interests of the parties to the conflict. Both Portugal and the Maubere

People are ready for dialogue. However, the government of Indonesia, enjoying the status as benefactor of Western economic and financial largesse, feels strong enough to reject the inclusion of the East Timorese themselves in the peace talks. We continue to invite Indonesia to round-table talks and we reaffirm our political will in endeavoring to find the best way to balance the interests of all parties to the conflict.

Portugal, the Administering power recognized by the UN, stands for a process of dialogue with the inclusion of the East Timorese, without pre-conditions.

Our flexibility regarding the involvement of the East Timorese aims at helping Portugal face the negotiation process seriously. It is the role of Portugal, legal Administering power of East Timor, in the context of its responsibilities, to work with the East Timorese towards finding formulas that might lead towards a comprehensive and lasting solution.

The Special Representative of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, Mr. José Ramos-Horta, conceived and outlined a set of key-ideas with a view to contributing to a solution. I wish to elaborate on this plan.

Three elements emerge from this plan:

a. An extremely important element to emphasise, without any doubt, is the fact that the territory remains under UN responsibility until a final solution of the problem;

b. Concerning the Portuguese role in the process, I believe that the role of Portugal has to be seen in the context of its commitment to engage in dialogue with Indonesia. Its role in the whole peace process is vital.

c. In accepting a transition situation and recognizing that a "de facto" situation exists in East Timor (Namibia was under South African domination and yet the UN did not relinquish its responsibilities), we wish to create favorable political conditions so that through democratic means and in a peaceful climate each party may persuade the people about the advantages of its policies. An act of self-determination, as the result and goal of this transition period, would be the true political act of free choice by our people.

I reaffirm our collective political will to abide by the popular verdict if the Maubere people, under international supervision, decide to opt for integration with the Republic of Indonesia.

We do not fight against Indonesia, we are not fighting against the people of Indonesia. We respect the great Indonesian nation, we respect our Indonesian brothers.

In an independent East Timor we will strive to have privileged relations of friendship and cooperation between our two

peoples; we will strive to promote the instruments of bi-lateral and regional cooperation in the framework of ASEAN. We will spare no effort to enhance ASEAN and its role in promoting political and economic cooperation as well as promoting the region as a zone of peace and prosperity.

An independent East Timor will seek membership with the South Pacific Forum. We share the same aspirations with the small island-states of the Pacific and we will strive to foster cooperation for the benefit of our peoples.

An independent East Timor will reject the existence of armed forces as our real contribution towards regional and world peace. We oppose militarization because we are against armed conflicts. We oppose militarization because as part of the Humanity that desires peace we do not fear our powerful neighbors. We oppose militarization because we believe the conscience of mankind opts for dialogue to resolve differences. If dialogue means democratic practice, if, above all, it is a concept of justice, if dialogue means respect for fundamental rights and freedoms of peoples, we are then against the use of force, we are against war, we are against oppression.

We are convinced that if all share the same convictions, Southeast Asia could become a model in the new world we all wish to build.

We hope that the Indonesian leaders understand our message of peace, our gesture of reconciliation and that our resistance is not aimed at the Indonesian state or people. In equal circumstances of rights and obligations we will know how to honor the friendship that the great Indonesian nation may offer us.

We appeal to the Special Committee on Decolonization to spare no effort to see to it that the UN relevant resolutions on East Timor are fully implemented.

*Headquarters of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, in East Timor, 20 June 1992.*

*For the CNRM,  
Kayrala Xanana Gusmao, Comandante das FALINTIL*

## ASIA WATCH STATEMENT TO DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE

*July 27, 1992*

*HUMAN RIGHTS IN EAST TIMOR*

*Sidney Jones, Asia Watch*

*Statement to the United Nations Special Committee on Decolonization*

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for the opportunity to address this Committee. Asia Watch, as you know, takes no position on the political status of East Timor. We believe, however, that the sharp deterioration of the human rights situation there since this Committee last convened underscores the urgency of finding a solution which will prevent further abuses of the fundamental rights of the East Timorese.

The November 12 massacre was the worst slaughter since the Kraras incident of August 1983 when up to 200 villagers were killed. Every year thereafter, we heard that the human rights situation was improving. Atauro was emptied of its prisoners. Long-term detainees were brought to trial and given shorter terms. A new commander, less tolerant of abuse than his predecessors, came in. In 1989, parts of East Timor were declared open, and it was possible to go to and from Dili without a travel permit.

Those changes were real, but they also provided a cover for continuing abuses. After 1989, almost every time an influential visitor came, the Indonesian authorities would round up possible trouble-makers beforehand as a preventive measure and afterwards as a punitive measure. One man I spoke with in late 1990 said of East Timor, "It used to be that we had hundreds of people in prison. Now the whole place is a prison."

Since November 12, even the facade has been dropped. Surveillance is tighter than ever before. Journalists have been effectively banned from the territory since February 26, although a BBC reporter was allowed in to cover the June elections. The alleged masterminds of a largely peaceful demonstration, marred by just one incident of violence, have begun serving savage prison terms after trials where the verdicts were determined from the outset. Freedom of expression, association, assembly and movement are either non-existent or heavily restricted. And East Timorese students studying in Java and Bali find the repression in their homeland re-created in their place of study but only for them, not for their Indonesian classmates.

What the November 12 demonstration showed beyond any doubt is that 16 years of Indonesian rule had generated resistance

among a whole generation which had never known Portuguese rule. Why? The Indonesian government poured billions of rupiah into East Timor, but much of the development took place benefited the Indonesian newcomers far more than the East Timorese, who remained very much an underclass. This was illustrated last year in the much publicized scheme of Yayasan Tiara, a foundation run by President Suharto's daughter Tutut, and the Ministry of Manpower to lure East Timorese to Indonesia with promises of training and high-paying jobs. Two groups of young men and women found on their arrival in Jakarta in March and June 1991 respectively that there was no training, the jobs were menial and paid the minimum wage or less, and that anyone who protested risked being labelled a political activist and detained by the Indonesian military. These schemes were not just exploitative; they were tantamount to forced labor.

The contempt many Indonesians show for East Timorese was for me demonstrated most vividly when I talked in Dili last February with a priest who had gone to the scene of the massacre an hour after it took place to see whether he could find some of his missing seminarians. There was a truck piled with bodies, and a soldier was dragging a wounded demonstrator toward the truck by the legs, repeatedly kicking him in the head. When the priest tried to intervene, the soldier said, "But Father, these are just communists!"

Manuel Carrascalao, the elder brother of East Timorese Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, also described corpses being loaded onto trucks, saying: "I had the occasion to see one person who perhaps only fainted, but as soon as a soldier caught sight of him and saw that his head was moving, he pounded him with a rock. And one more case, I saw that there was one person still alive in the truck full of corpses, and the soldier pulled this person down and beat him on the head. Then he threw him back on the truck."

This kind of treatment of wounded demonstrators is cruel and inhuman, but it is also indicative of a more broadly shared attitude of many Indonesians toward their East Timorese subjects.

If the East Timorese are regarded as an underclass, those with nationalist sympathies are at the bottom of that underclass. A double standard has been particularly visible in the justice system. Let me give two examples. On October 28, East Timorese motorcyclists, working for the local military, provoked a fight with young independence supporters who had taken refuge for the past year on the grounds of the Motael Church in Dili. In the ensuing brawl, one

of the provocateurs, Afonso Henrique, was stabbed to death and an 18-year-old independence supporter, Sebastiao Gomes Rangel, was shot and killed by uniformed troops who stormed the church.

The military lost no time in rounding up 40 of Sebastiao's friends for questioning. Of these, 18 were detained, seven throughout the month of November. Five of them, Bonifacio Barreto, Joao dos Santos, Aleixo da Silva, Jacob da Silva, and Bobby Xavier, have since been sentenced for their involvement in Afonso's death. None of the provocateurs were arrested, and no one involved in the death of Sebastiao Gomes Rangel has been identified.

A second case involves a series of demonstrations held in Jakarta after the November 12 killings. On November 19, 70 East Timorese students held a peaceful demonstration to protest the killings, starting in front of the UN office and marching past the embassies of Japan, Britain and Australia. All were arrested and taken to police headquarters. A week later, 49 were released after signing forced "confessions." The remaining 21 were held through February together with four East Timorese arrested in Bali. By March, all but five had been released. The five were put on trial and eventually sentenced to terms ranging up to ten years.

But Indonesian demonstrators belonging to the national youth organization, KNPI, and some of its affiliates held a demonstration with about the same number of people in front of the Australian embassy on November 20, one day after the East Timorese protest, to criticize the Australian reaction to the massacre. There were no arrests. Indonesians, it was clear, were encouraged to exercise freedom of assembly when their aim was to promote a government point of view. East Timorese, with a very different view, were taken away and locked up.

The Indonesian government fails to recognize how deeply it is loathed in East Timor. Governor Mario Carrascalao touched on this after the massacre when he said in an interview, "Maybe it was our fault. Those who are against us [i.e. the government] were in fact able to touch the hearts of many people...If before people slept with knives to protect themselves from those working against us, now it is us they defend themselves against...In the last two or three months, people in the cities have felt unhappy, so much so that a strange thing happened. As the Portuguese visit approached, the people were no longer afraid of Fretilin, they were afraid of us. We have to understand why, and find the proper medicine to cure it."

President Suharto may have thought he found the proper medicine with the National

Commission of Inquiry, the Council of Military Honor, the prosecutions and convictions of nine soldiers and one policeman, the sacking of senior officers, and the assignment given General Try Sutrisno to find the bodies. But those efforts, however unprecedented they may have been, have left most of the major questions unanswered. To this day, we do not know the following:

1. Who started the shooting? Who were the so-called pasukan liar or mysterious forces already firing when the soldiers found guilty arrived on the scene?
2. In addition to the one man found guilty of slashing a demonstrator's ear with his M-16, who beat up, stabbed and kicked the other demonstrators, leading to the hospitalization of at least 49 people whose injuries were from blunt instruments and bayonets, not bullets? Who finished off the wounded demonstrators at the scene?
3. Who loaded bodies on to trucks, and where were they taken? Why have only 18 graves been found?
4. Who are the 66 people still listed as missing and what happened to them? The National Commission report criticized inadequate autopsy procedures and the failure of doctors to identify bodies, but someone at the Wirahusada Military Hospital surely must know how many bodies passed through the morgue and who took them away.
5. Who tortured the hundred of East Timorese arrested after the massacre, and why have there been no prosecutions – ever – of Indonesian soldiers accused of torture of East Timorese?
6. How much effort was made to investigate reports of executions of eyewitnesses after the massacre?

If the failure to undertake a properly impartial investigation was bad enough, the courts-martial of the ten men in May and June added insult to injury by giving a maximum of 18 months to men who deliberately fired into a crowd of unarmed civilians. Moreover, the one man prosecuted for assault, Police Corporal Marthin Alau, has been named in other eyewitness reports as having deliberately killed two other demonstrators, but no investigation was made into these accusations. The man with the slashed ear appeared as a witness in Corporal Alau's trial; he was the only civilian witness to appear in any of the military trials. The indictments seem to be based solely on questioning of fellow officers and soldiers, not of their victims.

If Governor Carrascalao's medicine is to be found, a serious effort needs to be made

to find the real perpetrators of the Dili killings. Those people, Mr. Chairman, are still at large, and neither President Suharto nor the military establishment appears to be making any effort to find them.

Human rights violations in East Timor did not end with the immediate aftermath of the massacre. More than two dozen arrests were reported from Dili, Aileu and Taibesse – the Jakarta Post said “scores” – in late February and early March in connection with preparations for a Portuguese “peace ship” to visit East Timor. The ship was eventually turned back by the Indonesian navy.

On March 9, 1992, the newspaper Suara Karya reported that 24 East Timorese prisoners detained after the massacre who would not be tried would be subject to an army indoctrination program in various locations outside of Dili. Under the pretext of protecting these East Timorese from the putative anger of local villagers, the 24 were to receive “special treatment,” according to Brigadier General Theo Syafei. Syafei said that they would be “given guidance and educated into becoming good Indonesians who will participate in development.” Such re-education, a form of administrative detention, has been characteristic of Aceh as well, a region on the northern tip of Sumatra where military operations during 1989-91 resulted in widespread executions and disappearances of civilians.

Between May and July of this year, eight East Timorese civilians in Dili, most of them civil servants working for the local administration, were sentenced in unfair trials to prison terms between 5 and two-thirds years and life for their role in planning the demonstration of November 12. Two men, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, who was sentenced to life in prison, and Francisco Miranda Branco, who was sentenced to 15 years in prison, were found guilty of subversion. The other six, whose sentences were as high as ten years, were found guilty of spreading hatred. Among those convicted was Carlos dos Santos Lemos, who received a nine year sentence for taking photographs of the November 12 demonstration with the intent of sending them abroad. Despite the harshness of the sentences imposed, none of these civilians were charged with any violent activity. The charges of six of them explicitly focused on their role in organizing a committee whose intent it was to present a petition to the Portuguese parliamentary delegation. The petition requested that Portugal and Indonesia enter into negotiations with all parties concerned, including East Timorese both for and against integration with Indonesia.

This July, every East Timorese student in Bali was summoned into the local military

headquarters. There, the students were forced to complete a “test” drawn up by BAKORSTANAS, the security agency chaired by Commander-General Try Sutrisno. The questionnaire asked for detailed biographical data, and asked specific political questions, such as the respondent’s opinions of the National Commission of Inquiry (KPN) and Council of Military Honor (DKM) reports on the November 12 massacre, and of the Balibo Declaration of 1976, which Indonesia says officially proclaimed the integration of East Timor with Indonesia. The respondents were also forced to give their opinions of the process of integration so far. The students were then summoned back for a series of oral interviews in small groups on the same subject. Asia Watch regards this exercise as an attempt to restrict freedom of opinion and differs little from similar questionnaires given Indonesian citizens to determine their sympathy and inherited affiliation to the banned Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI).

Mr. Chairman, this Committee has a role to play in maintaining the pressure on Indonesia to work towards a resolution of the East Timor problem in a way that will reduce human rights violations. One important step is to determine why those violations are taking place, even after all the steps taken by President Suharto in the weeks after the massacre. In this regard, it would be useful for the Committee to press for the report of Amos Wako, who visited East Timor in February as a special envoy of the Secretary General, to be made public. It would also be useful to have the Indonesian government invite the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit East Timor to discuss how the outstanding cases of disappearances could best be resolved and future ones prevented. In the end, however, human rights abuses in East Timor will only be curbed when the underlying political causes have been addressed. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

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### REPORT ON UN DECOLONIZATION COMMITTEE HEARING

*By José Barros Basto, Translated and forwarded by Nancy Lutz from pt-net (Portuguese computer Network)*

Dear friends:

This past Monday found me and my friend Ze Maria Albuquerque in New York at the meeting of the U.N. Decolonization Commission.

Earlier, on April 25, Indonesia accused Portugal of colonialist practices in Timor, in this same commission, which has as its goal to eradicate the practice of colonialism by the year 2000 (we’ll see...)

There were 21 statements, by various countries and organizations, which I won’t enumerate, so as not to be boring.

The Portuguese presence was noted in opposition to the various demands of objection presented by Indonesia (arguing that it was a “non-problem,” that it involved an internal matter, etc....the usual rigmarole) and by members of the Republican Assembly: Joao Gaspar de Almeida (PS), Guido Orlando de Freitas Rodrigues (PSD), and Miguel Urbano Tavares (PC), this last having been the only one to give a lively and sufficiently incisive speech against the Indonesians (the discomfort of their representatives in the room was evident).

Unfortunately, due to the large number of statements, the session concluded on Tuesday, so that we didn’t catch the final statements of the Portuguese and Indonesian representatives.

In terms of practical effects, the Commission’s paper is only reported to the Secretary General...no concrete measures. Let’s see if at least they comply in making public the report of the special S.G. envoy to Timor (Wako), which was insistently requested by all the “petitioners.”

As a point of curiosity, I had the best *cimbalino* (bica or *cafezinho* to the Southern crowd) on this side of the Atlantic at the UN bar. The self-service was also very good and inexpensive (and with a cosmopolitan atmosphere difficult to find anywhere else on Earth – seeing so many people together from the four corners of the planet amicably socializing, it’s easy to see that we have much more in common than differences...)

I also had the opportunity to talk a few minutes with José Ramos Horta, who reiterated his apologies for the assertion published about Portugal, saying that he was referring only to Portuguese politicians (whom he accused of incompetence...)

The Portuguese deputies were surprised to see us there, and in the lunch break, we had the chance to talk a little with the representatives of the PSD [Social Democratic Party] and the PC [Communist Party], exchanging impressions about the Timorese problem.

From the exchange of words with the Portuguese representative, and from the comments heard, it appeared that they are still a little alienated from the efforts which have developed here in the U.S.A., who the key members of Congress and of the Senate to contact are, etc.

The general impression received from the participants regarding the absence of steps

taken by Portugal during the new Presidency of the EEC was of perplexity...at least after we leave the Presidency we should have moved forward with the bloc towards a commercial accord with ASEAN (the Association of Southeast Asian Nations).

There are high hopes by some of the Americans for the upcoming presidential elections, in case the Democratic candidate wins; we'll see...

My best to all,  
Ze Antonio

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## INDONESIAN MILITARY RESTRUCTURED

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### MILITARY PROMOTIONS LINKED TO FUTURE CHANGES

*Singapore THE STRAITS TIMES in English*  
6 Jul. 92

By Paul Jacob, Jakarta correspondent

Jakarta - The Indonesian Armed Forces (ABRI), in a signal that changes to key positions in the military hierarchy are in the offing, last week promoted three service chiefs to the rank of four-star general. Four other officers were promoted to the three-star rank.

The surprise, however, was that the man most analysts saw as the front-runner to head the army eventually - and the possible future armed forces commander - was not among them. Major-General Wismoyo Arismunandar, commander of the Strategic Reserve Command (Kostrad) and related by marriage to President Suharto, remains a two-star general.

A focus of considerable attention by the press, diplomats and military analysts here for some time, he assumed his current position in August 1990.

Another round of promotions is, however, expected in several months' time, on or before the Armed Forces marks its 47th anniversary on October 5.

ABRI's latest announcement on Wednesday, given low key coverage and carried without comment by some newspapers here, said Navy chief M. Arifin, 55, Air Force chief Sibun, also 55, and Police chief Kunarto, 52, were promoted to the four-star equivalent rank of Admiral, Air Marshal and Police General respectively.

Prior to the promotion exercise, Army Commander Edi Sudrajat, 54, was the only four-star general among ABRI's service chiefs. Armed Forces Commander Try Sutrisno was the country's only other four-

star officer in active service prior to Wednesday.

Some analysts suggested the promotions were aimed at giving the service chiefs "time enough to enjoy the rank" prior to retirement or being moved to other positions in government.

Speculation that the three could retire or be moved has been given credence by earlier reports that ABRI is of the view that service chiefs should be three-star officers.

Hence the promotion of four other officers to that rank on July 1 has generated an equal amount of interest. Their move would open positions at their level for further changes down the line.

Of the four, the promotion of Major-General Faisal Tanjung, 53, to Lieutenant-General is the most significant as he was said to have been Gen. Sudrajat's choice to succeed him. Lt.-Gen. Faisal, commander of the military's staff college, had the important and sensitive task this year of heading the Military Honor Council. It examined ABRI's shortcomings during last November's incident in East Timor when security forces killed at least 50 anti-government demonstrators in the provincial capital of Dili.

Analysts said Lt.-Gen. Faisal's task was made more difficult personally because one of the senior commanders replaced in the wake of the incident, Major-Gen. Sintong Panjaitan, was a close colleague and a potential contender for the army chief's position - along with Maj.-Gen. Wismoyo. The scenario most drawn by analysts is that Lt.-Gen Faisal could move to head the army with Maj.-Gen Wismoyo as his deputy before eventually taking over the post.

Some analysts said elements in the military might not have been too pleased if Maj.-Gen Wismoyo gained his third star at the same time as his seniors from the military academy and moved directly to head the army.

"Faisal's possible appointment to the army chief position would serve as an indication that Suharto is paying heed to military sentiment that there is a protocol that ought to be followed. Most recognize Wismoyo is capable and accept that he is a would-be army chief," a source said. "But I also do not think it would be wise if he were pushed up any sooner, the sentiments being what they are about family connections. He will be a man in the right place in future within the military at a time when Suharto completes his next term as president."

The other July 1 promotions were that of ABRI's Assistant Chief of Staff for Operations Sugeng Subroto and National Defence Institute governor Sukarto, both to the rank of Lt.-General and ABRI Inspector-

General Sumitro, to the rank of Vice Admiral.

According to one military analyst, one of Lt.-Gen Sugeng's possible positions could be as the next chief of staff, a post now held by Vice-Admiral Sudibyo Rahardjo, who in turn is touted as a possible ambassador to Singapore.

The analyst suggested that Lt.-Gen Sukarto could succeed Lt.-Gen Harsudiono Hartas as ABRI's Chief for Sociopolitical Affairs, given that the defence institute's focus is on similar areas.

Vice-Adm. Sumitro, who served on the National Investigation Commission appointed to probe the Dili incident could remain in his post.

"It is hard to know for certain what these promotions might bring in terms of who moves where," one analyst conceded. "The field is opened wider because of the other movements that might take place down the line."

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## SUHARTO ON MILITARY AS 'SOCIO-POLITICAL FORCE'

Jakarta, July 6 (OANA-ANTARA) - President Suharto appealed to all battalion commandants to enhance their social involvement and improve the welfare of their subordinates because the Armed Forces' duty is not merely confined to military assignments, but also to serving the people's interest in conformity with the army's position as a socio-political force.

The 1945 Constitution includes a provision the essence of which has to be fully perceived by those having positions in the military and socio-political forces, the head of state said when he received 121 of the 138 army battalion commanders at Tapos (Bogor) on Sunday.

Over the weekend, Army Chief General Edi Sudrajat, in his capacity of chairman of the Kartika Eka Paksi Foundation, handed over a donation of 11.2 billion rupiahs for repair costs for the army barracks, ranging from 50-70-150 million rupiahs per battalion. Flanked by the army chief, President Suharto appealed that all the unit commanders ought to be equipped with a high sense of social concern, as the success of their duty will not be merely judged from the success to prepare their subordinates.

The commanders should not only pay attention to matters relating to exercises and shooting proficiency of their subordinates, but also to enhancement of their social involvement in favour of the people, the head of state said, adding that the Armed Forces members must also be attentive to conditions of the people, state and nation.

President Suharto as patron of the foundation asserted that the soldiers would not be able to concentrate on their duty performance if their barracks are in bad condition, or their children and wives are not in good health.

As a commander, the president recalled that he had often seen the impact of a note received by a subordinate from his family.

No matter the size of the aid to repair the barrack, the important thing is the commander's attention to improve the fate of his subordinates, the president stressed.

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## INDONESIAN MILITARY TO SET UP TV STATION

*Green Left Weekly, issue 63, July 22*

*By Michael Tardif*

The Indonesian military (ABRI) plans to establish its own television station. Chief of staff Vice Admiral Soedibyo Rahardjo announced the plan at the opening ceremony for three new military radio stations.

The move is seen by many as a response to the continued erosion of ABRI's civil powers.

After the bloody coup in 1965, the ABRI promoted the idea of "dual function" as a justification for its extensive intervention into civil society. The military had a dual role: to defend the nation and to provide a stable hand in the development process.

The latter role became the basis upon which serving officers took up positions in the government bureaucracy and management positions in the private economy.

Although President Suharto initially derived his authority from his position as a military leader, in the 1970s he began to rely more on civilian methods of legitimising his regime. The passing of a generation within the military also resulted in privatisation of much of the military's business interests and thus an erosion of its economic power.

Today the higher echelons of government are increasingly civilian. The ideological significance of dual function has been downgraded in favour of intensive ideological campaigns around the official state ideology, Panca Sila.

ABRI remains a significant political force, but while the Suharto regime uses military force to rule, the social and political interests of the military are not its first concern.

Public debate on the role of the military is becoming commonplace. Recently, leading political scientists Miriam Budiardjo and Arbi Sanit told a parliamentary hearing that the 100 parliamentary seats reserved for the military should be reduced to strengthen democracy.

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## WISMOYO PROMOTED TO DEPUTY CHIEF-OF-STAFF

*Jakarta Post, 24 July 1992. Abridged*

Comment: Wismoyo's promotion to the army's general staff has long been seen as a move that will strengthen Suharto's grip. There have been forecasts that such a promotion would arouse strong resistance among the so-called 'HANKAM group,' centered around Benny Murdani. Suharto seems to have scored again with the latest promotions, with no sign of protest among other generals. Feisal is also being awarded by Suharto for taking on the rather messy task of rebuking the army for the Dili massacre.

Major Gen. Wismoyo Arismunandar, commander of the army's Strategic Command, KOSTRAD, [and brother-in-law of President Suharto] will be promoted to the position of deputy chief of staff of the army, replacing Lt. Gen. Sahala Rajagukguk.

The other generals being promoted are Lt. General Feisal Tanjung, at present commander of the army's Staff and Command School, SESKOAD, who will replace Vice Admiral Sudibyo Rahardjo as armed forces chief of general staff, and Brig. Gen. Kuntara, now command of the army's crack KOPASSUS unit, who will take over Wismoyo's present post. General Try Sutrisno confirmed last night he had already signed the promotion papers. He did not say where Sahala and Sudibyo would be posted.

Also, Brig General Mangindaan will become commander of the Trikora military command which covers Irian Jaya and Maluku, replacing Maj. General Abinowo.

Gen. Try also acknowledged that Lt. General Dading Kalbuadi, inspector-general of the Defence Ministry will soon be replaced. "The matter is under discussion with the minister," he said. Other who will take up new posts are Lt. General Sugeng Subroto and Lt. General Harsudino Hartas.

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## SPOKESMAN ON UPCOMING MILITARY LEADERSHIP CHANGES

Jakarta, July 25 (OANA-ANTARA) - The transfer of posts of several senior officials of the Armed Forces in the near future has no connections with the coming meeting of the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) or other causes, but is solely intended for progress and refreshing, the Armed Forces spokesman, Brigadier General Nurhadi, said here on Friday.

