

Documents on East Timor from PeaceNet and Connected Computer Networks

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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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TONE DOWN YOUR REPORTING, MEDIA TOLD

Radio Nederlands, 26 November 1992. By Santoso Aboeprijadi. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Comment: This is the first we have heard about Xanana's family seeking the help of Indonesian lawyers. Although his family can do this on his behalf, it is for Xanana himself to decide whether he wants to proceed in this way.

In the past few days, three senior Indonesian government officials have called on the Indonesian press to tone down their reporting about Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese leader who was arrested last week. [Retired Admiral] Sudomo, Minister-Coordinator for Politics and Security asked the press not to exaggerate the arrest of the Fretilin leader. He was afraid that this could discredit Indonesia abroad whereas the matter is not of great significance.

Commander-in-chief General Try Sutrisno hoped that the press would not write too much about the matter. The important thing was to report that he is being treated humanely, said General Try.

As for Minister of Defence General Benny Murdani, who was not able to capture Xanana himself when he was commander-in-chief, he said: "Xanana is of no importance. He isn't Hitler. He's just a mouse."

The Public Prosecutor, Singgih SH has been asked by General Try to prepare an indictment against Xanana. As one student has said, "As with other subversion cases, it is virtually certain that the sentence for Xanana has already been decided."

A demonstrator at the time of the Malari [January 1974] Affair said that before the demonstrators were put on trial, the preferred sentences had already been whispered to the prosecutors and judges.

They were just demonstrators, so this is even more likely to happen in a case of armed rebellion. The death sentence is virtually certain, he said. Leaders of the [1965] G30S/PKI were sentenced to death. Long before that, the South Moluccan leader, Soumokil, and the Darul Islam leader, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo, were shot dead by firing squad. For the leader of the Fretilin movement, which has caused innumerable casualties for ABRI, it is difficult to imagine that leniency will be shown.

Even so, ABRI has given a guarantee that Xanana can have a lawyer and a defence counsel at his trial. One person who may defend Xanana says that the trial is not

expected to take place earlier than February next year.

Luhut Pangaribuan and Abdul Hakim Garuda Nusantara of the LBH (Legal Aid Institute) are both ready to defend Xanana. They are both lawyers with plenty of experience. But it is understood that although Xanana's family are thought to acknowledge the ability of these two lawyers, they would have greater confidence in the lawyers who defended (retired) General Dharsono, Adnan Buyung Nasution, Todung Mulya Lubis and Amartiwi Saleh. The family has already written to Adnan Buyung Nasution and the others, authorising them to handle the case. They have also asked the LP-HAM (League for the Defence of Human Rights) for help, specifically the lawyers, Haji Princen and Sunardi. Xanana's family apparently want a number of lawyers on the team, as they still place hopes in the Indonesian judiciary, said one observer.

The human rights organisation, INFIGHT, said in a statement that Xanana and Fretilin are only the tools or symbols of resistance, not the essence of the problem. An investigation team from Gadjah Mada University proved this to be correct. Warlike conditions must end because it has resulted in apathy among the general public, concluded the team, which was headed by Professor Mubyarto. Their second conclusion was that autonomy and the powers of the governor should be reinforced. Thirdly, they said that the role of the church in development should be strengthened. INFIGHT called on the government to take a more holistic approach rather than relying simply on a military approach, in resolving the question of East Timor. Formal and informal institutions and native people should be involved in all development programmes. INFIGHT hoped that the investigation of Xanana's case would take place in public so that the people in general would be able to follow it; this would avoid arousing suspicions.

REPORT ON FREE XANANA PROTESTS IN CANADA

On Sat. 28 November the East Timor Alert Network held two protests calling on the Canadian government to intervene on behalf of Xanana Gusmao. We asked that he be treated humanely as per Amnesty International's requests, and that he be released to a third country and allowed to take part in the peace talks process at the UN as the representative of the East Timorese people (as required by the 1982 East Timor resolution).

In Toronto, 35 people rallied outside External Affairs Minister Barbara McDougall's constituency office and laid flowers symbolizing hope for Xanana, members of his family, and the others arrested with his in Dili. People from across Ontario (Ottawa, Toronto, Guelph, Waterloo, Cambridge, Windsor, and St Catharines) left personal messages for McDougall (who was not in her office). Protesters also drew messages in chalk on the sidewalk. Large numbers of pedestrians and drivers stopped to take leaflets.

A rally was held earlier in the day outside Conservative MP Bill Winegard's constituency office in Guelph.

ETAN also sent out more than 400 action alerts to Canadian supporters last week from Ottawa, thanks to the help of Ray Funk, MP.

XANANA GUSMAO TELEVISED UNDER DURESS

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 1 December 1992:

The Indonesian Government today released a televised statement of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader who was captured by Indonesian forces in Dili on 20 November.

The military intelligence have held Xanana Gusmao in incommunicado detention for the past ten days, the International Red Cross has been denied access and the authorities have refused to inform anyone, including the foreign press, of his present whereabouts. Many members of his family and close friends have been arrested with a view to exerting pressure on him by means of actual or threatened maltreatment.

It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress. From what we have heard from people in Portugal and the Netherlands who have seen the interview on satellite, the interview was heavily and clumsily edited. It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who has been involved in the resistance to Indonesian aggression and illegal occupation of his country for 17 years. The authorities have shown by staging this propaganda stunt that they recognise the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor.

The Suharto regime clearly hopes to use the interview for two purposes, to demoralise the East Timorese people who have for years seen Xanana as the inspiration of their struggle and to convince the international

community that East Timorese resistance to Indonesian occupation is now at an end.

Neither of these objectives will be achieved. TAPOL calls on all governments, the United Nations Secretary-General and all people of good will who sympathise with the just struggle of the people of East Timor to condemn this propaganda trick of the Indonesian government and to demand that the International Red Cross, Indonesian and foreign lawyers, and the foreign press be given immediate and unconditional access to Xanana Gusmao.

Jakarta cannot be allowed to manipulate Xanana, now in captivity under the most stressful of conditions, in order to further undermine the people of East Timor and sabotage the negotiations shortly to take place under UN auspices to seek an internationally acceptable solution to the tragedy of East Timor.

TAPOL's Press Release of 1 December 1992 was used in at least three major Dutch dailies today, thanks apparently to the fact that several wire services quoted from it.

BBC ON XANANA'S "STATEMENT"

So far (1 December) this is the only foreign journalist comment we have obtained about the televised "statement" of Xanana Gusmao.

We in London have heard the sound recording of the "statement" but have no transcript yet. What is said to be XG's voice, speaking in Portuguese, sounds blurred and very unclear. A Portuguese colleague listening found it difficult to understand the words. This voice was then "translated" into Indonesian by the voice of Abilio Soares (or so it appears). The Indonesian was quite distinct and not difficult at all to follow, but we have not had time to make a transcript nor can we tell whether this is indeed a translation of the Portuguese-spoken text.

I am told the video tape, shown on Portuguese TV already, shows Xanana seated having a meal, probably breakfast, with his "boyhood friend," E Timor governor, Abilio Soares.

– Carmel.

I read this as a sign of Indonesian 'weakness.' If they must resort to such crude psywar techniques, it means they have not broken Xanana, fear a trial, and are well aware of the fierce reaction to his arrest abroad and in East Timor.

Reports which have now reached us at last from the Indonesian press indicate news of the arrest spread like wildfire among the Timorese in Dili. If the military lid were not on so tightly, there would be almost surely

be widespread protests. In addition, the clandestine resistance youth support group Fitun (Star, "never stops shining") also referred to as Fitun Ojetil (the last a Portuguese acronym for Organization of Young East Timorese Students, or close to that) has been formally banned. Its leaders have been forced to recant publicly in obviously insincere acts of contrition. The Army is apparently reluctantly to arrest more than a small proportion of this network – and perhaps still unable to do so. An intriguing comment in the November 28 Tempo fairly broadly hints that a Fitun member was coerced to reveal Xanana's hiding place.

Tempo even jests in a sub-headline there is a 'rumor' Xanana has not been captured, perhaps a more subtle hint that what we will hear from Xanana in the near future – as in the story below – will not really reflect Xanana's views. Anyone who has seen prisoner of war 'interviews' will not be impressed – and will not be amused!

– John

The BBC correspondent, Adam Brooks filed the following story on 1 Dec. 1992:

The Indonesian armed forces say that the captured leader of the East Timorese independence movement, Xanana Gusmao, has affirmed that East Timor is now a part of Indonesia. A press release and tapes purporting to be comments made by Mr Gusmao were released by the Indonesian armed forces in Jakarta on Tuesday.

Xanana Gusmao has for more than a decade been a powerful symbol of the East Timorese independence movement. On Tuesday, the Indonesian armed forces suggested that Mr Gusmao has turned his back on the movement. Their evidence came in the form of a poor quality tape recording in Portuguese and Indonesian purporting to be a conversation held last Friday between Mr Gusmao and the governor of East Timor, Mr Abilio Soares. In it, Mr Gusmao says that East Timor is a part of Indonesia. He says that he has started to realise the real situation in East Timor and he appealed to other Fretilin (sic) guerrillas still in the forests to give up.

It has been impossible to confirm the veracity of the tape recording. Since his arrest, Mr Gusmao has been held incommunicado. He is now reported to be under interrogation in Denpasar on the island of Bali. The International Committee of the Red Cross has not been given access to him and it is not known whether he has been allowed to see a lawyer.

In a separate statement, the military commander in East Timor said that nearly twenty close associates of Mr Gusmao's in

the pro-independence movement had been arrested following his capture. Brig. Gen Syafei was quoted in the weekly Tempo as saying that they were the people who had helped hide Mr Gusmao but he gave no further details about them.

AMNESTY ALERT F.I. #366/92 EAST TIMOR ARRESTS

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

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Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-ups ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992 and ASA 21/20/92 of 26 November 1992 - Legal Concern/Fear of Torture

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

Xanana Gusmao, 45
Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74
Augusto Pereira, 43) husband and
Aliana de Araujo (female), 40) wife
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano (female), 18
Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17
Armandina Gusmao dos Santos (female)
Gilman Exposto dos Santos
Olandina Caceiro Alves (female) (friend of
Armandina Gusmao)
Oscar Lima (friend of Olandina Caceiro)
Americo

Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader arrested in Dili on 20 November, is reported to be in the custody of Indonesian military intelligence authorities in Bali. Amnesty International remains seriously concerned for his safety. At least twelve other people arrested since 20 November, including two of Xanana's relatives, are believed to remain in incommunicado detention in Dili. There continue to be fears that they may be tortured or ill-treated under interrogation.

Indonesian authorities have provided conflicting accounts of Xanana's precise whereabouts, but unofficial sources indicate that he is currently held incommunicado at the Wisma Bayung, the eastern Indonesia headquarters of the Armed Forces Strategic Intelligence Agency (BAIS-ABRI). The Wisma Bayung is located near the airport outside Denpasar, Bali. On 26 November a military spokesperson said that Xanana was in police custody in Bali, but when asked for confirmation, the Regional Police Chief responsible for Bali said he "had not yet received any official report that Xanana had been handed over to the police." In a separate statement to the press, the

Indonesian Foreign Minister reportedly claimed that Xanana was well and in Dili.

Military authorities have stated that Xanana will be tried under Indonesian law, either in Denpasar or Dili, but they have provided no details on the charges to be brought. According to press reports, the Minister for Defence said on 26 November that Xanana was "just a street criminal." However, the evident involvement of military intelligence operatives in his interrogation, and the inclusion of Armed Forces personnel on the team established to investigate his case, strongly suggest that he will be charged with political crimes.

At least 12 other people arrested since 20 November, including two of Xanana's relatives, are believed to remain in custody in Dili. Xanana's sister, Armandina Gusmao dos Santos and her husband, Gilman Exposto dos Santos, an employee of the Catholic Relief Service, are reportedly held at police headquarters in Komoro. They are said to have been subjected to intensive questioning over the last four days, although they are not known to have been charged with an offence. Police authorities have prevented relatives from visiting the couple in detention, and there are fears that the detainees may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment. Two of their children, previously reported as arrested, are said to be staying with relatives in Dili.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/ express and airmail letters in English or your own language:

- urging the government in the strongest possible terms to immediately clarify the whereabouts of Xanana Gusmao and the other detainees named above;
- expressing concern for members of the Araujo and Gusmao families and others detained in the wake of Xanana's capture;
- reiterating the call for representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross and independent lawyers to be granted immediate access to Xanana Gusmao and the other detainees, as required by Indonesian and international law;
- seeking clarification of the precise charges to be brought against Xanana Gusmao, and urging the government to release immediately and unconditionally all those detained solely for their peaceful political views.

APPEALS TO:

For appeals regarding Xanana Gusmao only:

Lt Col Hasibuan

[Salutation: Dear Lt Col Hasibuan]

Wisma Bayung
Denpasar, Bali Indonesia
Telegrams: Lt Col Hasibuan Wisma Bayung,
Denpasar, Indonesia

For appeals regarding all the detainees, including Xanana Gusmao:

General Try Sutrisno [Salutation: Dear General Sutrisno]
Commander of the Armed Forces
Markas Besar ABRI
Cilangkap, East Jakarta Indonesia
Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno Jakarta,
Indonesia Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ);
+ 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ);
+ 62 21 35 6404

Maj. Gen. Suwardi (note corrected name)
[Salutation: Dear Maj. Gen. Suwardi]
Markas Besa KODAM IX Udayana,
Denpasar Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, Markas Besar ABRI, Udayana,
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH)
Jl. Diponegoro 74 Jakarta 10320 Indonesia
and to the diplomatic representative in your country - please see the responses to this topic for details.

FRENCH COMMUNISTS SUPPORT XANANA

From Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor. Sun Nov. 29

Three French organisations close to the communist party have written letters to ask for the release or protection of individual rights of Xanana Gusmao.

CGT (General Confederation of Labour), a trade union linked to the communist party, wrote on Nov. 24 to Roland Dumas, the foreign minister, denouncing that Indonesia keeps in prison even after 30 years and sometimes under a threat of execution several Indonesian democrats, like Rusian Widjajarastra, former vice-president of the now banned union SOBSI. It also protested against the illegal occupation of East Timor, recalling the 12 Nov. massacre and that since then all visits of foreign delegations are forbidden and a violent repression persists. Finally, leaning Xanana Gusmao's arrest, it sent a telegram to the Indonesian embassy in Paris, urging for respect of his physical and moral integrity and his immediate release.

Little-known Committee for the Defence of Freedoms and Human Rights in France and in the World, (President Georges Marchais, the Secretary General of the French Communist Party) wrote on Nov. 25

also to Roland Dumas to ask him to use his influence to act in favour of the liberation of Xanana and other Timorese arrested, and more generally [in favour of] the end of repression.

MRAP (Movement Against Racism and for Friendship among People) wrote on Nov. 24 to Francois Mitterrand to ask him "respectfully to intervene by Mr General Suharto to ask that the individual rights of Xanana Gusmao, the now imprisoned leader of the Timorese resistance, be respected." "It seems to us that the violation of human rights in East Timor, for 17 years, is just as condemnable as the invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein's army and that it should normally lead to true international sanctions."

A left-Christian weekly, *Temoignage Chretien*, published a short paragraph on Xanana's arrest.

JAKARTA ALLEGES FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR REBELS

The Sydney Morning Herald. Saturday, November 28, 1992, p. 23.

DILI, Friday: Documents found when the rebels Xanana Gusmao was captured show foreign groups, some of them Australian, have supported East Timorese struggling for independence from Indonesia, a military source said yesterday.

"The documents prove that various international organisations as well as persons who want to see an independent East Timor provided either money or goods assistance," said an officer dealing with the documents.

The foreign organisations were from Australia, Portugal, Japan, the Portuguese territory of Macao and Angola, said the officer, who did not want to be named. He refused to identify the organizations.

The officer said monetary aid this year for the rebel leader, including that from domestic supporters, had amounted to 100 million rupiahs (\$A71,000). Indonesian soldier captured Xanana last Friday in a house in the suburbs of Dili, provincial capital of the Portuguese territory annexed by Indonesia in 1976. He had headed the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor, or Fretilin.

In Jakarta, General Try Sutrisno, the armed forces commander, told a parliamentary hearing yesterday that military action had left the East Timorese rebels with no strength at all. The general said the rebel had tens of thousands of weapons when Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976, "but now their strength has sharply decreased."

Nurhadi Purwosaputro, the armed forces' spokesman, told reporters the rebels now numbered about 150. He denied allegations

by Amnesty International that the military had arrested relatives of Xanana.

TIMORESE BURN INDONESIAN FLAG!

According to a November 29 AP story datelined Canberra, demonstrating East Timorese burned an Indonesian flag outside Jakarta's embassy here Sunday and demanded the release of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the pro-independence group Fretilin.

Police said about 80 East Timorese staged an hour-long demonstration outside the Indonesian embassy, hurling insults at President Suharto and demanding the independence of East Timor.

"Suharto is a butcher, Free East Timor now," the demonstrators chanted as they burned the flag and demanded the release of Gusmao, who was captured in Dili last week and imprisoned by the Indonesian authorities.

The group demanded access to Gusmao by the International Red Cross and Amnesty International so his well-being could be established.

A Fretilin spokesman, Estanisla da Silva, said Gusmao was under intensive interrogation and was now believed to be in Jakarta.

SUHARTO MISCALCULATING ON XANANA?

Remark: Some of those arrested may be Fitun figures. It is another indicator of Indonesian weakness and worry that it will not officially admit arrests of members of some of Xanana's family members (and their friends). These denials are seriously damaging Indonesian credibility re Xanana and will likely 'spill over' to its handling of East Timor human rights and self-determination issues. Governments with embassies in Jakarta will have long ago communicated the deceit to their home foreign ministries.

Even though Suharto has returned from his trip abroad for some time now, he has not so far acted 'masterfully' as he did after the November 12 massacre. Instead, he appears to have reverted to his worst old habits and ploys, a decision likely to hurt him badly in the eyes of resident embassy personnel and Indonesia-watchers abroad generally.

It is very noticeable in recent Indonesian press stories that the role of the new East Timor governor Abilio is merely to 'sound off' - he recently said he, not Xanana, should represent East Timor in talks with Portugal - and be ignored in all important matters by Suharto, ABRI, and even the Indonesian Foreign Affairs Department.

- John

According to a December 1 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's military has arrested about 20 of East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmao's closest aides since his capture two weeks ago, the territory's military commander said in an interview published on Tuesday.

"They were clandestine, close friends who had helped him in hiding," Brigadier-General Syafei told the weekly magazine Tempo.