"The planned replacement of several Armed Forces officials is not because of the coming MPR meeting," he stated.

Nurhadi confirmed that the Armed Forces General Staff chief, Vice Admiral Sudibyo Raharjo, would enter a pension period on July 27 and hand over his post to Lieutenant General Faisal Tanjung, who is currently the commander of the Army Staff and Command College.

The post of deputy chief of staff of the Army, Lieutenant General Sahala Rajagukguk, will be handed over to Major General Wismoyo Arismunandar, who is now the commander of the Army Strategic Command (Kostrad).

Brig. Gen. Kuntara, the current commander of the Army Special Unit (Kopassus), will replace Maj. Gen. Wismoyo. Brig. Gen. Kuntara will hand over his current post to Colonel Tarub, his deputy commander.

Lt. Gen. Sugeng Subroto, who is to enter a pension period will hand over his post as operations assistant to the Armed Forces' general chief of staff to Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri, who is currently the commander of the 9th Udayana Military Region.

Maj. Gen. Asmono, the intelligence assistant to the Armed Forces' general chief of staff, will transfer his post to Brig. Gen. Bantu Hariyo, who is currently the G [expansion unknown] director of the Intelligence Agency (BAIS).

Maj. Gen. Suwardi, who is currently the commander of the 4th Sriwijaya Military Region, will replace Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri as commander of the 9th Udayana Military Region.

Suwardi's post will be handed over to F.X. Sujasmin, who is currently the chief of staff of the 4th Sriwijaya Military Region.

The post of the commander of the 6th Tanjungpura Military Region will be handed over from Maj. Gen. Rusmadi Siddik to Maj. Gen. Mutojib, who is currently holding the post as the commander of the Army Central Territorial Command.

Maj. Gen. Rusmadi Siddik will soon enter a pension period.

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## YOUNGER COMMANDERS STRENGTHEN MILITARY'S POWER GRIP

IPS, Jakarta, Aug. 4 - Younger, more professional officers took over key command positions in the Indonesian armed forces (ABRI) recently, indicating the military will retain its grip on power for some time yet, analysts say.

ABRI has dominated this country's government for decades but outcries over the

blurring of civil-military lines have been increasing in the past few years.

Recent events in Thailand have led to louder criticisms of the Indonesian military in the last three months.

But hopes for a change in the set-up were dashed by last month's promotion of over 30 generals and colonels – all graduates of the National Military Academy, with many coming from the Special Forces – to important posts, strengthening ABRI's hold on power.

Said a political analyst in Jakarta: "This paves the way for the exit of the 1945 generation of officers, who played a major role in the struggle for independence and the entry of younger, more professional soldiers."

The influential Tempo newsmagazine, meanwhile, described the move as "part of (the government's) attempts to reinforce national stability, if only for the next five years."

President Suharto, a former army general, took over in 1965 following an aborted communist coup attempt. He is expected to be re-elected for another five-year term by the people's consultative assembly in March 1993.

But while the new order under General Suharto brought in a period of political stability enabling much-needed economic reforms and development to take place, his ascendance to the presidency also landed the military its present prominent position.

In recognition of the army's contribution to the national revolution, ABRI was accorded the unique dual function (*dwi fungsi*) as both a defense and socio-political force in society. The concept was promulgated as law in 1982.

But critics are now calling for a reduction of ABRI's role in civilian affairs. Specifically under attack is the assignment to the military of one-fifth of seats in the House of Representatives and 100 seats in the People's Consultative Assembly.

The assembly elects the president and formulates broad outlines of state policy every five years.

The two minority political parties have also frequently claimed the ruling Golkar Party, which includes the military, has been enjoying undue privileges while their own political activities have been curtailed.

Suharto has defended the military from the recent round of criticisms by saying the special political powers given to it ensures it will always act within the constitution.

"If ABRI is excluded from the process of determining state policies," said Suharto during the 19th anniversary celebration of the National Youth Congress, "it may take up arms if it feels unhappy about certain legislation or strategies."

He added that the system, compared to those in other countries, had its advantages because it prevented conflicts that could divide the nation and disrupt the development process.

Jakarta-based political analysts say, however, that the drastic reduction of the military's political influence in Thailand following its violent crackdown on pro-democracy protesters there in April have put ABRI on notice.

They add that ABRI is now reviewing its future role without jeopardizing its relevance to preserving national stability and security. But while "they realize the need for changes," an analyst noted, "an entirely open system is still not in the cards."

Still, Suharto broke precedent recently by announcing he is giving the responsibility of forming major policies for the next five years to the House of Representatives. In the past, the Indonesian president formulated the policies, subject to the approval of the House.

Meanwhile, observers are anticipating the appointment of Major General Wisoyo Arismunandar as deputy army chief of staff. He is expected to take over the top army post, traditionally considered a stepping stone to the presidency, when General Edi Sudradjat retires in the next few years. President Suharto himself has not given any hints about his eventual successor.

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## **PROBLEMS IN THE INDONESIAN EMPIRE**

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### **SEPARATISM IS DAMAGING NATIONAL PROSPERITY**

*UPI. 15 July 1992. Abridged.*

The head of the Indonesian army Friday demanded a concerted push to wipe out the country's remaining militant separatists, saying they were preventing further economic development.

General Edi Sudradjat said in remarks carried by the Indonesian media that the military must consider the problem of separatists as directly tied to the nation's prosperity. "That's why all kinds of separatist movements led by any group of extremists that want to divide the unity of the Indonesian Republic must be wiped out," Sudradjat said.

The military currently is fighting three main separatist groups - the Free Aceh Movement or 'Aceh Merdeka,' in Aceh, Fretilin in the troubled former Portuguese colony of East Timor and the Free Papua Movement or OPM in the eastern province of Irian Jaya. The government refers to

these three groups and any other anti-government groups collectively as the security disturbing movement or GPK.

Sudradjat said it was the task of the Indonesian army to solve once and for all the disturbances led by GPK, be it in Aceh, Irian Jaya or elsewhere.

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## **MOLUCCANS' FIELDS OF DREAMS**

IPS, Amsterdam, Guido de Bruin, July 15 - Moluccan leaders in exile are arguing on how best to achieve independence for their Indonesian-controlled islands. Their debate is not a new one. It has been raging for the past 40 years.

Former mathematics teacher Johan Manusama believes in a peaceful road to democracy, while his militant counterpart Peter Tatipikalawan sees armed struggle as the only feasible route.

Part of a 45,000 strong community that fled newly independent Indonesia four decades ago, the two men are waging their argument in the Netherlands, thousands of miles away from their homeland. Primarily members of the Dutch colonial army in Indonesia, the Moluccans came to the Netherlands in 1951 following Indonesia's suppression of the short-lived Republic of the South-Moluccas (RMS).

More than 40 years later, neither diplomatic manoeuvring nor efforts to launch an armed struggle have brought the exiles closer to their ideal of a renewed RMS. Manusama's hopes now lie in the worldwide movement toward democracy.

"Who would have thought two years ago that the Baltic states would gain their independence?" asks the 81-year-old self-proclaimed president in exile.

The RMS government-in-exile is a member of the Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO) – an organization which Manusama believes can help Moluccans gain international support for their struggle for self-determination.

A veteran of the campaign to restore Moluccan rights, Manusama accuses the United Nations of ignoring the plight of his people.

An Amnesty International report, published July 13, charges Indonesia with human rights abuses over the past 20 years, including the unlawful arrest and killing of opposition figures across the archipelago from Aceh to North Sumatra, Irian Jaya and East Timor.

These abuses coupled with the lack of international intervention have persuaded Tatipikalawan that armed struggle is the only road open to the Moluccans.



Tatipkalawan favors UNPO but believes it has no muscle to achieve its goals.

"Peoples who want to liberate themselves have to take up arms," he says matter of factly.

In 1990, Tatipikalawan left the RMS government to found a group aimed at unifying those Moluccanese "frustrated by Manusama."

Tatipkalawan maintains contacts with armed groups in Aceh, East Timor and Papua – "all colonized by the Javanese sovereign" – and with his brethren in the Moluccan islands, who, he says, are suppressed by Indonesia and want Moluccans in exile to launch an armed struggle.

But Manusama, who started his career as defense minister of the short-lived republic in 1950, strongly rejects the use of force to realize the Moluccan dream. "If we reach our goal through military action against Indonesia, the result would be a Moluccan state with a military dictatorship," he says.

Manusama harked back to the 1970s when young Moluccans hijacked two trains, and occupied a school and the Indonesian consulate in the Netherlands – events which, he says, have harmed the Moluccan cause. "If your goals are good, the means have to be good as well," he says.

But Manusama no longer has a monopoly on pursuing peaceful means to satisfy Moluccan aspirations. Hatuniasa Sounauwe recently established his own government-in-exile which intends to work through the United Nations. He has already managed to get the Moluccans on the agenda of the United Nations working group on indigenous peoples.

UNPO is also open to Sounauwe's republic of the Moluccas.

"It is difficult to gauge the support that each government has in the Moluccas," says UNPO secretary-general Michiel Van Walt Van Praag.

Tatipikalawan views Sounauwe's initiative as a move into unknown territory. Lurking behind his skepticism are geographical divisions among the Moluccans themselves. He dismisses Sounauwe's claim of support in both the north and south of the islands. The South-Moluccan Islands, says Tatipkalawan, will have to be liberated before a union with the north can be considered.

For his part, Sounauwe claims that the concept of unity has gained ground in the Moluccan islands. He admits having few followers among the community in the Netherlands, but says his following is large in the islands themselves where opposition to an armed struggle is widespread.

## INDONESIA REJECTS UNPO

IPS, The Hague, Guido de Bruin, July 15 - The Unrepresented Nations and Peoples Organization (UNPO), which takes pride in fighting for the cause of minority groups, is distancing itself and its ideology from ethnic strife brought on by a wave of nationalist sentiment.

"The UNPO does not create nationalism. Nationalism just exists, and can be used both positively and negatively," says Dutch UNPO secretary-general Michiel Van Walt Van Praag.

By saying this, Van Walt Van Praag was trying to clear his organization and its ideals of promoting disintegration by fueling nationalist sentiment which has caused ethnic strife in countries like Bosnia-Herzegovina and the former Soviet republics.

Formed in February 1991 to give unrepresented peoples worldwide a voice, the organization will be recognized for its efforts tomorrow when it is presented with the 1992 "International Social Inventions Award" in a London ceremony.

In its report, the London-based Institute for Social Inventions said it was rewarding UNPO for providing "a legitimate international forum and critically needed services for nations and peoples who are not represented at the United Nations, yet who often face devastating human and environmental rights abuses."

"It is UNPO's objective to lead nationalism, where it exists, into positive channels," adds Van Walt Van Praag. "UNPO does not represent specific members, but only helps its members to better represent themselves."

At the moment UNPO has 21 members including Tibet, Taiwan, the aboriginal Australians, Kurdistan and Zanzibar. It has sent observer missions to monitor the March referendum in Tatarstan and the May elections in Kurdistan and Kosovo.

And more recently, UNPO has been making attempts to mediate between the government of Georgia and the leaders of the people of Abkhazia, occupying the country's northern territory.

According to Van Walt Van Praag, these missions have contributed to the prevention of violence. "As soon as violence erupts, political problems often turn into ethnic problems."

The UNPO only admits members who denounce terrorism, although armed rebel groups are not discriminated against.

"The organization exists to provide an alternative to violence, so if we exclude armed groups we only force them to be violent," Van Walt Van Praag explains, adding that violence is often an effective way to get international attention.

Van Walt Van Praag acknowledges that in some cases there is a thin line between armed rebel groups and terrorists and a case in point is the Kurdish Workers Party (PKK), which represents the Kurds in Turkey. UNPO's steering committee and general conference are currently considering a Kurdish application for membership.

Another criterion for UNPO membership is that aspiring organizations must be seen to represent the majority of their people.

"We don't want to be an organization of marginal groups," says Van Walt Van Praag, although he admits that in practice, it is always difficult to prove if an organization is representative of the majority.

For example, the Moluccan people from the Indonesian archipelago have two governments-in-exile, one of which is an UNPO member. "It is difficult to gauge the support that each government has in the Moluccas," Van Walt Van Praag says, adding that UNPO will try to monitor shifts in support bases of member organizations.

At the moment the UNPO is considering some 32 new membership applications, including those of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples, the National Coalition Government of Burma, East Timor, the Sahrawi Republic, the Ethnic Minority Rights Organization of Nigeria and the Hungarians in Romania.

But even if these organizations are all accepted in the UNPO fold at the next general conference in January, the organization will still only represent a fraction of the world's unrepresented peoples.

"It has been a conscious choice to begin small. If you start with 200 members, you can't effectively help them," Van Walt Van Praag explains.

He adds that UNPO aims at a regional balance in its representation, which means that in the near future peoples in the former Soviet Union – which are eager to join UNPO – will probably have to wait in line behind African peoples' delegations for example.

Van Walt Van Praag says that to his initial surprise, most governments, with the exception of China and Indonesia, welcomed the part the UNPO is playing. This, he believes, is because of the "impartial" stance taken by the organization.

"If we identified with, for example, the Tatar cause, it would be very difficult to help other peoples who need support from the Russian government," he says, adding: "I think the awareness among governments that these kinds of problems cannot be ignored and must be discussed is growing."

## ACEHNESE REFUGEES IN UNHCR: UPDATE

*TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release on Friday, 17 July 1992:*

### ACEHNESE REFUGEES IN DANGER IF THEY LEAVE UNHCR COMPOUND

Forty-three Acehese refugees who took refuge in the Kuala Lumpur office of the UN High Commission for Refugees on 22 June are being issued Refugee Identity Cards. But the UNHCR official in Kuala Lumpur, Mr Sten Bronee, told them Thursday that if they leave the compound he could not guarantee their safety as the Malaysian Government is refusing to recognise them as political refugees. He is reported as saying that negotiations with Malaysian officials have so far proved inconclusive. Malaysia still insists on regarding them as 'illegal immigrants,' subject to arrest and deportation to Indonesia.

The UNHCR told the refugees they could stay on indefinitely, a grim prospect. Alternatively, they could leave the compound, surrender to the Malaysian authorities and be 'taken North.' This apparently means joining Acehese refugees who fled to Malaysia last year and are now being held in prisons in Penang, Kedah and Perak.

TAPOL warmly welcomes the efforts by the UNHCR in Kuala Lumpur to afford the Acehese protection. It warned the UNHCR last month that Acehese political refugees would be in grave danger, were they to be repatriated to Indonesia and handed over to the military authorities. Thousands of Acehese have been murdered in the past two years by Indonesian troops during operations to destroy the Free Aceh Movement which is known to have considerable support in several parts of Aceh.

Besides the 43 who have taken refuge with the UNHCR, more than 200 are in custody. They are what remain of more than 400 who fled to Malaysia last year. The rest have been repatriated to Indonesia, almost certainly against their will. UNHCR officials in Malaysia have, throughout, been refused access to the detainees, whereas Indonesian officials have been given unlimited access, in order to cajole the refugees into returning home.

Free Aceh Movement contacts in Malaysia believe that there are another 1,500 Acehese in Malaysia who fear forced repatriation if they register with the authorities under a government decree requiring all 'illegal immigrants' to give themselves up by 30 June this year.

TAPOL strongly condemns the Malaysian Government for disregarding its responsibility under international law to recognise the principle of non-refoulement, which is binding on all states. This places an obligation on all states not to send any person against their will to a country where they would be at risk of human rights abuse. TAPOL calls on all human rights organisations in Malaysia and elsewhere to urge the Malaysian government to allow the UNHCR unhindered access to interview all Acehese who consider themselves to be at risk, in order to grant refugee status where appropriate and provide the necessary protection against arrest and forced repatriation.

For more information, contact TAPOL: Phone: 081 771-2904, Fax: 081 653-0322.

## THE ACEHNESE DISAPPEARED

UPI, Jakarta, July 22 - Asia Watch, in a highly critical assessment of the government's human rights record, called Wednesday for an accounting of the dead and missing in East Timor and in the largely Muslim province of Aceh.

The U.S.-based human rights group, in a letter addressed to Secretary of State James Baker and made available to reporters in Jakarta, asked Baker to raise the issues during a meeting of Asian leaders next week in Manila.

Asia Watch said it welcomed the Indonesian government's appointment of a commission to investigate the Nov. 12 massacre of unarmed civilians by government troops in the East Timor capital Dili and its stated willingness to prosecute soldiers.

But Asia Watch criticized the discrepancy between the lenient sentences given to members of the military and the heavy jail terms handed down to dissidents accused of leading anti-government protests.

"More than six months after the massacre in Dili on Nov. 12, the questions about who fired the shots and who disposed of the bodies remain unanswered," Asia Watch said in the letter to Baker.

Asia Watch urged Baker to raise several key Asian human rights issues including those involving Indonesia at the meeting next week in Manila of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The group said the sentences given those accused of planning the demonstration in Dili upon which the troops fired can only be described as savage, with one man, who committed no violence, sentenced to life in prison.

"By contrast, the highest sentence given to a soldier who deliberately used lethal

force against an unarmed crowd was 18 months," Asia Watch said.

The Indonesian military announced last week that an estimated 66 people still remained missing in the aftermath of the Dili shootings, which left at least 50 people dead.

The military said the search for the missing people was continuing.

Asia Watch also cited the Indonesian government for its failure to resolve the disappearance of men taken into custody during the 1989-91 counterinsurgency campaign in Aceh.

It urged Baker to raise in particular the case of Mahdi Yusuf, deputy secretary of the local branch of the Muslim-backed United Development Party, who along with four other men remained missing and were feared dead after reportedly being taken from their jail cells in early March 1991.

The group called on the Indonesian government to conduct a full impartial investigation of Mahdi's case, as well as many other cases of alleged disappearances and extrajudicial executions in Aceh.

It also demanded Indonesia be encouraged to invite a team from the U.N. Working Group on Disappearances to visit Aceh.

Asia Watch, along with the London-based human rights monitoring group Amnesty International, last year accused Indonesian troops of resorting to summary executions, torture and arbitrary arrests in their drive to crush the Free Aceh Movement rebels.

Indonesian authorities have denied the allegations.

## DIPLOS TALK ON ACEHNESE

Reuter, Kuala Lumpur, July 22 - Indonesia and Malaysia are holding talks over some 40 Acehese from Sumatra island seeking political asylum in Kuala Lumpur, Deputy Foreign Minister Abdullah Fadzil Che Wan said on Wednesday.

The 43 Acehese, including women and children, have been camping in the compound of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) office here for more than a month.

"(Malaysian) Foreign Minister Abdullah Ahmad Badawi has met his Indonesian counterpart Ali Alatas to discuss the plight of the Acehese," he told Reuters.

Abdullah Fadzil said the two ministers will continue their talks in Manila where they are currently attending a conference of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Groups of people from Aceh have been arriving in small boats from their homeland on Sumatra across the Straits of Malacca since last March to escape what they said

was fighting between Indonesian armed forces and Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) separatist rebels.

"It is difficult to determine if the Acehnese are economic migrants or political refugees," Abdullah Fadzil said.

However, he gave the assurance that Malaysian authorities would not enter the UNHCR compound to detain the Acehnese. "We cannot do that," he said.

The London-based Indonesian human rights group Tapol said over the weekend a UNCHR official had told the Acehnese that Malaysia was refusing to grant them political asylum.

Tapol said the official told the Acehnese they could either stay on indefinitely or surrender to the authorities.

UNHCR officials were not available for comment.

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### ACEH'S MILITARY COMMANDER WARNS MALAYSIA

*Kompas, 25 July 1992 Dateline: Kuala Lumpur Unabridged*

*This Kompas news item is based on an interview published in the Malaysian daily, 'Utusan Malaysia,' which appeared on the paper's front page on 23 July.*

ABRI [the Indonesian armed forces] is afraid that the Aceh GPK (security disruptor gangs, the official term used for the Free Aceh Movement) may be using Malaysia as its main hiding place. In an exclusive interview, the paper quotes the commander of the Bukit Barisan/Ist Regional Military Command, Major-General R. Pramono as saying that the two countries together can prevent such a development if they take immediate action. The general said that many GPKs cause disruption in Aceh with the intention of taking refuge in Malaysia.

He said that many GPK members are living quite freely in Malaysia although they are guilty of using violence against members of the Indonesian army. "It seems as if there is a place there for them to take refuge after causing trouble. I think it will not be good for regional stability in the long term if Malaysia becomes their hiding place," said Commander Pramono. He said that the recent disturbances in Aceh are around an old issue which dates back to the revolt in the 1960s. The conflict in Aceh can be a test of the bilateral relations between the two countries.

Some circles in Indonesia accuse certain groups and individuals in Malaysia of directly helping the GPK, but the commander would not give any details.

He referred to the incident last year when 261 Acehnese landed in Penang to seek political asylum. He said that the Indonesian authorities have proof that some of the GPK members have dual nationality. He showed the Utusan Malaysia two red Malaysian identity cards which were confiscated from two GPK members who were arrested recently.

Commander Pramono expressed understanding for Malaysia's position, but, even though, under Malaysia law, GPK members cannot be arrested and returned to Indonesia, the authorities from the two countries can try to reach an understanding.

In negotiations last year, Malaysia agreed to arrest arriving Acehnese as illegal immigrants and to return them on a voluntary basis. Some 60 per cent of the 261 Acehnese who landed in Penang last year agreed to return home after both governments gave guarantees that no acts of revenge would be taken against them.

Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba reiterated on Wednesday ((22 July) that the Malaysian government would not give Acehnese political asylum. Sources in Kuala Lumpur say that some 200 are in detention in various camps and prisons in Penang, Kedah and Perak because they entered the country illegally.

Last month, 43 others, including women and children tried to get refugee status at the office of the UN High Commission for Refugees in Kuala Lumpur. Some of the 43 admit to being GPK members.

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### TWO WEST PAPUAN OPM SUPPORTERS SENTENCED

*From TAPOL, 25 July.*

#### 1. OPM SYMPATHISER JAILED

An Indonesian court in Irian Jaya has jailed a local man to five years for supplying food and ammunition to a local separatist group, it was reported yesterday in Jakarta.

Kompas said a court in Jayapura last weekend found Yhezhiel Patay guilty of subversion. The court said Patay, whose age was not given had since 1987 regularly supplied members of the Papua Merdeka movement with rice, sugar, coffee, dried fish, tobacco and salt, as well as guns and ammunition. [Times of PNG, 14 July 1992]

#### 2. CIVIL SERVANT JAILED FOR HELPING IRIAN SEPARATISTS

The Jayapura district court has sentenced a civil servant to five years and six months in jail for supplying ammunition to separatists in Irian Jaya. Presiding judge declared Naftali Usior, 28, guilty of subversion for supporting "enemies of the country."

The defendant had provided not only ammunition but also food, a typewrite and various necessities to the OPM. He sent the aid to a separatist leader identified as M.L Prawar [the OPM commander shot dead by Indonesian troops in May this year] through an accomplice named Yonas Flasi from Jayapura. [Jakarta Post, 21 July 1992]

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### SUPPORT ACEHNESE REFUGEES IN MALAYSIA

#### Letter writing campaign to UNHCR

*TAPOL has written the following letter to Mr S. Chetty, Deputy Director of the Division of International Protection of the UN High Commission for Refugees, on 27 July 1992. All organisations with an interest in the problem of the stranded Acehnese refugees are asked to take similar action.*

Dear Mr Chetty,

TAPOL is, as you may well realise, deeply concerned regarding the fate of Acehnese refugees in Malaysia, not only the 43 who are still at the UNHCR office in Kuala Lumpur, but also the several hundred in lock-ups, as well as many more 'at large' who do not want to register with as 'illegal immigrants' by 30 June last for fear of being forced to return home to Aceh.

At this moment, I would like to urge you to save the 43 now at your premises in KL by seeking third country asylum for them. I have been given to understand that they have been advised to 'go up North,' whatever that may mean. However, the official statement made last week by Malaysia's Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Ghafar Baba, refusing to recognise their status as refugees - despite the fact that they have already been issued with UNHCR Refugee Identity Cards - means that the moment they step outside your office, they are liable to immediate arrest and possible deportation. Bearing in mind the Malaysian government's attitude, your ability to provide them with protection would be rendered ineffective.

Asylum in a third country is now surely the only alternative available to them, of course with an assurance of safe passage from your premises to a point of departure. I would be most grateful for your response to this suggestion. I am sure that, to leave them in their present condition is unacceptable to all concerned. Could the Swedish or Dutch government not be prevailed upon to take them in?

Yours sincerely,  
Carmel Budiardjo

PS: A clipping from last Thursday's Straits Times follows.

Please fax your letters for Mr Chetty to 41 22 731-9546.

## LORD AVEBURY LAMBASTES UNHCR ON ACEH

Original document 26 July 1992

Lord Avebury, chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group, wrote the following letter to Shun Chetty, Deputy Director, Division of International Protection of the UN High Commission for Refugees:

Dear Mr Chetty,

I wrote to you on July 9 about the parlous situation of the Achenese refugees in Malaysia and have had no reply. Now we have learnt of the Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Ghafar Baba's appalling statement, reported in the Straits Times of July 23, that the Malaysian Government had no intention of granting asylum to any of the refugees 'as we have no reason to believe the situation is that bad in Indonesia.'

I must say that throughout this whole crisis, I have been extremely disappointed by Mrs Ogata's and your failure to respond to my urgent pleas, and I have to confess that criticisms made by Tengku Hasan di Tiro in Amsterdam recently appear to me to be fully justified. When Parliament reassembles in October, I intend moving a token reduction in the UK's contribution to UNHCR operations, so that we can have a thorough discussion of your supine behaviour, and your omission to ask third countries if they will accept any of the refugees accepted as such by the UNHCR and now threatened with return to certain death by the Malaysian authorities.

In the meanwhile, since we need to do something as a matter of urgency to save the lives of these refugees, I am appealing to the British Prime Minister as President of the European Community to ask the Malaysians for discussions on the resettlement of the refugees. Mrs Ogata should have done this herself, and I very much deplore the fact that you leave me to take this initiative privately, when you could have done so with the backing and prestige of your office.

## REFUGEES SUPPORT ACEH MERDEKA?

Reuter, Kuala Lumpur, July 28 - Forty-three people from the troubled Indonesian province of Aceh who have been denied political asylum by Malaysia want to be resettled in a third country, their spokesman said on Tuesday.

The Acehnese, including women and children, have been camping in makeshift tents at the compound of the United Nations

High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) for the past five weeks after fleeing their homeland in northern Indonesia.

"They want the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Malaysia to resettle them in a third country," spokesman Ismail Sahputra Abdul Rahman, a member of the Aceh Merdeka (Free Aceh) movement, said by telephone.

Dozens of Acehnese have fled across the Straits of Malacca to Malaysia since last March from what they said was fighting between Indonesian troops and Aceh Merdeka separatist rebels.

Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Abdul Ghafar Baba has said Kuala Lumpur will not give political asylum to people fleeing from Aceh.

Ismail said the Acehnese would continue to remain at the UNHCR office until they were resettled.

"They have no intention of surrendering to Malaysian authorities...they have vowed to stay on (at the UNHCR compound)," he added.

The London-based Indonesian human rights group Tapol said recently a UNHCR official had told the Acehnese that they could stay on indefinitely or surrender to the authorities.

## INDONESIAN 'DISINTEGRATION' ANGST

Reuter, Jakarta, Jonathan Thatcher, July 29 - Indonesia faces a danger of following Yugoslavia into disintegration and should be spurred by the Non-Aligned summit it hosts in September to overcome inequality at home, a political commentator said on Wednesday.

"I would like the summit (from September 1-6) to spur Indonesia to overcome its own inequities," Juwono Sudarsono, dean of social and political science at the University of Indonesia, told reporters.

He cited land issues, urban unemployment and the gap between the comparatively rich western half of the tropical archipelago and the very poor eastern islands.

The eastern half includes two of Indonesia's most troubled provinces - East Timor and Irian Jaya - and the government is now trying to lure businessmen to the region.

The unequal spread of wealth in the country, which incorporates hundreds of different languages and ethnic groups in some 16,000 islands, posed a threat to its unity, Juwono said.

"We are worried about Indonesia disintegrating," he said, pointing to the collapse of Yugoslavia which Indonesia succeeds as

chairman of the Non-Aligned Movement. It groups 105, mostly developing, countries.

In spite of being branded by critics as irrelevant after the end of the Cold War, the movement still had a place in the modern world, Juwono said.

"The summit is still an important meeting to show some defiance (of the industrial world) and an assertion of our being," he said.

Wealthy countries should listen to the problems of the less well off and either offer help or face threats such as those presented by Third World leaders like Iraq's President Saddam Hussein and Cuban leader Fidel Castro, he said.

"If the rich don't provide enough sustenance the poor will rise up."

## THE HIDDEN WAR (OPM IN WEST PAPUA)

29 July 1992 *New Zealand Herald* By James Matthews.

Feature article with photos

[Intro] JAMES MATTHEWS ventures into a rugged land long closed to European reporters, and finds a guerrilla army whose cause the West chooses to ignore.

The last "whiteman" who entered Irian Jaya to report the struggle between indigenous West Papuans and the Indonesian Army had his throat slit from ear to ear with his Swiss Army knife. The body of Swedish film maker Per-Ove Carlsson was found in the border town of Kiunga in May. The film he had taken of West Papuan refugees was missing.

So, I did not know what to expect as I was passed down a chain of contacts to get access to the Free Papua Movement (OPM).

In order to get to my last contact, who was going to secure my path to the OPM, I had been met nervously behind sago palms, passing code words in the dark, and dodging a melange of spooks mingling at the border.

I had a quick lesson in evangelistic style so that my somewhat shaky cover as a pastor could be a little more secure.

Irian Jaya was one of the world's forgotten conflicts. The same abuses were happening there as in West Timor [sic], but few instances were reported.

During my research no one could tell me much about the state of the OPM which had begun its fight for liberation when Indonesia took control in 1963. During that time West Papuans claimed 100,000 had been killed by the Indonesian oppressors.

Most observers assume that the OPM has become increasingly irrelevant and torn by factions since the exile of the fathers of

the movement Jacob Prai and Seth Rumkorem in the mid-1980s.

Finally arriving at what I learned later was Central Command of Zone V, I was surprised to find that a new order OPM had arisen with new cohesion, ideas and energy.

Central Command was a well organised military village of about 600 people. There were 200 soldiers there but I saw evidence of 600 more in a flag-raising ceremony.

However, "Colonel John," an architect and leader of the new order, told me West Papua is now broken up into eight military zones with an average of six battalions in each, with battalions numbering between 800 to 1000. This means that the number of soldiers in the Tenpenal, the military wing of the OPM is nearly 50,000.

Previously most people thought there were only several hundred fighting under a loose organisation. It is more likely there are many more poorly equipped nominal resistance fighters operating under a tighter organisation.

What they lack in automatic weapons and modern communications systems, they make up for in conviction. Everyone I interviewed expressed an absolute commitment.

"David" was an original member of the Tenpenal forces from 1969. "For the struggle I lost a brother and my second-born son. My first-born, I have just learned, has just been released from prison and is being looked after by a Catholic priest in Merauke. He is not the same as he used to be. My other two sons are OPM, and I will fight until I die."

"Lucy," who led the women's movement in the zone, stated with burning eyes and a firm voice: "Even as you can see I am a woman, I have the heart of a man. I want to walk first in line into warfare, into our villages liberating our people."

The harness for these convictions was "Colonel John." He was a natural leader who had an enormous amount of charisma and commanded unquestionable respect.

He evoked images of Kurtz from Conrad's 'Heart of Darkness,' or of a young Fidel Castro. At 35, he had two university degrees, was one of the first to organise border crossers to attract international attention and spent 18 months abroad training with other like-minded movements. (He refuses to say where).

In the new order's political programme for independence there are four steps. The first two are preparation. The third is the establishment of a national congress and solidarity with other countries to lead to the fourth: a full scale military offensive to force a political solution.

"John" places the movement between steps one and two and says that they will reach stage four in about three or four years.

Over the last year there has been a minimal amount of conflict.

The OPM are using this time as a consolidation phase, making use of Vietnam's General Vo Nguyen Giap's policy "You lose today to win tomorrow."

The Indonesians have implemented a "smiling policy" to try to isolate the OPM, but "John" sees this as a psychological game where they have to smile back harder.

On the possibility of joint border patrols between the Indonesians and PNG (a joint military agreement was signed between the two in Jakarta on November 25 last year), he comments: "We will target the PNG soldiers and civilians, not the Indonesian soldiers. We have to show the PNG government this is not the right course of action to adopt."

The military preparation involves increased levels of discipline so "when the little man hits the big man his punch can be effective.

Over the last 18 months "John" has used skills he acquired overseas to give his soldiers intensive training in explosives techniques, improved guerrilla warfare methods and economic terrorism - the many foreign-owned companies in the area are an easy way to focus attention on their cause.

On the old order and their factional fighting that has led to bloodshed and denied them money and guns, "John" comments: "The faction fighting of the old order is symptomatic of a regional or tribal mentality. This has been the disease that many African nations have suffered from and the new order refuses this tendency absolutely.

"Our idea is that simply everyone in West Papua is equal. We are educating West Papuans to see themselves as a nation and not a bunch of tribes. We want to endorse a type of proletariat mentality."

Mobilisation patrols are sent out regularly for periods of about six months to "raise the people's solidarity and political consciousness." The next patrol going out was headed for the Asmat region where in some parts the culture has escaped destruction onset by the logging companies from Japan, Korea and the United States.

Here they are going to work out a strategy of resistance to cultural repression. The last mobilisation patrol to go through the Eastern Highlands told stories of "lost tribes" who had to be informed of the struggle.

"John" understands it will take time to change people's perceptions but he knows political education is essential.

"The people and the OPM have to have the right attitude," he says. "The political perspective has to be in the forefront of the military struggle.

"That's why Bougainville has hit a deadlock in its secessionist demands ... there was no political dimension to the military struggle.

"People have to know the importance of having independence. Our struggle has to have political colour. The old order were only concerned with the military struggle."

The education effort extends to student groups, trade unions, farmers' organisations. Convincing the international community to accept the cause is another challenge.

The Indonesians are only starting to realise that human rights abuses do not intimidate the West Papuans. They tend to swell the ranks of the OPM.

"Clementine," a woman in Central Command came from a village that was shot up by the Indonesian army in 1985 because it was accused of being an OPM village.

As an example to other villages of what would happen if they sympathised, the soldiers took two pregnant women and cut out the foetuses, then stuck them on poles and pulled out their intestines and wrapped them around their bodies.

"The Indonesians are stupid," says "Clementine."

"This did not frighten us. It made us angry so we joined the OPM."

Stories of soldiers being caught and escaping gives the movement morale and those who die in combat become martyrs. For "Matthew," who was one of my bodyguards, if the Indonesians capture him again he will be shot.

During his six months' imprisonment, he was terrorised with a chainsaw and then beaten with the chains from the chainsaw. Another guard, "Baldasar," was bashed with human skulls and forced to eat bullets. Then he was interrogated for 10 days without sleep and fed a spoonful of rice a day for two weeks. He supplemented his diet with newspaper and what ever else he could find before he escaped.

The OPM are outnumbered by a well equipped army thousands of times their size. They are also squeezed by the interaction of PNG, Australia's and Indonesia's foreign policies. The PNG government accepts the struggle as an internal matter. To do otherwise would drag them into a conflict a politically and economically unstable ship could not take on.

Australia has a vested interest in keeping the OPM isolated to ensure friendly relations continue with the Indonesians. Economic interests in Indonesia, such as oil in the Timor Sea as well as extensive economic interests in PNG, bolster this position.

Moreover Australia is continually told its future is to negotiate with the Asian region. For Australia to support a group that is considered a minor irritant, is too big a price to pay for the backlash it would cause in Jakarta.

However, "John" sees room to move. "Politics today is not the politics of tomorrow. The changes in leadership that will happen in Indonesia will present opportunities for us. If the new leadership adopts an aggressive foreign policy then Australia will want to use the OPM as a countervailing force to this.

"A change in leadership might mean continuing instability in Jakarta which could lead to the break up of the Javanese-controlled empire. You have to remember it is not so long ago that the Soviet empire split up."

It is only by exploiting changes in the region when they occur that the OPM has any chance of achieving independence. On the PNG side, a change in the status quo - a younger leadership with different ideas - might be more sympathetic to the OPM cause. The same could be true of a new administration in Indonesia. So presenting an effective and organised movement will add to credibility.

Knowing you are a target for the Indonesian military is a harsh reality.

On my third to last day with the OPM we had stopped to fish and eat like we had done many times. However, this time "Matthew" heard a dull thudding sound in the distance.

As the thudding gathered pace and clarity the psychological threat I had lived with for three weeks was suddenly smashed. It was replaced with the reality of a glass encased Puma helicopter screaming over the canopy just above us.

My heart sank into my sandals and fear pounded in my head. "Matthew" grabbed me and rushed me deeper into the jungle as the helicopter came around for the second round. By now I had become sharper and calculated in my reactions in a way I never felt before.

The helicopter did not come around for a third time, but it left a tingle of adrenalin circulating in my body for the rest of the day.

On my last day at Central Command we attended the funeral of the second person to succumb to cerebral malaria in that week. Both were in their early twenties. I asked: "You have the will but do you have the means to achieve independence?"

"John" replied: "Nothing is impossible. It is only impossible if you are too lazy to utilise your talents. See this eagle that sits on my shoulder? I waited patiently for it to

come and it came. Independence will come, but this is the beginning of the struggle."

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## OPM REBEL SURRENDERS

*Reuter. 2 Aug. 92. Dateline: Jakarta. Unabridged.*

*Forwarded from janus. This is a re-write of an RRI broadcast itself quoting Antara.*

A rebel leader in the remote Indonesian province of Irian Jaya has surrendered to the military with his two wives and seven children, regional commander Major General Abinowo was quoted on Sunday as saying.

David Jebleb, a leader of the Free Papua Movement (OPM), voluntarily surrendered recently, Abinowo said, quoted by the official news agency Antara.

The OPM rebel group is fighting in the jungles of Irian Jaya to create an independent state in the western half of New Guinea, free from Jakarta's rule.

Abinowo said Jebleb had led a group of 32 insurgents operating in Yuruf, Ubrub and Wembri villages along the border with Papua New Guinea.

He expected other rebels would give up soon after the surrender of their leader.

Jakarta crushed armed resistance to Indonesian rule in Irian Jaya when it took over the territory from the Dutch in 1963, but the OPM separatist movement retains many sympathisers.

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## EVENTS IN THE U.S.

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### REPORT ON CONVERSATION WITH REP KOLBE (ETAN/SW)

*From Matt Cheselka, ETAN/Southwest 16 July 1992*

I attended a Town Hall meeting put on by Representative Kolbe (R) of Arizona, who represents my district in Tucson.

After the meeting I briefly talked to him about East Timor and gave him a packet containing a copy of HR 5176, Resolution No. 42 of the US Conference of Mayors (resolving to urge the President and Congress to assist in the resolution of the East Timorese conflict), Security Council Resolution 389 (1976), Security Council Resolution 384(1975), General Assembly Resolution 3485, and a copy of a Joint Statement to the European Community Summit on the situation in occupied East Timor. I also put a little cover letter with lines like, "These documents reflect not only my concerns but also my wishes," and "I urge you to do anything in your power to allow this bill to

come up for a vote on the House floor. I strongly request that you approve the bill when it does. The people of East Timor are waiting and need your help."

Rep. Kolbe asked me about the massacre in Dili and about the occupation of Indonesian troops since 1975. He said that "people have been telling me about this" and recognized the name East Timor right away. He was very pleased to hear from someone about the matter. There was a large group of people around him waiting to ask him other questions. I made sure to speak loudly so everyone could hear. The only thing that really concerned me was him saying, "I don't think the US gives Indonesia that much money," implying, at least in my opinion, that stopping all aid to Indonesia from the US is not going to change anything. I explained to him that HR 5176 is not only to terminate aid to Indonesia, but specifically targets Indonesia's aggression towards East Timor. He shook his head, showing me he understood.

If anyone feels inspired by this, you aren't alone. I was ecstatic afterwards!

This was my first real action for East Timor, and I now feel I have a real connection to the East Timorese.

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## AMERICAN-INDONESIAN EXCHANGE FOUNDATION ESTABLISHED

Xinhua, Jakarta, July 15 - Indonesia and the United States signed a bilateral educational and cultural agreement here today, according to the United States Information Service (USIS) here.

Under the new agreement, the two countries will encourage further development of exchanges, with the intent to deepen knowledge and understanding of each other's history, civilization, institutions, literature and other cultural accomplishments.

A binational organization in the name of the American-Indonesian Exchange Foundation is officially established, said the agreement.

According to the USIS, the agreement is the first formal agreement of its kind between the two countries.

Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and U.S. Ambassador John C. Monjo signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

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## U.S. URBAN SERVICES LOAN

Xinhua, Jakarta, July 18 - Indonesia will obtain from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) 25 million

U.S. dollars in loan, according to Antara, the national news agency of Indonesia.

Quoting the U.S. Embassy here, the agency said that this loan will support the provision of urban infrastructure to help low-income Indonesians gain greater access to water, waste water treatment and other basic urban services.

The loan will support Indonesia's new initiatives to expand the role of the private sector in financing municipal services and give priority to the basic needs of Indonesia's urban poor in the rapid growth of urban areas.

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## AICC ENTERS TIMOR POLITICS!

AMERICAN INDONESIAN CHAMBER  
OF COMMERCE  
"for business and understanding"  
July 21, 1992

### MEMBERSHIP ALERT

Dear Chamber Member,

I would like to alert you to legislation now pending in the US Congress that could curtail economic assistance to Indonesia and as a result adversely affect US-Indonesia relations, HR 5368 (Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriation Bill 1993)<sup>1</sup>, recently passed by the House, asks the US government to penalize Indonesia for the recent events in East Timor. Such penalties may directly or indirectly impact US firms doing business in Indonesia. A Senate version of HR 5368 is now being prepared by the Sub-Committee on Foreign Operations of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

HR 5368 ends International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia. The bill also imposes special notification provisions upon economic assistance to Indonesia. It is our understanding that this would require the Administration to consult with Congress before obligating for Indonesia any funds appropriated by the bill. The House Foreign Operations Sub-Committee (Appropriations) Report accompanying the bill contains the following statements with regard to Indonesia:

"The Committee also believes that US economic assistance should be limited to programs, projects, and activities that (1) directly enhance basic human needs among the poor majority or (2) that address compelling environmental problems. Cash transfers shall not be provided to the Government of Indonesia."

The combined effect would, we understand, allow Congress to put a hold on any assistance to Indonesia and force the Administration to negotiate with Congress for

the release of any funds which would be used for purposes other than those described in (1) and (2) of the quoted language. This could substantially affect the level of economic assistance.

If you feel that the consequences of the legislation as passed by the House with the accompanying report would have a detrimental effect on your business or would otherwise unfavorably affect US-Indonesia relations, you may wish to contact your Senator and/or the members of the Senate Foreign Operations Sub-Committee. We have enclosed a model letter for your convenience.

We will continue to monitor this bill and others that may be proposed and keep you informed.

Wayne Forrest  
Executive Director

1. The bill provides the appropriation for many forms of economic assistance to foreign governments and provides certain conditions for use of the funds.

711 3rd Ave, 17 fl, NY, NY 10017  
(212) 687-4505 Fax: (212) 867-9882

### DRAFT SAMPLE LETTER:

Dear Senator,

I am writing to express our views on provisions of the foreign operations appropriations bill you are considering. In our opinion, the House version of this bill (HR 5368) unreasonably threatens US trade and investment flows to Indonesia, an important US market now and in the future. We disagree with those sections of the report that accompanies HR 5368 which recommend restricting aid to humanitarian, non-commercial purposes. In an increasingly competitive global economy, foreign economic assistance has become an important tool to support exports and maintain and expand employment here in the US.

We believe the State Department and Embassy in Indonesia have adequately responded to the events that took place in East Timor. Although the deaths in Timor are deplorable, it does not make sense for the US to take steps that could lead to less trade and investment between our two countries and the weakening of other partnerships such as military training.

We believe that you should oppose any Senate version of HR 5368 that limits US economic and military training assistance. Already Indonesia has taken actions rare in Asia to court-martial soldiers who fired on demonstrators and removed commanders. US-trained officers have been moderates who have worked to reform the Indonesian military and other aspects of society.

We hope the bill you enact will not curtail economic assistance such as: commercial and agricultural loans, technical assistance for private power and telecommunications development, grants for economic law and entrepreneurship development, and business education grants. This would lead to more jobs for European and Japanese firms and less jobs for US companies. Starting in 1988, the US began on a selective basis to mix traditional aid assistance with EXIM export finance. Thus, more US firms are winning contracts in Indonesia. US AID-funded technical advisors in power and telecommunications have helped bring US technical standards and US equipment into Indonesia.

The Economic Law and Improved Procurement Project (ELIPS), a US AID program to help Indonesia write modern business laws and government procurement procedures, is an example of economic aid about to be implemented by US AID. In our opinion, ELIPS is a crucial program with the potential to greatly improve the business climate in Indonesia for US firms.

American companies and those they employ continue to enjoy the benefits of doing business with Indonesia. We have all learned to be patient and persistent in our attempts to expand, and most of us have been rewarded. A steady, guiding hand is what is called for in helping Indonesia cope with East Timor.

Sincerely,

### Who To Write To:

- 1.) Senators from your firm's state
- 2.) Members of the Senate Foreign Operations Committee:

#### Majority - D

Patrick Leahy, Chairman Daniel Inouye, Dennis DeConcini, Frank Lautenberg, Tom Harkin, Barbara Mikulski

#### Minority - R

Robert Kasten, Jr., Mark Hatfield, Alfonso D'Amato, Warren Rudman, Arlen Specter, Don Nickles

#### Addresses:

SD-137 Dirksen Senate Office Building  
Washington, DC 20510

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## ETAN/US SENATE UPDATES

From Richard Koch, 31 July.

- Action in Senate Delayed
- Counterattack Against House IMET Cut Begins
- Please Contact Senators Leahy, Kasten, Hatfield and Byrd

A previous ETAN/US alert indicated that the Senate Foreign Operations Subcommittee would mark up the foreign aid bill the week of July 20. That action has been delayed until September. You now have more time to phone/write/fax Senators concerning the appropriation for Indonesia.

Senator Leahy (D-VT), the chairman of the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, should continue to be a focus of action. We have learned of reports that the State Department has enlisted Senator Kasten (R-WI), the ranking minority member on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee, and Senator Byrd (D-WV), the chairman of the entire Appropriations Committee, to try to restore the IMET (military training aid) cut that was made by the House. Another key person is Senator Hatfield (R-OR), the one Republican on the subcommittee who is most likely to be supportive; Hatfield's staff has indicated that he takes some interest in East Timor and in the past he has taken good positions on Central America. Everyone should phone/write/fax Senators Leahy, Kasten, Hatfield and Byrd. People who live in a state with a Senator on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee should also contact their own senator.

We have also learned that the American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce has sent a letter to its members requesting that they contact senators to oppose the IMET or any other foreign aid cut for Indonesia.

The following senators are on the Foreign Operations Subcommittee:

Democrats:

Leahy, VT 202-224-7209  
Inouye, HI 202-224-3934  
Johnston, LA 202-224-5824  
DeConcini, AZ 202-224-4521  
Lautenberg, NJ 202-224-4744  
Harkin, IA 202-224-3254  
Mikulski, MD 202-224-4654

Republicans:

Kasten, WI 202-224-7274  
Hatfield, OR 202-224-3753  
D'Amato, NY 202-224-6542  
Rudman, NH 202-224-3324  
Specter, PA 202-224-4254  
Nickles, OK 202-224-5754

The phone number for Senator Byrd is 202-224-7200.

For a copy of the original Senate alert send e-mail to [rrk@hoqaa.att.com](mailto:rrk@hoqaa.att.com)

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## AICC WASHINGTON BRIEFING

**DAY IN WASHINGTON: SEPTEMBER  
22, 1992**

Your American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce invites you to attend A BRIEF-

ING ON INDONESIA Held in Conjunction with The United States Department of Commerce and The United States Department of State and the Embassy of Indonesia.

Spend a day in Washington with U.S. government and private sector experts knowledgeable about Indonesian affairs.

The program will offer sessions covering:

- Key foreign affairs and bilateral issues
- Prospects for the Indonesian economy
- New developments in power, telecommunications, banking, and other key sectors
- U.S.-Indonesia trade relations and trade legislation

Sessions will be held on September 22, 1992 at the State Department from 9:00 to 4:00.

A special lunch featuring Indonesia's Minister of Finance, Johannes Sumarlin, will be given at noon in the elegant Franklin Room on the 8th Floor. A reception (starting at 5:30 p.m.) will follow at the Embassy of Indonesia.

You will be sent more information in the near future, but you may contact the Chamber office at (212) 687-4505 for advanced reservations. The cost of the full program will be \$140 for Chamber members.

### AICC SUMMER GET-TOGETHER

The American Indonesian Chamber Of Commerce cordially invites you to a "Summer Get Together"

August 20, 1992 From 5:30 - 7:00 Pm  
At Restoran Indonesia Nusantara, 219 East 44th Street (between 2nd and 3rd Avenues)

To celebrate Indonesian Independence Day, the Chamber will host a "Summer Cocktail Reception." We will sample authentic delicacies, enjoy the beautiful surroundings of Indonesian decor and mix among ourselves for an evening to spend time relaxing. Who knows, there may even be a 'surprise' guest.

Please feel free to invite your friends and colleagues and join us as we escape the heat and humidity of a New York summer.

For reservations, please call Kamisah Trautman or Wayne Forrest at (212) 687-4505

COST: \$25 Per Person (Member and Guests), \$30 Per Person (Non-Members)

Please mail checks in advance made payable: The American Indonesian Chamber of Commerce, 711 Third Avenue, 17th Floor, New York, NY 10017

We regret that we cannot accept cancellations after 12 noon, August 18. Reservations may be made up till the day of the event.

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## REPRESSION AND EVENTS IN EAST TIMOR

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### DEFENCE SPEECH OF GREGORIO DA CUNHA SALDANHA

*(alias GIRY alias MOURIS)*

*'THE TRUTH UNDER WRAPS'*

*DILI, 30 MAY 1992 Translated and  
abridged by ALISON MURRAY*

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

I give thanks and praises to God for the opportunity to give this simple defence speech. My intention in this speech is not to lighten or oppose the Public Prosecutor's accusations but to assist in my people's struggle for freedom. The reason I sit in this defendant's chair is because I love freedom, my people, my land, and our human rights. I know this court is a place for establishing truth and justice, so I will do my best to describe honestly my aspirations, my actions and my experiences up to now.

On 12 November 1991 occurred a mass demonstration of about 10,000 people. It began at Motael Church, passed in front of Seroja Theatre, turned left at KODIM 1627 and proceeded to Santa Cruz Cemetery. Some of the demonstrators carried banners and flags, and the march was enlivened with shouting of slogans.

The demonstration was a reaction to the attack on Motael Church by intelligence forces (intel) on 28 October. The attack resulted in the death of a nationalist youth, SEBASTIAO GOMES, and injury to another nationalist youth, Felix Amaral, who was seeking refuge in the church. One of the intel group also died, Afonso Henriques.