Those arrested belonged to the inner circle of Xanana, the leader of the rebel Fretilin movement who was captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital of Dili, Syafei said.

The military earlier denied a charge by the London-based human rights organisation Amnesty International that several members of Xanana's family had been among those arrested. Amnesty has expressed concern for Xanana's safety in captivity.

Xanana - Jose Alexander Gusmao's *nom de guerre* - is expected to be charged with masterminding protests that Jakarta says led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery in November last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Syafei said Xanana's capture had practically ended the military's combat operations against Fretilin, leaving it free to concentrate on helping civilians develop East Timor.

Syafei said Fretilin had about 100 members. Fretilin sources exiled in Australia, however, say there are between 300 and 1,000 members.

CARRASCALAO CASTS DOUBT

Mario Carrascalao, the former governor of East Timor, told a Portuguese journalist Joao Gabriel Tuesday that the credibility of the "statement" made on tape and television by the captured East Timorese leader, Xanana Gusmao "is doubtful."

Joao Gabriel, who is in Jakarta for the Portuguese Radio TSF and the independent Portuguese TV channel, TV-SIC, met Carrascalao after the alleged Xanana "statement" was shown on Indonesian television.

Gabriel said that his report, which was heard on TSF Radio in Portugal yesterday, was recorded under Indonesian reporting restrictions.

COMMENT FROM CARMEL BUDIARDJO, TAPOL

Further to the remarks added when the BBC story was filed on reg.easttimor late last night, I can add that the audio tape, of

which we have a copy, is different from the video shown on television (which I have not seen) in that the video does not have the voice of anyone translating the "statement" into Indonesian.

This statement by Carrascalao suggests that even he cannot stomach the subterfuge and deceit displayed by the army in forcing Xanana to "speak" as he did. But there may be another factor.

Since the Xanana capture, there has clearly been a battle going on in ABRI circles about how to deal with the problems created by Xanana's release. Murdani made his views known with his statement about Xanana being "a mouse," a "street criminal" etc. This was in fact a rejection of the high profile given by the ABRI leadership to Xanana's capture which Murdani does not condone. The televised "statement" in fact only adds to Xanana's stature, showing how ABRI is determined to destroy his respected status among East Timorese.

Mario Carrascalao is considered to be close to Murdani and bitterly hostile to the current governor. This may add to the understanding of why he came out with such a negative statement on the alleged Xanana "statement."

STATEMENT OF JOSE RAMOS HORTA

TO EAST TIMORESE AND FRIENDS ALL OVER THE WORLD

Lisbon, 2 December

1. The capture of Xanana Gusmao and his subsequent alleged statement are no doubt a moral and psychological set back for all of us and in particular the people inside East Timor. However we have to turn this sorrow and anger into strength and continue on.

2. The capture and the extraction of these statements from Xanana Gusmao come at a crucial time when there is strong possibility that the American position would change. This is what I believe has had the Indonesians most worried.

3. I was overwhelmed, shocked and anger by the video footage showing Xanana Gusmao in a complete state of numbness, physical and psychological, in a state of shock and thoroughly defeated. What we saw in the Indonesian military clips is not the Xanana Gusmao we have known in the past 17 years, a man of vision, courage and determination.

4. Xanana Gusmao showed signs of having been subjected to psychological and physical torture and I believe he would have been injected with chemical elements that affected his will power. His left arm was not functioning and must have been paralysed.

His face shows signs of torture. His speech is definitively not the one of the same Xanana Gusmao that was shown in the Portuguese television 2 months earlier.

5. Xanana was kept incommunicado without access by the ICRC nor by a lawyer. No foreign correspondent interviewed him. Instead the interview which was shown on TV was conducted by the puppet governor of Indonesia who is a notorious thug.

6. News coming out of East Timor suggest a reign of terror with numerous cases of rape of relatives of Xanana Gusmao and others, torture and killing. Our source from East Timor says that the situation is completely beyond of control, one by one people are being picked up, interrogated, tortured and in some cases killed. Among those killed is one nephew of FRETILIN leader Abilio Araujo who was beaten to death. Some of the female Araujo and Xanana relatives have been raped.

7. The Portuguese authorities have reacted quickly and strongly and I appeal to all to close ranks, sending to the Foreign Minister, Mr. Durao Barroso, expressions of encouragement and support and urging Portugal to stand firm on the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

8. No matter what Xanana Gusmao might have said or not the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination is sacred. It cannot be invalidated by the words of one single person, particularly under the circumstances we know. Further the roots of the problem remains deep and are intimately linked with the occupation and annexation of East Timor. There cannot be a solution without a proper act of self-determination.

We are going through the most challenging times in our 18 years struggle. We must all stand up to this challenge and continue with ever greater determination and hope the struggle. Time is on our side and the enemy knows this. I appeal to all my East Timorese compatriots and friends all over the world to stand united and raise up to the challenge of history.

Address of the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

Dr. J.M.Durao Barroso
Palacio das Necessidades
Largo do Rilvas,
1300 Lisboa - Portugal
Fax: 351-1-397 44 60.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION ON THE PORTUGUESE POSITION

REGARDING THE DETENTION BY THE INDONESIAN AUTHORITIES OF MR XANANA GUSMAO AND OTHER EAST TIMORESE

Portuguese Embassy, London 2 Dec. 1992

Portugal supports a peaceful and negotiated solution for the East Timor problem, the only way forward and likely to spare the East Timorese people additional sacrifices. But Portugal respects fully all those who, subject to an illegal invasion and occupation, and whose fundamental rights have been violated, have taken up arms in their defence. When captured, their human rights should be fully observed in accordance with the international humanitarian law applicable.

The Indonesian occupation of the East Timor is illegal because it violates blatantly the United Nations Charter (article 2, no.4) and resolutions adopted by the UN, not only by the General Assembly, but also by the Security Council (res. 384 and 389) which demand that Indonesia withdraw from the territory and respect the right to self determination of the East Timorese people.

East Timor is still, in the eyes of the United Nations, a non-autonomous territory. Indonesia is therefore also violating General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), which prohibits the acquisition of territory by force and resolution 3314 (XXIX) which prohibits the recourse to armed force to deprive populations of their rights to self-determination.

East Timor is an occupied territory over which Indonesia's jurisdiction should not be recognized, nor can its criminal law be applicable to an East Timorese. The description of the East Timorese leader as "subversive" or "terrorist" is therefore also unacceptable.

The occupying authorities, in denying the access of the International Red Cross to Mr Xanana Gusmao and to other East Timorese arrested, are violating the terms of the 4th Geneva Convention (1949), which the International Committee of the Red Cross itself considers applicable to East Timor. The regime of incommunicability under which Mr Xanana Gusmao has been kept is a particularly serious violation of the above-mentioned Convention, to which Indonesia is legally bound.

DIPLOMATS BAFFLED

BBC World Service, 1 December 1992. By Adam Brooks

(Jakarta) Indonesian armed forces have denied suggestions from Portugal that the captured leader of the East Timorese independence movement was tortured into making statements acknowledging Indonesian rule in East Timor. The Indonesia armed forces spokesman said that Mr Xanana Gusmao had in no way been ill-treated since his arrest nearly two weeks ago. Adam Brooks writes from Jakarta that diplomats and observers remain baffled by Mr Gusmao's sudden public acceptance that East Timor is part of Indonesia.

The pictures ran on Indonesian television on Tuesday. They showed Xanana Gusmao looking relaxed and alert, accepting Indonesian rule over East Timor and urging Fretilin guerrillas to give up their fight. But Mr Gusmao was for years the charismatic leader of the East Timorese independence movement. Diplomats in Jakarta were taken aback at what appeared to be his abrupt about-face and Portugal's President, Mr Mario Soares, said on Portuguese television that Mr Gusmao must have been tortured, threatened and pressurized for him to have said such things. Certainly nobody knows what has happened to Mr Gusmao since his arrest nearly two weeks ago. The ICRC has not yet been given access to him. But an Indonesian armed forces spokesman strongly denied that Mr Gusmao had been in any way ill-treated. The spokesman said that the Portuguese President had no basis for his statement and that the Red Cross would be given access to Mr Gusmao either this week or next. The Indonesian government wants to portray the East Timor conflict as over so Mr Gusmao's statements have considerable propaganda value but whether or not they genuinely represent Mr Gusmao's stance is a question unlikely to be answered until independent observers have had access to him.

TWO XANANAS SEEN ON BRITISH CHANNEL FOUR

Channel 4 News at Seven, 2 December 1992, report by TAPOL.

Channel 4's News at Seven which gave such prominence to footage of the massacre last year, did a six-minute item today about the Xanana "interview." Besides showing for about one minute Xanana speaking in a very strained way (far from relaxed as some agencies claim) to Osorio Soares, it also showed footage from a film of Xanana in the bush, made in May 1991 which was made available by the Japan Free East Timor!

Coalition. This made it possible to compare what Xanana looks like when speaking as a free man and when speaking in captivity under the watchful eye of the army's watchdog, Soares.

We shall post a transcript of the item as soon as possible. Meanwhile here is the statement of Jose Ramos-Horta made during the film. He was interviewed in Lisbon.

"The pictures we have just seen of Mr Gusmao are, if anything, a denunciation of the torture he went through. It shows for instance his left arm, probably paralysed, after enormous torture inflicted upon him. If anything, this film is an indictment of the Indonesian authorities. They perpetrated, they committed all sorts of atrocities on a political prisoner, a prisoner of war which should be protected under the Geneva Convention. And the film, if anything, should move the European Community and Great Britain as president of the EC, to impose mandatory sanctions on Indonesia."

Other interviewed by Channel 4 were Foreign Minister Ali Alatas in Jeddah, and Geoffrey Robinson of Amnesty International in London. Well done Channel 4!

REUTER: XANANA REMARKS IN CUSTODY

*Remark: As in many prisoner of war and hostage interviews, these remarks seem so disjunctive with Xanana's known long-held views they cannot be taken at face value (even if correctly translated) and may even be designed to 'send a message' not to take them seriously. If Xanana is brought to **public** trial, as with previous defendants in political cases in Indonesia, he will then feel free to disavow them, a turn of events which will backfire badly on official Indonesian credibility. That the trial pattern is so well-known to Xanana's captors gives continuing rise to anxiety for his safety prior to any such trial. – John*

According to a December 2 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmao appeared on state television on Tuesday night and urged his fellow guerrillas to give up their struggle and accept Indonesian rule.

Xanana appeared on television in conversation with East Timor governor Jose Abilio Soares, who interpreted his comments from Portuguese into Indonesian.

Wearing a white shirt and with a map of Indonesia in the background, Xanana looked relaxed during a 10-minute meeting with the governor, with whom he went to the same school in Dili.

"He calls for all members (of Fretilin) to surrender ... and, together with those people who have already become Indonesian citizens, to participate in development," Soares quoted Xanana as saying.

"He urges Fretilin sympathisers, especially those abroad ... to forget the struggle that was lured with Portuguese lies for about 17 years and think how to help solve the East Timorese problem."

"He is disappointed with Fretilin leaders abroad, including Ramos Horta who has been using the party's name for his own benefit," Soares said.

The exiled Ramos Horta is the leading Timorese spokesman abroad for independence and some sources say he has been at odds with Xanana.

"...(Xanana) feels safe with us but he cannot say he is happy because his activities caused a lot of trouble to East Timorese," Soares said.

He quoted Xanana as apologising to the East Timorese for their suffering in an army massacre in November last year. Indonesian officials say Xanana masterminded protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

The army says 50 people died in the incident and 66 were missing, but witnesses put the toll at up to 180 dead.

"After having contacts with several people and witnessing himself, he has come to realise ... that East Timor belongs to Indonesia and Indonesia belongs to East Timor," Soares said.

A number of organisations including Amnesty International have expressed concern for Xanana's welfare since his capture.

AFP ON XANANA ON TVRI

According to a December 1 AFP story datelined Jakarta, a translation of remarks by captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao, who appeared on television here Tuesday, quotes him as saying he now accepts that East Timor belongs to Indonesia.

A Portuguese speaker told AFP the translation, according to which Gusmao told his rebel colleagues to surrender, was accurate.

The state network TVRI showed the casually dressed Gusmao speaking in Portuguese to East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio at an undisclosed location.

Osorio, translating into Indonesian, quoted Gusmao as saying "East Timor nowadays is part of Indonesia, and Indonesia is part of East Timor."

Gusmao appeared to be relaxed and speaking voluntarily, but requests to see him by outsiders, including the International

Committee of the Red Cross, have met no response from Indonesian authorities.

It is believed he has also not been allowed to meet with a lawyer.

In the TVRI interview, Gusmao smiled when he said he was in good health, but added that he could obviously not say he was happy, according to the translated remarks.

A statement released by the Indonesian Armed Forces earlier Tuesday said the "open dialogue" between Gusmao and Osorio was held Friday. A military spokesman, Brigadier General Nurhadi Purwosaputro, said Tuesday it had taken place in Bali, headquarters of the Udayana military command that oversees East Timor.

DIPLOMATS DOUBT XANANA RECANTATION

Remark: Note that the tape was avowedly made on Friday and not aired till several days later. This suggests possible controversy within official Indonesian ranks over airing it and virtually assures heavy censorship of it. – John

According to a December 2 AFP story datelined Jakarta, East Timor independence leader Jose Xanana Gusmao's disputed public acceptance of Jakarta's sovereignty over the former Portuguese colony may have turned the page on 17 years of struggle but leaves a trail of questions unanswered.

Indonesian television showed late Tuesday a tape of Gusmao speaking in Portuguese in which he said "East Timor nowadays is part of Indonesia and Indonesia is part of East Timor."

Gusmao, a leader of the pro-independence group Fretilin who was arrested in the East Timor capital Dili on November 20, appeared calm and speaking voluntarily in a room at an undisclosed location.

Diplomats and analysts called it a propaganda coup for Indonesia, but wondered if the 45-year-old former fugitive had been acting under psychological pressure.

Fretilin said Wednesday in Darwin, Australia that Gusmao had spoken under duress, pointing out that members of his family had been arrested with him.

"They forced Xanana to say it," said Fretilin's Australian representative Alfredo Ferreira.

Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares was by Gusmao's side in the tape and translated for him from Portuguese into the official language, Bahasa Indonesia.

Osorio quoted Gusmao as calling on fellow Fretilin members to come out of their hiding places and "join their colleagues in building East Timor together for a better

future." Osorio's translation was adept, according to Portuguese speakers.

Gusmao was also quoted as criticizing the Fretilin leadership in exile, especially top leader Jose Ramos Horta, and denounced Lisbon's inaction on the colony it abandoned in 1975. Jakarta invaded East Timor in 1975 and annexed it in 1976.

Armed forces spokesman General Nurhadi Purwosaputro said the "open dialogue" between Gusmao and Osorio had been held Friday in the island of Bali, where Gusmao was taken after his arrest.

Jakarta and Portugal are to return in December to the negotiating table for talks on East Timor under U.N. auspices.

The talks were interrupted when Indonesian troops fired on a crowd on November 12 last year in Dili, leaving at least 50 people dead and 66 missing by Jakarta's own admission.

Witnesses say many more were killed in the pro-independence crowd, which was carrying flags with the picture of "Commander Xanana."

"The question everyone is asking is, why after all these years of struggle in the jungle, did Gusmao change his mind in a few days," said a diplomat.

An Indonesian source in Dili said "Gusmao was in a pitiful moral state when he was captured." No visitors, including members of the International Committee of the Red Cross, have been able to see him.

"The thesis that he was under excessive psychological pressure is possible, given the hardship of the conditions in which he lived and if one takes into account that members of his family – including two of his sisters and their husbands as well as people hiding him – were arrested," said a diplomat.

An analyst here suggested that dissensions within Fretilin between hard-liners and moderates, Gusmao being among the latter, could have in part explained his attitude.

Gusmao may also have been offered a reduced sentence and freedom for his relatives, analysts here said.

FRETILIN DARWIN: XANANA COERCED

According to a December 2 AFP report datelined Darwin, the captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao was forced by Indonesian security forces to say East Timor belonged to Indonesia, an official spokesman for the resistance group Fretilin said here Wednesday.

Referring to reports of Gusmao's reportedly "relaxed" appearance on Indonesian television this week, Fretilin's Australian representative Alfredo Ferreira said Gusmao

would never have said what he did voluntarily.

"All the statements should be seen as being under duress – they forced Xanana to say it."

It was "unthinkable" Gusmao would make such statements of his own free will, he said.

Ferreira, who enjoys a reputation for reliability in Australia, said he had also received reports that an East Timorese man arrested the same day as Gusmao was in a Dili hospital, after being tortured by Indonesian security forces.

"He was tortured and he has two broken arms and his nails from at least one hand were all pulled out," Ferreira said.

However, Ferreira said he was satisfied the Indonesian authorities had not physically tortured Gusmao.

"They don't have to torture him physically, they have other ways to torture a person."

"We should not forget that members of Xanana's family were arrested, and as I understand it, some of them are still in custody," Ferreira said.

"He's isolated, and he doesn't know what's really happening.

"They might twist all the accounts (from) outside, make up stories, and prepare films to make him believe it's hopeless to keep on fighting."

Gusmao appeared on Indonesian television Tuesday looking relaxed and, speaking in Portuguese, told his rebel Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Gusmao, reportedly being held in Bali, was speaking with East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio at an undisclosed location.

According to a translation of Gusmao's television statements, verified by several Portuguese speakers, he also expressed regret for his part in a protest in Dili on November 12, 1991.

He said the former Portuguese colony of East Timor was now part of Indonesia.

Ferreira said in Darwin that Indonesian authorities should prove that Gusmao's statements were freely made, by allowing him to visit the United Nations in New York, and make the statements there.

"Only then could they have some sort of value," he said.

Fretilin, led by Gusmao, has fought Indonesia's annexation of East Timor since Indonesia's invasion in 1975.

An Australian government spokesman said Wednesday that Gusmao did not appear to be under duress in the interview although the circumstances were not known.

Senator Robert Ray, representing Foreign Minister Gareth Evans, told the Senate the broadcast was seen by officers from the

Australian embassy in Jakarta who confirmed it was Gusmao.

"What we can say is that our embassy reports that in that interview he appeared well and there were no obvious signs of duress.

"The government has sought assurances from the Indonesian government at the highest levels that Xanana will be not ill-treated and that he will be accorded due legal process."

STATE DEPARTMENT 'KNOWS NOTHING'

Excerpt from U.S. State Department December 1 briefing courtesy of Federal News Service and Reuter:

FNS:

Q I'm sorry – do you have anything new on the conditions of Mr. Gusmao, guerrilla leader in East Timor detained by Indonesia, who – the latest I've had is that he appeared on videotape asking for East Timor to be integrated in Indonesia, and disclaiming the –

MR. BOUCHER: I hadn't seen that, and I don't have anything new on him.