The banners included:

- XANANA GUSMAO IS A SYMBOL OF NATIONAL UNITY
- SEBASTIAO IS DEAD, WHAT ABOUT THE FATE OF THE REST OF US?
- UN SECRETARY-GENERAL, WE ARE WAITING FOR THE PORTUGUESE DELEGATION
- DIALOGUE IS THE ROAD TO A SOLUTION FOR EAST TIMOR

The flags included:

- UN, FALINTIL, UDT, FRETILIN, OJETIL

The slogans included:

- LONG LIVE SEBASTIAO
- LONG LIVE XANANA GUSMAO
- LONG LIVE THE MAUBERE PEOPLE



• LONG LIVE THE TIMORESE NATIONAL COALITION

On the way to Santa Cruz the march became bigger and livelier, but this liveliness was instantly silenced by gunfire from the security forces. The corpses were laid out, the wounded were hit with rifle butts, stabbed, beaten and dragged away. The cries of the victims filled the area, which became red with a lake of the blood of the young heroes who were the hope of the Timorese people.

That was the tragedy called the SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE which I experienced. The human rights of the Timorese people are silenced by the power of arms, and the solution to problems arising in East Timor is at the end of a gun. The price of our freedom is very dear: to get it we have sacrificed everything, and our souls, for more than 16 years.

After the demonstration on 12 November I was hospitalised for 6 days at RS Wirahusada (military hospital) because of a gunshot wound, then taken by police to the regional police office (POLWIL) to be interrogated up until I now sit in this defendant's chair.

## 2. BACKGROUND

*(The factors which influenced his involvement in the anti-integration struggle: the invasion of 1975, massacres, the fence-of-legs operation, forced movement of Timorese people and filling of areas with transmigrants)*

The army destroyed traditional sacred places (uma lulik), e.g. those I know of at Bibisusu, Holulu, Hoholau, Fatubosa, Aileta, Ailalek ....

They formed armed groups, such as Makikit Team, Sera Team, Railakan Team, among the people in order to divide and rule, to induce mutual animosity and attacks. Intel groups called NINJA attack our houses in order to terrify the people (gives examples including the 28 October attack).

They do not respect our religion or our priests (gives examples including the destruction of holy objects and statues of the Virgin Mary, shouting of insults "Mother Mary doesn't wear underpants") such things had never occurred in 500 years of Portuguese rule or 3.5 years of Japanese occupation.

All these events are facts which have resulted from the concerted efforts to shove aside our cultural values, destroy our religious values, smash our self-esteem and national identity and even to systematically exterminate my people and our right to live on this earth. The indiscriminate slaughter of the demonstrators at Santa Cruz was clearly part of the effort to exterminate my people.

*(He discusses the history of the independence struggles of colonised peoples and the school lessons and films about Indonesia's achievement of independence and the constitution of 1945. Indonesia's struggle against the Dutch colonists is an inspiration and motivation for his people to free themselves from foreign domination)*

The 1945 Constitution states: That freedom is the right of all peoples and because of that, colonialism must be wiped out across the world because it is not in accordance with humanity and justice.

We learn at school that the human rights of a nation are extremely valuable and cannot be exchanged for big buildings, tarmac roads, modernised education etc. We can see that development by the Indonesian government has rapidly advanced in the last 16 years, compared with what Portugal achieved in 500 years. But has the Indonesian government implemented its infrastructure development as exchange for our self-esteem, dignity, identity, and the extermination of our nation? If this is so, then we of the PEOPLE born in this LAND, absolutely REJECT IT!

*(he discusses the process of decolonisation and integration and the role of the UN. The formation of political parties, the declaration of independence by Fretilin in 1975, the reactive Balibo declaration by the other parties, the UN's resolutions on East Timor's right to self-determination, Portugal's continuing role)*

*(he quotes from church leaders' letters in support of a referendum for the Timorese, including Bishops Belo)*

In welcoming the proposed visit by a Portuguese Parliamentary delegation (DPP), the area commander (PANGALAKOPS) Brig. Gen. Warouw said in an interview with Radio Australia on 15 October 1991, 'During the Portuguese parliamentary delegation's visit to East Timor, we will guarantee the safety of anyone who wishes to demonstrate - as long as they do not disturb the general order and security.'

This statement gave me the inspiration, motivation and awareness to become part of the opposition to integration, which is not right. As a son of this land and integral part of the Timorese people I feel responsible to do my best to retain the identity and dignity of my people....

Nevertheless, whatever we do we are labelled security disturbing group (GPK), communists, frustrated youths who cannot get work etc. We are not seen as an integral part of the Timorese people demanding our most basic human right according to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which is repeated at the beginning of the Indonesian constitution.... Isn't it more appropriate that the labels GPK, commu-

nist, frustrated, are applied to those who arrest, kill, attack homes and people in the street, destroy sacred sites (lulik), rape, hit our priests etc?

I was head of a group of youths called CANJT (National Resistance Committee for Timorese Youth), with the aim of helping achieve freedom for East Timor, and joined a group called EC (executive committee) as a mediator for the aspirations of the CNRM (Council of National Maubere Resistance), which sought to find a peaceful solution through open dialogue between representatives of the Portuguese parliament, Indonesian parliament and UN who were to arrive in November 1991. The EC would mediate if the CNRM itself was obstructed.

CANJ believes the best future for East Timor is FREEDOM according to fundamental human rights... however we are well aware that other roads to the future may be chosen by our people, as is also their right. We do not dismiss the possibility of accepting and respecting any choice made by our people as long as the choice is made in a safe, free, democratic situation under the auspices of the UN.

As a Timorese nationalist youth I feel proud to sit in this defendant's chair... this is not the end of a problem which has gone on for 17 years, it is an encouragement to the children and grandchildren to become candidates for the defendant's chair in the future, so the problem will not go away. As a Timorese nationalist youth I believe that to sit in this chair is a political victory which will be recorded in the history of my people's struggle and will inspire nationalism and patriotism in the children and grandchildren. The arrogance and strength of arms has been able to kill our people since 7 December 1975, but it has not killed our patriotic spirit.... future generations will continue the struggle. If we have lost today, tomorrow we will surely win...

Sitting in this chair I represent one of the victims of the continuing problem of East Timor. However I feel very lucky because I still have the chance to speak here before I become a corpse, unlike my compatriots of the last 17 years and those slaughtered at Santa Cruz on 12 November 1991. They had no chance to open their mouths like me; they were silenced by bullets and that silence was immediate. They were true heroes. Their blood and souls carve the history of our struggle.

## 3. ARREST AND DETENTION

While I was hospitalised at RS Wirahusada I was interrogated by an SGI member for 2 days. After 6 days, on 18 November, I was taken by police to POLWIL. While I was held at Rutan POLWIL I was

interrogated in rotation day and night. On a date I don't remember in November, I was interrogated from afternoon until morning. At the time even though I was very weak due to my gunshot wound, I was hit and threatened by the interrogator Martinus Wae. I was surrounded by other police, some of whom pulled out my beard. I was forced to say what the interrogator wanted, which was not according to the true facts.

On a date I don't remember at the end of November I was interrogated in the middle of the night by prosecutors and deputy police chief in the data room of Polwil. The deputy police chief hit me in the presence of the prosecutors, including the Public Prosecutor, to force me to give names of native officials, priests and business owners who supported our struggle. Because I could no longer bear this inhumane treatment and because I was weakened by my gunshot wound, I carelessly gave names of high officials, priests and business owners who knew nothing and had no link with me, following the saying, "As long as the boss is happy."

At the beginning of December I was urged by the assistant public prosecutor, Tamher, to give names of youths in CRNJT, and say that they carried firearms and knives in the 12 November demonstration, with the guarantee that I would be free, lightly or at least responsibly treated. But because I felt this was not true, I refused.

At the beginning of February, I was urged by Martinus Wae to give a false statement against a demonstrator called Antonio Belo, aged 30 and illiterate, that he carried a banner and flag. The interrogator said Antonio had already confessed his involvement. But because I believe true evidence is that which is seen, heard and experienced, I refused.

At the beginning of May I was advised by the public prosecutor, Supardi, that I should choose a local lawyer, Ponco. If I chose a lawyer from the YLBHI Jakarta there would be a conflict between the lawyers and the victim would be the defendant. This was repeated by police lieutenant Bambang. Prosecutors said the same thing to other defendants. Because I believe that the choice of lawyer is the defendant's right, I said nothing.

Maybe the demand for a life sentence, the heavy load which I received on 20 May in this court, is the result. I am surprised that the prosecutors and police would be worried about the YLBHI team defending me. The members of this team are sons of Indonesia from birth, who wish to support the process of the law in East Timor. Does the legal establishment here have as little faith in Jakarta lawyers as it does in people like me, who were not born Indonesian?

When I was first interrogated at RS Wirahusada by an SGI member, Lt. Edy, he showed me a photo of a youth called Aje Nuno who lives on the north side of Santa Cruz. In the photo he posed holding a banner with a picture of Xanana at the time of the demonstration in front of the cemetery gates. Edy said this youth is a member of SGI. As well as that, I knew that 3 of the wounded who were in the same hospital confessed to being intel agents. And in fact, while the march was proceeding, these youths and others I didn't know carrying banners ran in front of the march and ignored our requests to walk slowly and be disciplined.

At the end of November the Assistant intel, Col. Gatot Purwoanto said in the interrogation room of Polwil that Constancio Pinto (member of EC) was one of his men. He repeated this when I met with Major-General Sintong Panjaitan (East Indonesia commander) in the presence of the East Timor police chief.

My conclusion from the above is that: 'The intel purposely infiltrated their agents into our side to influence us and to incite the demonstrator to take actions which would invite a reaction from the security forces, such as occurred at the demonstration of 12 November' It is clear that if the demonstrators had any firearm or knife or fired any shots, then this was a pre-arranged plan by intel.

#### 4/5. RESPONSE TO THE CHARGES

*(Charged under the Anti-Subversion Law of 1963) - I have no intention of subverting the power and authority of the legitimate government of the Republic of Indonesia. I respect the Republic of Indonesia, the Pancasila and constitution are wrongly and inappropriately applied in East Timor.*

*(repeats argument about human rights and the role of the UN and that feelings of enmity, confusion, disturbance, are the creation of the Portuguese who abandoned their colony and did not take responsibility. His struggle is not 'subversive' but a legitimate expression of the right to oppose colonial and foreign domination).*

#### 6. RESPONSE TO WITNESSES STATEMENTS

-emphasises that the CRNJT had nothing to do with previous demo for John Monjo as it was not formed then;

-that the CE was a temporary group set up to mediate between CNRM and the Portuguese delegation;

-Xanana chose the road of peaceful dialogue, not because Fretilin has no arms, but because armed struggle will only prolong the suffering of the people;

-that his role in CE was to prepare banners and to contact the youth, not to incite the demonstrators;

-that the CE only sought to assist in achieving dialogue between all parties and it would accept the end result of that process whether it be independence, integration or whatever;

-that he did not see any weapons among the demonstrators, nor hear shots from them, nor hear warning shots from the security forces;

"Were any security forces wounded or killed at Santa Cruz by bullets from the demonstrators? Were any of them wounded or killed by demonstrators attacking them with knives? Or were the arms carried by the demonstrator then used to kill themselves, and that caused the great pile of corpses at the Santa Cruz cemetery?"

-he did not see a pistol fired or grenade thrown by the demonstrators;

-the T-shirts, banners and flags were brought by the demonstrators and not from a stock at Motael church;

-he did stand on the wall of Santa Cruz with a megaphone, in order to say to the people: "everybody stay quiet and enter the cemetery to pray."

-in response to the objects produced in evidence, he acknowledges flags, banners, T-shirt saying OJETIL and a camera. He does not acknowledge as being at the demo: broken glass, stone thrown at windows, various knives, axes and lengths of iron, firearms including 3 mausers, 1 G-3 rifles, 3 pistols, 6 grenades and tens of bullets.

*(7. - deals with the events leading up to and during the demo, following the prosecution's allegation)*

#### 8. CONCLUSION

Looking at the background I have explained above which influenced my actions, I feel that I was not mistaken and that my actions were right. It is appropriate and responsible for a son of East Timor such as myself to look and learn from the past, and to act and prepare for the future.

However, today I put my life into the hands of the honourable judge, who will decide my life or death.

Like all that is conscious in this world, I wish for freedom like the birds in the sky and the fish in the sea!

So this is my defence speech to the court, not forgetting to offer my deepest apologies if there is anything in it to offend the feelings of any party, especially the honourable gentlemen I have offended here. I only do this because I want to open my heart and speak with complete honesty to the court. Finally I give my thanks to all parties who have assisted in this court process. In the hope that God Almighty will

forgive us all for our mistakes and show us the right path.

#### FURTHER NOTES

1. The Jakarta (YLBHI) lawyers' defence for Gregorio and Francisco:

- This is largely based on historical and legal argument and analysis of the 1963 presidential decree known as the Anti-Subversion law:

-this law was made during a time of emergency and military confrontation with Malaysia, and is not appropriate after the return to a more democratic government.

- The law itself contains internal contradictions and does not follow the procedures set down for laws. It is against the 1945 constitution and against Pancasila ideology.

-Whereas laws should fundamentally contain clarity and fairness, this law is vaguely written and has been used against all kinds of people, from peaceful demonstrators to electricity thieves.

-In 1966 Suharto's New Order government decided that all previous laws should be re-passed within 2 years if they were to remain valid. This law was re-passed in 1969. However, the charges in these Dili cases refer to the 1963 law.

2. Constancio Pinto is mentioned in several documents so we have to ask why he was not charged: The charges against Francisco state that Pinto was head of the CE and received/sent messages to Xanana. He invited an Australian Timorese to a CE meeting and introduced Fernando from Ball to the CE, and arranged the visit of English journalists in September 1991. On 10 November Gregorio received the order for the 12 November demo from pinto.

Juvenio de Jesus Martin's defence speech questions why CE members Xavier and Pinto were not charged:

'Constancio Pinto, who as head of the CE caused the defendant to be sitting in court, and Augusto Filipe Gama Xavier whose status is completely uncertain, whether purposely or not purposely have never appeared or been made to appear to explain this matter, which can be called a great mystery.'

Martins' defence says that it was Pinto who informed the others about the Portuguese delegation and proposed organising a demo. Later he told them that the Portuguese were not coming but the UN representative was, and changed the plan. Pinto's proposal for the 12 November demo was opposed by Francisco, but Martins did not know the outcome of this conflict.

## ARMY CHIEF VIEWS EFFECT OF DILI ON DECISION-MAKING

*Hong Kong AFP in English*

Jakarta, July 6 (AFP) - Indonesian Army Chief General Eddy Sudrajat has told battalion leaders that the Dili shooting last November should not deter them from making prompt and firm decisions, press reports said Monday.

"The November 12 case in Dili can give us many lessons to draw on.... It should not be the case that because of that event, commanders become afraid or uncertain in making a decision," Sudrajat told 121 officers here Saturday, the MEDIA INDONESIA daily said.

Sudrajat was referring to the shootings in East Timor, when Indonesian troops shot into a crowd of East Timorese demonstrators, killing some 50 people, injuring 91 others, while around 90 people have remained missing since, according to official counts.

Jakarta has since removed the top military brass responsible for security affairs in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia unilaterally declared its 27th province in 1976.

It has also discharged three officers from the forces, transferred three others to [words indistinct] and jailed 10 army and police members for between eight and 18 months for neglect of duty or disobedience during the massacre.

"We all understand that there are no perfect decisions. There is no decision without risk. It is upon these decisions and risks that the honor of a commander rests," Sudrajat said.

He said that for an army commander, belated decision making, inability to make quick decisions, and fear of taking risks were "unforgivable weaknesses."

## 'CLEARANCE TESTS' FOR TIMORESE STUDENTS

*From a protected source, received by TAPOL on 11 July 1992.*

All East Timorese who are studying in Java and Bali were summoned to report to the local military commands where they are living on 10 July and required to answer detailed questionnaires. The orders to appear were transmitted to the students by their university deans or academy directors.

The questioning has created renewed anxiety among the students and came just as the trials of East Timorese in Jakarta and Dili drew to a close.

The questionnaire was drawn up by BAKORSTANAS, the notorious security agency headed by armed forces commander-in-chief, General Try Sutrisno. Our source referred to it as a 'clearance test' [using the English phrase] and said that the students were required to fill in their bio-data.

They then had to state in writing their personal opinion of the reports of the National Commission of Inquiry (KPN) and the Honorary Military Council (DKM), regarding the Santa Cruz massacre. They were asked their opinion about the Balibo Declaration issued in November 1975 by four East Timorese parties; this Declaration called on the Indonesian government to integrate East Timor.

[All the Balibo signatories were under Indonesian control at the time. This document was used extensively during the recent trials of East Timorese in Jakarta and Dili as the justification for Jakarta's decision to annex East Timor.]

The students also had to say what they felt about the process of integration.

After completing the questionnaires, the students were told to report to the local military command on 13 and 14 July to be interviewed on the same questions.

## OPERATION TO END TIMOR RESISTANCE?

UPI, Jakarta, July 13 - Three East Timorese guerrillas were killed and two others were captured in armed clashes with government troops in the troubled former Portuguese colony, Kompas reported Monday.

The fighting occurred Friday between members of the East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement and Indonesian troops in Ainaro district, said Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, the East Timor military operations commander.

"The armed clashes began when Indonesian troops on a military patrol in the East Timor jungle were ambushed by members of the guerrilla movement," Syafei told the newspaper.

"But the gun battle did not last long because the guerrillas were outnumbered" he said, adding that three guerrillas were killed and two were captured.

The Fretilin guerrilla movement, which launched its armed rebellion against the government in 1976, is still in active in East Timor, although in greatly reduced numbers.

Syafei said only about 200 Fretilin guerrillas remain in the region, clustered in 10 small groups with an estimated total of about 120 weapons.

He said a recent change in government tactics, without elaborating on them, will

mean a continued upsurge in the number of armed clashes with the guerrillas.

There previously were only about two armed clashes in a month, but now such battles take place seven to 10 times in a month, Syafei said.

Two Fretilin guerrillas were killed and one government soldier was injured in armed clashes June 21 in Manifahi district of the province.

Syafei said the increased frequency of clashes between rebels and government troops will not affect plans already made to end military operations in the East Timor.

It was widely reported earlier that the government considers the security situation in East Timor to be secure and plans to end its military operations by September.

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### A.I. APPEALS AGAIN TO INDONESIA

Reuter, Jakarta, Moses Manoharan, July 13 - Amnesty International appealed to Indonesia on Monday to prohibit summary executions and torture which the London-based human rights organisation says are widely used to suppress political dissent.

"If those who violate human rights can do so with impunity, they inevitably come to believe they are beyond the reach of the law," the organisation said.

"Acts such as extra-judicial executions and torture must be explicitly prohibited by law," it said in a report.

Indonesia routinely denies accusations of abuses levelled at it by international human rights organisations and governments of countries such as the United States and Australia.

But Amnesty said: "The evidence suggests that a clear and persistent pattern of human rights violations has been practised by the Indonesian authorities as a means for suppressing dissent."

The report coincides with a meeting of Indonesia's foreign aid donors in Paris this week. Human rights groups have urged donors to link their aid the Indonesia's rights record.

In a clear reference to last November's army massacre in East Timor, Amnesty called for members of the security forces suspected of human rights violations to be tried in civilian courts.

Human rights organisations have criticised harsh sentences imposed on East Timor separatists compared to the lighter punishments military tribunals have given to soldiers involved in the massacre of civilians in the territory's capital, Dili.

A government inquiry concluded that 50 people died and 90 went missing when the

army opened fire. Witnesses put the death toll as high as 180.

Amnesty said it wanted a more complete investigation.

The organisation also accused Indonesia of routinely torturing political prisoners and said peaceful protests were treated as subversion, the maximum penalty for which is death.

It estimated there were 150 possible prisoners of conscience in Indonesia, convicted in unfair trials for political activity.

At least 29 political prisoners had been judicially executed since 1985, it said, adding that most were elderly men who had served more than 20 years in jail for suspected membership of the Communist Party of Indonesia.

The party was banned when a coup suspected to have been instigated by leftists was crushed in 1965.

Amnesty said severe restrictions on the rights to freedom of expression had resulted in widespread human rights violations especially in three regions - Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor - where security forces are fighting rebels.

It urged Jakarta to allow a United Nations representative to visit Aceh and North Sumatra, where it said more than 2,000 civilians were believed to have been killed since 1989.

Hundreds of others had been arrested in Aceh, Irian Jaya and East Timor since 1989, it added.

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### THREE REBELS KILLED BY TROOPS

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 13 - Three rebels were shot dead in a clash with Indonesian troops in East Timor, a leading Indonesian newspaper reported Monday.

Kompas, Indonesia's largest daily, quoted Gen. Theo Syafei, commander of the military in East Timor, as saying that two others were detained in the clash, which took place in the village of Migasa on Friday.

The clash was the second major incident in East Timor since the killing of unarmed civilians last November 12 at Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili, East Timor's capital.

Two East Timorese were killed in another incident last month.

It was not reported how many troops or rebels were involved.

Syafei said there had been seven to 10 gun clashes a month in recent months, up from one or two previously, and the initiatives for the clashes had mostly come from Indonesian soldiers.

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### THE TIMORESE 'DISAPPEARED'

Reuter, Jakarta, July 14 - Indonesia's military forces on Tuesday said it was seeking 66 East Timorese missing after an army massacre in the former Portuguese colony last year.

Only 18 bodies were found after soldiers opened fire on mourners at a cemetery in the East Timor capital of Dili on November 12. Some reports say up to 180 people died.

"The armed forces is very serious about searching for the missing people. It's not that easy," an armed forces official said.

Military investigators concluded that 115 people were reported missing but 31 had since returned home and another 18 buried, he said.

An earlier government report had said 50 people died and 91 were missing.

"We didn't find anymore dead bodies but we're still searching for the remaining 66. Some of them could have died and some are still alive and hiding in the jungle," the official said.

One of the missing, Constantio Pinto, was suspected of masterminding a march of mourners on November 12 and might have joined the dwindling Fretilin guerrilla movement which is fighting Indonesian rule, he said.

The armed forces called for survivors to return home and promised not to take legal action against those who were not directly involved in the anti-Indonesia demonstration.

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### SUHARTO RECEIVES REPORT FROM MILITARY CHIEF

ANTARA in English 14 Jul. 92

Jakarta, July 14 (OANA/ANTARA) - Chief of the Armed Forces Gen. [General] Try Sutrisno here Tuesday reported the results of an investigation carried out by the Armed Forces (ABRI) of last year's November 12 Dili incident to President Suharto in his capacity as the supreme commander of ABRI.

The report made by a team instructed by the Armed Forces chief to investigate the incident in the capital of East Timor last year said that the incident claimed 115 people who are either dead or still missing, a spokesman for the Armed Forces Brig. Gen. [Brigadier General] Nurhadi Purwosaputro M.Sc. said at the ABRI headquarters in Cilangkap here Tuesday.

The number does not include a foreign journalist [sic], Kamal Bamadhaj, who was also killed in the Dili Incident.

Of the 115 people previously reported missing, 31 have returned to their villages up to June 28, 1992. The team led by Insp. Gen. [Inspector General] Vice Admiral Sumitro, who is also a member of the National Investigation Committee (KPN), did not find any new graves in addition to the 18 graves found at Hera.

Some of the 66 missing people are believed to be dead while the rest have reportedly joined a troublemaker group (GPK) which is hiding in forest, according to Nurhadi.

Among those believed to be in hiding is Constantio Pinto, a driving force behind the demonstration on 12 November 1991 in Dili.

It has not been easy to find those still alive or the graves of the victims despite ABRI's diligence in carrying out President Suharto's instruction, according to Nurhadi.

The ABRI team has utilized all possible sources of information for the investigation, including the police and village heads who gave information on the people who they believed became victims of the incident.

The ABRI official is of the view that based on past experiences, those who are still alive will come back to their homes sooner or later.

Except for those who were the driving forces behind the demonstration, most of these people would be set free, he said.

On comments from foreigners that the Indonesian court gave heavier sentences to civilians than to ABRI members involved in the Dili incident, the ABRI spokesman explained that the civilians were tried not just for staging the demonstration but also for subversive acts.

They are conspiring against the Indonesian authorities, and their network extends not only to Dili and Jakarta but also to other countries, Nurhadi said.

The military officers were punished for acting beyond their authority when they were dealing with the demonstrators in Dili. If the ABRI members had been found guilty of subversive acts they would have been given heavy penalties too, he added.

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### WHAT REALLY HAPPENED ON 28 OCTOBER?

*The following article will appear in TAPOL Bulletin, No 112, August 1992. In the absence of the possibility to carry out on-the-spot investigations in Dili, some of the material contained in the trial documents is invaluable.*

Lawyers defending Francisco Miranda Branco have shed new light on the incident in Motael Church on 28 October 1991, when Sebastiao Gomes was killed. Their

defence plea, read out in the Dili district court on 23 May 1992, gives some very pertinent facts. This account, slightly abridged below, highlights the need for a thorough investigation to discover what triggered the events on 12 November. A religious dignitary believes that what happened on 12 November has its roots in earlier events when a number of youths who felt threatened sought refuge in Motael Church. Security officials said they had nothing to fear and they should go home, but when they did, they were threatened and others in their families were threatened as well.

On 5 October 1991, during the Army Day celebration, the military commander, Brig-General Warouw, made a remark expressing his dissatisfaction with this state of affairs.

On 27 October in the late afternoon, according to the same source, several people on motor-bikes who were shouting loudly, rode round and round the church, occasionally throwing stones at it. Soon after midnight, on 28 October, several people who were also shouting, started throwing stones more persistently in the direction of the church poly-clinic. The young people inside rushed out to chase these troublemakers off. It was not possible to avoid a fight in which Sebastiao Gomes was involved. He was shot by someone firing from the direction of the sea-front to the north, as he came through the front gate. He fell to the ground, hit by four or five bullets. Another bullet hit a tree in front of the church; that bullet is still embedded in the tree. His body was found in front of the church gate. An autopsy was performed at the hospital and he was buried at Santa Cruz Cemetery.

An eye-witness added that at almost the same time, the body of Afonso [Hendrigues] was found on the same road with injuries inflicted by a sharp implement. It is not clear who killed him. According to the eye-witness, the body of Afonso, who was known in the community as an agent working for the security forces, was lying about 20 metres from Sebastiao's body. Blood was smeared several metres away from the body, to the west. There is strong reason to believe that Afonso was not killed at the place where the fighting took place but had been killed earlier, somewhere else, and his body put in front of the church. This was done so as to create the impression that he was killed with a sharp implement used by youngsters taking refuge in the church.