Q Nothing – the State Department, they asked the Indonesian government for the committee of the International Red Cross to have access to him.

MR. BOUCHER: That's right.

Q Have you had any reply on that?

MR. BOUCHER: I'll have to check on that and see.

...

Reuter:

Q: I'm sorry - do you have anything new on the condition of Mr. Gusmao, guerrilla leader in East Timor, detained by Indonesia, who, the latest I've had, is that he appeared on videotape, asking for East Timor to be integrated in Indonesia, and –

BOUCHER: I hadn't seen that and I don't have anything new on him.

Q: Nothing new? The State Department had asked Indonesian government for the Committee of the International Red Cross to have access to him.

BOUCHER: That's right. Yeah.

Q: Have you had any reply on that?

BOUCHER: I'll have to check on that and see.

Q: Thank you.

ALATAS ON PORTUGAL TALKS

The Sydney Morning Herald, Wednesday, December 2, 1992, p.15

JAKARTA, Tuesday: Indonesia's military has arrested about 20 close aides of the East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmao since his capture two weeks ago, the territory military commander said in an interview published today.

"They were clandestine, close friends who had helped him in hiding," Brigadier-General Syafei told the weekly magazine Tempo. Those arrested belonged to the inner circle of Xanana, the leader of the rebel Fretilin movement who was captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital of Dili, General Syafei said. He gave no names or any other information about those arrested.

Tempo quoted General Syafei as saying he had a list of the remaining members of Fretilin whom he said were numbered "in the hundreds." He said Xanana's capture had practically ended the military's combat operations against Fretilin.

Earlier, the Foreign Minister, Mr. Ali Alatas, said he did not believe Xanana's capture would affect talks with Portugal later this month about the territory. Mr. Alatas also said Indonesia would not change its basic position, rejecting self-determination and a referendum for the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia annexed in 1976 after intervening in a civil war there. Mr. Alatas told reporters that, in his opinion, the capture would have no direct impact on the talks with Portugal scheduled for December 17 in New York. "I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic," he said. "I have to hear first whatever new ideas they would propose in the dialogue."

The talks will be held under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. The UN still recognises Portugal as the administering authority in East Timor. Mr. Alatas also rejected the possibility of sending Xanana to Portugal.

Fretilin has been fighting Indonesia troops since 1975, when they invaded East Timor after the Portuguese left.

SUPPORT FOR IMPRISONED FRETILIN LEADER GROWS

*Green Left Weekly Dec. 1, 1992
By Sean Malloy*

The Australian Council For Overseas Aid said that the United Nations should seek the immediate release into UN custody of East Timorese Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao, who was imprisoned by Indonesian troops on November 20, and involve him in talks on December 17 around Indonesian occupation.

"We remain very concerned for his personal welfare because of his long-standing conflict with the Indonesian military and past cases in Indonesia of death in military custody. The UN, which does not recognise Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor, should intervene to give him protective custody," said ACFOA spokesperson, Pat Walsh.

"We call on the Australian government to make immediate enquiries about the situation of these people and to ensure that they are given total access by the International Red Cross and that their basic rights are respected according to international standards," he added.

Democrat Senator John Coulter urged international vigilance to prevent the Indonesian authorities in East Timor from torturing Gusmao.

Coulter also urged the UN to defend Gusmao, "I urge you to press Indonesian authorities most strongly to produce Xanana Gusmao and to grant you and other representatives of the international community access to him, in order to verify that he is being treated correctly," he said.

Fretilin representatives in Australia have appealed for Gusmao's release.

"There are reports that Xanana has been taken out of East Timor and is currently being held by the Indonesian army somewhere in Jakarta. Information from Indonesia also indicated that Xanana is being subjected to intense interrogations by the Indonesian army and security forces, aimed at obtaining details of the resistance program and movements in East Timor," said Fretilin representative Estanislau da Silva.

Fretilin is calling on all concerned organisations to pressure Indonesia not to transport Gusmao arbitrarily, not to torture Gusmao, to allow humanitarian organisations access to him and for his release into UN custody.

ABEL GUTTERES INTERVIEW

Green Left, #82 December 2, 1992

Remark: Spelling 'as is.' We still have not seen any credible report that the UN Secretary-General has asked for Xanana's release. Apparently, some such alleged remark is being widely circulated in Australia. Anyone having access to a record of such a remark by Boutros-Ghali is requested to post it.

— John

'To freely vote without coercion'

By Nick Everett

Abel Guterres is a leading representative of Fretilin, the liberation organisation of East Timor, based in Melbourne. He spoke to Green Left Weekly about the imprisonment of Xanana Gusmao by Indonesian troops and the December 17 UN sponsored negotiations on East Timor.

Guterres explained that Fretilin is not sure where Gusmao is being held. "No one from any of the human rights organisations, like Amnesty International or the International Red Cross, the Indonesians haven't allowed anyone to physically see him. So we fear for his health."

Referring to the mounting international pressure on Indonesia to release Gusmao and the current focus on East Timor, Guterres argues that it would be difficult for Indonesia to continue violations of human rights unnoticed.

"I don't think they are going to get away with it because Portuguese President Soares called for his release, the President of France, Mitterrand, also called for his release and United Nations Secretary General also has called for his release," he said.

"The international pressure is definitely mounting, but a lot more has to be done especially here in Australia. I think more and more people need to be pushing to find out what the Australian government is doing.

"The Australian government has been assured of Xanana's safety, but there is no proof, no observers from the Australian people in Jakarta, to really justify that Indonesia is really treating him well. "We know that the Australian government put more importance on its economic interest with Indonesia than on East Timor, especially the East Timor Gap Treaty, which Australia is so eager to get the wealth and natural resources of the East Timorese.

"Their action is almost daylight robbery, piracy on the East Timor resources. But that is the government, I think the important thing is that Australians are the ones who will really maintain pressure on a persistent level.

"East Timorese have resisted for the last seventeen years despite the loss, the killing of 200,000 people. The younger generation especially are really standing up and raise their voices and defy the Indonesian occupation. That's exactly what happened on the November 12 last year, when the massacre took place.

"Australians can play a leading role and really put pressure on the government for a satisfactory answer from the Indonesian government."

"To have someone from Australia, or a government official to see or meet physically with Xanana," would be useful, "to see or ascertain his healthy condition."

Confirming that the negotiation process is still going ahead for December 17, Guterres said it is urgent to secure Gusmao's release for the negotiations.

"The negotiation process is still going ahead, as scheduled, and so the whole process will still take place. One of the important things that we urge the government to do is to pressure Indonesia to release Xanana into United Nations custody. I think that will facilitate Xanana to join in the negotiation table.

"These talks are called the proximity talks, which means that Portugal and Indonesia will meet in the first phase and then at a later stage East Timor will be involved. But at the same time the UN Secretary General will also consult with East Timorese representatives."

Discussing Portugal's proposal that East Timor could become an autonomous state within Indonesia, Guterres said that "the bottom line is that no one, not anyone can decide but the East Timorese people through referendum. If the East Timorese choose to be an autonomous state within Indonesia then so be it. But we are certain that 99.9% of East Timorese want independence. That is what the struggle and all this suffering has been for.

"In whatever shape or form the negotiations are conducted the very bottom line is that a referendum has to take place in East Timor for the population to freely vote without coercion."

EAST TIMOR'S LOST LEADER

*The Economist, 28 November 1992
(from our Jakarta correspondent)*

The leader of resistance against the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, Xanana Gusmao, was taken prisoner on November 20th. Soldiers found him asleep in a cave under a house on the outskirts of Dili, the capital. He is now being questioned. Indonesia's President Suharto said

he will be treated "according to the law." An army chief said Mr Gusmao could face the death penalty, but a presidential spokesman said he would not. The spokesman denied that Mr Gusmao had been tortured. Mr Gusmao, who is 45, seemed well when he was shown on Indonesian television on November 23rd.

East Timor used to be a Portuguese colony. In 1975 Portugal, run by a new government that believed colonialism to be immoral, suddenly pulled out. For nine days East Timor was an independent state. Then Indonesia moved in from the part of the island it had inherited from the Dutch. Mr Gusmao's Fretilin (Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor) took to the hills and its guerrillas have been harassing Indonesian troops ever since.

After his capture, Portugal called for Mr Gusmao's release and offered him asylum. These days many Portuguese regret dumping East Timor and feel some guilt for the deaths of many thousands of Timorese during the campaign that Indonesia has carried out against opponents of its occupation. Much to the irritation of Indonesia, the United Nations still recognises Portugal as the "legal administrator" of East Timor.

Whatever Portugal says, it is unlikely that Indonesia will be lenient with the Che Guevara-style figure who has plagued its rule in what it calls its 27th province. Young Timorese who have grown up under Indonesian rule probably have little confidence in Mr Gusmao's fight for independence, and now that he has been captured his little band of guerrillas may disintegrate. Nevertheless, he remains a symbol of protest for those dissatisfied with Indonesia's policies in the province.

The tough response of the army to raids by Fretilin has spilled over to the population as a whole. Stringent security checks are a part of life. There is semi-official tolerance of gangs of right-wing toughs who have created terror in the main towns. "The generation of young people who have grown up under Indonesian rule naturally question a style of government that makes them live in a climate of constant fear," says a diplomat who visits the province regularly.

Last November around 100 people were killed at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery, where thousands had gathered at the grave of a youth who had died in a clash with right-wing toughs. Since the massacre, even tougher military commanders have been moved to East Timor. Intensified security has inevitably increased the discontent of the Timorese. Many young people cannot find work, leaving them plenty of time to think of ways to change the system. With or without the leadership of Mr Gusmao,

Indonesia's own actions guarantee continuing dissent.

ASEAN HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS CONDEMNED

According to November 30 UPI story datelined Jakarta, a human rights group Monday condemned rights violations in the member states of ASEAN, saying it was particularly concerned about Indonesia's suppression of independence movements.

The Council on Human Rights in Asia condemned political detention, the restriction of free speech and the right of free association, the death penalty and discrimination against women in the five-nation grouping.

A statement said the Council was particularly concerned about the situation in the Indonesian provinces of East Timor, Aceh and Irian Jaya, and asked the government to comply with relevant U.N. resolutions.

The statement drew attention to the independence movements opposed by Jakarta in those areas: the Free Aceh (Aceh Merdeka) Movement and the Free Papua Movement in the country's easternmost province of Irian Jaya.

As regards East Timor, Mulya Lubis, an Indonesian lawyer, said the council had appealed to the Jakarta government to respect the rights of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, who was captured on Nov. 20.

The group's statement was sent to the five ASEAN governments - Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, and the Philippines. Brunei, which also the ASEAN member was not listed at the Council.

The group said it was concerned over assaults on the rights of workers in the whole region. It urged Indonesia to "respect independent labor unions and to respect ILO conventions concerning those labor rights," the statement said.

It also called on the Malaysian government to repeal the application of preventive detention law and the immediate and unconditional release of all such detainees.

The group criticized the Thailand government, calling on it to make reforms to bring perpetrators to the bar of justice and to repeal all unjust laws.

It also was concerned over moves by the Thai government to confine Burmese student-refugees, Mon and Karen refugees in special camps in Thailand and urged them to respect the rights of the refugees and to grant them asylum.

The council also deplored the moves of the Philippine government to reimpose the death penalty.

It called on Singapore to abolish preventive detention and urged it to take every

step to ensure full protection of the rights of peaceful assembly, free association and speech.

PORTUGAL DISMISSES TVRI PSYWAR

According to a December 2 Reuter story by Natasha Brown datelined Lisbon, Portugal on Wednesday dismissed a televised statement by captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmao renouncing his 17-year struggle for independence, saying he was speaking under duress.

A television film of Gusmao accepting the incorporation of the former Portuguese colony into Indonesia and calling on his guerrilla comrades to surrender was shown on Portuguese television on Tuesday night.

"(Xanana) did not have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured and threatened," President Mario Soares said after seeing the film, released by the Indonesian Defence Ministry.

"(His declarations) had nothing to do with the will and determination of the East Timorese people who want self determination and independence," Soares said.

The Foreign Ministry said Xanana's declarations, made in Portuguese in a televised conversation with the Indonesian governor of East Timor, Abilio Soares, were inconsistent with his long struggle for independence.

"Everything seems to indicate that he has been subjected to threats and pressures," a Foreign Ministry spokeswoman said.

The Lisbon newspaper *Publico* and commentators on state television compared Xanana's statements with those made by U.S. and British soldiers captured by Iraq during the Gulf War.

"The strategy has nothing new," *Publico* said.

Xanana said in the statement he regretted his struggle.

He apologised for the events of November 12, 1991, when Indonesian troops fired on a pro-independence demonstration at a cemetery in Dili, killing 180 according to eyewitnesses.

Indonesia, which also showed the conversation on state television on Tuesday night, said 50 were killed.

"I regret having given orders for the demonstration of November 12 (1991). I did not expect it to end in tragedy as it did. I take this opportunity to apologise to the families of all the victims, and also to the troops present there," Xanana said, his eyes downcast.

"I also take this opportunity to call on all those still in the bush ... and on the leaders of clandestine organisations, to reconsider

and ... to give themselves up to the nearest military authorities, so that we may seek the best way of building the new Timor within the Indonesian nation," Xanana added.

Jose Ramos Horta, the official spokesman abroad for the Falantil guerrillas, said Xanana had obviously been subjected to psychological and physical torture and his statements had no credibility whatsoever.

He was unshaven and looked pale during the 10-minute film.

Abilio Soares said in Jakarta in an interview with Portugal's private TSF radio that Xanana had spoken of his own free will and was being treated well.

Falantil (Armed Forces for the Liberation of East Timor) is the official name of the guerrilla movement opposing Indonesian rule.

It includes members of Fretilin (Revolutionary Front of Independent East Timor), the left-wing party which briefly ruled the territory before Indonesia's invasions, members of other nationalist groups and independents like Xanana himself.

Xanana abandoned Fretilin in December 1988 after differences with the movement's overseas representatives.

INDONESIA STUDENT NETS INFILTRATED

Remark: Yet another Indonesian student net – this time Warung-net in Canada – becomes a formal vehicle for official Indonesian propaganda. Indo-net in Australia has been used for such purposes for some time, including posting of propaganda materials and as the vehicle of the approved Indonesian student association in Australia, PPIA. A third Indonesian student net – PBDLIST – operates under the guidance (pembinaan) of an advanced graduate student who last worked in Indonesia as a researcher in the Education and Culture Department. He is quite 'orthodox' in his views and has sought to prevent discussion of sensitive issues, including East Timor. An official of an Indonesian consulate in Canada has long had an account with Web, one of the APC partner networks, where materials in reg.indonesia and reg.easttimor may be easily read. -- John MacDougall

The Warung-net posting follows.

Forwarded from Warung-net:
Tue, 1 Dec. 1992 01:48 EDT From: Zainal Abibin <ES051125@Orion.YorkU.CA>
Subject: Press release konsulat RI Toronto
To: meffendi@sunee.uwaterloo.ca

Buat teman-teman, ini mungkin e-mail sejenis yang kedua yang saya kirim mengingat saya tidak yakin e-mail yang pertama dapat diterima teman-teman.

Menanggapi e-mail Bung Kadir, berikut ini saya kirimkan press release Konsulat RI di Toronto NO: 707/PEN/XI/92 tentang penangkapan Xanana Gusmao. Isi lengkapnya saya kutip sebagai berikut.

PRESS RELEASE

The Department of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia announced that the Fretilin rebel leader, Xanana Gusmao has been captured in a military operation of the Indonesian Army supported by the local people in East Timor in a village south of Dili on November 20, 1992.

Xanana is under the custody of the Indonesian Authority for a thorough investigation. Pursuant to the guidance of the Minister of Defence and Security and concurrently Minister of Foreign Affairs and interim, General L. Benny Murdani, the procedure of the detention and investigation will be under the rules and the existing law of the country.

Toronto, November 20, 1992

(Catatan: mohon diedarkan kepada rekan-rekan lainnya)

Cap Konsulat RI di Toronto

LIGHT OF MOURNING, LIGHT OF HOPE

*The Canberra Times, November 30, 1992.
By Jodi Brough*

(Canberra) East Timorese protesters braved the rain yesterday to demand the release of the captured Fretilin leader, Xanana Gusmao, during a protest at the Indonesian Embassy in Yarralumla.

Police were on hand to watch about 100 people take part in erecting a mourning lantern in memory of those killed by Indonesian troops during the massacre in the Santa Cruz Cemetery in Dili on November 12 last year.

The protesters were members of the NSW Timorese community, who had come to Canberra from Sydney to demand freedom for Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao, the leader of the Fretilin guerrillas who oppose the Indonesian annexation of East Timor.

They yelled the slogans "Free Xanana, Free East Timor" and "Suharto is a butcher, Xanana is a hero" at the embassy for 1 1/5 hours, burnt a flag and erected a traffic sign changed from "floodway" to read "bloodway," but there were no arrests.

In the crowd were people concealing their identity with masks, including one Indonesian student who said he represented Indonesian young people who disapproved of their national army's presence in East Timor. It was clear that human rights violations were occurring, he said.

Also there were three survivors of the massacre, aged 24, 22 and 19, who have sought refuge status. The three, who did not want to be identified, said through an interpreter that they were protesting out of frustration with the Indonesians' brutality towards their people "for no reason whatsoever."

Many people they knew had died as a result of Indonesian violence; on one occasion their local Timorese church had been attacked by soldiers who had smashed the statues and provoked the worshippers.

The incident had ended in the shooting of one of the Timorese.

They said they did not believe the findings of the Indonesian military's inquiry into the massacre.

"Whatever has been reported by the Indonesian inquiry is not true whatsoever, because there were more than 1000 people protesting and we believe that over 300 people must have been killed, so we do not accept whatsoever the Indonesian inquiry," one said.

"... We came to Australia to show that we are survivors of East Timor and we are looking to save our lives and also to keep on pressuring the Australian Government and to tell the Australian Government that something is wrong in East Timor... we are the witnesses to what has been happening in East Timor."

It was the second time the lantern had been placed outside the embassy. It was put there several months ago with 124 crosses in memory of those killed at the Santa Cruz cemetery.

Later, it was removed under a regulation issued by the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Senator Gareth Evans, citing a Vienna Convention requirement that foreign missions not be subjected to protests which affected their peace and dignity.

Last week, the Federal Court in Sydney ruled in a majority decision that Senator Evans' regulation was valid.

Two of the judges found "Christian crosses and a Christian memorial lantern, meant for 12 months' mourning of those who died in the Dili massacre served as a reproach to the Indonesian people" and could not be seen as offending the embassy's dignity.

Remark: The story comes with two pictures, one with a young demonstrator holding Xanana's poster and the other with a cryptic message made from a "Floodway" sign.

Other coverages were from SBS and ABC TV which included Melbourne, Canberra and Darwin protests.

TRANSCRIPT OF CHANNEL 4 (UK) REPORT ON CAPTURE OF XANANA GUSMAO

Channel Four Television's News At Seven.

Eight-minute report televised in Britain on 2 December 1992 at 19:25 on respected and popular hour-long news programme.

TAPOL comments on the visual presentation are in [...]

Jon Snow, C4 Newscaster: "The leader of the resistance movement in East Timor, Xanana Gusmao, called on his comrades in the rebel movement to surrender. Mr Gusmao was captured by the Indonesian authorities two weeks ago. After seeing the film, Portugal's president, Mario Soares, said Mr Gusmao 'was certainly tortured and threatened.'"

[Pan to map of Indonesia highlighting position of East Timor and Dili.]

JS: "The Indonesians invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor in 1975. But their rule was never recognised by the United Nations. And just over a year ago in the capital Dili, Indonesian troops opened fire on a pro-independence demonstration at a cemetery, killing over a hundred people. Kent Barker in London reports on Mr Gusmao's apparent recantation."

Kent Barker, C4 reporter: "The arrest of Xanana Gusmao came just days after this silent vigil in the Santa Cruz cemetery last month. The people here in the East Timor capital Dili had gathered to mark the anniversary of the massacre that killed more than 100. The black cross symbolises a grave for those whose bodies were never found. Reports spoke of Indonesian soldiers loading corpses onto lorries to dispose of them secretly."

[Barker's report is accompanied by footage of the anniversary demonstration held at Santa Cruz cemetery on 12 November this year. At the centre is a 10-foot tall black cross surrounded by a huge mound of predominantly pink flowers. There are four small fires burning on the perimeter of the mound fueled by candles. Around 200 people, in rows 6/7 people deep, encircle the fires, silently throwing more pink blossoms and petals onto the mound. Young girls with plastic bags full of small bouquets throw bunches on. These bunches may have come from the many people who were unable, for whatever reason, to attend the ceremony but who asked these girls to place the flowers on their behalf. There are many young children solemnly watching on. No-one speaks but they do not look nervous; rather they look defiant and certain. No-one wears black. Some people pray while others just stare. More people are arriving during the course

of the filming. There are no Indonesian troops visible.

While TAPOL knew there had been a black cross erected in the cemetery, it had previously thought that only 20 or so Timorese had attended. This information came from the only report about 12 November 1992 in East Timor, filed for Reuters by Moses Manoharan (Indonesian correspondent), where he states that only a "handful" of defiant East Timorese mourned their dead. Since the story was datelined Dili, we can only assume he had to suppress the truth. The film (which came from RTP, Portugal TV) shows upwards of 200 hundred "defiant East Timorese."]

Kent Barker: "The film of the massacre, broadcast around the world, shows troops beating bystanders and the crowd fleeing in terror from their bullets."

[Footage from "Cold Blood: The massacre of East Timor is shown: scenes of troops beating and people running into cemetery while bodies pile up at the cemetery gates.

Footage changes to the Indonesia's broadcast interview of Xanana with Abilio Soares (new Governor of East Timor). The scene is set in a nondescript office with a large wall map of Indonesia behind Xanana, who is wearing a freshly ironed brilliantly white shirt. Soares sits to Xanana's left, with a plate of palm leaf snacks and a large cup and saucer in front of him on the table and a small Indonesian flag. The view of Xanana is blocked by a strategically placed box of tissues which prevents us seeing what is on the table before him. Only visible from his chest up, the Indonesian cameraman moves in very close to Xanana, obviously to prove that they have not been beating him up. Indeed Xanana's face is free of marks but his beard and hair have been cut very roughly, and Xanana looks drawn, pale and very subdued. He never moves his arms or his head; only his eyes and his lips. This is in stark contrast to the later footage (see below)]

Kent Barker: "For two weeks since his arrest, Gusmao has been held incommunicado. Then unexpectedly last night this interview with him appeared on Indonesian and Portuguese television. The resistance leader, who had conducted a sustainable campaign against Indonesians for the last 17 years, was now recanting. He admitted heading the demonstration that led to the Santa Cruz massacre and declared full responsibility for the armed struggle saying he accepted any punishment he'd incurred. But he went further."

Kent Barker: "Xanana Gusmao speaking on the staged interview." "I appeal to those still in the bush to come forward. They should surrender to the military authorities

at their nearest point so we can find the best way of building Timor into the Indonesian nation."

[As he said these last words, Xanana's eyes were cast down. Throughout the earlier footage, he spoke with his eyes steadily fixed on Soares. He spoke quietly, without emotion.]

KB: "Supporters of Gusmao refused to believe he had given the interview voluntarily."

Jose Ramos-Horta, Representative for the East Timorese Resistance: "The pictures we have just seen of Mr Xanana Gusmao are, if anything, a denunciation of the torture he went through. It shows for instance his left arm, probably paralysed, after enormous torture inflicted upon him. If anything, this film is an indictment of the Indonesian authorities. They perpetrated, they committed all sorts of atrocities on a political prisoner, a prisoner of war which should be protected under the Geneva Conventions. And the film, if anything, should move the European Community and Great Britain as president of the EC, to impose mandatory sanctions on Indonesia."

[Horta's statement is followed by black and white footage of the house in Dili where Xanana was staying at the time of his capture.]

KB: "Gusmao had been hiding in this Dili house for several days before his arrest. His sister and brother-in-law were seized at the same time and are still in custody, adding to fears that he gave the interview under duress, especially given Indonesia's past record."

Geoffrey Robinson, Amnesty International: "The human rights violations that have taken place in East Timor really cover the board. Since 1975, when East Timor was invaded, about 200,000 people or a third of the population have been killed, or starved. But since then, we've continued to have reports of disappearances. Torture is endemic, the detention of people for their political beliefs or activities continues right up until this day."

KB: "But the Indonesian foreign minister, speaking to Channel 4 news in Jeddah today, denied any suggestion of coercion."

Ali Alatas, Indonesian Foreign Minister: "I can give you very specific assurances that he has not been mistreated and he is not going to be mistreated, that we are quite aware that this will be wholly (pause), that it will be wrong from our standpoint, from our laws, but it would also be wholly counter-productive thing to do. Why should we do it?"

KB: "If Xanana Gusmao was speaking voluntarily, it would have meant a quite remarkable transformation in his views since he talked just a year ago whilst in hiding."

[Footage from May 1991 of Xanana in the bush with other members of the resistance. Looks strikingly different from Indonesian interview. In this footage he is animated and lively, his face full of expression and sporting a thick bushy beard. A far cry from the subdued man televised by the Indonesians.]

Xanana Gusmao, speaking on the May 1991 footage: "From the military point of view, we are facing a lot of difficulties. But we will carry on trying to keep the flame of resistance alive. From the political view, we will continue to struggle in this too."

KB: "It is not yet clear what the effect of the arrest of Gusmao and his staged confession will have on his supporters. There are still many FRETILIN forces hiding in East Timor as well as considerable civilian support. But it does put the issue back on the international agenda. Today the Portuguese government reiterated that East Timor is an occupied territory with Indonesia violating UN resolutions. The question is - will others, including Great Britain, be prepared to take specific action to help?"

[The final remarks of Kent Barker are accompanied by shots of guerrillas walking in the bush, seated eating a meal and then holding up the FALINTIL flag, giving the item a very strong ending.]

GUSMAO FORCED TO RECENT, SAYS SON.

BBC monitoring. 2 December 1992

The son of East Timorese rebel leader, Xanana Gusmao, told Portuguese radio RDP this morning that his father had been forced to recant.

Last night Portuguese television broadcast what it said was a video recording sent by the Indonesian armed forces showing Gusmao repudiating his past.

The radio said it spoke to Nito Gusmao in Australia this morning by telephone. "For me, the declarations did not come from his heart, he was forced by the occupying forces," Nito said.

Portuguese Foreign Minister, Durao Barroso, has called on the UN and the International Red Cross to intervene urgently in Xanana Gusmao's case, the radio said.

AUSTRALIAN FM SEN. EVANS HOPES GUSMAO VIDEO SHOWS START OF RECONCILIATION

Radio Australia 2 December 1992

Here speaks the man whose hands are soaked in the blood and oil of the East Timorese people. He doesn't pause to question the circumstances of the Xanana "statement." Senator Evans never fails to come up with the most despicable remarks, designed to please Jakarta.

— TAPOL

Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans has said he hopes Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao's comments on the video broadcast on Indonesian television indicated the start of a "genuine process of reconciliation" between Indonesia and East Timor, Radio Australia reported.

"Senator Evans says he has long argued that it is an unrealistic objective for the East Timorese to sustain a military conflict with the Indonesian forces," the radio reported.

It said that in the video Gusmao told the governor of East Timor he now accepted that the former Portuguese colony now belonged to Indonesia. He also called on his Fretilin comrades to leave the jungle and surrender.

"East Timor's representative at the UN Jose Ramos Horta says Gusmao could not have made the videotape statement freely and believes he may have been under the influence of drugs, or been tortured," the radio added.

TAPOL MEMORANDUM ON XANANA GUSMAO'S NIGHTMARE

Sources protected. 3 December 1992

Some days after Xanana Gusmao's arrest, TAPOL received informed that he was refusing food. I thought that meant he was on hunger strike and we were about to mount solidarity hunger strikes, but before going ahead we checked the report, only to discover that the Fretilin representative in Darwin who passed on that information had not intended to convey that meaning, only that Xanana was being 'choosy' about what he ate. Not being able to interpret that, I posted an item withdrawing the hunger-strike posting.

Since then, TAPOL has been contacted by persons who we have reason to believe know what they are talking about regarding the circumstances of his detention in Bali. We are now told that Xanana has not wanted to eat food, apparently because he

does not trust his warders. He has refused to drink water, asking for beer instead. When given a can of beer that had already been opened, he insisted that he should open the can himself. It is not unlikely that he has been unable to sustain his objections about the food and drink he gets.

First thoughts were that he feared he might be poisoned. What if he has had reason to fear that he is being drugged? Does that explain his odd demeanour on TV?

His captors are in total control of his entire circumstances. He does not even have the advantage of sharing captivity with fellow-countrymen. It is not difficult to imagine how his captors are able to manipulate everything he does, 24 hours a day.

This total isolation is a grotesque form of maltreatment and must end. The ICRC must be given access. But we should not forget that ICRC access may not mean that any of us will be any the wiser about what they discover. The rules of operation require them to report only to their hosts; only if Indonesia were to go public and fabricate ICRC findings would the ICRC itself go public to correct the record.

Legal access is more likely to be independent of such restrictions. But that too is being strictly forbidden.

The role of the UN Secretary-General is critical. We do know for certain that Boutros-Ghali has made private representations to President Suharto urging him to release Xanana. This has not been made public at UN headquarters so as not to embarrass Jakarta. But this is not likely to sway Suharto and his gang of thugs.

Boutros-Ghali is unlikely to win Xanana's release alone, however hard he tries, unless strongly backed by countries with clout in Jakarta. Clearly this must include the US, Japan and EC countries.

The fearful thing about Xanana is not, in my view, that he will be killed. Ali Alatas let the cat out of the bag when he told Channel 4 that to mistreat Xanana would be 'counter-productive.' He knows what a furore evident physical torture would arouse, let alone bumping him off, or even stage-managing 'a death while trying to escape,' as the Indonesians have done with many West Papuans. No, Xanana's fate is to be kept alive, possibly drugged, for use in a crude game to sabotage the UN-sponsored talks which, as Jakarta well knows, are moving towards a point where the Timorese are likely to be involved.

If East Timor's chief negotiator has now 'recanted' and on top of that, accused his chief overseas representative, Ramos-Horta, of pursuing self-interests, how can Boutros Ghali proceed to sound out those who are known to insist on the right to self-determination? This is a far smarter trick

than Morocco's King Hassan has pulled on the UN over Western Sahara.

Saving Xanana from this nightmare is of vital importance in order to safeguard the UN-sponsored talks. I believe that the two things are inextricably bound. Our problem now is, how to proceed?

-- Carmel Budiardjo

NORTHERN TERRITORY COMMENTS ON EAST TIMOR

December 3, 1992, SBS-TV News, Melbourne, John Masanauskas.

Unauthorized transcript from tonight's SBS-TV News (the Australian government funded ethnic broadcasting network). The following is as close as I could get to an accurate transcript of the report, although the verbal stumbling is a bit hard to convey in writing:

Newsreader: A former Indonesian government minister says the East Timor issue is not crucial to better trade links between Indonesia and Australia, but Dr Frans Seda, now a senior Suharto Government adviser, has welcomed the capture of Fretilin resistance leader Xanana Gusmao as a way of settling the long-running Timor issue.

Masanauskas: Since the capture of their leader by Indonesian forces last month, members of the East Timorese community haven't missed a chance to demand Xanana Gusmao's release. So a seminar promoting business links between Australia and Indonesia was a prime target for protest.

For some seminar participants, however, improved trade opportunities mean good news for East Timor.

Steve Hatton - Northern Territory

Development Minister: It's important also I think if we're going to promote the, um, improved quality of life and, ah, etcetera people of East Timor that we support industry development, investment, job opportunities..

Masanauskas: Sponsored by the Northern Territory Government, the seminar focused on commercial agreement signed by Darwin [capital city of the Northern Territory] and Eastern Indonesia.

While Indonesia claims the Timor issue is not harming business, Xanana Gusmao's capture, and his apparent endorsement of the former colony's takeover, is seen as a big political breakthrough.

Dr Frans Seda: If it will be, assist to a fast settlement, international political settlement of East Timor, there's no problem.

Masanauskas: For Gusmao's Melbourne-based son, however, his father's pro-Indonesian comments during a television interview were made under duress, and even if they weren't, the struggle would continue.

Nito Gusmao: Doesn't matter what, ah, our leader said last night, but we still, we still don't want Indonesian, and we will keep on fighting.

ARMY INVOLVES BELO IN PSYWAR

The amnesty for those who surrender is a long-standing policy, not a new one. The new twists on it involve its re-announcement after Xanana's TV appearance under duress and the reported Belo offer to provide churches as surrender venues. We have seen no statement from Bishop Belo confirming this. That the Army announced it suggests he is, at best, not enamored of the idea.

Contrary to the reported comment by 'diplomats' in the story Jose da Costa has in fact been interviewed in the Indonesian press several times. A recent newspaper story, in fact, has him calling for his colleagues to surrender. He has been undergoing what is euphemistically called 'guidance' (pembinaan) by the Army. Consequently, his statements, like those of Xanana on TV, cannot be taken at face value.

As for Brig. Gen. Nurhadi's remark that the ICRC's report on Xanana will be 'objective,' ICRC reports also remain secret and for the primary consumption of the host government. In addition, the conditions under which the ICRC will be permitted to see Xanana have yet to be spelled out.

— John

According to a December 3 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia has offered to pardon East Timorese rebels who surrender following the capture of their leader two weeks ago, the daily newspaper *Jawa Pos* reported on Thursday.

"The pardon is one of the steps to attract the remaining Fretilin (rebels) to return to society peacefully," the newspaper quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying in the territory's capital Dili.

Syafei, who did not give any terms or deadline for the surrender, said earlier that the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmao in Dili had broken Fretilin's resistance.

The rebels could surrender in any of seven churches provided by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the *Jawa Pos* said.

It quoted Belo as saying his offer would be made in a Christmas message to Fretilin guerrillas asking them to lay down their arms in churches in the East Timorese cities of Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Ailiu, Viqueque, Baucau and Dili.

The church dominates social life in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 following the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers.

Armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters in Jakarta that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) would be allowed to visit Xanana within a week.

"It is a gesture. We will show to the world that we don't mean any harm. The ICRC report will be objective," Nurhadi said.

Authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Some diplomats have complained that while all the focus was on Xanana, few thoughts were spared for the more than 100 other political prisoners believed held in East Timor.

They pointed out that Fretilin deputy chief Jose da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

LETTERS OF SUPPORT FOR XANANA GUSMAO

Comment: These are a few of the dozens of similar letters we have seen from East Timor supporters around the world. – Charlie Scheiner

PO Box 257
Thirroul
NSW 2515
3 December 1992

The Ambassador
Republic of Indonesia
Canberra ACT 2600

Dear sir,

WITHOUT DURESS?

How strange!

The bird of freedom
sings a different song
from its cage.

But you cannot change the singing
of the wind
in the trees.

Or the singing of the people
in the streets.

Oh, Gusmao!

In brotherly solidarity,
Bruce Reyburn

Hon Gareth Evans MP
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Fax 06 2734112
Parliament House Canberra ACT 2600

Dear Mr Evans,

Xanana Gusmao.

It is reported in the media that the London based Indonesian human rights group Tapol consider that the television appearance of Xanana Gusmao was made under extreme duress. This would be consistent with the brutal history which accompanied the rise of the present Indonesian elite.

While the Australian Government may recognise the sovereignty of the Republic of Indonesia over the lives of the people of East Timor, there is a larger responsibility which transcends the limitations of the recently invented notion of the nation-state.

The well-being of our neighbour's lives is intimately connected with the well-being of life at home. All life is related.

I believe we are failing in our global responsibility when we acquiesce from the challenge of letting others know that aspects of their behaviour are not acceptable. We deprive them of a form of feedback which is necessary for good management of life. We, ourselves, thereby contribute to present and future problems.

The Australian Government, in this case, must make it quite clear to the Indonesian authorities that any abuse of the human rights of Xanana Gusmao, and the peaceful people of East Timor, will cause further and long-lasting damage the Indonesian and Australian relationship.

It would be consistent with the stance taken by the Republic of Indonesia for Australia to support the call for Xanana Gusmao to repeat his statements on reconciliation, in person and without duress, to the United Nations in New York.

I urge you to act urgently on this matter.

Yours truly,
Bruce Reyburn
Lionel Murphy Scholar (1990)

BRUNO KAHN: XANANA'S STATEMENT FABRICATED BY MILITARY

Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, Thu Dec. 3

I haven't seen a transcript of the interview yet, but would like to point out some features that can provide an almost logical proof (forgive the mathematician!) that this statement was fabricated by the military - if such a proof is necessary at all.