Local inhabitants who had been awakened by the continuous ringing of church bells rushed out to see what had happened at the church but were held back by security forces who were standing guard in a radius

of tens of metres from the church; they told the people to go home.

Brig. General Warouw's 5 October remarks and the fact that troops were on guard to prevent people from getting near the church have led people to suspect that the death of Sebastiao was pre-arranged. Later, troops entered the church and carried out a search. Some weeks later, reports appeared in the press that a number of sharp implements, banners and other things had been found hidden away in the church. The parish priest, Father Alberto Ricardo da Silva, said he knew nothing about any such things being found; he only saw them later when summoned by the police. The police admitted that it was an 'oversight' on their part not to draw up a record of confiscation.

Another aspect confirmed by Fr Ricardo is that an escaped prisoner, known to his friends as 'Along' had taken refuge in the church. This gave the security forces an excuse to enter the church in the days prior to 28 October in order to search for him. According to another version, Along was 'let out' and told to take refuge in the church some days before 28 October to give the security forces an excuse to search the church. *[This is undoubtedly the man who escaped from prison with José Antonio Joaquim Galucho, whose wife is shortly to go on trial.]*

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## AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON EAST TIMOR

### INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: THE SUPPRESSION OF DISSENT

JULY 1992

#### SUMMARY

AI INDEX: ASA 21/09/92

In November 1991, an estimated 100 people taking part in a funeral procession were shot by Indonesian troops at the Santa Cruz cemetery near Dili in East Timor. In response to strong international protest the Indonesian government insisted that the massacre was a regrettable but isolated incident, which did not "in any way reflect the policy of the Government of Indonesia." However, for more than 20 years Amnesty International has documented gross and systematic human rights violations not only in East Timor but throughout Indonesia. The evidence suggests that a clear and persistent pattern of human rights violations has been practised by the Indonesian authorities as a means for suppressing political dissent.

In regions where the government is combating armed opposition groups, the merest suspicion of sympathy with the opposition cause is sufficient to define in-

dividuals or their relatives as targets for "disappearance" or extra-judicial execution by the military. In Aceh and North Sumatra an estimated 2,000 civilians are believed to have been illegally killed since 1989. In East Timor, countless real or suspected political activists had been killed or "disappeared" before the Santa Cruz massacre. Hundreds of people have been arrested since 1989 in Aceh, North Sumatra, Irian Jaya and East Timor on suspicion of pro-independence activity. Many have been detained without trial for months on end. Severe forms of torture are routinely inflicted on political prisoners, sometimes resulting in death.

Peaceful protest, including demonstration against human rights violations, has been treated as "subversive activity" by the authorities. Those who voice even the mildest criticism of government policy have been dubbed opponents of the state. More than 150 alleged government opponents are prisoners of conscience or possible prisoners of conscience, held throughout Indonesia and East Timor. The majority are serving lengthy sentences after conviction in unfair trials. Hundreds of other political prisoners have also been sentenced to years of imprisonment in unfair trials. At least 29 political prisoners have been judicially executed since 1985, most of them elderly men who had served more than twenty years in jail for suspected membership of the Communist Party of Indonesia (PKI).

The Indonesian Government has repeatedly stated that military and police officials are punished when found guilty of human rights violations, but Amnesty International knows of only a handful of such cases. Prior to the Santa Cruz massacre all those known to have been tried were police officers accused of ill-treating criminal suspects and they had generally received light sentences. After the massacre the government announced a series of unprecedented investigative and disciplinary measures. By June 1992 a number of officers had been dismissed or transferred from their posts and ten military men had been convicted in military courts for their actions during the massacre. However, the soldiers were tried before a military tribunal and the charges against them were primarily disciplinary, rather than criminal. None of those tried was charged with murder, only one was charged with ill-treatment and all were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment.

The government has persistently obstructed the monitoring of human rights in Indonesia and East Timor. National human rights organizations have been subject to intimidation. Individual human rights advocates have been arrested and tortured. Human rights protesters have been charged with subversion and sentenced to long terms

of imprisonment after unfair trials. Access to the country by international organizations wishing to investigate human rights violations continues to be severely restricted or denied outright. Since the Santa Cruz massacre East Timor has been effectively closed to human rights investigators despite a February 1992 appeal by the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. The appeal called upon the Indonesian Government "to facilitate access to East Timor for additional humanitarian organizations and for human rights organizations" Despite many requests, Amnesty International has not been permitted to visit Indonesia or East Timor for more than 17 years.

The Indonesian Government has persistently failed to respond substantively to detailed reports of human rights violations. It has instead preferred to issue generalized statements about national sovereignty and to question the universality of international human rights principles. For example, In February 1992 President Suharto rejected attempts by some governments to link economic aid to human rights issues. He stated that attempts to impose human rights "based on foreign values" would not flourish and would constitute a "violation of the human rights of that nation's people and the sovereignty rights of that nation."

Amnesty International believes that the right to life is fundamental and universal. Likewise, the rights to freedom from arbitrary detention, torture or "disappearance" by state forces transcend national boundaries and apply equally to all human beings. State abrogation from responsibility to uphold these rights cannot be justified under any circumstances. Amnesty International appeals to the Indonesian Government to take decisive action to prevent human rights violations and to implement the preventive and other measures set forth at the end of this report. It believes that, if implemented, these measures would serve to protect basic human rights in Indonesia and East Timor.

This report summarizes a 27-page document (8,741 words), Indonesia/East Timor: The Suppression of Dissent (AI Index: ASA 21/09/92), issued by Amnesty International in July 1992. Anyone wanting further details or to take action on this issue should consult the full document.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, 1 EASTON STREET, LONDON WC1X 8DJ, UNITED KINGDOM  
+44-71-413-5500 E-mail: amnestyis@gn

## MOST EAST TIMORESE WANT NATIVE AS NEXT GOVERNOR

*THE JAKARTA POST in English, 3 Jul. 92*

Jakarta (JP) - A legislator has added to the growing pressure to Jakarta to let East Timorese have a native as its next governor.

"All East Timorese I talked to during my recent visit (to the former Portuguese colony) want their next governor to be an indigenous East Timorese," Salvador Januario Ximenes Soares told the JAKARTA POST on Wednesday [1 July].

Salvador argued that the appointment of a non-East Timorese governor would create the wrong impression among foreign countries and dissatisfied local people that Indonesia meant to colonize East Timor.

The statement by the DPR [House of Representatives] member from East Timor was the latest contribution in the heated debate over who should replace governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao when his term of office expires in September.

Carrascalao, a popular indigenous governor, has ruled out local people's proposal to stay in office, saying that taking a third five-year term would represent a violation of the law.

The local legislative council (DPRD) is yet to formally propose the gubernatorial candidates to the home affairs minister but their names have been widely publicized.

Home Affairs Minister Rudini and the local Military Field Commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei have in various occasions said that the origin of the next governor is not important because East Timor has been an integral part of Indonesia since 1976.

Among the names believed to have a good chance to replace Carrascalao are Clementino Dos Reis Amaral (a DPR member), A.B. Saridjo (vice governor), Armino Mariano (Dili regent), Rui Tesseira Lopez (Kovalima regent), Mariano Lopez Da Cruz (Maliana Regent), and Lopez Da Cruz (a member of the Supreme Advisory Council).

The official statements have been generally interpreted as a support for the candidacy of Saridjo, who is a Javanese. The final decision will be in the hand of the president.

Salvador said the appointment of a native as the next East Timor governor was important to "win back the local people's heart" hurt by the November 12, 1991 bloody incident in Dili in which about 50 people were killed.

"Efforts to win back East Timorese's heart can succeed if they are made by a

governor who has emotional ties with the local people," he said.

East Timorese Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo has also stepped in the debate over the best choice for the next governor of predominantly Roman Catholic East Timor.

In a rare press meeting at his residence in Dili two weeks ago, Belo said he would write President Suharto, asking him to name an East Timor native as the next governor.

The bishop's involvement, however, has also caused confusion as a similar request circulated by him and addressed to various public figures were declared fake by Brig. Gen. Theo who claims to have discussed the matter with him.

### GOLKAR FOR TIMORESE GOVERNOR?

AFP, Jakarta, July 14 - The East Timor chapter of the ruling Golkar party has proposed three natives as candidates for the next governorship of the former Portuguese colony, the Jakarta Post daily said here Tuesday.

The daily quoted Salvador Januario Soares, an East Timorese Golkar member, as identifying the three as Manatuto Regent Abilio Osorio Soares, Kovalima Regent Rui Emiliano Tezeira Lopez and East Timor's House Speaker Guilherme dos Santos.

Current Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao is scheduled to end his second five-year term in office in September and is barred by regulation from holding the post for a third successive term.

Many East Timorese, including dos Santos, have privately expressed their preference for a native, saying East Timorese would reject any non-East Timorese candidates nominated by Jakarta.

Speculation, widely reported in the local press, has it that the Indonesian military favors current East Timor Vice Governor Brigadier General Sarijo, a Javanese, for the next governorship.

The leading Tempo magazine in June quoted unnamed sources as saying Sarijo also had the support of President Suharto.

Salvador Soares refused to comment on the exclusion of Sarijo from the list of candidates, but said "the list is still open for revision."

Under the law, the president holds the right to overrule the candidate chosen by regional parliaments for the governorship and propose another instead.

### EAST TIMORESE URGED TO BACK NATIVE SUCCESSOR

*THE JAKARTA POST in English, 15 July*

Dili (JP) Governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao, whose term of office will end in

September has called on East Timorese to support his successor in continuing the development programs in Indonesia's youngest province.

"The new governor will not be able to fulfill the people's hopes without adequate support from the people," Carrascalao told THE JAKARTA POST in an interview held in connection with the celebration of the 16th integration of East Timor into Indonesia yesterday.

The former Portuguese colony integrated into Indonesia on July 17, 1976.

Local people have expressed the hopes that the gubernatorial post will go to an East Timorese native. Government officials, including Minister of Home Affairs Rudini, have emphasized that the ethnic origin of the next East Timor governor is unimportant because East Timor is an integral part of Indonesia.

The provincial branch of the Golongan Karya (Golkar) [Functional Group] political organization has proposed three local leaders, all province natives. The three are Abilio Osorio Soares, the Manatuto region, Rui Emiliano Taxeria Lopez, the regent of Kovalima, and the provincial legislative council speaker Guilherme dos Santos.

"The next governor should be able to develop East Timorese to be "real" Indonesians. The new leader must be honest, ethically clean and familiar to the people, or he will achieve nothing."

Carrascalao also called on the Roman Catholic Church to help maintain justice among the people. "Better cooperation with the government and the Armed Forces (ABRI) is needed in the future."

He also criticized the rural development programs in East Timor, which he alleged to have ignored the people's aspiration.

"Not all policies can be implemented in the province," he said, citing as an example the existence of the village resilience body which he said was meaningless. He did not go into details.

Carrascalao was appointed the East Timor governor for two terms of office based on the Law No. 5/1974 which stipulated that a governor has full authority to administer and manage the development of a province.

"But I had not been given the full authority to carry out my jobs, especially in social guidance, which was done by the military until 1988," he recalled.

He said that development in East Timor had created social jealousy among some people.

"The governor's special attention is required to eliminate social jealousy which could jeopardize stability," he said.

Asked about impressions gained from his time as governor, Carrascalao said he praised

the military attitude in its "peace contact" with the Fretilin [Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor] members. The Fretilin guerrilla organization is seeking an independent East Timor state.

"Colonel Purwanto, then East Timor military commander, did something significant between 1982 and 1983 when he called the Fretilin members to surrender and acknowledge the East Timor integration into Indonesia," he said.

The bitterest memory was when famine hit the district of Iliomar in 1985, he said.

"Transportation was very poor at that time until 6,000 Armed Forces members were deployed to construct a 50 kilometer road to transport food items and medicine to the district."

### OZORIO SOARES TO BE GOVERNOR?

Portuguese Radio reported Thursday 16 July 1992 that Abilio Ozorio Soares, currently bupati of Manatuto, has been appointed to become the next governor of East Timor.

Soares is known as a leader of Apodeti, the pro-integration party. Reports of his appointment have not been seen elsewhere which makes us wonder whether Portuguese Radio may have wrongly interpreted a decision by the East Timor Provincial Assembly (DPRD) as being the final decision. Even though the DPRD may have voted for him, the decision rests with Interior Minister Rudini and Suharto.

A fierce battle has raged between the military and senior East Timorese officials over the governorship. The military want deputy governor Saridjo, an army man, to take the post while the others have demanded a 'native son.' Golkar in East Timor has come out in support of three Timorese candidates, with Soares the front-runner. This makes it likely that a vote in the DPRD would reflect that view.

If the Soares story proves correct, this may well be seen as a further swipe from Suharto at the army.

TAPOL

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### SYAFEI: 'MISSING' TIMORESE BEST DEAD

*UPI 20 July 1992, Abridged*

The military commander in East Timor said Monday he would prefer that 66 East Timorese dissidents missing since the November Dili massacre were either dead or fled to join separatist groups in the jungle. Brig. Gen Theo Syafei said the missing protestors, who survived the massacre in which more than 50 separatists were killed by

government troops, could only cause unrest by remaining among the general population.

"It's okay if the missing persons enter the jungle and join the remnant East Timorese Fretilin guerrilla movement, rather than remaining in town and continuing to agitate innocent people," he said. That way, "we know clearly that they were the enemy," because if these people joined the community in town, it would be difficult to charge them as enemy," he said.

"But," said Syafei, "the best would be that these people were already dead."

Military authorities said last week that an estimated 66 East Timorese people were still missing in the aftermath of the November 12 massacre in Dili.

Syafei said the missing people included a man, identified as Constancio Pinto, the most wanted by the military, allegedly the ring-leader of the Dili massacre (sic).

## THE MILITARY TRIALS AND THE TRUTH BEHIND THE DILI MASSACRE (TAPOL)

*The following is an article that will appear in TAPOL Bulletin No. 112, August 1992*

Short sentences were meted out to soldiers by military courts in connection with the Santa Cruz massacre. A Timorese student at the trials felt sure they were held to satisfy foreign governments. They took only 8 days to complete. But more seriously, the question of which military unit fired first at the defenceless crowd is still unresolved.

The military trials took place as a result of Suharto's decision to adopt several measures after the massacre. The installation of the DKM (Dewan Kehormatan Militer, Council of Military Honour) to investigate and take disciplinary action in the army was unprecedented in the 26 years of Suharto's rule. In the face of stinging criticism, Suharto realised he had lost his grip over the military, especially in East Timor. The DKM had to sort things out. Disciplining officers and punishing soldiers would impress foreign governments and restore Suharto's hold over the military. Suharto knew he could not take things into his own hands so needed the DKM as broker.

### Cleaning the stable

It is no accident that Lt. General Feisal Tanjung was chosen to chair the DKM. Known as one of the few intellectuals among the today's generals, he is not loyal to General Benny Murdani in the Hankam group. A common feature of the members of this group are their interest in East Timor. Practically the entire top brass of ABRI has done combat duty in East Timor or won

rapid promotion because of this. Some have retired from active army and hold senior posts. Lt. General Sugiarto is Minister of Transmigration, Major-General Sembiring Kami Meliala is a member of the People's Congress (MPR), Major-General Dading Kalbuadi is Inspector-General at the Defence Ministry. Lt. General Sahala Rajagukguk and Lt. General Harsudiono Hartas are top ranking officers at ABRI headquarters.

The relative independent Feisal Tanjung is Dean of SESKOAD (the Army Higher Staff School). The rather messy job of cleaning the stable (the army command in East Timor) needed to be done by someone outside headquarters.

The DKM findings were spectacular: six officers disciplined, three dismissed from the army and the three removed from their positions. The entire top echelon in East Timor was removed. On top of that, the DKM ordered the court martial of nine soldiers and a police officer. Suharto risked open revolt in the army. The DKM's proposals were devastating for the rank-and-file. Officer corps discontent bordered on the brink.

To repair the damage, Suharto this month invited all 121 battalion commanders to his private ranch in West Java after chief-of-staff General Edi Sudradjat, likely to become the next commander-in-chief, gave 11.2 billion rupiahs (about US\$3.5m) to the commanders to improve conditions for the troops. President Suharto addressed the commanders as a father-figure, concerned with the economic welfare of the soldiers. To boost morale, Sudradjat told the officers: "The Dili incident should not make you afraid or hesitant in making decisions."

### The military trials

All the military trials were held at military courts in Den Pasar or the regional police headquarters. They were open to the public and British and Japanese embassy staff were present. Press reporting was extensive.

The ten defendants can be divided into four groups. Three were NCO officers: Sergeants Udin Syukur, Aloysius Rani and Petrus Saul Mada and two were privates, Mateus Maya and Afonso de Jesus. The third group consisted of low-ranking officers: 2nd Lieutenant Mursanib, 2nd Lt. John Arlan Aritonang and Handrianus Eddy Sunaryo. The others, Lt. Yohannes Alexander Penpada and Police Corporal Marthin Alau (see box) are the fourth group.

The three sergeants had been assigned to stay at the subdistrict military command, KODIM 1627. According to their testimonies, they went into action on seeing their superior, Major Gerhan Lantara and his aide

Private Dominggus carried in, bleeding, after being stabbed by demonstrators. They all admitted shooting at demonstrators. None was wearing full military dress when they rushed to the scene of the demonstration.

The two privates were assigned to drive Major Lantara to the hospital and admitted shooting at random at demonstrators from the car.

The three sergeants were in command of three platoons (72 men) as riot control units for the demonstration. The front line was a Brimob (Mobile Brigade) unit, while platoons II and III were from Battalion 303. At one point the two platoons moved forward, as instructed by Lt. Mursanib and after hearing shooting from other, unidentified forces, they also opened fire.

The fourth group were assigned to monitor the demonstration. Lt. Penpada, deputy intelligence officer at the district military command KOREM 164, after learning about the stabbing of Major Lantara, rushed to grab his pistol. He said he slapped demonstrators but denied using his gun.

Marthin Alau was the only police officer put on trial (see Box).

All were tried under Article 103 section 1, for disobeying orders, despite the fact that nine admitted shooting at the crowd.

### Frame-up?

Till now, all the burning issues regarding the massacre remain unresolved. With the exception of the 19 graves, no other graves have been disclosed. The first official casualty figure of 19 dead was changed to 50 dead and 90 missing but no names have been revealed. The KPN, the National Inquiry Commission, issued its final report which is yet to be made public by Suharto.

There is every reason to be suspicious of the military trials. How were the ten defendants selected? Everybody in platoons II and III had fired at the demonstrators (93 rounds). The defendants gave the impression of a chaotic, poorly disciplined Indonesian army. This reinforces the amok theory propagated by the army. Though admittedly, a demonstration of 5,000 high-spirited people can throw troops into a panic, the truth lies elsewhere.

### Portuguese Parliamentary Visit

Preparations for the visit of the Portuguese MPs (PPD) were proceeding at a high pitch. Months in advance, fresh troops had arrived in East Timor as if a second invasion was under way. In 1991, a new intelligence operation, Operasi Elang (Operation Eagle) was installed to deal with the Frente Clandestine, the Clandestine Front of youth in the cities. From captured documents the aim was to expose clandestine networks in Dili, Baucau and elsewhere and discover the plans for the MPs' visit. The intelligence



operations were coordinated by BAIS (Strategic Intelligence Agency) which had been created by Benny Murdani to consolidate his power base.

Besides BAIS, there is the older BAKIN. But in East Timor things are even more complex as several lines of command exist side by side.

### **Kolakops**

Unlike other territorial commands, East Timor has Kolakops interposed between KODAM, the Area Military Command, and KOREM, the Regional Military Command. With KOLAKOPS, territorial forces in East Timor can bring in reinforcements from other military commands. KOLAKOPS is both territorial and operational and divides East Timor into three regions - A in the east; B, centre and west; and C, Dili. East Timor is also classified into zones, 'red' zones where guerrillas are active, 'green' zones where guerrillas are less active, and 'yellow' zones where they are practically non-existent. The red zone, mostly in mountains, are battle zones where skirmishes take place. The yellow zones require a combination of territorial and combat operations. Military units in East Timor include troops from KODAM Udayana in Bali and units from other KODAMs. The battalions brought in are territorial or combat.

In November 1991, the Dili Military Command, KOREM 164 Wiradharma, was run by Colonel J.B.Sepang (since removed) with 6 territorial and 4 combat battalions, including Battalion 744 (mainly East Timorese) an Udayana battalion, Battalion 303 from West Java, and Battalion 700 from South Sulawesi. The latter are combat forces who were stationed in the red B zone but were transferred to Dili for the expected demonstrations. Battalion 303 is from KOSTRAD, the elite reserve troops. Together with Battalion 700 (an airborne battalion) they were given a 10-day crash course in riot control.

Law and order are now taken care of by the police so Dili has well-trained Brimob (Mobile Brigade) unit and anti-riot police squads.

### **Who fired first?**

The trials of 2nd Lts Sugiman Mursanib (SM) and John Aritonang (JA) produced some far from conclusive bits of evidence. SM was in command of an anti-riot force consisting of Brimob platoon 5486 and platoons II and III from Battalion 303, in that order. His task was to monitor and report every move of the demonstration. JA was commander of platoon II. When they arrived at the cemetery, they faced thousands of demonstrators. SM told the court that, confronted by an uncontrollable crowd, he

ordered the 303 platoons to ahead of the Brimob troops and claims that the first command to shoot did not come from him. As his troops neared the cemetery, they heard shots from the main gate. "There were unidentified troops. We only heard the shots" [Editor, 13.06.1992]. SM said the order to go to the cemetery were so hasty, he had no time to dress properly.

When Yorkshire's Cold Blood was shown on TV, Timorese refugees in Lisbon recognised SM, in a T-shirt, giving orders to troops around the cemetery. Former prisoner Donaciano Gomes told Channel Four News that SM had interrogated and tortured him.

Besides this shooting, a hail of bullets came from the southern side of the cemetery. JA confirms that shooting came from two directions and identified the troops as coming from A Company, Sector C of Battalion 303. He said some wore uniforms while others wore a variety of clothing.

On hearing the shooting, the two 303 platoons joined in. People were falling to the ground but the shooting continued, especially from the unidentified troops. The judges did not probe further. The unidentified pasukan liar (irregular troops), as the Indonesian press calls them, remained liar (the word also means 'wild').

### **Provocation and amok theories**

The trials of Lt. Mursanib and Lt. Aritonang support the amok theory but leave many questions unanswered. Both spoke about the unidentified troops. The other defendants also stuck to the amok theory with no suggestion of provocation.

The provocation theory suggests that the Santa Cruz massacre was premeditated murder, a traditional intelligence operation of letting the enemy (here, an unarmed crowd) come into the open so as to strike. The killings in Tanjung Priok in 1984 had the same ingredients. They give the military justification to hit hard. Another justification for the use of violence in Dili was the claim that the demonstrators were carrying weapons and started the shooting.

The prosecution took care in the trials of the East Timorese to produce evidence to support this version. In Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha's trial, it was claimed that some demonstrators were carrying firearms and grenades. They dragged along Afonso Gomes, father of the murdered Sebastiao Gomes, to say this as a witness, though he was clearly under strain; one press report said that his words were scarcely audible.

A hearing in Gregorio's trial was held at the police weapons depot to display the weapons which had been confiscated; when Gregorio asked for the Yorkshire film

(where no-one is seen bearing weapons) to be shown the judge said it was not relevant.

Mursanib claimed that there was shooting from the crowd. But the crucial point is not whether some demonstrators were carrying firearms, but whether they were genuine demonstrators or intelligence plants. Reliable sources insist that intelligence agents were in the crowd and behaved provocatively. The verdict against Gregorio listed firearms - Mauser and Garrand rifles, FN 46 and Colt 36 pistols, Korean hand-grenades and ammunition - as having been confiscated; no evidence was produced about who from.

### **What happened to Battalion 700?**

The missing link is Battalion 700, in particular because the trials pinned the blame squarely on Battalion 303. But this only reinforces the amok theory. It was shown that shooting came from three directions; two from 303 troop. But the crucial shooting, starting first and ending, last remain a mystery.

The first version claimed that troops were infuriated on hearing that Major Gerhan Lantara had been stabbed, rushed to the scene and started firing at random. This can only be part of the story, as the shooting from the unidentified troops seems to have been less 'accidental.' The Timorese Battalion 744 was not on the spot, while Battalion 700 was on duty that day as confirmed by Brig. General Rudy Warouw who was then in charge of East Timor.

Major Gerhan Lantara, deputy-commander of Battalion 700, is a very interesting figure. His battalion was sent to East Timor on special assignment to deal with the clandestine front. Unlike most soldiers who regard service in East Timor, Major Gerhan accepts his tours of duty in East Timor with missionary zeal. As a young cadet from the military academy, he spent time fighting the guerrillas. After graduation, he was assigned to East Timor and has altogether spent eight years there.

During the demonstration Major Lantara got into a scuffle with demonstrators after taking out a camera to make photos, and was allegedly stabbed. Private Second Class Dominggus, who rushed to help him, was also hurt. The next day Lantara was rushed to the Army Hospital in Jakarta and was seen on the plane by some eyewitnesses. Four days after the massacre, Battalion 700 was quietly withdrawn from East Timor. Two weeks later, Battalion 303 left East Timor amid great fanfare. Why was Major Lantara never summoned as witness? Why were all the military defendants from 303? Why did Lantara and Battalion 700 disappear?

### The disputed 'opening up'

A detective story always needs a motive. If Battalion 700 was involved in the pre-meditated killings, what was the motive? To find the answer we must look at the conflict in Jakarta over military rule in East Timor between Suharto and his kitchen-cabinet and the HANKAM group.