The most complete excerpts I see of his statements are in a posted December 2 Reuter story datelined Jakarta. They come from Osorio Soares' translation, that is found "accurate" or "adept" by Portuguese speakers, according to a Dec. 1 AFP story datelined Jakarta (resp. a Dec. 2 AFP story similarly datelined).

Let us assume Soares' translation is indeed accurate. I find two striking features:

1) Xanana calls "for all members to surrender and (...) to participate in development." Development is a key word in Indonesian rhetoric. It would be quite surprising that it comes naturally to someone who spent 17 years in the bush.

2) Even more striking, the constant reference to "Fretilin" rather than CNRM. No one better than Xanana, who created CNRM, knows that it is now the important structure rather than an East Timorese party. The claim that Horta used Fretilin's name in his own benefit is still more bizarre to anyone who knows the situation a little (Horta is the special representative of CNRM, not Fretilin, and this appointment by Xanana originates in Horta's attempt to put up an international secretariat, an initiative which put him at odds with the external delegation of Fretilin at the time). A well-done propaganda would have used the term CNRM rather than Fretilin throughout.

Unfortunately, from what I see from agencies and newspaper stories, the media have yet to learn the distinction between

Fretilin, Falintil, CNRM and Nationalist Convergence...

ROBERT DOMM SAYS XANANA WAS DRUGGED

According to a December 3 AFP story datelined Melbourne, captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao appeared drugged in the video in which he renounced rebel causes, according to the only foreigner to have met him during his 17 years on the run in East Timor.

Robert Domm, a trade union advocate, said the guerrilla leader he met in a mountain hideout two years ago was completely different to the man who appeared in the Indonesian video.

Government-controlled Indonesian television this week depicted Gusmao, leader of the Fretilin resistance group, saying East Timor was now part of Indonesia and calling on his Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Gusmao's son, Nito Gusmao, 21, who lives here, said he was convinced his father was not only drugged but tortured and that he would never have said East Timor was part of Indonesia unless he had been.

Nito said his grandfather, an uncle and two cousins had been arrested following his father's capture and a second uncle, Gilman Exposto, 35, had disappeared.

Domm, who lives in Sydney, said the man filmed by the Indonesians was "Xanana in body, but not in spirit."

"It wasn't the same man I met two years ago," said Domm, who recorded a secret interview with Gusmao in September 1990.

"His mannerisms were different. He appeared timid, confused and distracted. When I met him he was quite the opposite ... self-confident, assertive, a person who spoke with authority."

Domm said he believed Gusmao had been drugged because of the nature of what he said, his deference to the Indonesian official beside him, and his obvious difficulty in replacing a coffee cup on a saucer.

"It seems to me to be sinister that a person could change in such a way and reminded me of the Gulf War and the way the Allied pilots captured by the Iraqis denounced their own governments."

By forcing Gusmao to renounce East Timor's independence movement, the Indonesian government was probably hoping to create the impression overseas that self-determination was no longer an issue, Domm said.

POW'S CAN BE FORCED TO SAY ANYTHING

A trenchant analysis by a reader who must remain anonymous.

— John

Since the broadcasting of his television 'interview' supposedly recanting resistance to Indonesian occupation of East Timor my reaction has been of mounting unreality and disbelief at the polite skepticism of most - doubtlessly comfortably middle class - commentators.

If I were Gusmao now I would be in fear of my own life ("shot while trying to escape"), physical disfigurement (look at any interrogation manual), or psychological maltreatment (such as threatened or real danger to relatives and associates).

The Indonesian authorities have control of all information available to him, of his surroundings, and can do almost anything with him they want. American prisoners during the Korean, Vietnamese, and Gulf conflicts often made statements under duress which were recanted when free.

In the case of my own family my paternal uncle, a pre-war Polish military communications instructor, initially on his own initiative, organised radio communications between the Polish underground home army and London after the fall of Warsaw, later becoming leader of its communication section. He was eventually captured but managed to sustain his alias under interrogation and during a subsequent tour of concentration camps including Sachsenhausen near Berlin.

As a fluent German speaker he convinced them that he was a German electrician and performed this function in the camps until the end of the war. He told me later that he was quite impressed with German intelligence - they had a list of the Polish command structure, knew his place in it and his *nom de guerre*, put a price on his head, and surmised that they had captured an important member of the underground. But they never realised that their prisoner was in fact 'Kobra.'

This is obviously not the case with Xanana. As an important political figure, Mandela is perhaps the closest analogy. I remember that when I flew into Baucau from Darwin in 1973, the airport buildings resembled the kraals of Mozambique or Angola.

I think it important to exert maximum political pressure on the Indonesian government to include Xanana in the Portuguese - Indonesian negotiations, and Xanana Gusmao's statements, if true, may have been designed to do this.

As a psychologist, I could not help observing his body language while in conversation with the current governor of Timor, Soares. He was stooped, spoke slowly in a monotonic unhappy voice, and while drinking tea with his right hand, kept the left one under the table. This could be the result of an injury, or a nonverbal signal not to take him seriously, akin perhaps to the idiosyncrasies apparent in Vietnam war photographs of 'happy' POW's in North Vietnam.

TRY BLOWS IT AGAIN!

Remark: The most touted candidate for Indonesia's vice presidency continues in the same vein of bluster, blunder and duplicity he exhibited after the November 12 massacre. President Suharto seems not yet to have pronounced on the case since his arrival home. His comments while abroad were relayed through State Secretary Moerdiono and limited to congratulations to ABRI for capturing him alive. No foreign reporter has yet cited any comment on the capture from Army Commander Gen. Edi Sudradjat either. The long hold on ICRC access - now at about 2 weeks - not only raises suspicions about Xanana's treatment in custody, but also fuels speculation that there remains intra-regime conflict on how to deal with the case domestically and internationally.

So far Indonesia has done virtually nothing effective to stop the wave of international criticism. If it is waiting for an 'opening' like the Lusitania Expresso episode, so far no one has served it up. It is also remarkable that so soon after passing the word to its own domestic press not to blow up the Xanana story, the regime would then stage on national television such a high-profile 'newsworthy' interview. The transparency of the effort - Indonesians are accustomed to events like show trials and can sniff them as mile away - makes it much harder now rather than easier to mobilize domestic Indonesian opinion against the East Timor cause and creates rather than dissipates local sympathy for Xanana.

— John

According to a December 3 AFP story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's army chief denied Thursday that captured East Timorese rebel leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao was pressured into saying he now recognised East Timor as belonging to Indonesia.

Army Commander-in-Chief General Try Sutrisno said claims to the contrary were an "insult" to Indonesia. "It is not true. We did not pressure him. What is the use of pres-

suring him," the Jakarta Post quoted him as saying.

On Tuesday the state television network TVRI showed Gusmao and East Timor Governor Abilio Osorio Soares talking together. During the broadcast Gusmao said East Timor was now part of Indonesia and called on his rebel Fretilin colleagues to surrender.

Portugal, as well as Fretilin's Australian representative, Alfredo Ferreira, dismissed the statement saying Gusmao was speaking under duress, without legal representation and was not in a position to defend himself.

Try said Gusmao's statement "reflected the view of a man who was concerned with the conditions in East Timor." Gusmao could see for himself what was happening in East Timor and how the province was developing rapidly, Try added.

Try said the authorities would continue to question Gusmao who is being held at an undisclosed place on the island of Bali. His case would be dealt with according to Indonesian law. Bali is also headquarters of the Udayana military command in charge of East Timor.

The International Committee of the Red Cross has asked to be allowed to see Gusmao but has not so far received a reply from the Indonesian government.

JAPAN 'NEUTRAL' ON XANANA

According to a December 3 Kyodo story datelined Tokyo, Japan is not taking a position on the capture and detention in Indonesia of top East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao, but will monitor Jakarta's plans to try him under Indonesian law, a senior Foreign Ministry source said Thursday.

Despite calls from Amnesty International and other groups for Japan to take a stand, Tokyo considers the issue to be a domestic affair of Indonesia, the official said.

But he said Japan will be "watching the situation," taking into account President Suharto's statement that the guerrilla leader, captured last month in the East Timorese capital of Dili, will be tried under Indonesian law.

Portugal, the former colonial power in East Timor before it was annexed by Indonesia in 1976, has called for an international campaign for Gusmao's release and for assurances that his life will not be put at risk while in detention.

Gusmao will reportedly be tried for subversion, which in Indonesia carries the death penalty.

OFFICIALS, RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN TIMORESE REBEL BROADCAST

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI), Dec. 2. — The government has broadcast a television interview with captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao in which he apparently called on his followers to give up their armed struggle.

But human rights groups and officials in Portugal, of which East Timor is a former colony, claimed the statement broadcast Tuesday night was made under duress and called on the United Nations to intervene to prevent "a violation of the most basic human rights.

In his televised message, Xanana also urged overseas supporters of the Timor resistance Fretilin movement to join him in "understanding the province's current situation, and to avoid being trapped by Portuguese promises."

East Timor, 1,250 miles east of Jakarta, was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years before Lisbon ended its colonial rule there in 1975.

Indonesia annexed the province soon afterward and declared the region its 27th province in 1976 in defiance of U.N. resolutions claiming the right of East Timorese to choose their own future.

In the broadcast, Xanana was shown chatting with East Timor Gov. Abilio Jose Soares, speaking in Portuguese as the governor translated into Indonesian to the viewers.

Xanana, 45, said he regretted last year's anti-government protest that ended with Indonesian troops opening fire on demonstrators in Dili. The government admitted that at least 50 people were killed in the incident, and 66 remained unaccounted for.

Witnesses put the death toll close to 200. The massacre resulted in widescale international condemnation of Indonesia.

Xanana, who was arrested Nov. 20 by Indonesian troops after eluding capture for 16 years, smiled repeatedly during the interview. A cup of coffee, meals and a red-and-white Indonesian flag appeared on a table between the two men, while Xanana asserted he felt safe in the detention house.

"East Timor belongs to Indonesia," Xanana said as quoted by Abilio as saying.

Responding to the interview, the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, said in a statement, "It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress," and the broadcast interview was "heavily and clumsily edited."

"It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who

has fought the illegal occupation of his country for 17 years," Tapol said.

"The authorities have shown by using this propaganda stunt that they recognize the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor," it said.

Commenting in Lisbon, where the interview was also broadcast, Portuguese President Mario Soares said, "This kind of thing can only happen under a totalitarian regime. It is obvious that Xanana must have been coerced or tortured for him to make those kind of statements."

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement, "In the face of the incongruity of Xanana Gusmao's recent statement concerning his position over all these years of resistance against the occupation of East Timor, we regard with great concern the situation he is in.

"Everything points to Xanana having been subjected to threats and beatings against himself, his family and his fellow fighters.

"The Portuguese government urges the United Nations, the international community and especially the International Red Cross to act to bring to an end this situation which represents a violation of the most basic human rights."

Ramos Horta of the Maubere National Resistance Council in Lisbon said, "These statements were forced out of him. He has been submitted to all kinds of psychological torture. We cannot believe in what Commander Gusmao said in the interview."

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and has pressed Jakarta to grant an act of self-determination. Portugal has led international appeals for Xanana to be humanely treated while in Indonesian custody.

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta aimed at breaking the stalemate over East Timor are to resume at the U.N. in New York on December 17. The talks will bring together Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Durao Barroso in a meeting brokered by Secretary-General Boutros Ghali.

PORTUGUESE NGO LETTER TO BOUTROS-GHALI

The following petition was presented to the UN Information Office in Lisbon before a crowd of some 400 people on November 25 and received wide coverage in the Portuguese media. The letter was accompanied by thirty thousand signatures gathered over the previous days in schools and public places. The petition had the support of 30 Portuguese NGOs and the two Trades-Union Congresses.

Lisbon 24 November 1992

Mr Boutros-Boutros Ghali
Secretary-General of the United Nations

Dear Sir,

Xanana Gusmao, the overall leader of the resistance of the people of East Timor against the Indonesian occupation, was taken prisoner on 20 November 1992.

Indonesia has systematically violated human rights in the territory since it began its illegal occupation in December 1975. We fear for his life. We fear that he is being physically and psychologically tortured, common practice on the part of the Indonesian dictatorship.

Xanana Gusmao's situation at this moment is the problem of all of us, the international community. It is also the problem of a people which has awaited the necessary efforts, on the part of the UN, for its right to self-determination to be effectively applied.

The undersigned organisations and numerous signatories, appeal for your direct intervention to bring about the immediate liberation of Xanana Gusmao so that he may participate, along with his people, in the construction of peace through the exercise of their rights.

Promoted by:

Peace is Possible in East Timor
The Committee for the Rights of the
Maubere People (CDPM)
The International Platform of Jurists for
East Timor
The National Youth Council of Portugal
(CNJ).

LISBON THEATRE EVOKING THE SANTA CRUZ MASSACRE

On the 28th November a "short play" took place on Rua Augusta (the main street of the Lisbon's downtown). It involved about 30 people (mainly Timorese) and occurred along the referred street. The idea was brought up by some active Timorese and the solidarity groups CDPM and Peace is Possible immediately supported it. One well-known Portuguese plays' producer, Carlos Avilez, helped the preparation of this action and the play had some strong symbolic scenes. This event was widely covered by the Portuguese media. For the Portuguese solidarity groups and Timorese community, this was one more procedure of calling the attention for the East Timor problem.

AI FI366/92 EAST TIMOR ARRESTS: XANANA TORTURED

Remark: According to a report in the 23 November issue of the independent Yogyakarta daily Bernas which has just reached us, President Suharto himself ordered that Xanana be "intensively interrogated." In the case of political detainees, this phraseology is generally interpreted as a license to torture.

-- John

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)

AI Index: ASA 21/23/92. Distr.: UA/SC
4 December 1992

Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-ups ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992, ASA 21/20/92 of 26 November and ASA 21/21/92 of 30 November.

Legal Concern: Fear of Torture and new concern: Death in custody

Indonesia/East Timor: Xanana Gusmao, 45
Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74
Augusto Pereira, 43) husband and
Alianca de Araujo (female), 40) wife
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22
Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano,
(female), 18
Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17
Armandina Gusmao dos Santos
Gilman A. Exposto dos Santos
Olandina Caeiro Alves (female)
Oscar Lima
Americo
and new names Joachim Gusmao Reis, 23
Sandra Gusmao Reis, 21
Victor
Macario
and at least three others

Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese resistance leader arrested by Indonesian military forces on 20 November 1992, and at least twenty of his close associates and relatives arrested since then, remain in incommunicado custody in clear violation of international and Indonesian law. At least one of those detained, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have been tortured to death in custody, and there are fears that others, including Xanana Gusmao, have also been tortured or ill-treated while under interrogation. According to persistent reports, at least two of the women held in Dili have been raped in custody. Indonesian authorities continue to deny access to the prisoners by the International Committee of

the Red Cross (ICRC), independent lawyers or any other impartial body.

Xanana Gusmao, who has been moved repeatedly in the two weeks since his arrest, is now thought to be held in the Regional Police Headquarters for Nusa Tenggara (POLDA NUSRA) in Denpasar, Bali. According to unnamed sources within the police headquarters, he has been beaten and tortured with electrical shocks and subjected to severe psychological pressure while under interrogation. He is said to be in a poor emotional state, speaking in broken sentences and experiencing serious lapses of concentration.

In a video recording, made on 27 November at military headquarters in Bali (KODAM Udayana/IX), and released on 1 December, Xanana Gusmao appears to apologize for organizing the peaceful demonstration of 12 November 1991 during which Indonesian forces killed more than 100 civilians; and calls for an end to armed resistance to Indonesian rule in East Timor. In view of strong indications that the statement was made under duress, and possibly following torture, the video serves to heighten Amnesty International's concern for Xanana Gusmao's safety.

Indonesian military authorities acknowledged on 1 December that they had arrested 20 of Xanana Gusmao's close associates since 20 November. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have died in custody as a result of torture. Another East Timorese man, still unidentified, is said to have been hospitalized after being severely tortured in detention. According to reports, his limbs were broken and his finger and toe-nails pulled out by his captors. There have also been persistent reports that at least two of the women held in Dili - possibly Ligia de Araujo, aged 22, and Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano, aged 18 - were raped by Indonesian soldiers, in front of their relatives, on 29 November.

The reports of torture and rape cannot be immediately confirmed because all the detainees remain in incommunicado custody. However, Amnesty International believes that in view of the long-standing pattern of torture and ill-treatment of political detainees in East Timor, these reports must be treated with the utmost seriousness. The only effective guarantee of the future safety of Xanana Gusmao, and of all those currently held incommunicado, would be to grant immediate and unconditional access to them by the ICRC, lawyers of their own choosing, or other qualified, independent experts.

On 3 December Indonesian military authorities gave assurances that the ICRC would be granted access to Xanana "within a week". Such assurances are insufficient

because the promise of future access can do nothing to remedy violations already inflicted. Under Indonesian and international law prisoners may not be held incommunicado, and have a right to independent legal counsel of their own choice. In Amnesty International's experience the risk of the torture and ill-treatment of political detainees is greatest during the initial period of interrogation.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

- Please send telegrams/faxes/express and airmail letters in English or your own language:
 - expressing grave concern that Xanana Gusmao and some 20 of his close associates and relatives remain in incommunicado detention, and that some have been subjected to torture and ill-treatment;
 - calling on the authorities to permit ICRC representatives, relatives and independent lawyers immediate access to all the detainees;
 - in the light of reports that one detainee, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, may have died as a result of torture, and that two women may have been raped by Indonesian soldiers in front of their relatives, calling on the government to act immediately to protect the safety of all political detainees in East Timor;
 - seeking clarification of the precise charges to be brought against Xanana Gusmao, and the other political detainees, and urging the government to immediately release all those detained for their peaceful political views, or for association with Xanana's family.

APPEALS TO:

Brig Gen. Theo Syafei
PANGKOLAKOPS
Markas Besar KOLAKOPS/KOREM
164
Dili, East Timor, Indonesia
Telegrams Brig Gen. Syafei, Dili, East
Timor, Indonesia

Maj. Gen. (Pol) Hindarto
KAPOLDA NUSRA
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Hindarto,
KAPOLDA NUSRA, Denpasar, Bali,
Indonesia

Maj. Gen. Suwardi
Markas Besar, KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Maj. Gen. Suwardi, KODAM
IX, Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia

General Try Sutrisno
Commander of the Armed Forces
Markas Besar ABRI
Cilangkap, East Jakarta

Indonesia

Telegrams: Gen. Try Sutrisno, Markas Besar ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia

Faxes: + 62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ); + 62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); + 62 21 35 6404

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH)
Jl. Diponegoro 74
Jakarta 10320

Indonesia

and to the diplomatic representative in your country - please see the responses to this topic for details.