For external reasons Suharto was in favour of "keterbukaan" (opening up) in East Timor. Access to East Timor became easier but with negative consequences for the military. The flow of information from East Timor became easier, the clandestine movement became stronger and bolder. The visit of US ambassador John Monjo when a well-publicised demonstration took place, was an embarrassment for the security forces. The military knew that preparations were under way for a huge rally originally intended for the Portuguese MPs and replaced by the Santa Cruz demonstration, and used it to make their point. Their message to Suharto was: the people have become uncontrollable, we had to step in. What we do in East Timor is our business, don't let foreigners interfere.

The final word has not yet been spoken. The several groups are still at odds and, as one Indonesian oppositionist says: "East Timor can become Indonesia's Mozambique."

#### Further reading:

Who gave the order?, FITUN no.6, Jan.1992, pp 1-8

East Timor, the Courts-Martial, Asia Watch, vol.4 no.16.

Whatever happened to Gerhan Lantara?, Tim Kell, Jan.1992

### BISHOP BELO PARTICIPATION IN TALKS - VATICAN AND XANANA SUPPORT?

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

According to *Expresso*, sources in the Vatican have unofficially indicated that it would be willing to authorize Bishop Belo to go to New York as a member of the Portuguese delegation in talks between Indonesia and Portugal.

The paper goes on to say that a recent letter from Xanana Gusmao, dated 17 April, let it be known that the resistance leader had recently spoken to the Bishop concerning the question of the Bishop's participation in such talks which he considered an "extremely positive" step.

The same issue of the Portuguese weekly published two photographs from 30 which recently arrived in Portugal depicting life in a guerrilla camp. The photos were taken two

months before and show that living conditions are extremely difficult for the resistance fighters. (*Expresso* 23 May)

### GOVERNOR CARRASCALAO A HERO - BISHOP BELO

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5. Original language of item: Portuguese. 28 June 92. Dateline: Lisbon.*

Bishop Belo, speaking to Radio Press, Oporto, described retiring governor Mario Carrascalao as "a great hero" and "a great man" who "is worth more than Xanana and the others who go about sounding off. I have to confess that Mario Carrascalao is superior to myself."

Responding to reports of a likely visit by Ali Alatas to Lisbon (which did not come about) he appealed to Portugal to "finally take the step of going to Jakarta, as the Indonesians now go to Lisbon." He went on to reaffirm the necessity of talks and to say that he considered it "very important that the two countries re-establish diplomatic relations, and that there should be talks between the two presidents, because the problem is in their hands." (*Publico* 22 May)

### INTERVIEW WITH BISHOP BELO IN MATRA

Reuter, Jakarta, July 27 - East Timor's Roman Catholic bishop, likening his people to robots, said Indonesia's military should get out of civilian life and urged Jakarta to consider giving Timorese some autonomy.

"I am very worried. Everything is made and built by the military," Bishop Ximenes Belo said, in an interview with the Indonesian monthly magazine *Matra* published on Monday.

The Indonesian army, which invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975, continues to control most aspects of life there and has been criticised for human rights abuses.

Criticism of Indonesian rule, which is still not internationally recognised, has risen since the army fired into a crowd of mourners in the local capital Dili last November, killing up to 180 people.

"The military's vast involvement here could mean there's no chance for civilians to carry on with development. The people and civilians should be encouraged and allowed to carry on the development, while the military withdraws," Belo said.

Belo has often criticised Indonesian rule and locals say he carries considerable influence among the predominantly Catholic Timorese.

But he denied the church was opposed to integration with the rest of the Indonesian archipelago or that it had encouraged disgruntled urban youth to demonstrate.

East Timor's military commander, in charge of at least 10,000 troops in the small territory, last month publicly warned Belo to keep out of politics.

Belo did not refer directly to those comments but said accusations against him only made the church and military more suspicious of each other.

"If both of us have the same intention to create peace in East Timor I think civilian supremacy should be the priority. The armed forces should only do a purely military job," the bishop said.

He urged the government to let East Timorese take more control of the territory.

"We East Timorese are just like robots. We're told to go here and there. But who told us was not obvious. They play behind the stage," he said.

"Give us special status or more autonomy. We have a different history and culture...I know we're going to be sunk if we live on our own. We don't have skilled workers and infrastructure, that's why we joined Indonesia."

AFP, Jakarta, July 27 - The Roman Catholic bishop of East Timor has made a strong plea in an interview published Monday for Indonesia to allow greater freedom and autonomy for people in the troubled former Portuguese colony.

"The main thing is, we want to be a little more free, and that is fundamental. Not free from Indonesia, but free as citizens of this unified country," Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo said in an interview published by the *Matra* monthly magazine.

Belo said that for him, the question of the "integration" of East Timor into Indonesia in 1976 was no longer a problem but the people of East Timor should be "given the key" so that they could involve themselves in the life of the nation.

"People should be free to move, free to think, free to express opinions, free to say that they are not pleased," Belo said, adding that "conditions here are still unrestful in general, there is still something wrong."

Indonesia unilaterally declared the former Portuguese colony its 27th province in 1976. The United Nations still views Lisbon as the legitimate administrator of the area.

As a bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, the dominant religion in East Timor, Belo is directly responsible to Pope John Paul II in the Vatican and is not a member of the Indonesian Council of Bishops like other church leaders in the country.

"Continue to give attention to East Timor. If possible give it a wider or a special autonomy. This is because we are different in history, different in culture," Belo said.

Indonesian had been a Dutch colony for more than 350 years until it gained independence in 1945.

Belo, 44, also criticized the Indonesian military's "territorial operation" in East Timor in which troops are stationed at village level to help in the construction of infrastructure.

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## LETTER FROM TIMORESE JAIL

*This appeared originally as East Timor News, Subject Memo No. 3, 27 July 1992.*

*Extracts from a letter to his family by one of those on trial in Dili. The letter was smuggled out of Timor and these extracts were later published in the Portuguese newspaper "Publico" of 10 July.*

"As you know, I am 'here' because I uphold a right which I think you also uphold. So I think that you are not ashamed of me for this. Thanks to the principles passed on to me from our father, who always defended moral integrity, both individual and collective, I am defending here today, before the court of the occupiers, our truth, our Rights and Dignity as a people. I am also safeguarding the memory of our heroes and martyrs who laid down their lives for this truth. (...)

(...) From the beginning I have refused to use the local lawyer and have attempted through friends to get in contact with the lawyers of Jakarta, who have a broader juridical perception and who are also defenders of human rights in their own country and who are flexible regarding the situation in Timor. They are neutral and not easily influenced (...) Thus, in spite of a series of difficulties, the Jakarta lawyers succeeded in arriving in Dili (...) I was the first [to be tried]. Although handcuffed, I felt proud.

The lawyers were in fact good defenders and because of this they put their own physical safety at risk. During their stays in Dili, they were always followed and more than a few times they were subjected to intimidation and even interrogation. The occupiers used various forms of persuasion to sabotage our intention of using these lawyers. For example they came to us and said that using the Jakarta lawyers would make things worse for us. When 'they' did not succeed with this tactic, they resorted to a terrorization process. They gave orders for the sleeping mats to be removed from the cells so that we had to sleep on the ground without any cover; but the International Red Cross came and 'they' had to give us back

the mats. They also used other forms such as withholding water for drinking and washing. The lawyers themselves were also the target for all kinds of persuasion: 'they' would go up to them and say that the Timorese have the bad habit that once you help them they never stop demanding things.

(...) How terribly difficult it is for a nationalist to choose between two options, one being the Family and the other the Fatherland. This is the situation in which I find myself at this moment. I think I have truly sacrificed the well-being of my children and their future. But I do not regret it.

(...) In prison I have been trying to develop myself more; in the first place I have been trying to improve my English, because I can see that the English language is the key to open many doors in life. 'Here' in this little corner, by candlelight I am writing to you. News has reached us of great hope which uplifts our spirits. For our part, regardless of the sentence 'they' pass down, we do not accept it and we will take the matter to the High Courts. Although 'they' have held out two alternatives for us to choose:

- 1 - Receive the sentence, that is, plead guilty and later ask for clemency or amnesty from the President.
- 2 - Not accept the sentence and have recourse to the High Courts.

The former is without any doubt a political attitude. What 'they' want is that we plead guilty so that 'they' can justify before the world their designs, and show that the demonstrators were armed and were provocative and that the troops only reacted in self-defense. The judges themselves and the public prosecutors have made representations to us to discourage us from taking the case to the High Courts and to induce us to accept the first alternative. We have refused because we respect the memory of our martyrs and those who were slain at Santa Cruz, and we have decided to sacrifice ourselves. (...)

(...) In our defence at the trial we succeeded in recounting the history of Timor which serves to make youth of our land more aware and to help them see the real face of the process of integration. The population of our country received our contribution to the common good with great acclaim, The bonds among ourselves, and with 'our Family' and our 'brothers abroad' continue as strong as ever."

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## NEW TIMOR OFFENSIVE?

*Horta's claim has not yet been confirmed by any other source.*

AFP, Lisbon, Aug. 8 - Indonesia is preparing a vast military offensive for the end of the month against resistance fighters in East Timor, a Timor independence struggle official said here.

Ramos Horta of the National Council of Timorese Resistance told a press conference Friday that he had been given the information by a resistance fighter in the former Portuguese colony, which was annexed in 1976 by Indonesia.

Horta said he feared the military action would become "as violent as those in 1977 and 1988 during which 90 percent of the guerrillas were killed or captured."

He said Indonesia still refused to negotiate with the Portuguese and the Timorese.

Last year Portugal and Indonesia broke off all relations, maintained since 1983 under the auspices of the United Nations. The government in Lisbon has since demanded that an East Timorese delegation take part in any new negotiations, but Indonesia has refused on grounds that the East Timor Liberation Front, Fretilin, is not representative.

Most U.N. member states have not recognised Indonesia's claim to East Timor and consider that Portugal is still the administrative power of the territory pending a referendum on self-determination.

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## ARMS SALES & BUSINESS IN INDONESIA

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### OFFICIAL ON U.S. ENVOY'S CRITICISM ON INVESTMENT

*ANTARA in English*

Jakarta, July 6 (OANA-ANTARA) - Criticism on the investment climate in Indonesia launched by the U.S. ambassador to Indonesia, John C. Monjo, is considered as a reflection of management problems that are being faced by the United States.

Head of National Investment Coordinating Board Sanyoto Sastrowardoyo at a hearing with the House Commission dealing with economy, banking, and investment affairs here Wednesday said that the criticism should be viewed on the basis of how the Americans invest their funds in Indonesia.

We have never intended to hamper American investors, he said. In the last three years, the U.S. has invested some 1.85 billion U.S. dollars in Indonesia, occupying

the seventh rank of countries investing in Indonesia.

Ambassador Monjo at a seminar on the U.S-Indonesia business relationship recently stated that U.S investments in Indonesia are hampered by bureaucracy, monopoly, and economy inefficiency.

According to Sastrowardoyo, the decrease of the U.S. investments in Indonesia was caused among other things by its "old fashioned" management.

The U.S. management system is now one step behind the Eastern countries' management system applied by Japan, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, he said. It needs three to eight months observation from an American company to determine an agreement for launching a project, he said adding that such a condition has led the company to lose the project.

The American businessmen somewhat prefer to apply "text book thinking" covering steps that should be taken to determine whether a project is feasible, he added. Therefore, the decrease of the U.S. investment in Indonesia was not caused by what Ambassador Monjo has criticized, he said. The hearing, which was led by chairman of the commission Tajudin Nur said also discussed other economic problems like "tax holiday" and the government regulation number 17 on foreign investment in Indonesia.

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## JOINT AIR EXERCISES WITH SINGAPORE LAUNCHED

*Jakarta ANTARA in English*

Pakan Baru, July 8 (OANA/ANTARA) - The Indonesia Air Force and the Republic of Singapore Air Force (RSAF) launched joint exercises here on Wednesday involving a variety of aircraft, including A-4 Skyhawk tactical fighters from both countries.

Indonesian Air Force Operation and Training Director First Marshal Richard Haryono opened the exercises at the Pakan Baru Airbase, saying that previous joint exercises have enhanced the operational capacities of both countries and have assisted the air forces in their task of protecting and defending their respective nations.

Flanked by Colonel Goh Yong Siang, head of the RSAF Air Operations, the director went on to say that the aim of the exercises, which will continue until July 14, was to increase the pilots' air-to-ground and air-to-sea firing techniques, as well as their other operational air skills.

The exercises make also use of the Indonesian Puma SA-330 helicopters and the RSAF's Bell helicopters.

Hercules C-130 planes and a special squadron of the Indonesia Air Force are being used for transportation purposes.

This is for the second time that joint exercises have been staged in Pakan Baru. The first joint exercises took place in 1985.

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## INDONESIA ORDERS ARMS FROM NETHERLANDS, U.S.

AP, Singapore, July 20 - Here is a review of recent arms purchases and orders as announced by member nations of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations or reported in defense publications:

INDONESIA - Received the last of six Van Speijk class frigates from the Netherlands last year and earlier took delivery of 12 F-16 Fighting Falcons from United States. Defense spending increased to \$230 million this year from \$177 million.

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## INDONESIA TO BUY LARGE PART OF FORMER EAST GERMAN NAVY

(AFP, Bonn, 23 July) Indonesia has been authorised to buy 39 warships from the stocks of the former East German armed forces, the Defence Ministry said yesterday. The deal, which will enhance Indonesia's ability to launch amphibious operations, comprises nine mine-sweepers, 14 landing craft and 16 fast patrol boats.

Bonn authorised the contract because Indonesia is not considered to be an area of tension or combat, (the ministry spokesman) said.

Indonesia is one of three dozen countries which have asked to buy parts of the enormous arsenal left by the National People's Army when it was dissolved upon German unification in October 1990.

Some of it, mainly chemical suits and detection gear, was sent to Germany's allies during the Gulf War, and part has been sold to Finland.

The BBC World Service adds:

Indonesia is to buy most of the warships owned by former East Germany. A spokesman said Indonesia would buy 39 of sixty warships. Negotiations on the price are still going on.

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## KLM TO PURCHASE PART OF GARUDA

Xinhua, Jakarta, July 28 - KLM Royal Dutch, the Netherlands' flag carrier, would purchase shares of Garuda, Indonesia's flag carrier, after Garuda goes public, said Pieter Bouw, KLM Royal Dutch President, according to Jakarta Post here today.

He made the remarks after signing a technical cooperation agreement with President Wage Mulyono here Monday.

The agreement allows KLM to deploy its experts at the Garuda maintenance facility at Jakarta's international airport.

Bouw said that KLM wants to make use of its experience and experts to help promote Garuda as a world class airline.

Mulyono expressed satisfaction with the relationship between the two airlines and said that he would seek ways to find the maximum benefits of cooperation.

Indonesia plans to float a portion of its share on either the Jakarta Stock Exchange or on international money market to collect about 500 million U.S. dollars to finance its 4 billion U.S. dollar program to purchase 40 new wide-body jets and to lease eight other wide-body jets to replace its aging aircraft.

Mulyono said Garuda considered it quite urgent to operate wide-body jets and airbus types to maintain its competitive stance on the global market.

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## TOURISM UP, STILL LOW

Xinhua, Jakarta, July 30 - The number of tourist arrivals to Indonesia in the first five months of this year reached 940,280, an increase of 23.4 percent over that in the same period of 1991.

According to data issued by the Ministry of Tourism, Posts and Telecommunications, if the growth rate can be maintained in the coming months, the target of three million tourists visiting Indonesia will likely be met or even surpassed.

The data revealed that the total amount of spending made by foreign tourists during their stay in Indonesia in 1991 reached 2,518.2 million U.S. dollars, up by 19.6 percent over 2,105.3 million U.S. dollars in 1990.

It is learnt that with the increase in the amount of earnings from the visits of foreign tourists, the tourism industry at present ranks fourth after the oil/gas sector, the textile industry and the plywood industry in the creation of export revenue.

According to a survey conducted by the Central Bureau of Statistics (BPS), the collection of foreign exchange earnings in the tourism sector in the first five months of this year reached 844.61 million U.S. dollars.

There are 472 star-rated hotels with 43,290 rooms, and 5,410 non-star hotels with 97,400 rooms available in Indonesia at present.

Indonesia now ranks 38th among the 40 main tourist destination countries in the world.

However, the 10 billion Rp (five million U.S. dollar) allocation of funds for promo-

tion in the tourism sector is still limited. According to the result of survey with technical assistance from the United Nations Development Program, some 50 billion Rp (25 million U.S. dollars) is needed annually.

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## EVENTS IN CANADA

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### ONTARIO REGIONAL EAST TIMOR CONFERENCE

Saturday, August 1, 12 Noon-5 p.m. 519 Church Street Community Centre, Toronto

All supporters of East Timor are invited to attend an afternoon meeting of East Timor Alert Network members and supporters in Toronto on Saturday, August 1 at the 519 Church Street Community Centre. The conference will be a forum to plan future activities, let East Timor activists know the latest news from East Timor and what's happening internationally, nationally, and locally, and to meet others working in support of East Timor from across the province.

If you need more information on anything, call David Webster at (416) 539-9589, or Maggie Helwig or Mary Hutchinson at (416) 531-6154. Hope to see you at the conference!

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### TORONTO GRANDMOTHER JAILED FOR EAST TIMOR PROTEST

*EAST TIMOR ALERT NETWORK NEWS  
RELEASE 31 July 1992*

Two Toronto women were found guilty of mischief today for throwing blood on the Indonesian Consulate last February. The two threw the blood as part of a protest against continuing atrocities committed by Indonesian soldiers in East Timor, a south-east Asian country Indonesia invaded in 1975.

Sixty-five year old peace activist Joanne Young was sentenced to three days in jail after she refused to pay a \$400 fine imposed by the court. Maggie Helwig was sentenced to one year probation and 100 hours of community service.

There will be a protest against the sentences on Saturday (August 1) at 5:30 p.m. outside the Old City Hall courtroom (Queen & Bay). East Timor supporters from across Canada, who will be in Toronto to attend a regional conference of the East Timor Alert Network, will be in attendance at the rally.

"As a Christian it is incumbent on me to bear witness" to the killings in East Timor, Ms Helwig told the court, adding "If I was Timorese, I would already be dead."

"When I look at the crimes that go on every day, I believe that perhaps the authorities have got the wrong people this time," Ms Young said.

The demonstration at the Indonesian consulate on University Avenue last February 24 was held during the visit of Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas to Canada. Protesters erected a wooden cross in front of the building, laid flowers in front of it, and distributed information about Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor (which has claimed the lives of one third of the Timorese people). Young and Helwig then threw the blood on the doors of the building as a symbol of the blood that has been shed in East Timor since Indonesia annexed the country.

The damage to the building was described as "minor and transitory."

The two were defended by lawyers who work with civil libertarian Clayton Ruby. Their argument that the right to freedom of expression took precedence over the property rights of building owner Jubilee Canton Inc. was rejected by the court.

"The real criminals here are not the people who threw their own blood on the Indonesian consulate, but the governments of Indonesia and Canada," said David Webster of the East Timor Alert Network's Toronto local group. "The Indonesian government is responsible for the deaths of thousands, and the Canadian government has helped to give them the money and weapons that has made the East Timor tragedy possible."

For more information: Maggie Helwig or Mary Hutchinson, 531-6154; David Webster, 539-9589

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### TORONTO TIMOR ACTIVISTS PROTEST SENTENCES:

*The Globe and Mail, Toronto, 3 August 1992.*

*Comment: similar stories on two local TV stations.*

East Timor supporters from across Canada attending a regional conference of the East Timor Alert Network rallied outside the Old City Hall courtrooms on Saturday at Queen and Bay Streets. They were protesting against a three-day jail sentence of 65-year old peace activist Joanne Young for refusing to pay a \$400 fine and a sentence of a year's probation and 100 hours community service imposed on Maggie Helwig. The two were found guilty of mischief on Friday for throwing blood at the Indonesian Consulate last September during a protest against actions by Indonesian soldiers in East Timor, which Indonesia invaded in 1975.

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### EAST TIMOR UPDATE IN THE ACTIVIST, JULY-AUG. 1992

*Toronto, Number 13 – August 3, 1992*

#### Contents this issue:

- Ontario East Timor conference held
- Timor massacre survivors jailed for "subversion"
- US Representatives cut military aid to Indonesia
- Indonesian army goes shopping in Europe
- Canada silent at aid meet
- Indonesia slammed at UN Decolonization meeting
- Intimidation stepped up

#### Ontario East Timor conference held

The East Timor Alert Network launched several new campaigns at a regional conference in Toronto on August 1. The 31 participants from ten communities agreed to organize a national action and release an open letter to the Canadian government on November 12, the first anniversary of the Santa Cruz massacre (in which Indonesian soldiers opened fire without provocation on a crowd of East Timorese civilians, killing between 100 and 200 people) and to focus on a speaking tour of universities in September and October. Other actions agreed to included a demonstration during the Non-Aligned Movement summit in Indonesia in September; a petition to Bata Shoes to divest from Indonesia; pressure on universities to consider human rights in their dealings with Indonesia; a project linking community/campus radio shows that cover East Timor; a popular education kit aimed at high schools; and petition drives to collect 5,000 signatures apiece in ten communities in Ontario.

Speakers at the conference included Abé Barreto Soares, a Timorese refugee now representing the National Council of Maubere (Timorese) Resistance in Canada and Liem Soei Liong of the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign (Tapol). For more information on any of the campaigns, contact ETAN/Toronto.

#### Timor massacre survivors jailed for "subversion"

On Nov. 12, 1991, a crowd of thousands of unarmed Timorese civilians marched to the Santa Cruz cemetery in Dili to lay flowers on the grave of slain independence activist Sebastiao Gomes. Indonesian soldiers opened fire on the crowd without provocation, killing at least 100 people. The Indonesian government promised to punish the guilty. Two generals were fired and replaced with more hard-line generals. Ten soldiers were court-martialled, and

sentenced to jail terms ranging from eight to 18 months. Eight Timorese survivors of the Santa Cruz massacre, meanwhile, have been jailed for "subversion" or "anti-government activities" for periods ranging from five years to life.

Two survivors of the massacre were jailed for subversion. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha received a life sentence, while Francisco Miranda Branco was sentenced to 15 years in prison. Six other Timorese activists were found guilty of "publicly expressing hostility towards the government" and sentenced to jail terms ranging from five to ten years.

In Jakarta, Indonesia, two Timorese students, Joao Freitas da Camara and Fernando de Araujo, were found guilty of subversion and jailed for nine and ten years respectively for organizing a demonstration on Nov. 19, 1991, in protest against the Santa Cruz massacre. Three more were sentenced to shorter jail terms for expressing hostility towards the government.

Amnesty International, Asia Watch and other human rights groups have condemned the harsh sentences imposed on non-violent demonstrators and declared them prisoners of conscience. Portugal has been particularly strong in calling for the Timorese prisoners to be freed. US Senator Patrick Leahy said the Indonesian government had "perverted justice," and even close Indonesian ally Australia said it was "disturbed at the apparent discrepancies so far in the sentences that have been administered for civilians and the military." Canada, in contrast, has welcomed the verdicts. In East Timor, hundreds more youths arrested since November, but not charged with subversion or expressing hostility, are still being held in groups of two or three in isolated "slave houses and torture chambers," according to José Ramos Horta, external representative for the Timorese resistance movement. The Indonesian government says they are "receiving mental guidance."

#### **US Representatives cut military aid to Indonesia**

The House of Representatives voted unanimously on June 25 to stop funding the Indonesian military. The vote came on an amendment introduced by Ronald Machtley (Republican-Rhode Island) and Tony Hall (Democrat-Ohio) which removes \$2.3 million in International Military Education and Training (IMET) for Indonesia from the Foreign Operations, Export Financing, and Related Programs Appropriations Bill for fiscal year 1993.

Although non-binding resolutions have passed at various times, this is the first time ever that Congress has taken substan-

tive action to support the East Timorese people. The arena now moves to the Senate, which will vote in September on cutting IMET to Indonesia. Indonesian armed forces commander, Gen. Try Sutrisno, attacked the House vote, saying "they should not use their yardstick to evaluate our performances (on human rights) because we have our own yardstick."

#### **Indonesian army goes shopping in Europe**

Despite a vote in the European parliament last year to ban weapons sales to Indonesia, two European Community member states are close to making lucrative sales to the Indonesian armed forces. British Aerospace PLC has nearly completed the sale of 44 Hawk-100 and 200 training jets, despite a motion of censure tabled by opposition parties in the British House of Commons. Germany, meanwhile, has authorized the sale of a large part of the former East German navy to Indonesia. Fourteen landing craft, 16 fast patrol boats, and nine minesweepers will be sold in a deal expected to give Indonesia increased capacity to launch amphibious operations. The German foreign ministry said it authorized the sale because Indonesia is "not an area of tension or hostility."

In the United States, recently declassified documents have revealed that Indonesia resold several French-made Puma helicopters to Iraq in 1989, with the approval of the US State Department. Indonesia may also have been the conduit for other weapons sales to Saddam Hussein's Iraq prior to the 1990 Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.

#### **Canada silent at aid meet**

The July inaugural meeting of the Consultative Group on Indonesia (CGI) gave the Indonesian government \$4.94 billion in aid for the coming year, slightly more than the Indonesians had requested. The CGI is a new donor forum chaired by the World Bank that replaced the old Netherlands-based Inter-Governmental Group on Indonesia when Indonesia refused to accept further aid from the Netherlands (which has a policy of linking aid with respect for human rights). Canadian representatives at the CGI meeting ignored appeals from the East Timor Alert Network and 16 Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor that Canada use the forum to advance its stated policy of linking aid and human rights. Canada will give Indonesia another \$46 million in aid this year, but is still maintaining its freeze on \$30 million in further aid that was to be given to Indonesia. The \$30 million was frozen after last November's Santa Cruz massacre. Last year's \$46 million aid package placed Indonesia third

among all recipients of Canadian development aid.

#### **Indonesia slammed at UN Decolonization meeting**

Petitioners on behalf of East Timor outnumbered delegates to the UN Special Committee of 24 on Decolonization, which met in New York in July. For the first time, the committee heard eyewitness reports from East Timor, from American journalists Amy Goodman and Allan Nairn. ETAN was represented by Li-lien Gibbons of Vancouver, whose step-brother Kamal Bamadhaj was shot by Indonesian soldiers during the Santa Cruz massacre last November. Ms Gibbons was also speaking on behalf of her family and Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor.