AI ALERT ON DISAPPEARED TIMORESE

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)AI
Index: ASA 21/22/92

Distr.: UA/SC
4 December 1992

Further information on UA 367/92 (ASA 21/18/92, 23 November 1992) - Arbitrary detention/fear of torture and new concern fear of "disappearance"

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR:

"Disappeared":

Abilio Baptista
Afonso Maria da Cruz (note full name)
Antonio
Avalino Baptista
Fernando Conceicao
Fernando de Costa (note full name)
Francisco Goncalves
Henrique Guterres
Ildefonso Soares
Jorge Cortinal
Mario Miranda
Pascal Soares
Rui Miranda
Vitor Viegas

and new name:

Afung Chong

and new names:

Arrested and possibly "disappeared":
Abel Fernandes
Cipriano Mesquita
Enrique Belmiro
Mateus
Vasco

The first 14 people named above are now reported to have "disappeared" after being arrested by Indonesian security forces in early November. Relatives have sought information about the detainees at military and police stations in Dili, but security force officials have denied that the 14 are in custody. Afung Chong, a motor mechanic, has also reportedly "disappeared" after being arrested on 24 or 25 November 1992.

Abel Fernandes and a further four East Timorese, also arrested in mid-November, are currently believed to be detained in Dili. The exact whereabouts of these five remain unknown and there are fears that they too may have "disappeared".

The safety of all these people is a matter of urgent concern and Amnesty International is calling upon the Indonesian Government to immediately clarify their fate and whereabouts. Amnesty International also calls upon the authorities to grant International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) representatives, lawyers and relatives immediate access to all political detainees, in accordance with Indonesian and international law.

Serious human rights violations, including arbitrary arrest, torture, "disappearance" and possible extrajudicial execution have accompanied a recent crackdown by Indonesian forces in East Timor. The increased repression has coincided with the anniversary of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre and the capture on 20 November 1992 of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement (see UA 366/92, ASA 21/17/92 of 30 November 1992 and follow ups). According to reports, the crackdown has been particularly severe in Dili and Manatuto, Xanana's home district. Hundreds of people were reportedly rounded up in mid-November and dozens are thought to remain in detention, most of them held incommunicado. All political detainees are at risk of torture or ill-treatment while in custody and at least one of those arrested after Xanana's capture is feared to have died as a result of torture.

Indonesian security forces have acknowledged the arrest of some members of Xanana's family and associates but have provided no information about, or have denied outright, the detention of others arrested prior to his capture.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

Please send telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and airmail letters

- expressing urgent concern for the safety of Abilio Baptista and 14 others (please name each individual) believed to have "disappeared" after arrest by Indonesian security forces in early November 1992;
- calling on the authorities to clarify their fate and whereabouts immediately;
- expressing grave concern for the safety of Abel Fernandes and four others (please name them), currently detained in Dili; urgently seeking clarification of their place of detention;
- calling on the authorities to permit ICRC representatives immediate access to

all political detainees in accordance with Indonesian and international law;

- to release unconditionally all those detained solely for their non-violent political beliefs or activities or for being relatives of political suspects.

LOBBYING REPORT FROM OTTAWA

East Timor Alert Network/Canada Dec., 4 1992

ETAN and Canadian Parliamentarians for East Timor sent out a joint appeal on 25 November, calling for the immediate and unconditional release of Xanana Gusmao. Supporters were asked to write to Canadian, Indonesian and UN officials making five points:

1. press for Xanana's immediate release
2. ensure that Xanana is afforded the minimum protection provided under relevant UN conventions
3. The ICRC should be granted immediate access
4. a lawyer of Xanana's choice should be present while he is being questioned, as provided under Indonesian law.
5. ensure that Xanana will be able to take part in consultations about East Timor at the UN

Canadian House of Commons Debates, Nov. 27

Statement by Mrs Beryl Gaffney (Liberal human rights critic, MP for Nepean)

Madam Speaker, a week ago today the Indonesian news agency Antara reported that Xanana Gusmao was arrested by military forces in Dili, East Timor. He is the leader of East Timor's independence movement and a key player in the negotiations currently under way under the auspices of the United Nations regarding the future of East Timor.

Xanana is currently being held incommunicado in detention and there are fears that he may be subjected to torture or ill-treatment by the Indonesian security forces. They have admitted that Xanana is "undergoing intensive questioning" and have rejected calls for the Red Cross to be allowed to visit him.

The Canadian government should take steps to ensure that Xanana Gusmao is released immediately; that he is afforded the minimum protection provided under the relevant UN conventions; that his lawyer is allowed to be present at all times during questioning; and that he is able to participate in the talks about the future of East Timor with the UN.

As I outlined in a speech at the UN last year --

Madam Deputy Speaker: I am sorry but your time has expired.

Summary of comments from Michael Tessier, external affairs desk officer for Indonesia, 2 December:

"Canada supports the ICRC is its attempts to seek access to Mr Gusmao. Representations were made in Canada through the Indonesian embassy in Ottawa and through the Canadian embassy in Indonesia. Canada has encouraged the Indonesian authorities to maintain humanitarian conditions in regard to Mr Gusmao's detention. Canada has also urged the Indonesian authorities to conform with internationally accepted standards in dealing with this issue. Not later than this morning, the Minister received a telex from the Canadian embassy in Jakarta informing us that Mr Gusmao was interviewed on Indonesian national television and he looks well."

**DEC. 7 NEWS CONFERENCE,
OTTAWA**

DECEMBER 7, 1992

SEVENTEEN YEARS SINCE THE
INVASION OF EAST TIMOR

NEWS CONFERENCE, PARLIAMENT
HILL, OTTAWA ONT.

ROOM 1305, CENTRE BLOCK

1:30 PM

With:

Barnabe Barreto Soares, representative to Canada for the National Council of Maubere Resistance

Beryl Gaffney MP (Liberal-Nepean)

Bill Blaikie MP (NDP-Winnipeg North)

David Kilgour MP (Liberal-Edmonton South)

Presented by the East Timor Alert Network/Ottawa.

**SYAFEI: CHURCH URGES
REBELS TO SURRENDER**

Source: AP, Ghafur Fadyl. ABRIDGED 4 Dec. 92.

(Jakarta) Indonesian military has followed up its capture of an East Timor rebel leader with an amnesty offer for remaining rebels if they surrender through the Catholic church, a newspaper reported, Thursday.

The Java Post quoted East Timor military commander Brig Gen. Theo Syafei as saying "The decision to give amnesty is one of the steps of the military Commander in

the effort to persuade them to live in peace and quiet in the community".

Bishop Carlos Filipe Ximenes Belo, head of the Catholic church in East Timor, welcomed the offer saying "Amnesty seems to be the best way to persuade them to come out from the jungle".

He said an appeal to the rebels would be announced in a Christmas message in the next two weeks.

In East Timor, a Portuguese colony annexed by Indonesia in 1976, about 90 percent of the 755,000 are Catholic.

Syafei estimated the number of rebels remaining as about one hundred but said that there could be many more. He noted that about 2000 people joined demonstrations on 12 November last year to demand independence from Indonesia.

Indonesia soldiers captured Xanana of Fretilin (sic), the revolutionary front on November 20 in a house in the suburbs of Dili.

Another 20 alleged supporters of the rebel movement were arrested later.

"As Gusmao was captured, we also found documents showing his first circle supporters, who have also been captured. Through them, we hope to uncover his second circle supporters", Syafei said.

In an interview with East Timor Governor Soares last week, Gusmao urged supporters to give up their struggle for independence and surrender to Indonesian authorities. The interview, broadcast by state-owned TVRI, was aimed at countering foreign reports that Gusmao had committed suicide in detention.

In Lisbon Portuguese Mario Soares said it was necessary to find out under what conditions Gusmao spoke. Soares said Gusmao "was definitely tortured, certainly threatened, and he hadn't even pleaded any conditions of defence."

He also said Gusmao's remarks in the interview "had nothing to do with the determination and the will of the Timorese people, who obviously want self-determination and independence."

**YET ANOTHER AMNESTY
OFFER BY ARMY**

*Source: Reuter Date: 3 December 1992
Dateline: Jakarta Storytype: news item
abridged*

**INDONESIA OFFERS TO PARDON
TIMORESE REBELS**

Comment: If ICRC is allowed to visit Xanana, that's excellent, but don't think that its report will be made public. The ICRC only reports to the host government; only if Indonesia were to go public with a fabrication of the findings of the ICRC would the latter go public to correct the record. -- TAPOL

Indonesia has offered to pardon East Timorese rebels who surrender following the capture of their leader Xanana Gusmao.

The rebels could surrender in any of seven churches provided by East Timor's Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Jawa Pos said.

It quoted Belo as saying his offer would be made in a Christmas message to Fretilin guerrillas asking them to lay down their arms in churches in the East Timorese cities of Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Ailiu, Viqueque, Baucau and Dili.

The church dominates the social life in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters in Jakarta that the ICRC would be allowed to visit Xanana within a week.

"It is a gesture. We will show to the world that we don't mean any harm. The ICRC report will be objective," Nurhadi said.

Authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

Some diplomats have complained that while all the focus was on Xanana, few thoughts were spared for the more than one hundred other political prisoners believed held in East Timor. They pointed out that Fretilin deputy chief Jose da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

**PORTUGAL CONDEMNS
INDONESIA!**

According to a December 4 IPS story datelined Lisbon, the Indonesian government has been accused of torture and gross misrepresentation in its release of a televised interview of captured Timorese guerrilla leader Jose Alexandre Xanana Gusmao.

Portuguese television channels yesterday transmitted a film supplied by the high command of the Indonesian army in which Xanana Gusmao appeared visibly dejected, asking for pardon and showing himself to be "repentant" for having resisted Jakarta for 17 years.

"I have reached the conclusion that integration with Indonesia to achieve social progress for the Timorese is a great objective. The truth is that Timor belongs to Indonesia," explained Xanana Gusmao during the course of a breakfast with Abilio Soares, the governor of the island, and a former sergeant in the Portuguese colonial army.

According to the governor, "The military asked me for authorization to film this conversation with Xanana" in which the guerrilla leader called on combatants in the jungle "to surrender to the military authorities of the nearest detachment."

Xanana Gusmao also advised those expatriate independence-seeking groups and individuals "not to be carried away by Portugal, which has done nothing for Timor in 17 years."

Furthermore, he criticized Jose Ramos-Horta because "he has always worked more for himself than for the party."

Deeming Indonesia "one of the worst dictatorships in the world," Portuguese President Mario Soares declared that: "Xanana had been tortured, his life was threatened, he did not have a lawyer, nor was he in any condition to defend himself."

The Portuguese president also believed that systematic pressure by the international community would be necessary to make Indonesia respect the human rights of Xanana Gusmao, his family and all captured independence seeking individuals.

Spokesperson for the Portuguese Foreign Ministry, Leonor Ribeiro da Silva, said that his government had appealed to the United Nations, to the international community, "and in a very special way to the Red Cross, to put an end to the violation of the most elementary human rights" in Indonesia.

"Everything indicates he (Gusmao) is the object of pressures and threats against himself, his family and his companions in the struggle."

The television broadcast was assessed at length during a roundtable discussion held here involving politicians, doctors and psychologists. The group concluded that the guerrilla leader had been tortured by the Indonesian army's secret police which had resulted in "a clumsy film."

The doctors and psychologists also concluded that Xanana Gusmao had been drugged and Jakarta "to bring Xanana to the United Nations in New York so he can repeat what he said.

Former governor of the island Mario Carrascalao, who supported Indonesia's annexation of East Timor, said he did not know whether Xanana Gusmao had "repented" or not, "but I cannot believe he made these declarations of his own accord."

Analyst Jeronimo Pimentel drew a parallel with the messages of "repentance" from U.S., British and Italian pilots captured by the Saddam Hussein regime during the Gulf war of January 1991, and broadcast over Iraqi television.

"The broadcast clumsily sought to show an atmosphere of cordiality between the prisoner and Governor Soares. There was no lack of coffee and plates with cakes, but this time it was Xanana who called on his companions to surrender," said Pimentel.

Another analyst, Adelino Gomez maintained that "Xanana had been transformed into a human rag for the glory of the Indonesian dictatorship and to the shame of the civilized world."

Amnesty International's Geoffrey Robinson noted that Xanana's statements were made "in custody" and in a place where "there were only Indonesian soldiers, who forced him to speak under threats."

Symbols of the anti-Indonesian independence movements making up the NRC, Xanana Gusmao and Ramos-Horta are the only figures who enjoy complete support from the most conservative sector to the most Marxist in East Timor.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL'S REQUEST TO VISIT EAST TIMOR REJECTED

Amnesty International
International Secretariat
1 Easton Street
London WC1X 8DJ, United Kingdom
27 November 1992

The Indonesian Government has formally rejected Amnesty International's request to visit East Timor, saying that a visit would interfere with government efforts to "normalize the situation" in the territory. The organization had asked to send a delegation to Dili on the occasion of the anniversary of the 12 November 1991 massacre and has been refused access to the territory, and to Indonesia, for more than 15 years.

In a letter to Amnesty International's Secretary General, dated 17 November 1992, the Director General of Political Affairs of the Indonesian Ministry of Foreign Affairs said that the government "appreciated the intention" of the proposed visit, but had to be "very selective" in agreeing to such visits because they "...tend to occasion some excitement among the

people..." of East Timor. It added that the East Timorese people "...need more time to settle down to a calm atmosphere and recover from the traumatic event of 12 November last year." The letter concluded that a "...high frequency of such visits will not be conducive to our efforts to normalize the situation as soon as possible."

Despite increased restrictions on access to the territory since the November 1991 massacre, the government's letter claimed that East Timor "...remains open to visits by foreign groups and organisations and requests for such visits are always seriously considered." As evidence, the letter cited the personal visit of Mr William Treat, a former member of the UN Sub-Commission on the Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, on 6-7 November 1992. Mr Treat and his wife, the first foreign "delegation" to visit the territory in several months, stressed that their trip was not made in any official capacity. Prior to their two day trip to Dili, European and Australian parliamentary delegations had been denied requests to visit East Timor.

WASHINGTON POST EDITORIAL: A LEADING ASIAN COLONIALIST

December 5, 1992

Remark: You can be sure this strong editorial by the Post will raise anxieties about the incoming Clinton administration's human rights policy toward Indonesia among Indonesian policymakers. Already most press commentaries have singled out human rights as a likely arena of conflict. And here it is, appearing even prior to the transition, in a solidly Democratic newspaper read daily in virtually every government office in Washington, even though Clinton himself has never made any public statement regarding East Timor. There are indications, however, he has long-held personal views on the issue.

— John

Indonesia seems determined to keep competing for the title of Asia's leading colonial power. It does this by its stance in East Timor, a longtime Portuguese colony that became briefly independent of Portugal until Indonesia (of Dutch colonial lineage) swallowed it up in 1975.

A year ago the Indonesian army won world attention for its unprovoked massacre of dozens of peaceful independence demonstrators. President Suharto partially recouped by making the army take a measure of responsibility - though not a full measure. This year the government is back with another arrogant and clumsy show of

power. Having caught the East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, the army showed him on television giving a performance so bizarre - he called on fellow guerrillas to abandon the independence struggle - as to raise the cry that he had been tortured. The human rights groups report new roundups, tortures and disappearances.

East Timor is the back of the moon to most Americans. Its quick absorption by staunchly anti-communist Indonesia - during the Vietnam War, when Washington appreciated Indonesia's support - barely registered on the American political scene, although some of that may change in a human-rights-oriented Clinton administration. Of the European powers, only Portugal, which feels a residual guilt for not having seen its colony to independence, tries to keep East Timor on the international agenda. The United Nations recognizes Portugal as the administrative power in East Timor, and the secretary general has invited Indonesia and Portugal to talks in New York on Dec. 17.

Indonesia needs to find its way to let East Timor choose its future. The U.N. talks offer a format. Indonesia also needs to meet the minimal standard of allowing the International Red Cross to visit Mr. Gusmao and its many other political prisoners. A wise Indonesian government would deal with Mr. Gusmao in a political process. Short of that, it would ensure him due process. How can it be in Indonesia's interest to remain a colonial power?

'DEMONSTRATOR SURRENDERS' CLAIM

Remark: The meaning of this new claim is unclear. Part domestic psywar, it may refer to the Fitun members identified by Indonesian intelligence and interrogated. However, it may also mean more arrests. It strains credulity that 107 of the November 12 demonstrators suddenly walked in to Army or Police posts all at once on a single Thursday. These wire stories are often only a paragraph or two from fuller Indonesian-language press stories which provide fuller accounts. The Dili dateline and the anonymity of the officer also render the story suspect. - John

According to a December 5 AP story datelined Dili, more than 100 Timorese involved in a demonstration that was bloodily suppressed last year have surrendered to the military, a military officer said today.

The officer, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said 107 East Timorese who took part in the anti-Indonesia demonstration surrendered on Thursday,

two weeks after the capture of rebel leader Jose Alexandre Gusmao.

About 2,000 people joined the demonstration on Nov. 12 last year demanding independence from Indonesia, which forcibly annexed the former Portuguese territory in 1976. Indonesian troops opened fire at the demonstrators, bringing an international outcry.

A government commission said about 50 were killed and 66 were missing, and blamed the troops with overreacting to the protesters.

Human rights groups have put the toll at 200 or more.

BIG ABRI PSYWAR CAMPAIGN

Remark: This seems another example of the wires - mainly inadvertently, perhaps in a few cases wittingly - being used in ABRI's domestic psywar campaign. There is nothing really new here - it looks more like an effort to create a 'climate' of 'the inevitability of defeat and the wisdom of surrender.' - John

According to a December 5 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesian military forces have threatened tough action against East Timorese rebels who refuse to surrender, the daily Jakarta Post reported on Saturday.

"We will not hesitate to use force against the separatists if they disturb the people," the daily quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

The military earlier this week offered to pardon Fretilin rebels who voluntarily surrender following the capture of their leader, Xanana Gusmao, two weeks ago.

Syafei said 30 rebels gave themselves up after Xanana's capture and had returned to their families. He called for other separatists to lay down their guns before the armed forces withdraw the offer.

The military says it has rounded up 20 of Xanana's closest aides since his capture.

The authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding pro-independence protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery last November to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

XANANA INTERVIEW

The original article was in the Japan Times, December 3, 1992. Translated into Indonesian and back to English.

Jose Alexandre "Xanana" Gusmao, 46, a friend of Gov. Abilio Osorio Soares when they went to the same high school, answered an 11 minute interview in Denpasar on Friday that an idea to integrate

to Indonesia was the better and it would benefit him and the people of ET.

Therefore, he tried to convince his followers - inside and outside ET - to follow his action to integrate to Indonesia. He regreted his action and attitude he had done so far with his followers against the people of Indonesia and that made ET people suffered and unsafe. He stated that he was disappointed with Jose Ramos Horta's - another Fretilin leader resided in Australia - attitude of using the name of Fretilin to benefit Ramos himself.

ARAUJO: EMILIA GUSMAO SHOULD HAVE WAITED FOR A MEETING WITH RAMOS-HORTA

By Abilio Araujo (Leader of Fretilin's External Delegation, Chairman of Fretilin elected on the 2nd Congress in East Timor, in 1984).

Publico, October 13. Original language Portuguese.

Comment: Very slightly abridged translation, courtesy Rui Pires. Material in brackets [] inserted by translator. These may be clarification, comments or alternative translations. Everything else appears "as is" in Publico. An independent source in a position to know told me that in fact the lobbying services mentioned in the first paragraph of the Publico story have not been terminated. - John

The declarations of Emilia Gusmao to RTP and SIC [the two Portuguese TV channels] from the moment of her arrival in Lisbon, harvested the most divergent reactions. Ramos-Horta, the representative of commander Xanana Gusmao, reacted by announcing the suspension of the lobbying services he had hired both in the United States and in Geneva. Let's mention in passing, that it was a moderate reaction in view of the gravity of the assertions professed by the guerrilla commander's wife.

I will not detain myself upon the cross-fire, but I will not renounce analyzing the arguments of the parties involved, including those of Oliveira e Costa and Alvaro Bezeza, co-titulars [co-titulares, titleholders?] of the account opened at Caixa Geral de Depositos (CGD) [the biggest Portuguese bank].

Underlying Emilia Gusmao's attitude is another "lobbying" aimed at de-authorizing Xanana Gusmao's representative, as some sectors think the guerrilla-commander is not correctly informed about the outside reality, a situation which has led him to endorse all the proposals/advice of his personal mandatory, Ramos-Horta.

The sudden arrival of Emilia Gusmao at Lisbon's airport – contrary to Ramos-Horta's expectations, as days before he declared to a Lisbon weekly newspaper that Emilia Gusmao would come to Lisbon with him in November to unblock the CGD account – strengthens these suspicions. The later developments, which the media emphasized, should, however, lead us to reflect on two issues:

- 1 - Is it legitimate to "divert" the mentioned funds for purposes other than the ones for which the account was opened? Oliveira e Costa even qualified such an attitude as "piracy or roguery" ("Diario de Noticias," Oct. 9, 1992).
- 2 - Is it correct to de-authorize commander Xanana's instructions, just because we believe, and with some legitimacy, he does not have an exact picture of the outside reality?

Let us go back a little, to last year's summer, to remember my grateful satisfaction when the current account titulars, Rui Oliveira e Costa and Alvaro Beleza, announced to me their intention of opening a bank account to buy more weapons for the Armed Resistance in East Timor. At the time, I declined the invitation to be the account's first titular [the first name in the account], for obvious reasons. The political and personal distance between me and commander Xanana, the Armed Resistance's leader, was well known.

Days later, after consultation of Ramos-Horta, I proposed Emilia Gusmao's name, which was accepted by the promoters of the initiative. Due to that fact, I was present, together with Natalia Correia and other personalities, at the account's opening ceremony, at the Largo do Calhariz's Caixa Geral de Depositos agency.

The mentioned account collected about ten thousand 'contos' [ten million escudos, approx. 80 thousand USD]. Seeing the thing unemotionally, this amount is nothing for the purchase of weapons, but it becomes enormous for the guerrilla fighters' tobacco. It is for this reason that commander Gusmao prefers the collected funds to be used to sensitize [maybe "mobilize," the line is blurred] international public opinion (elucidation campaigns, participation of East Timor representatives in actions of international solidarity on various continents, etc., etc.). One should note that I am not using the expression "hiring of a lobbying firm" because that amount is very small for that!

This way, we are facing something very deep and important and which should deserve our redoubled attention: the respect for the donators' purpose and will, whose symbolic value – support of the guerrilla

fighters –, is the one which surpasses many times the ten thousand 'contos.' This sentiment cannot be swindled by anybody, as it comes from a posture of citizens who defy the lack of diligence of governments and states which do not search for means to defend the defenseless East Timorese people.

Moreover, one should be attentive to the attitude of both Xanana Gusmao and the National Council of the Maubere Resistance, which, by renouncing the "guerrilla fighters' tobacco," has just given us proof of an enormous and admirable abnegation while, at the same time, they suggest the big responsibility of contributing in the diplomatic and international front for the search of a fair solution which puts an end to the suffering of the martyred East Timorese people.

I hope this polemic hasn't destroyed the appealing feeling that the solidarity campaign awoke in the solidary conscience of the Portuguese towards the struggle of a people which, in a distant land, still is part of the Portuguese people's fancy. Emilia Gusmao should have had more verbal restraint and should have waited for a meeting with Ramos-Horta.

After all, she is neither the assigned addressee nor a mandatary to take decisions on the application of the fund. It is up to the Armed Resistance's leader, who deposited his total confidence on his mandatary, Ramos-Horta, to decide on that subject, as all funds destined for the Armed Resistance should be entrusted to Xanana Gusmao.

These are the reasons for my solidarity with Ramos-Horta. Solidarity which is, before everything else, an institutional solidarity from the maximum leader of Fretilin externally towards the Representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance.

SCENES FROM A BAD TASTE "SOAP OPERA" (RAMOS-HORTA)

(Statement by Ramos Horta on the donations for the East Timorese Resistance)

By Jose Ramos Horta (Special Representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance) in the Portuguese-language Diario de Noticias of Oct 23.

Very slightly abridged translation, courtesy Rui Pires. Material in brackets [] inserted by translator. These may be clarification, comments or alternative translations. Everything else appears "as is" in Diario de Noticias. – John

During the last two weeks, Portuguese society was subjected to a bad taste "soap opera" in which the protagonists were two

very bad actors. On one side, Mrs. Emilia Gusmao and, on the other side, the one who writes these lines.

It happens that the one who writes these lines is the Special Representative of the National Council of the Maubere Resistance (CNRM). His head [chefe, boss, chief?] and the one to whom he is accountable, is Xanana Gusmao. Thousands of Portuguese TV viewers had the rare opportunity of seeing, on September 22, an interview in which the Resistance's leader answered questions sent by the RTP journalist Rui Araujo. One should remember that he was the first Portuguese journalist who managed to enter East Timor in 1983. From that journey resulted a masterpiece of journalism in a period when the drama of the East Timorese people was completely ignored by the Portuguese and international press.

In this interview to Rui Araujo, Xanana Gusmao didn't leave any place for doubts about the position of his Special Representative and about the destiny of the funds deposited in a Caixa Geral de Depositos' bank account.

Nothing unusual until that moment. The problem arose when Mrs. Emilia appears at Lisbon's Airport, coming from Australia where she peacefully lives since three years ago. The unusual event happens when Mrs. Emilia, who does not occupy any position inside the Resistance's structures, declared at her arrival that she had "other instructions" and "another plan."

The "soap opera" segments taped at the modest Lisbon airport, permitted one to guess the plot or the net [there's a pun with the words "enredo"/"rede," plot/net; hard to translate] around the misfortunate woman, not used to petty politics and to the TV cameras. One could see a bag-carrier [the Airport employee who carries bags], solicitous in affected salutations, carrying the passenger's luggage. Was he a journalist trying to pass as a bag-carrier? Was he really a journalist? Was he a politician? Had he, has he, any "special mission" to accomplish? Was he the Pink Panther in action?

Unfortunately, the episode described above deals with a real situation and not with a fictional play taken from a cheap novel. The CGD's account resulted from the initiative of a small group of people which, 18 months ago, met together in a restaurant in Lisbon, and decided to launch a fund-raising campaign destined for the Resistance. A noble gesture, as many others which multiplied after the fateful November 12, 1991.

Throughout the year of 1992, those responsible for some of those initiatives had the courtesy of inviting [I guess, the line is blurred] the CNRM's Special

Representative for the delivery of the donations, some of them voluminous, others modest in amount but enormous in sentiment. During two press conferences held in Lisbon (one in June, other in August), I granted to journalists and guests not only a descriptive list of the funds entrusted to myself, as well as personal letters from commander Xanana Gusmao, which, meanwhile, he had made to arrive to me at the same time I [this is ambiguous; it could be "he" instead of "I," as in Portuguese we usually don't use the subject] was receiving the money, addressed the guerrilla-fighters [I guess, it is another blurred line].

It were entrusted to my management or put at my disposal, around fourteen thousand 'contos' [approx. 110 thousand USD]. From this amount, a little more than half was given directly to me (donation from various Portuguese artists, Galeria Graca Fonseca, Leonel Moura, and others), and was immediately directed to commander Xanana Gusmao or to cover certain expenses made in the exterior, such as acquisition of equipment and medicines, which were also directed to the interior.

Around six thousand 'contos' [approx. 50 thousand USD], collected by the Commission of the Rights of the Maubere People (CDPM-Porto) and by the art galleries Arvore and Nazoni, were put at the disposition of the CNRM, leaving to me the decision on the use of those funds. I went to Porto in late September to personally thank all the public and private entities which cooperated in that campaign. I was received with courtesy and human warmth.

I informed the responsible people upon my decision to use those funds to cover the expenses of the diplomatic and political actions in Washington and Geneva, but I decided that the CDPM should continue to manage the money [another blurred line], disbursing only when necessary. Until now, around 1600 'contos' [approx. 13 thousand USD] have been disbursed.

The "Jornal do Fundao," Caparica-CB, Radio Planicie (Beja) and a group of ISPA [a university] students also entrusted to myself amounts which go from 60 to 400 'contos.' Those amounts were entrusted to the management of the CDPM (Lisbon), which has disbursed them to cover diverse expenses, including sending messengers to East Timor [I suppose 'messenger' also means a person which carries some products, as 'correio' in Portuguese].

A group of East Timorese delivered to me two thousand dollars about one year ago. This amount was sent to East Timor and delivered to guerrilla units "1" and "4," with confirmation of receipt, through a letter

from Xanana Gusmao, a video and tens of guerrilla photographs.

Accounts of the money were readily presented, safeguarding minimum security rules. There were misunderstandings, some genuine worry about the use of the funds. But, if it was only that, why didn't anybody seek me out for explanations? Why that theatrical scene at the Portela Airport? I believe I have enough information to corroborate the hypothesis that three people (one Portuguese and two East Timorese) have been behind that so shabby campaign, without the minimal worry about the potential disastrous consequences of their action.

Dr. Abilio Araujo, leader of Fretilin's External Delegation, stood in solidarity with the CNRM's Special Representative and developed innumerable efforts which led to a compromise solution. This posture goes in the direction of a consolidation of the DEF/CNRM relations. Dr. Zacarias da Costa, Chairman of UDT's Regional Committee, also expressed his solidarity towards the CNRM. The same happened with innumerable [another blurred line] East Timorese from diverse sectors. From that farce staged by certain unscrupulous elements, one can extract something positive: the overwhelming majority of the East Timorese closed ranks [?, this is a Portuguese expression] around the leader with the East Timor Resistance and its representative.

Our Portuguese friends who made the noble initiative of the fund-raising campaign for the Resistance, tried to accomplish exactly the objectives of ... [now it is impossible to read] to East Timor. On my side, and on Xanana's side, we ignored that clause of the campaign, and, when elucidated about that situation, I accepted the fact. The Portuguese in charge, Rui Oliveira Costa and Alvaro Bezeza, as well as the other promoters of the campaign, decided, however, to leave to me the task of directing the funds to East Timor. This decision results from everybody's will to overcome the impasse. I am sorry that our Portuguese friends had to deal with a situation they didn't create.

I have signed a joint declaration of compromise to overcome the impasse, but respecting the positions of principle and the worries of all the parts. This communication will be made public as soon as Mrs. Emilia returns from Maputo, where she went last week.

ABRI CAMPAIGN OF LIES ESCALATES

Remark: The mention of a written appeal by Xanana to his followers to surrender is especially ominous in regard to his safety and to the safety of his guerrilla followers. A written appeal – which would be printed and likely air-dropped or posted or distributed in pre-identified places – could only have been written under the most extreme duress, if indeed it is genuine and not a forgery. Guerrillas who have surrendered in the past have hardly all been welcomed with open arms and placed under 'benign' Army 'guidance' (indoctrination). An unknown number have simply been summarily executed.

In this regard, it again strains credulity to believe that 36 newly surrendered guerrillas were all released shortly after surrendering and only 'required to report' (wajib lapor, like the ex-PKI political detainees). One can only hope that if the guerrillas do not themselves see through a sophisticated hoax, Xanana has been able to convey in any message he has written wording which would make it obvious to the guerrillas the appeal was spurious. Notice the huge dose of skepticism in the non-bylined AFP story. Another reason to make worst-case assumptions is contained in the December 5 issue of Tempo. Xanana's capture is the cover story and main report, yet there is no interview with him. ABRI generally allows newsmagazines with the domestic prestige of Tempo and Editor interview or comment access to even prominent prisoners, but apparently declined to do so for Xanana at this point. The best Tempo could manage in this regard were excerpts from Robert Domm's 1991 interview with Xanana. There is a clear picture of Xanana – which Tempo does credit to itself – on the contents page which extends down to Xanana's upheld hands – both of them – but only the fingers are shown. It is not clear if he is handcuffed or otherwise bound not around the wrists below. The fingers of both hands are in unusually close proximity. He is freshly but rough shaven and in khaki. Possibly the photo was taken shortly after his capture. Tempo's stories appeared before the airing of Xanana's 'interview' on TVRI. - John

According to a December 5 AFP story datelined Jakarta, thirty six members of an East Timor pro-independence movement have surrendered to the Indonesian military following a written appeal from their captured leader, unconfirmed press reports said here Saturday.

The members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretilin) surrendered Tuesday to the military district

command at Same, Manufahi regent, the Jakarta Post quoted East Timor military operational commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

No independent or military confirmation of the surrenders was immediately available, while East Timor's bishop said reports of an agreement for the guerrillas to give themselves up at specified churches were all "lies."

The Jawa Pos daily said Thursday the military persuaded the guerrillas to surrender by delivering a copy of a handwritten letter by long-time movement leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao – captured November 20 in the East Timor capital Dili – calling them to give themselves up.

The daily quoted Syafei as saying that following Gusmao's surrender, Jakarta had offered an amnesty to guerrillas who gave themselves up to designated churches.

It said the 36 that surrendered were released after the questioning but obliged to report three times a week.

Military figures recently put the movement's membership at about 200.

Gusmao, 45, who headed the armed faction of Fretilin since 1979 before his capture during a dawn raid on his underground hideout in Dili, reportedly said in his letter, "I know it would be hard for all of you. But I think this is the time for you to give up your weapons."

"I hope this is not too late to confess our mistake" and admit East Timor has been integrated with Indonesia, Jawa Pos quoted Gusmao's correspondence as saying.

The letter reportedly urged the Fretilin guerrillas, who have been fighting against Indonesian presence in the former Portuguese colony since 1975, not to rely on support from Portugal for their struggle.

FRETILIN/AUSTRALIA: THE STRUGGLE CONTINUES

Forwarded by a media-watcher in Australia, 7 Dec 92

After watching the TV news clips on SBS & ABC today it would seem that local Fretilin supporters have accepted Xanana's capture with regret, but taken the position that the struggle continues with a new leader. They are worried that some guerrillas will think that the struggle is over and surrender to the Indonesians - there have been reports to this effect in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Perhaps this is the true reading of X's statement that "one man cannot change history."

On another front, according to the ABC-TV 7.00 pm news, an Australian company called 'Marathon' has today taken up the first of the drilling concessions in the Timor

Gap. Fretilin spokesperson Pereira has warned of legal claims for compensation.

BBC: RED CROSS CAN VISIT

Both BBC World Service and Radio Australia reported about an hour ago that the head of the ICRC office in Indonesia has been allowed to visit Xanana Gusmao. The Radio Australia version stated that the meeting lasted one hour and was held in private at police headquarters in Jakarta. (I am unclear if the BBC stated Xanana was being held at an army base.) The ICRC head was quoted as saying he could not say anything about Xanana's condition but he would be reporting to both the host government and the ICRC headquarters in Geneva. He added that the ICRC had requested a second visit to Xanana and also visits to East Timorese detained in Dili and the Indonesian government had agreed to this request.

– John

EVANS: PORUGUESE WEAPONS TO SLORC IN BURMA?

According to a report by Radio Australia, the Foreign Minister Gareth Evans stated that Portugal may have sold weapons to the military regime in Burma. Evans noted in the same breath that Portugal had been expressing concerns about human rights abuses in East Timor.

– John

ARMY TURNS SCREWS ON CIVILIANS

Remark: This appears to be the Reuter version of the same news Antara release earlier reported by AFP and posted yesterday. While it adds some detail, the remarks accompanying that posting appear still to apply. The Army used similar tactics in Aceh after it ruthlessly crushed some ruthless rebels there. But in the East Timor case, the tactics seem to have been set in motion by the capture of Xanana and his coerced recantation and appeal to his colleagues to surrender rather than soon after crushing extensive armed resistance. The Timorese resistance was and remains mainly political and these widely publicized Army tactics designed to depict a fading resistance are efforts at 'political persuasion' the Army did not apparently feel free to employ till more than a decade after widespread warfare ended. They effectively comprise an overt 'turning of the screw' more tightly on a still broadly anti-Indonesian civilian population. – John

According to a December 7 Reuter datelined Jakarta, about 200 East Timorese rebels surrendered in the former Portuguese colony at the weekend, responding to the Indonesian government's offer of clemency, Antara news agency reported.

Antara said the rebels pledged loyalty to Jakarta, which annexed East Timor in 1976 a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognise the annexation.

"They also said they were ready to be punished if in future they violated (East Timor's) integration (with Indonesia)," Antara quoted Fretilin rebel Joao Ximenes as saying in a statement read on behalf of those who surrendered.

It is not clear if they were members of Fretilin, whose strength is estimated by the military at between 150 and 200.

Antara said they were clandestine operatives.

The rebels statement was made to local government and military officials in Baucau.

A group of pro-Indonesia East Timorese urged the government on Saturday to punish Xanana and his deputy Jose Da Costa with death sentences.