The committee was also addressed by three East Timorese representatives, five international organizations (Amnesty International, Asia Watch, Pax Christi, War Resisters International, and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor) and East Timor solidarity activists from seven countries. It is expected to make its recommendations to the General Assembly in early September.

#### **Intimidation stepped up**

The 10,000 Indonesian armed forces in East Timor continue to step up their security controls of the indigenous population. Indonesian army chief Gen. Edi Sudrajat set the tone for the army this month when he declared that "all kinds of separatist movements led by any group of extremists that want to divide the unity of the Indonesian Republic must be wiped out."

In one telling case, Timorese housewife Yoanita de Jesus Viegas Galochu was charged with slander in June for writing a private letter to the governor of East Timor alleging that security forces were planning to murder her imprisoned husband, José Antonio Joaquim, who is serving a 2-year sentence for taking part in an anti-government demonstration in early 1991.

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## **EVENTS IN BRITAIN**

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### **LUCAS AND LIEBHEFF TO SELL AIRCRAFT PARTS TO INDONESIA**

Reuter, London, July 13 - British aerospace and automotive components group Lucas Industries Plc together with German computer company <Liebheff-Acro-Technik> has won a contract to supply advanced flight control systems to Nusantara Aircraft Industries Ltd of Indonesia (IPTN).

Analysts said the contract could be worth up to \$350 million over a 20 year span if the systems were incorporated on 700 N250 airplanes.

Lucas and its German partner are to supply fly-by-wire controls on the 50-seat commuter turboprop planes.

Analysts expect that the order will cover between 500 and 700 turboprop planes and be worth \$250,000 apiece to Lucas, but this cash figure is expected to double over a 20-year span to cover after sales.

The award comes after Lucas/Liebheff pioneered fly-by-wire technology (electronically controlled actuation) on all three axes of flight control with the four-nation European consortium Airbus Industrie.

The N250 has fly-by-wire technology applied to flap, aileron, spoiler, elevator and rudder circuits and a back-up system on aileron and elevator.

## PETITION PRESENTED TO DOWNING STREET

*The following Press Release was issued by the British Coalition for East Timor on 15 July 1992:*

On Wednesday, July 15, a small group of people including Ann Clwyd MP, Fr Sarah Wasanta and the East Timorese refugee Estevao Cabral, representing the British Coalition for East Timor, knocked at the door of No 10 Downing Street and presented a petition on East Timor to the Prime Minister, John Major. This symbolic act was the culmination of months of campaigning since the massacre of 150 peaceful demonstrators by Indonesian soldiers on November 12, 1991, at a cemetery in Dili, the capital of East Timor.

Many hundreds of people representing all levels of society gave their names to the petition. Among the Church representatives, politicians and academics who signed were Archbishop Michael Bowen, Bishop John Rawsthorne, Abbots Dominic Gaisford and David Charlesworth, Professor Michael Dummett, and the rock band, U2.

The petition reflects the increasing concern felt by many over the delay in effective action by the international community following the draconian sentences given to East Timorese survivors of the massacre (up to life imprisonment) and the token sentences (maximum, 18 months) meted out to soldiers who carried out the slaughter. However, despite widespread condemnation of human rights abuses in East Timor, the Consultative Group on Indonesia meets in Paris this week (16- 17 July) to agree to further substantial aid to Indonesia. The petition demands that a full international

investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre take place, that future aid be conditional on the withdrawal of the Indonesian army, and true Timorese representatives be involved in all negotiations about their future.

In Timor itself, there has, of late, been a rigorous suppression of all dissent. Bishop Belo, the Catholic Ordinary, has forcefully asked that the next governor of East Timor should be East Timorese. Reliable sources suggest that the next incumbent will be an Indonesian general.

## HOUSE OF LORDS DISCUSSES EAST TIMOR

*TAPOL report*

Peers from all parties spoke in a debate in the House of Lords on 16 July on the question of 'Indonesia: Aid and Human Rights.' All expressed deep dismay with the situation in East Timor and urged the government to suspend aid and stop selling arms to Indonesia. The one-and-a-half-hour discussion included substantial contributions from Labour peer Lord Rea who visited East Timor in March 1989 and who opened the debate, Conservative peer Lord Finsberg (who was making his maiden speech), Liberal Democrat Lord Avebury (chair of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group), the Bishop of Worcester, Labour's Lord Hatch of Lusby, Independent peer Lord Haden-Guest, and Labour's Lord Judd, until recently director of OXFAM.

All who spoke roundly condemned the brutalities of the Indonesian army and displayed an intimate knowledge of the situation in East Timor, up to and including recent events and statements made by senior army officers such as the latest outburst by Major-General Mantiri. The recently announced British Aerospace deal to supply 40 Hawks to Indonesia and the latest revelations about Indonesian officers who will be getting training in the UK were also condemned.

The government's replies to numerous questions asked during the debate were given by Baroness Trumpington, who showed a surprisingly shallow understanding of the matter.

The full transcript of the discussion is available from TAPOL or ETAN/US.

## DEMO AGAINST SENTENCES IN LONDON

**SAVAGE SENTENCES ARE UNJUST AND ILLEGAL:**

**BRITISH DEMONSTRATION AGAINST MILITARY REGIME OF INDONESIA**

All are welcome to attend the demonstration, organised by the British Coalition for East Timor (BCET) and Tapol (Indonesia Human Rights Campaign), to protest against the sentences passed against East Timorese citizens by Indonesian authorities. A letter of protest will be submitted to the Indonesian Embassy.

**DETAILS OF THE DEMONSTRATION**

Thursday 30 July 1992, 11.00 onwards

Venue: Indonesian Embassy, 38 Grosvenor Square, London, W1 (Enquiries to gn:tapol welcome)

Savage sentences have been meted out to the East Timorese who took part in the peaceful demonstration in Dili, East Timor on 12 November 1991, where hundreds of East Timorese were massacred by Indonesian troops. Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, a 24 year old former civil servant, was sentenced to life imprisonment at the end of June 1992 for alleged subversion: subversion amounting to no more than attending a peaceful demonstration. Harsh sentences of between 6 and 15 years have been handed down to Timorese students who protested the Dili massacre through a peaceful demonstration in Jakarta on 19 November 1991.

Yet, those who perpetrated the Dili massacre, the officers of the Indonesian Armed Forces, have escaped justice: not one officer has been tried for organising and executing the massacre. Ten lower rank officers, who admitted opening fire on the Timorese in Dili, were tried for "disciplinary" offences and given sentences from only 8 to 20 months.

The Draconian sentences are unjust and inequitable. The murderers remain unpunished while innocent people have either been killed or imprisoned for disproportionate periods which in no way reflect their "crime": peaceful demonstration calling for self-determination. In fact, the legality of the trials in Jakarta, and therefore the sentences, is extremely dubious. Trying the defendants under Indonesian Law is contrary to the Indonesian Constitution of 1945 due to the illegal annexation of East Timor in 1975 by Indonesia after the country had already declared independence. The numerous UN Resolutions calling for the withdrawal of Indonesia from East Timor reinforce this argument.

The UK Government is tacitly condoning the human rights abuses in East Timor. Since the 1980s, the UK has been the second largest supplier of military aircraft, naval vessels and advanced weapons systems to Indonesia. In the wake of the massacre in Dili, British Aerospace is close to signing a deal for 40 Hawk trainer/fighter aircraft worth more than PS600mn. Hawk aircraft have been seen in use in East Timor. Selling anything to the Indonesian armed forces signals British condonation of the Indonesian crimes against humanity. More concretely, the deal violates the European Parliament resolution passed in the wake of the massacre (December 1991) calling for the UN and the EC to ban arms sales to Indonesia.

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### INDONESIAN AIR FORCE NEGOTIATES TO BUY BRITISH HAWK FIGHTER PLANES

AFP, Jakarta, July 30 - The Indonesian Air Force is negotiating the purchase of several Hawk fighter planes from Britain, the Kompas daily Thursday quoted Airforce Chief Marshal Siboen as saying.

The paper quoted Siboen as saying at a ceremony at the air force academy in Yogyakarta on Wednesday that Indonesia was considering buying several British Aerospace Hawk 100 and 200 tandem fighter planes.

"Two squadrons for the first phase (which) is currently being negotiated," Siboen was quoted as saying.

An Indonesian air squadron usually comprises 16 planes with two to four additional planes in reserve.

Industry sources here said the negotiations were for 44 planes and put the value of the contract at around 800 million dollars.

The spokesman's office of the air force decline to confirm the report.

Siboen said the Hawks would allow pilots to prepare themselves for higher-technology aircrafts such as the U.S.-made F-16 fighters.

"The F-16 type with high technology is for the future while the Hawk type is to prepare for that. We have to train first and we cannot just go straight to that (the use of high-tech planes)," Siboen said.

Siboen declined to say how much each aircraft would cost.

Indonesia's air strike force has so far been composed of U.S. built jets such as A64 Skyhawks, F-5 and a squadron of new F-16 ordered in 1989.

### BRITISH AEROSPACE SHARE RISE

Reuter, London, July 30 - British Aerospace Plc shares were 15p higher at 210 by 1110 GMT after news a defence source in Indonesia said the country is close to ordering 40 BAe Hawk 100 and 200 series trainer aircraft, dealers said.

Immediately prior to the news BAe was showing a 7p rise mainly on a view that the stock has been oversold recently.

Turnover was 1.4 million shares.

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## RESOURCES AVAILABLE

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### BOUGAINVILLE 'GENOCIDE' COMPARED TO EAST TIMOR IN NEW BOOK

The Australian government and mining companies have been attacked over Papua New Guinea's Bougainville crisis in a new book about the region's social, environmental and political conflicts.

Australian mining giant CRA's Bougainville legacy trails behind it 'like a ball and chain,' claims the book *Tu Galala: Social Change in the South Pacific* which warns of other potential "Bougainvilles" in the future.

Citing human rights violations on the island and a policy of "genocide," the book says the embittered conflict is comparable only to the war of aggression by Indonesia against the indigenous peoples of colonised East Timor.

Bougainville was likely to have been a sensitive behind-the-scenes issue at the South Pacific Forum meeting in the Solomon Islands capital of Honiara on 9-10 July.

*Tu Galala*, edited by New Zealand author David Robie and published by Pluto Press Australia, has been written by 21 Pacific activists, journalists, academics and an MP - Tongan pro-democracy campaigner 'Akilisi Pohiva.

The book was assisted by the Pacific Development and Conservation Trust, a fund set up in New Zealand by former prime minister David Lange with the French government compensation money for sabotage of the Rainbow Warrior in 1985.

Robie is the award-winning author of books on the Rainbow Warrior bombing (*Eyes of Fire*, 1986) and Pacific nationalist struggles (*Blood on their Banner*, 1990).

Topics covered include hazardous waste dumping and the Johnston Atoll chemical weapons burn-off controversy; human rights violations in Fiji, Papua New Guinea, the Philippines and East Timor; 'development' in Kanaky/New Caledonia,

and Tino Rangatiratanga (Maori sovereignty) in New Zealand.

In a chapter about Bougainville, Roger Moody, coordinator of the International Minewatch, says dissident landowners were provoked in their secessionist struggle by the "worst human-made environmental catastrophe in modern times."

He believes that even if more "Bougainvilles" do not erupt in the South Pacific, "less bloody or newsworthy tactics will proliferate as not only Melanesian, but Polynesian and Micronesian landowner communities perceive the diminishing gains to be obtained from mortgaging rapidly dwindling agricultural resources, or potential tourist attractions, to foreign transnationals."

Moody cites examples such as the prolonged strike of Fijian workers at Vatukoula gold mine; the struggle by a Maori tribe, Ngati Te Ata, to stop New Zealand Steel desecrating burial grounds at Waikato Heads; and Nauru's compensation case against Australia for phosphate exploitation of the atoll.

The outcome of the Nauru case was crucial, "because it centres on the poverty of options left to Pacific Islanders after mining has dominated the economy and profoundly affected the water, land and air."

*The above is a media release from Pluto Press uploaded on behalf of David Robie by Eve Sinton (peg:esinton).*

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## SOUTHEAST ASIA PUBLICATIONS

Some available resources on Southeast Asia as described in a recent flyer from Southeast Asia Publications.

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#### EAST TIMOR ON STAGE

*Green Left Weekly, Issue 65, August 5, by Vanessa Hearman*

MELBOURNE - A new play on East Timor, staged by the Melbourne University

Student Union Theatre, opens here on August 6. Zero Sum is based on the events surrounding the death of Kamal Bamadhaj, a human rights activist and University of New South Wales student.

Kamal was killed in the November 12 Dili massacre. He was travelling in East Timor as an interpreter for a Community Aid Abroad worker.

The play was written after extensive research. Ironically, foreign minister Gareth Evans agreed to be interviewed. Interviews were also conducted with members of the Timorese community, activists and friends of Kamal. This was then transformed into improvisation and recorded on video. Zero Sum utilises multimedia material, such as footage of the massacre, slides from the Fretilin forces in East Timor and contemporary music.

According to Rose Myers, artistic director for the department, the theme was chosen because it seemed a relevant issue for university students and young people in general. Zero Sum promises to serve as a timely reminder of the human rights abuses occurring on our doorstep. As well, it will highlight the people who risk their lives in the struggle for change and social justice.

The play will run from August 6 to 15 at 8 p.m. at the Union Theatre, Melbourne University. Matinees on August 14 and 15. For bookings phone 344 3994. Don't miss the East Timor Benefit Night on Monday, August 10.

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#### MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES

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#### REPORT FROM KUPANG

*The following report was written by two American Protestant seminarians working in Kupang, West Timor, in April, 1992. ETAN/US has removed their names and addresses, but can supply them to interested (and trustworthy) people.*

Dear friends,

On November 12, 1991, Indonesian soldiers opened fire on demonstrators visiting the gravesite of a young activist killed in Dili last October. Many of the demonstrators were also protesting Indonesia's 16-year effort to integrate the former Portuguese colony. A number of foreign journalists were present at the time of the shooting, and their eye witness accounts, along with footage, were aired around the world. Estimates of the death toll have ranged from 50 to more than 300. Not a few of you, realizing that we live in Timor, voiced concern for our safety in your Christmas

letters to us. There is no overt military activity on our half of the island, but we appreciate your concern nonetheless. (For a more detailed account of the November 12th killings, see "Over the edge," by Adam Schwarz, Far Eastern Economic Review, 28 Nov. 1991, pp. 15-18.)

Although numerous improvements to East Timor's infrastructure have been made since "integration" with Indonesia in 1975 (now schools, roads, and hospitals have been built), the region has also experienced great repression. The border between East and West Timor was opened only in 1987 when the military declared victory in its war against pro-independence guerrillas and removed combat units. Yet stories that have made their way across border and sea since then suggest a land under siege. In a country where the military is partly self-financed, losing control of East Timor (and its lucrative coffee plantations left behind by the Portuguese) would mean grave financial losses for the Indonesian armed forces. An acquaintance who works in East Timor told us that farmers are forced to sell their coffee to the militia for only about 12 cents a pound.

On March 9, 1992, a Portuguese ship, Lusitania Expresso, left Darwin, Australia. The passengers' expressed mission of peace was to lay flowers on the graven of those who died as a result of the November massacre. They also clearly hoped to draw international attention to the problem of East Timor and garner support for a referendum that would permit the East Timorese to freely determine their own future. Indonesia rejects the call for such a referendum, claiming the area is already a legitimate Indonesian province.

Lusitania's mission was viewed by Indonesia as a provocation to national security, and the military prepared itself accordingly. We live about an 18 hours' drive from Dili. On March 7, we saw six busloads of soldiers speeding east. On March 9 and 10, supersonic jets were heard screeching over Kupang. Eight Indonesian battleships and some helicopters were positioned around the eastern tip of our island to confront the Lusitania as it approached. The captain of the Lusitania has stated he will bring a case before the United Nations because his ship, coming on a peaceful mission, was intercepted by warships.

When the Lusitania returned to Darwin on March 11 without event, the Indonesian press was quick to hail it as a resounding Indonesian victory. Foreign press coverage of the event was seen as insignificant, making the voyage even more of a failure. "Dili is slowly returning to normal," claimed the mass media here. Perhaps, but what about the rest of East Timor?

According to reliable sources, the Lusitania's voyage was the pretext for a significant military build-up in East Timor. "Security" forces, comprised of about 34 to 40 soldiers from both combat and territorial units were placed in each village. A third unit of intelligence personnel is also present in East Timor and although concentrated in Dili, is highly mobile.

At a recent workshop on women and development that one of us attended, a catholic sister, in East Timor since 1975, shared sobering stories of the reality there. Most Indonesian soldiers in the villages come from islands other than Timor. Without family they soon turn to the young women of East Timor for entertainment. As the sister said, "And what makes our efforts to protect them so difficult is that most of the girls really love to be invited to berdansa (go dancing) with the soldiers." Promises of marriage that never materialize, as well as rapes, are not uncommon. Neither are stories of young men taken from their homes by soldiers "to go to school in Java." Most East Timorese now realize that "going to school" is the code for being dropped from planes into the Timor sea.

We lift up the case of East Timor for a couple of reasons. One is to illustrate the moral dilemma of protest. On the one hand it was an act of courage and good-will for the Lusitania to make its voyage. On the other hand that trip seems to have only exacerbated the plight of the East Timorese. East Timor has seen an incredible military build-up over the past month, the long-term implications of which are frightening.

In his novel *The Redundancy of Courage* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1991), Timothy Mo presents a fictionalized account of the 1975 Indonesian occupation of East Timor and the nature of guerilla warfare there. In his rendition, Timor has become Danu and the Indonesians are malais (Malays). For us the novel is painfully powerful. At the end, the protagonist, who has experienced both sides of the conflict, finally escapes to Brazil (another place where Portuguese is spoken), but not without haunting memories. Nevertheless, Mo's conclusion is given to hope.

"If I thought I could unmake my old self so easily I was a fool ... I was trying to accomplish within my own small person what the malais hadn't been able to do to a nation. An identity and a history cannot be obliterated with a switch of a name or the stroke of a pen...

"And if I couldn't make away with myself, how could the malais make away with a whole nation? Before the invasion there were seven hundred thousand Danuese. Now there are less

than half a million. If that isn't genocide I don't know what is. But I know something else - you can't kill everyone. It isn't over ... there's always someone else who'll stop forward. Even a tiny society like ours had the capacity to throw up any number of superior people. There's no such thing as a hero - only ordinary people asked extraordinary things in terrible circumstances - and delivering. The Danuese might have thought they'd lost their leaders, that there was no one else, and that's the moment a frizzy-haired messiah will choose to come upon the scene ... The malais might have put the torch to the field, they might think they've exterminated all the creatures in it, but there'll always be one woodchuck left. There always is."

Proof is in the November 12th incident. But with the resurrection of protest has come the resurrection of violence. So what are Christians, concerned about human rights and the right to self-determination, to do? Our church here, GMIT, remains publicly quiet, and not only because East Timor is seen as "Catholic turf." GMIT refrains from making a public outcry for much the same reason even Indonesians critical of the government label the Lusitania protest as ultimately misdirected: there was and is more to be lost than gained.

As members of a Christian community that stresses partnership, it is important to remember there are things you can do that your Indonesian partners cannot. As US citizens with a responsibility to understand US foreign policy, you can seek to influence it. For some time the US has had much more than a passing interest in Indonesia and its affairs. It is no longer a secret that the CIA supplied the Indonesian military with hitlists in 1965 during the "Communist" purge. It comes as no surprise, then, that since Indonesia has recently rejected Dutch aid (claiming the Dutch manipulated it as a way of influencing internal affairs) they are likely to look to not only Japan but also the US to fill the gap.

Our hope is that the US will care enough to seek a political end to the madness in East Timor, something that is more likely to happen with a little prodding and informed questioning to congressional representatives from a concerned electorate. What is the US position on East Timor? Is there anything US leadership can do to influence Indonesia's policy?

If you or your congregation would like more information or suggestions about how you might make a difference please contact ASIA WATCH or TAPOL.

May you also lift up the people of East Timor in your prayers during the coming months.

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## NEWSWEEK INTERVIEWS RAMOS-HORTA

### Hidden Terror in East Timor

*Interview on the back page of Newsweek, International Edition, June 1, 1992. Original language English. Unabridged.*

In 1975, after Portugal freed its colony of East Timor, Indonesia forcibly annexed the territory as its 27th province. Ever since, the Timorese people have been waging a struggle for independence. José Ramos-Horta fled just before the army invasion and has been one of his country's main spokesmen abroad. Now special representative for the National Council of Maubere Resistance, a coalition of Timorese parties and organizations, he spoke recently with NEWSWEEK's Anne Underwood in New York. Excerpts:

*UNDERWOOD: What brings you here?*

RAMOS-HORTA: I came to deliver a letter from resistance leader Cmdr. Xanana Gusmao to the U.N. secretary-general, reiterating our willingness to engage in dialogue without preconditions, under the auspices of the U.N., between Indonesia on the one hand and East Timor and Portugal on the other. We are willing to explore all ideas, but so far Indonesia has refused the inclusion of East Timor in the talks.

*How would the peace process unfold?*

As a first step, we would recommend giving East Timor special status as an autonomous territory. This could last five years, during which we would elect a local assembly and enact our own domestic laws. At the end of five years, it could be renewed, or we could hold a referendum on our future status. This would save face for Indonesia and also prevent any aggravation of the situation.

*How active is the resistance now?*

If you refer to the guerrillas alone, they do not present a major threat to Indonesia. Actual numbers of people engaged in armed resistance number only a few hundred. They serve mainly as a powerful symbol for the people, who are constantly engaged in political, cultural, religious and psychological resistance.

*Passive resistance?*

The most important form of resistance is joining the [Roman] Catholic Church. Catholicism in East Timor exploded from a mere 30 percent of the population to almost 100 percent in a little over 10 years, because the church has stood firmly on the side of

the persecuted. So many priests have been beaten severely in the countryside, spat at, their houses searched. The bishop himself is under constant surveillance and harassment.

*You've been out of the country nearly 17 years. How do you get your information?*

An underground network smuggles out letters, photographs and reports. I also get information from specialists I send to East Timor – mostly foreigners who go as tourists. Other important sources are churches, diplomats, foreign embassies in Jakarta, Asia Watch and Amnesty International.

*We heard a lot about the massacre last November 12 because two Western journalists happened to be there and were beaten. Would you say this massacre was unusual?*

It was not an aberration. In the Indonesian military culture, violence is an instrument of policy and a means to extract loyalty and obedience. ... It's hard for people abroad to believe because they don't know the nature of the Indonesian Army. One day a history of all this will be done. People will say, "My God, it was true." But by then it will be too late.

*Is the government still claiming that only 19 people died in the November attack?*

No, they're now saying that about 50 were killed and 91 "disappeared." We believe that more than 200 died.

*What documentation do you have about the current situation?*

Information I received indicates that there are 500 to 600 people detained in the countryside. Many are held in military camps; others are imprisoned in private homes of military officers, which are in fact slave houses and torture centers. Indonesia denies the existence of these places, and they are beyond the reach of any international organizations. What [Red Cross] officer would dare ask to investigate a private home?

*Part of the reason the Western powers did not support East Timor was that they saw the conflict in East-West terms, claiming that the resistance was communist. Is that a valid argument? Was it ever?*

There were perhaps half a dozen Marxists. But the West still continues to support Indonesia, which shows that the old argument was a false one. Now they claim that an independent East Timor would cause the disintegration of Indonesia – the Yugoslavia scenario. There is no such parallel. There are no forces pulling in different directions that make conflict resolution difficult. A solution would be easy if only there were political will.

*How were you received in Washington?*

Very well. Rep. Tony Hall has just introduced a bill that calls for mandatory sanctions against Indonesia, cutting off trade and military assistance until Indonesia agrees to a referendum.

*As a result, have you seen any changes in the State Department position?*

Absolutely not. I met with them in a clandestine fashion. They asked me to see them at the Hilton Hotel instead of the State Department, probably because a meeting at the State Department itself would upset Indonesia. Diplomats do not like to disturb the status quo. But if the State Department, without calling for sanctions or anything of the sort, were to state unequivocally that Indonesia has to move toward holding a referendum under U.N. supervision, Indonesia would start to rethink its policies.

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## AUSTRALIAN CONFERENCE ANNOUNCEMENT

### INDONESIAN DEMOCRACY: 1950s AND 1990s

Thursday 17 to Sunday 20 December 1992, Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, (Sponsored by The Australia Indonesia Institute).

This conference will examine past and present interpretations of the parliamentary democracy of the 1950s in Indonesia with a view to assessing their contemporary relevance. Discussions about the events of the 1950s, and divergent explanations of why parliamentary democracy failed, form an important element in current political debates in Indonesia. The conference will look at interpretations of that period developed at the time, and at re-interpretations being developed in Indonesia and elsewhere at the moment. Attention will be given to current Indonesian thinking about future democratic possibilities. The prospects for democracy will be considered in the light of the ways in which Indonesia has changed since the 1950s, looking particularly at class formation, religion and ethnicity, gender relations and regional society and politics. The conference will also address the question of whether authoritarian rule is necessary to sustain fast economic growth and whether such rule is necessary to maintain the unity of the country.

The conference will be organized on the basis of three types of sessions: plenary sessions, concurrent sessions and small discussion groups. Proceedings will be conducted in English and Indonesian with simultaneous interpretation.

Speakers will include Fachry Ali, Ichlasul Amal, Ben Anderson, Sue Blackburn, David Bourchier, Arief Budiman, Ali and Mil Budiardjo, Robert Cribb, Harold Crouch,

Daniel Dhakidae, Herb Feith, Max Lane, Dan Lev, Bill Liddle, Anton Lucas, Jamie Mackie, Andrew McIntyre, George and Audrey Kahin, Ruth McVey, Goenawan Mohammad, Deliar Noer, Richard Robison, Krishna Sen, Marsillam Simanjuntak, Ulf Sundhaussen, Richard Tanter, Paul Tickell.

To take advantage of the wide range of participants attending the conference a small number of one-day post-conference workshops is being organized. The topics are likely to include Media, State Ideology, the Arts, Biography.

The conference will be held at Monash and will begin on the morning of Thursday 17 December and end on the afternoon of Sunday 20 December. A dinner will be held on the Thursday evening.

A registration form and programme with further details of costs, accommodation and venue will be available in September. Please return the expression of interest slip to the Centre of Southeast Asian Studies if you wish to be sent more information.

Participants from overseas are warned that flights into Australia in December are likely to be heavily booked and are encouraged to book early.

#### To register contact:

Indonesian Democracy Conference, The Centre of Southeast Asian Studies, Monash University, Clayton 3168, Australia  
Fax: (61 3) 565-2210, Ph: (61 3) 565-4993  
Email: davidb@vaxc.cc.monash.edu.au

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## RAMOS-HORTA PLAN GETS QUALIFIED SUPPORT

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

Although Ramos-Horta's peace plan had been public since the previous month, it was only when he was reported as saying in an Australian radio interview that the three-phase process would imply an acceptance of Indonesian sovereignty over the territory for an interim period which could extend for as long as 12 years, that attention was focussed on the proposal in the Portugal media.

Although the FRETILIN and UDT leadership in Portugal refrained in general from formal comment on the plan, Sebastiao Guterres (UDT) accused Horta of having "betrayed those who had placed their political trust in him." Misgivings were expressed by individual Timorese in radio and television interviews. In Australia, FRETILIN leader Alfredo Ferreira described the plan as a good step to initiate dialogue but said that the Timorese could not trust Indonesia. (Publico 23 May)

Ali Alatas, speaking to the press in Jakarta, was dismissive of the Horta proposals asking "what is the weight of this

statement, in whose name does he speak and who does he represent?" (Publico 26 May)

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## UDT RIFT DEEPENS

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

Australia-based UDT leader Joao Carascalao has instructed his lawyer to sue fellow UDT leaders Paulo Pires and Vicente Guterres because they accused him publicly of collaboration with the Indonesian occupation of East Timor. (Publico 12 May)

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## FUND RAISING FOR RESISTANCE

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

Former Portuguese president and member of the Peace in Timor Mission, Ramalho Eanes has announced the creation in Lisbon of a new fund-raising scheme whereby members of the public can donate money to a fund which will be passed on to resistance leader Xanana Gusmao. (Diario de Noticias 24 May)

Meanwhile in the north of Portugal, \$140,000 was reported to have been raised at a special dinner for business people and industrialists to raise money to pay off the debts incurred by the Lusitania Expresso peace voyage.

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## DILI MADE HONORARY LUSOPHONE CAPITAL CITY

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

The annual meeting of the Union of Lusophone Capital Cities in Praia, Cape Verde, unanimously voted Dili as an honorary member of the Union and the aspiration was expressed that it would one day come to "occupy its rightful place" as a member. (Publico 19 May)

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## ANDERSON: EAST TIMOR WILL GET INDEPENDENCE

*East Timor News, Monthly Memo No. 5.*

Leading US academic expert on Indonesian affairs Prof. Ben Anderson said that Jakarta has realized that it has lost the game with regard to East Timor. "Whether [the Indonesian empire] enters into collapse or not, Timor will one day be independent. I am certain of that," he said in a Publico interview, adding that this would probably come about within 10 years.

Prof. Anderson drew attention to the changed attitudes towards East Timor within Indonesia since the November 12 massacre last year. The press and military now refer to conflicts in the territory as

being between pro- and anti-integration groups whereas before they had always maintained that the conflict was confined to a group of guerrillas in the mountains. Furthermore Ali Alatas, speaking to the press in April had referred to the Timor question as being like "a stone in your shoe" which although tiny in itself is very painful when you walk and he had gone on to say that Indonesia had two options - either to continue to try to walk on, or to take off the shoe and remove the stone. Although it is unclear what the minister meant by removing the stone, this comment represents an enormous shift in the attitude of the Indonesian powers-that-be according to Prof. Anderson.

The professor was in Portugal to speak on the theme "East Timor and the end of the Indonesian regime" at Oporto university. (Publico 23 May)

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## INDONESIA MAY FACE JURISTS

*AUCKLAND: 19 July 1992 by David Robie in the Sunday Star*

Human rights advocates are planning a "people's tribunal" of international jurists to put Indonesia on trial over violations in East Timor.

The hearing is expected to be convened in Bangkok in September to coincide with the Non-aligned Movement summit in Jakarta.

Concern over the ambivalent Indonesian response to last November's massacre of un-armed mourners in an East Timorese cemetery, when a young New Zealander died, the advocates hope to increase international pressure on the Suharto regime.

A Timorese campaigner visiting Auckland last week revealed the plan and also appealed for an international investigation into the Santa Cruz massacre.

"After Kuwait, Timor is now the big test for international human rights," says Aglo Pereira, project officer of the Sydney-based East Timor Relief Association. "The people's tribunal could be a catalyst for justice and self-determination."

Pereira says a peace plan advocated by a former United Nations envoy, José Ramos-Horta, and other Timorese resistance leaders was the best hope for his country's future. Both the New Zealand and Australian governments have reacted coolly to the proposal.

Supporters of East Timor self-determination are pressing for the release of a confidential report submitted to the UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, by his personal envoy Amos Wako.

The envoy visited East Timor in February and is understood to have written a

"blistering critique" of the Indonesian Government.

During recent months Indonesian judges have imposed harsh sentences on five Timorese protesters who were fired on, while handing out relatively mild punishments to Indonesian soldiers accused over the shootings.

Last week, a 29-year old student leader, Gregorio da Cunha Saldanha, was jailed for life for having organised the protest which led to the massacre.

Military tribunals have sentenced nine soldiers and one policeman to jail terms ranging from eight to 20 months for "violating military regulations" during the demonstration.

Although an official Indonesian report put the death toll at 50 - including New Zealand student Kamal Bamadhaj - independent sources, human rights agencies and eyewitness journalists have estimated at least 150 died.

"We believe the actual figure is 198 killed, based on hospital records, mothers' testimony and the number of disappearances," claims Pereira. "Seven victims were actually buried under an asphalt road.

"New Zealand should ask questions about the dead and missing."

The New York-based international rights group Asia Watch has condemned the light punishments imposed on soldiers, saying the courts martial were "stage managed" to appease international criticism.

The trials revealed a "sloppy, ill-prepared, ill-informed, poorly disciplined and poorly led army," says the Asia Watch report, adding that they did nothing to "pierce the secrecy surrounding how the shooting started or what happened to the bodies of those killed."

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## NAM SUMMIT SHAPING UP

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 21 - Seven heads of state, including Cuba's Fidel Castro, have confirmed that they will attend the Nonaligned Movement summit in Jakarta in September, local news reports said Tuesday.

The *Kompas* daily said the heads of states include those from Singapore, Malaysia, Iran, India, Kenya, and Gabon.

"The Cuban government has requested special facilities for its delegates," the *Kompas* quoted Rais Abin, secretary general of the committee for the summit, as saying.

Another newspaper reported that India plans to send about 100 people to the summit, giving it the largest delegation to the September 1-6 summit.

The summit will be preceded by senior officials and ministerial meetings in the third week of August.

India and Indonesia are among the founding members of the Nonaligned Movement, born out of the Asia-Africa conference in Bandung, Indonesia in 1955, and launched in 1961 to steer a middle path in a world divided by blocs of communism and capitalism.

Indonesia is sending ministers, parliamentarians and high-ranking officials to 104 countries to deliver letters of invitation to the summit from President Suharto.

Meanwhile, 860 imported luxury cars have arrived in Jakarta to serve the coming nonaligned countries delegates.

The import was made despite government's regulation to ban cars from developed nations. The luxury car imports were the first in 17 years.

### FIDEL OR NOT FIDEL AT NAM

AFP, Jakarta, July 24 - Whether or not Cuban President Fidel Castro attends the Non-Aligned summit in Jakarta in September will depend on "threats" posed by the United States, Cuban ambassador Jorge Cubiles said Friday.

Speaking to reporters ahead of Sunday's anniversary of the start of the Cuban insurgency in 1953, Cubiles said his Caribbean nation - one of the world's last remaining communist states - has been under constant threat from its superpower neighbor.

Changes in the nature of threats posed by the United States "is one of the fundamental reasons" why Castro might not attend the summit, he said.

"We cannot confirm, we cannot say if President Fidel Castro can come or not," he said, adding that, in any event, Cuba would be represented by "a very high-level delegation."

Threats listed by the ambassador included U.S. military exercises on Florida state beaches, violations of Cuban air space, a crippling U.S. trade embargo and "assassination attempts" against Cuban leaders.

Indonesia will formally take over the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement from Yugoslavia when it hosts the summit. Seven heads of state, out of a list of 105, have already said they will attend.

### NUCLEAR POWER ON JAVA

UPI, Jakarta, July 22 - The government said Wednesday it has chosen a site in Java as a possible location for the country's first nuclear power plant and advised local residents not to protest against it.

The site at Mount Muria in central Java was chosen for a feasibility study from among 26 locations throughout the country, said Artono Arismunandar, director of the state-owned electricity utility PLN.

Arismunandar cautioned residents living near the site against protesting the proposed nuclear project, saying a thorough study would be conducted before approval is given for construction.

An Indonesian environmental forum and other non-government organizations already have warned against the potential dangers of such a facility, as well as predicted the cost would be far more expensive than other alternatives.

Environmentalists said they were particularly concerned by the prospect of building the plant in Central Java, the most populated of Indonesia's 13,000 islands, with 100 million of the country's 193 million citizens.

They noted that Indonesia, formed from a chain of volcanic islands, also suffers relatively frequent eruptions and earthquakes.

### VIETNAMESE PM VISITS JAKARTA

Reuter, Jakarta, July 25 - Vietnamese Prime Minister Vo Van Kiet met Indonesia's President Suharto on Saturday for talks which touched on the sensitive issue of demarcation of territorial waters.

It was not known if Kiet, who arrived on Friday on a three-day visit, discussed the six-nation dispute over the Spratly chain of islands in the South China Sea.

Jakarta believes the Spratlys are a potential flashpoint in the region and has hosted three rounds of discussions among its six claimants, who include Vietnam and China.

Indonesian State Secretary Murdiono said after the meeting that it was cordial and centered mainly on the Non-Aligned Movement's summit in Jakarta from September 1 to 6. Both countries are members of the 105-nation movement.

Kiet leaves Sunday for Kuala Lumpur.

### PORTUGUESE RADIO APPEAL ON TIMOR'S PLIGHT

*Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese, 23 Jul. 92*

*("Message in English" with background of classical music)*

[Excerpt] If you are listening to us via satellite in Europe, Africa or Asia, and if there are any foreigners nearby, ask them to listen to the following message in English:

There is an island in South East Asia split in two. Part belongs to Indonesia, the other is East Timor which Indonesia forcibly seized 16 years ago. Since then more than 200,000 Timorese have been massacred, exterminated, and nothing was done.

But now that you know the other side of Indonesia, if you still plan to visit Java or Bali, do something about the situation. Even if it is only to raise your glass to the thousands of Timorese dying while you enjoy your trip in Indonesia ...

### TIMORESE DEMONSTRATE AT EXPO '92 IN SPAIN

*Lisbon RDP Antena 1 Radio Network in Portuguese 25 Jul. 92*

[Excerpts] The Peace in Timor Mission is in the news again. Dozens of Timorese young people, and not alone, today entered the Indonesian pavilion at the Expo '92 in Seville. The Indonesians did not like it very much and turned their noses up. More details from Seville with Carlos Barros:

[Barros] The Peace in Timor Mission struck again, this time at the Indonesian pavilion at the Expo '92. ...

Some 100 young people went in the Indonesian pavilion wearing T-shirts bearing the inscription "In 16 years you have killed 200,000 Timorese - Is that what you are coming to show at the Expo?" ...

It was 1100 hours precisely when security asked for a banner to be removed from the Indonesian pavilion balcony. ...

### MANTIRI: TIMOR VIOLENCE "UN'S FAULT"

Kyodo, Jakarta, July 31 - The Indonesian army has blamed the United Nations for its continuing skirmishes with the secessionist East Timorese, a leading daily newspaper reported here Friday.

Maj. Gen. H.B.L. Mantiri, who heads the Udayana military command which covers Bali and East Timor, said the Fretilin independence group in East Timor has lost much of its military clout, the Jakarta Post said.

Mantiri said Fretilin has only small ammunition and arms in its arsenal and must rely on "hit and run" tactics to preserve its existence.

"They are doing this partly because the U.N. has not recognized East Timor's integration into Indonesia," he said in Denpasar, Bali's capital.

Jakarta annexed East Timor, a former Portuguese colony, between 1975 and 1976. But the U.N. does not recognize the territory as a legitimate part of Indonesia.

Several alleged East Timorese members of Fretilin were reportedly killed in recent armed clashes.

The Indonesian army has imposed tighter security in East Timor following its killing of civilians on last November 12.

## U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT TRAVEL ADVISORY

### INDONESIA - CAUTION

*No. 92-152 August 3, 1992*

Summary: The Department of State advises U.S. citizens to exercise caution when traveling to Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor provinces, areas which are far removed from the major Indonesian tourist attractions. End Summary.

Aceh Province – Located at the extreme northern tip of the island of Sumatra, Aceh has been the site of limited civil unrest which has led to isolated incidents of violence. While neither private Americans nor foreign businesses have been targeted in any such incidents, U.S. citizens should exercise caution, particularly at night or in rural areas.

Irian Jaya Province — Americans traveling to Irian Jaya, the eastern-most province of Indonesia and the western half of the island of New Guinea, must obtain from local authorities a special travel permit, Surat Keterangan Jalan (SKJ). Americans considering travel to Irian Jaya should contact the American Embassy in Jakarta for information on how to obtain the required permit.

Restricted areas in Irian Jaya: Border area with Papua New Guinea, Enarotali, Wagate, Akimuga, Illaga/Maumane, all areas along the Mamberamo River, and the Agats area are restricted to travelers. Climbing Mt. Jayawijaya (Cartenz Pyramide), river rafting and exploring caves, also require a special permit issued by local authorities. In the Agats areas, only the Asmat Cultural Center is open to foreigners. A special permit to visit Agats must be obtained from the Indonesian government prior to travel.

East Timor – This province, located approximately 300 miles north of Australia, has experienced periodic unrest since 1975. In November 1991, a number of demonstrators were killed when Indonesian security units reacted forcibly to a political demonstration; two U.S. journalists at that demonstration were injured. Americans have not been the target of violence, but U.S. citizens traveling in East Timor should be aware of the potential for civil disturbances.

U.S. citizens may travel to Indonesia for tourism purposes without a visa. Upon arrival in Indonesia a tourist pass with a stay permitted for two months will be stamped in the passport. The passport must still be valid for at least 6 months and the traveler must have an onward or round-trip ticket.

U.S. citizen travelers to Aceh, Irian Jaya, and East Timor are advised to contact the U.S. Embassy in Jakarta, at Medan

Merdeka Selatan 5, telephone 360-360, Extension 2050, to register their presence and receive current travel information. In addition, those traveling to Aceh should contact the Consulate General in Medan, at Jalan Imam Bonjol 13, telephone 322-200.

This replaces the advisory dated January 14, 1992 to provide additional information on travel requirements to and within Indonesia.

## SECRET PORTUGAL - INDONESIA EAST TIMOR TALKS IN NEW YORK?

*By Bob Mantiri*

*This story has not yet been confirmed by any other source.*

IPS, Brussels, Aug. 3 - Portugal and Indonesia are engaged in secret talks on East Timor, a senior Indonesian diplomat said today – negotiations that he said could later include representatives of Timorese guerrilla movements.

According to the Indonesian diplomat, who spoke on condition of anonymity, the secret talks are currently being held in New York under the auspices of U.N. Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali.

The diplomat said that Jakarta prefers to follow a 'quiet diplomacy' away from the controversy that has dogged the issue since Indonesian troops killed dozens of pro-independence demonstrators in East Timor last year.

"You cannot solve that problem in one day," he said. "It is a process and it may last a month, a half year or even a year. But at this moment it looks like that both parties are willing to look for a solution."

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry in Lisbon refused to comment and an official of the Portuguese Permanent Representative at the European Community (EC) in Brussels would neither deny nor confirm the report. But he added that Portugal and the EC's position on East Timor – occupied by Indonesia since 1975 – still stands.

Portugal blocked an EC cooperation agreement with the six members of Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) at a recent meeting in Manila, to underline its concern at human rights violations by Indonesia in East Timor, a former Portuguese colony.

ASEAN comprises Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei and the Philippines. The Portuguese government, according to an U.N. resolution condemning the invasion, is granted administrative responsibility for the territory.

According to the diplomat Indonesia is also willing to meet resistance movements in

East Timor at a later stage of the talks, which would be sponsored by the U.N.

Participation of guerrilla movements active on the former Portuguese colony, is also one of the conditions of the East Timorese Liberation Front (Fretilin), which has bases in Australia and Portugal.

Fretilin leader (sic), José Ramos Horta, has demanded the withdrawal of Indonesian troops from the island and free and democratic elections under U.N. supervision.

But the Indonesian diplomat said that his government "prefers to tackle the problem step by step."

He said the secret talks at the U.N. headquarters in New York still continues despite the fact that Lisbon blocked the EC-ASEAN cooperation agreement.

"We understand that most of the twelve EC members did not support the Portuguese view during the meeting of foreign ministers on July 20 in Brussels," he said.

Indonesian leader President Suharto ordered the invasion of East Timor and annexed the country as Indonesia's 27th province, claiming that it could develop into a "communist bastion" on his doorstep.

"At that time there was a considerable communist threat from North Vietnam and the People's Republic of China," said the diplomat. He also cited the "thousands of former members of the PKI, the Indonesian Communist Party, which was the biggest in Asia in the sixties.

"Many of them went underground," said the diplomat. "We could not afford another Cuba in our back garden."

Since the invasion tens of thousands of Timorese have died at the hands of the occupying Indonesian forces.

Diplomatic circles in Jakarta attributed the talks initiative to the country's Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

He has been quoted by journalists as saying that the East Timor problem could be a serious obstacle for the development of Indonesia. "Foreign investors will stay away as long as East Timor attracts international criticism," Alatas said.

Western diplomats in Jakarta said that the general opinion in Indonesia is in favor of giving East Timor its independence following the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. Similarly efforts in Vietnam and China to introduce a free market-oriented economy indicated that these two nations were no longer a threat, they added.

## HORTA FAULTS ABRI FOR TALKS FAILURE

Reuter, Jakarta, Aug. 4 - East Timorese rebel leader José Ramos Horta has blamed Indonesia's military presence in the former Portuguese colony for the failure of peace talks.

"The core of the problem is military presence in East Timor. This has caused all formulas of negotiation between Indonesia and Portugal to fail," he said in an interview with the Indonesian weekly *Tempo* published on Tuesday.

Ramos Horta, linked to the dwindling Fretilin guerrilla movement still battling Indonesian rule in East Timor, is rarely quoted in the local media. He lives outside the territory.

Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975 shortly after the Portuguese rulers left.

Its annexation in 1976 is still not recognised by the United Nations. Portugal insists Indonesia hold a referendum in East Timor on whether it should stay. Jakarta refuses.

"Indonesia should realise that its 17-year rule in East Timor hasn't brought any result but political defeat," Ramos Horta said in the interview conducted in Geneva.

Jakarta has been internationally censured for an army massacre there last year when up to 180 people were killed.

He urged Indonesia to withdraw its armed forces, estimated at about 10,000, from the territory. Jakarta says the troops are mostly there to develop the region.

"You cannot buy human rights, freedom and people's pride with building roads and telecommunication facilities...the East Timorese should have the right to determine their nationality," Ramos Horta said.

Talks between Portugal and Indonesia to solve the East Timor issue collapsed shortly before the November massacre.

## RUDINI ATTACKS GREEDY OFFICIALS

Reuter, Jakarta, Aug. 5 - Indonesian Interior Minister Rudini has attacked senior government officials who shamelessly use their position to win business deals and help their families.

"High-ranking officials who are also active as businessmen should have a sense of shame because of their undue advantage," Rudini was quoted by the *Jakarta Post* on Wednesday as saying.

He is the second minister in the past week to complain about senior bureaucrats using their position to get special treatment.

Finance Minister Johannes Sumarlin at the weekend urged new state bank presi-

dents not to respond to "memos" from on high asking for favours and to stick to the rules.

Charges of abuse of power have reached the top of government, with frequent criticism that President Suharto's children owe their business successes more to their father than entrepreneurial skills.

Rudini said he did not even hand out name cards any more because they had been used in the past by people claiming they were close to him.

Indonesians say it is widely understood that though government salaries are low, senior officials would normally expect to become reasonably wealthy during their tenure and frequently use their position to help family and friends.

The need for bribery can be so important in cutting through Indonesia's red tape and winning contracts that some U.S. businessmen complain they are put at a severe disadvantage by laws in their own country forbidding payment of bribes.

Outgoing U.S. ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo said last month that corruption could deter foreign investment in Indonesia unless it was checked.

## TEMPO INTERVIEWS HORTA

*The following interview of José Ramos-Horta, official spokesperson of the East Timor National Council of Maubere Resistance, was published in the Jakarta weekly, Tempo, on 8 August 1992:*

*Q: What are the contents of your proposal (for a solution to the question of East Timor)?*

A: My proposals contain the best and most appropriate way to bring an end to the conflict that has dragged on for years. I can't see any other way. The first step - lasting one or two years - is for the military to withdraw. The second step would be to increase the involvement of international agencies like the UN, the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), or Amnesty International. This would give proof of Indonesia's credibility to the international community.

Then there would be general elections monitored by the UN and other regional and international bodies. An East Timorese would be elected as governor with a five-year term of office. This would give Indonesia seven years to prove to the East Timorese people and the international community that it has adopted a new approach. This would be a good opportunity for Indonesia.

*Q. You have spoken about autonomy for East Timor. What do you mean?*

A. My idea for peace has been wrongly interpreted. For instance, the term 'limited autonomy' has been mentioned. I never said anything about that. My idea has nothing to do with limited autonomy. The second point is that my peace proposal says nothing about the possibility of accepting Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor for a period of time. I am prepared to have talks with Indonesia without any pre-conditions, so don't expect us to accept integration. At the end of the process, the two sides will deal with the question of sovereignty. That will be resolved by means of a referendum or an act given a name that both sides can accept.

*Q: Which groups would participate in the talks? Would your group participate as part of the Portuguese delegation?*

A: No discussions will take place without East Timorese being involved. I will propose that anti-integration East Timorese should be part of the Portuguese delegation. The basis for this, in my opinion, is that Portugal is still the administering power in East Timor.

Because 75 per cent of East Timorese are Catholic, the Vatican and the Catholic Church should play a role in the discussions as independent observers. They would not be part of either the Portuguese or the Indonesian delegations. I am quite convinced that, in this way, the problem of East Timor could be solved.

*Q: Indonesia has already turned down your formula for negotiations which you presented to the UN, because tripartite talks - Indonesia, Portugal and the UN - have already been held. If this formula is adopted against your wish, what would you do?*

A: The core of the problem is the military presence in East Timor. This is what has resulted in failure of all negotiation formulas between Indonesia and Portugal. Indonesia should understand that 17 years of military occupation of East Timor has produced nothing for Indonesia. All it has got is political failure damaging Indonesia's credibility in the eyes of the international community.

*Q: If your proposals fail, what is the next step?*

A: It is too early to make predictions. One thing is certain - time is on our side. The pressure on Indonesia can only increase. Sooner or later, Indonesia will have to face an intensification of demands on the world stage.

*Q: Some of your followers have accused you of going your own way, without first consulting representatives of groups in*

*Australia and East Timor, for example. What do you have to say to that?*

A: They don't represent anything. My proposals have been discussed with Xanana Gusmao and the East Timor Catholic Church and they have given their approval. And anyhow, what you say is simply not true. I sent the broad lines of my proposals to Fretilin in Australia. They have asked me for ideas about making approaches to Australian politicians.

*Q: You say you often have contact with Xanana. Is this a sign that Fretilin's military activities have come to an end and they are now relying on your struggle through diplomatic channels?*

A: For the past 17 years, Indonesia has officially proclaimed that Fretilin has been defeated and many have surrendered. Now, they say that there are only 100-150 left. But in my opinion, Indonesia has not yet won. We propose a peaceful solution.

*Q: Don't East Timorese people realise that they suffered greatly under Portuguese colonialism for 300 years? Don't they consider themselves freer now? There has been far greater progress in development in recent times.*

A: You say they are more free today? Just consider the number of people who have been killed. Portugal never murdered thousands of people. If they talk about development, it's just propaganda. They are not free to do anything.

*Q: What about the progress that has been made in developing East Timor?*

A: You cannot buy human rights, freedom, personal dignity just by giving roads and telecommunications. The people of East Timor do not have the freedom to make contact with the outside world. They should have the right to decide on their own citizenship, especially those waging a guerrilla struggle.

*Q: In view of the way the people of East Timor voted in the general elections for Parliament, isn't it so that they have chosen Indonesia?*

A: You should consider the question of democracy. What does democracy mean if there is no freedom to choose, no freedom of assembly, no freedom to organise their own political parties and no way to achieve their aspirations.

*Q: The living conditions of the East Timorese are much better today. What don't you stop doing things that only cause conflict? Your struggle is not realistic anyway because it is not based on the actual situation in East Timor...*

A: You may be right. But the best thing for you to do would be to ask the people of East Timor what they want. If you ask

them whether they want Indonesia or Portugal, you won't get a clear answer. The 12 November event was an answer. Many of those who died were youngsters who were born after Indonesia came to East Timor.

*Q: It seems that had it not been for the 12 November event, East Timor would have gradually disappeared from the world's attention. What's your opinion?*

A: I don't think that's true. Just see how members of the US Congress and the Japanese Diet still follow the issue.