"Xanana and Da Costa are irresponsible leaders, they are just rebels who confuse East Timor people. We feel that we've been cheated by Fretilin," Gil Vicente de Jesus Guterres, the group's spokesman, said.

East Timor military commander Theo Syafei threatened last week to take tough action against rebels who refused to take up the offer of clemency.

"We will not hesitate to use force against the separatists if they disturb the people," the Jakarta Post newspaper on Saturday quoted Brigadier General Syafei as saying.

TAPOL: INDONESIAN CLAIMS OF MASS SURRENDERS ARE A SHAM

TAPOL, the Indonesia Human Rights Campaign, issued the following Press Release today, 7 December 1992:

TAPOL is gravely concerned at the rapidly deteriorating human rights situation in East Timor, following the arrest on 20 November of the resistance leader, Xanana Gusmao.

Current reports of mass "surrenders" by resistance fighters in East Timorese following the staged televised interview of Xanana, accepting Indonesia's integration of East Timor against which he has been fighting for 17 years are part of a propaganda offensive by the Indonesian military. Xanana has been held incommunicado for more than two weeks, denied visits by the International Red Cross and lawyers; members of his family have been arrested and tortured. The televised statement by Xanana Gusmao was made under extreme duress and is, in itself, a grave breach of his rights as a protected person under the 4th Geneva Convention.

Indonesia's aim is to convince the world that armed resistance in the bush and mass urban-based opposition to Indonesia's illegal occupation of East Timor has now collapsed. The claim last week by the military commander in East Timor, Brig Gen Theo Syafei, that the Catholic Church in East Timor had specified churches where resistance fighters can surrender was denounced as "a lie" by East Timor's Bishop Belo in an interview published Saturday by the Lisbon, Publico.

Since Xanana's capture, numerous arrests have taken place. The latest arrests, involving dozens if not hundreds of people, are being dressed up as "surrenders." According to one report, 107 people who took part in last year's demonstration on 12 November surrendered last Thursday, all of whom expressed "repentance and regrets." It strains credulity to believe that so many people arrived at army or police posts on the same day. It is more logical to believe that the were rounded up in the latest crackdown.

The latest claim is that 250 people in Baucau will today ceremoniously "disband their organisation" which opposed Indonesia's illegal occupation. TAPOL points out that many arrests took place in Baucau district in early October and believes

that these people have been subjected to extreme pressure to get them to participate in this disgraceful farce."

The propaganda campaign is clearly intended to sabotage UN - sponsored negotiations in New York on 17 December between Portugal and Indonesia, when the question of East Timorese participation in the talks is expected to result in the UN Secretary General initiating consultations with east Timorese representatives. Xanana Gusmao's participation in these consultations is crucial. The key objective of the talks is to secure the right of self-determination for East Timor. Bishop Belo declared in his interview last week that "for me the best solution is a referendum." In February 1989, the Bishop called on the UN Secretary General to consult the people about the future of their country by means of a referendum.

TAPOL calls for the immediate release of Xanana and all those arrested before and since his arrest. As long as they continue to be held, the International Red Cross and lawyers of their choice must have unrestricted access, in compliance with the 4th Geneva Convention and with Indonesia's procedural code.

ETAN/CANADA ALERT: ARREST OF XANANA GUSMAO

December 7, 1992 – On the 17th anniversary of Indonesia's invasion of East Timor, Indonesian military forces continue to hold in incommunicado detention Mr Xanana Gusmao, leader of the East Timorese resistance movement CNRM (National Council of Maubere Resistance). Xanana has almost certainly been tortured and drugged by his captors since being moved to the headquarters of the Eastern Indonesia military command in Bali. Additionally, at least 20 family members and close associates have been arrested by Indonesian soldiers.

On Dec. 2, Indonesian television broadcast what purported to be film of Xanana calling on resistance forces to surrender and apologizing for the Santa Cruz massacre on Nov. 12, 1991 (in which Indonesian soldiers gunned down over 200 unarmed women, men and children at a funeral procession). The broadcast amounted to the opening shot in a campaign of psychological warfare against the East Timorese people, which has expanded to include new arrests in Dili and fabricated reports of "surrenders."

Xanana's voice was unclear and slurred. His speech was translated into Bahasa Indonesian by a voice-over by East Timor

puppet governor Abilio Osorio Soares, making it doubly dubious. His left arm was motionless throughout, clear evidence of torture (despite a statement by the Canadian embassy in Indonesia that he "appeared well"). It is clear to any informed viewer that Xanana, if in fact he spoke the words attributed to him, spoke under compulsion, and possibly under the influence of drugs. His mannerisms and delivery recalled the statements of British and American pilots captured by Saddam Hussein in the days leading up to the Gulf war. They certainly evoked none of the style on camera of Xanana in previous film smuggled out of East Timor by Australian and Japanese video crews. Even former East Timor puppet governor Mario Viegas Carrascalao (now resident in Jakarta, Indonesia) called the truth of the "statement" by Xanana "doubtful."

Amnesty International reports that "according to unnamed sources within the police headquarters, he has been beaten and tortured with electrical shocks and subjected to severe psychological pressure while under interrogation. He is said to be in a poor emotional state, speaking in broken sentences and experiencing serious lapses of concentration."

The Red Cross, Indonesian Legal Aid Institute, and Amnesty International have all been denied access to Xanana. He is apparently to be put on trial under Indonesia's sweeping anti-subversion law, although he is not an Indonesian citizen. (Four non-violent independence campaigners were sentenced to jail terms ranging from ten years to life imprisonment earlier this year; Xanana's sentence would almost certainly be death.)

Meanwhile, at least 20 of Xanana's family and friends, ranging in age from 17 to 74, have been arrested since his capture on Nov. 20. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, has already died as a result of torture. At least two of the women arrested have been raped in front of their families. Many members of the Organization of East Timorese Youth (Ojetil) and others have been arrested or "disappeared" in the past two weeks.

President Mitterand of France, President Soares of Portugal, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, Nobel Peace Prize winner Rigoberta Menchu and many other international figures have called for the release of Xanana. UN Secretary General Boutros Boutros- Ghali is prepared to work for his release and participation in peace talks on East Timor at the UN, which open this month in New York. What is lacking is pressure from Indonesia's major Western supporters – Canada, the United States, Australia, Britain and Japan.

We appeal, once again, for letters calling for Xanana's release and an end to the new campaign of terror against the people of East Timor. Letters need not be long – any expression of concern will go a long way towards putting pressure on our government.

Please write or fax:

- (1) Barbara McDougall, Minister of External Affairs
House of Commons, Ottawa Ont., K1A 0A6 (postage free)
Fax (613) 996-3443
 - (2) Indonesian Embassy
287 McLauren St., Ottawa Ont., K2P 0L
Fax (613) 563-2858
- or Indonesian Consulate
425 University Ave., Toronto Ont., M5G 1T6
Fax (416) 591-6613
- (3) Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary General
United Nations Plaza, New York NY, USA 10017
Fax (212) 963-4879
 - (4) Please send copies to the East Timor Alert Network
PO Box 562, Station P, Toronto Ont., M5S 2T1
Fax (416) 531-5850

ETAN will forward copies to the Legal Aid Institute in Indonesia and to the human rights critics of the opposition parties in Ottawa, Beryl Gaffney and Svend Robinson.

NGO'S ASK UN SECRETARY GENERAL TO SEEK RELEASE OF TIMORESE LEADER

Press Release from Jean Inglis, Free East Timor Japan Coalition. December 8, 1992

On Dec. 7 the International Federation for East Timor (IFET) appealed in a letter to the United Nations Secretary General for urgent action to secure the release of Xanana Gusmao, the East Timorese leader captured by Indonesian troops in Dili on Nov. 20.

The Federation, on behalf of nongovernmental organizations in Japan, Australia, Great Britain, France, Portugal, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, Spain, Italy and Canada, urged Dr. BoutrosGhali to "take every measure in your power" to secure Mr. Gusmao's release and termed the UN leader's immediate response "crucial" to the achievement of a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue.

[The Secretary General announced in September that longstalled talks on East

Timor between Indonesia and Portugal would be resumed under his auspices at the UN on December 17. Observers believed that the heightened international concern about East Timor since the Nov. 1991 Santa Cruz massacre, when Indonesian troops opened fire on mourners at a cemetery in Dili, would exert pressure on Indonesia to move toward a negotiated settlement of the issue.

In particular, a recent military aid cut by the US Congress is said to have sent shock waves through the militarydominated regime, long accustomed to general indifference to its 17year occupation of East Timor on the part of major military and economic aid donor countries.

Reports from Indonesian authorities since the arrest of Mr. Gusmao, however, including a crudely edited videotaped "interview" broadcast on Dec. 1 in which the captured leader is purported to have acknowledged Indonesian sovereignty, indicate that hardliners in the Suharto regime may be attempting to sabotage the UN talks.]

The IFET letter states that the arrest of the East Timorese leader and others close to him "augur ill for the fate of the discussions to be held under your auspices between representatives of Portugal and Indonesia on December 17." It expresses fear at the measures used by Xanana's captors to extract the purported statement from the East Timorese leader, who has been held incommunicado for over two weeks. Fear is also expressed that the Indonesian authorities' treatment of Mr. Gusmao "may be aimed at creating confusion with regard to the agenda for a comprehensive settlement of the East Timor issue, an agenda which we believe must satisfy the legitimate demands of the people of East Timor to choose their own destiny, free from coercion by the forces that have occupied their territory for 17 years."

[Amnesty International, in an "urgent action" appeal issued December 4, stated that one of the at least twenty close associates and relatives of Xanana Gusmao arrested since Nov. 20 is reported to have been tortured to death in custody, and that there are fears that others, including Xanana, have also been tortured.

East Timorese have dismissed the videotaped "recantation" by Xanana as propaganda. The Catholic bishop of East Timor, Ximenes Belo, stated in an interview with the Portuguese daily, *Publico*, on Dec. 4 that "for the past seventeen years, if any prisoner spoke in the way that Xanana has spoken, it has happened as a result of torture." Bishop Belo also termed a Reuterreported statement by General Syafei that the bishop would call on the Timorese

resistance forces to surrender "completely false. It's all military propaganda."

Bishop Belo, who has appealed to the UN Secretary General to hold a referendum in East Timor, told *Publico* regarding Xanana's capture: "the arrest of any individual, even if he is the leader, does not mean the surrender of an entire people."]

The International Federation of East Timor, a nongovernmental organization registered with the United Nations Department of Public Information, seeks a comprehensive resolution of the East Timor issue in keeping with the United Nations Charter and the General Assembly and Security Council resolutions on the issue. These resolutions have called for a withdrawal of Indonesian troops from East Timor and have affirmed the right of the East Timorese people to self-determination.

For further information, contact: Jean Inglis tel: 0823220962

SEMINAR ON EAST TIMOR, PORTO UNIVERSITY, PORTUGAL, 1990.

"EAST-TIMOR, LAND OF HOPE"

A RECENT VISIT TO EAST TIMOR

by Mons. Paul Moore, Bishop of New York [Ret.]

Bibliographical Notes on Rev. Paul Moore, Junior.

The Right Reverend Paul Moore, Jr., was installed as the thirteenth Bishop of New York of the Protestant Episcopal Church (Anglican) on September 23, 1972, in the ninth year of his episcopate. Having been elected Suffragan Bishop of Washington in 1963 he served in that capacity until his elections as Bishop Coadjutor of New York in december 1969.

Born in Morristown, New Jersey on Nov. 15, 1919, he was graduated from Yale University in 1941 with a B.A. degree; he received a S.T.B. degree from General Theological Seminary in 1949. In 1960 he was awarded an honorary S.T.D. from that seminary and in 1964 was honored with a D.D. by Virginia Theological Seminary. Berkeley Divinity School also honored him with a D.D. in 1971.

He currently belongs to the Chancellory of various Seminaries and University Schools. Between 1941 - 1945 he was in the US Navy. Having been severely wounded in an operation of the First Navy Corps at Tulagi-Guadalcanal where he was a platoon commander, he was later to serve as an Operational Commander at Guan. He left the Navy as a Captain and he received the

'Naval Cross,' the 'Silver Star' and 'Purple Heart.'

One of his major interests is the link between the church magister and psychiatry. He is well known by his interest on the survival of all miserable people in the cities and he is a member of the AIDS Council. During Summer 1970 he led a Peace Mission to Vietnam. He was also a member of a delegation that went to Moscow in 1982 to discuss with Soviet leaders problems of nuclear disarmament, and he has recently visited Nicaragua.

He is married to Brenda Hughes and father of nine children.

Statement by the Most Reverend Paul Moore, Bishop [Ret.] of New York

Almost the complete transcription of Bishop Moore's presentation, taken by Fernanda Jorge and Jose' Paulo Oliveira from recorded cassettes.

(...) "Last December, my wife Brenda and I visited East Timor under the auspices of Asia Watch, a human rights committee located in New York. We wished to show our support for those who are struggling for their rights there and to gather as much first-hand information as our time there allowed.

"We first went to Jakarta to learn a little bit about East Timor from people there who could inform us. We met with Mr. P. Princen, who I am sure is known to some of you, he runs a human rights group in Jakarta, Mr. Slumer Bratanata, a professor who is an authority on History there, Mr. Jopie Lasut who chairs a Prison Fellowship committee and many of the exiles from East Timor work with him and he worked with prisoners from Timor who are imprisoned in Jakarta.

"We met with our Ambassador and even with a person from the C.S.I.S. which is (...) a large security think tank in Jakarta. We also met several refugees from East Timor, men who had been either part of FRETILIN or who had for one reason or another to escape from Timor to Indonesia. When we arrived in East Timor we went to Hotel Turismo. Accompanying us on the aeroplane was a very important gentleman connected with the Indonesian intelligence. He roomed right next to us in the hotel.

"He had five or six security people with him. As soon as we came to the hotel we had a feeling of apprehension, we had a feeling that the security people next door were watching us, as well as guarding this high official. There was a strange atmosphere indeed. We learned later that all telephone calls were tapped, and all mail is censored, going in and out of East Timor. I am sure you were aware of this. One amusing story: a friend of ours we met was speaking overseas in Portuguese to another

person. The monitor on the telephone interrupted them and said: "Please talk in Indonesian. I cannot understand Portuguese." And this happens again and again. They are rather clumsy about their censorship but very thorough.

"The military presence there is very oppressive. Every street has a soldier walking up and down and with his weapon. When we drove up to Baucau, which you know is three or four hours by car up the coast we were stopped six times by the military police. We had to get out of our car and go to the security booth and have our passport looked at, our guide was questioned and we were reluctantly allowed to go on our way. Half an hour later we were stopped again. Six times! And four or five hours of driving.

"When we were there speaking of military presence, General Benny Murdani had visited Timor. He came for the occasion of the dedication of the cathedral. He too stayed at the Hotel Turismo. He too had five or six security guards. The hotel asked us to move our rooms so Mr. Benny Murdani+s security guards could be next to him. They gave us a free night+s lodging so that we could make room for Benny Murdani which was really rather funny.

"We had great difficulty finding a taxi who would take us up to Baucau. We asked at several automobile rental places and they had none. They said: "Where are you going?" "Baucau? I am sorry, no cars." Finally a young woman who was our interpreter had a friend who had been a prisoner for five years and had been released several years ago, but apparently was a rather courageous fellow. So he agreed to drive us up to Baucau, but it took a long while to find him because the government really wants nobody to go up there. Why? Because there the military presence is the heaviest. We went by scores of army tanks, gone past us on the road were truckload after truckload of soldiers and they full battle dressed: helmets, machine guns, the whole thing. We went by scores of barracks which had been built rather permanent barracks, not only for the soldiers but for their families as well. It looks to us as if the Indonesian army intends to stay.

"There are 24,000 troops presently in East Timor for a population of 500,000 and very few of the FRETILIN are left off in the jungle. I assume they are afraid of it. This presence is illogical, oppressive, irrational. I understand one of the reasons they stay there is not because they are afraid of FRETILIN, but in order that the army can be trained and have places to manoeuvre. I understand also that many of the higher officers have economic reasons to stay there. We were told they would go and

harass peasants in their houses until the peasants, the rural people would leave in fear. Then they come in, take over the farms and exploit the farms, and sell the crops and take the money. There is a great deal of military corruption in East Timor, we were told, and so they want to stay there and profit by the presence of the military in East Timor.

"We were told that even food from the catholic relief services was confiscated and had to be bought, purchased by the very people to whom it was supposed to be given freely. There were just story after story after story of oppression and of corruption.

"We were very impressed by the schools we saw there run by the church and very impressed by the spirit of the young people in those schools. There is a school out at a place called Fatumaca, which is not far from Baucau away up in the mountains. It is near where the presence of the FRETILIN apparently is most numerous, and therefore there are great many army people there and the army people keep a very close watch over this wonderful school which is run by the Salesian Fathers of the Church.

"In any case we had a beautiful visit there and we were told by the priest about some of their young people who went to the demonstration at the time of the Pope's visit. They were there watching, they were not leading, they were not demonstrating they were just watching and listening to the Holy Father. However, because one of them was asked by a photographer to hold up a sign they were arrested by the military police, they were imprisoned, they were tortured, and they were totally innocent and they were kids, 15, 16 years old. There was objectios made and finally the young men were released and the military were so embarassed by this mistake. They are not usually embarassed but they were by this one that they came out to the school and the general said: "Please, think of me as of your loving father. I have brought basket-balls, base-balls, base- balls gloves, sporting equipment, all for you." And here is the thing that was wonderfull. The young people said: "We do not want your basket-balls, we do not want your sporting equipment, you are not our father, the priest is our father, all we want is for you to free the other young people who are now in prison." So, the general was embarassed, went back, freed the young people, made another trip and gave them the basket-balls. That is the kind of thing one runs into.

"I understand that most of the Timorese people have to bring identity cards with them and are stopped from time to time and have to show their cards like the people in South Africa.

"I understand that some of the young people who are imprisoned, both the ones I mentioned and others were told that they would be allowed to go free as long as they did not participate in any political activity. When the young people said: "We will not promise that," then they were kept in jail. Many of them were still in jail without trial when we were there.

"I would like to say a word or two about the church, the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor because theirs is the most important presence there. Bishop Belo is a very courageous young person (in my way of thinking, he is in his early forties) and I think he is threatened he is beleaguered, he is harassed. He stands almost alone there as one who will speak out against the abuses of human rights, which are so prevalent. We had two or three very good sessions with him and he said to us, and it is said in other reports that he really feels in physical danger because of the stand he has taken. He opens his house as a sanctuary for young people who are about to be arrested. We spoke with some of these young people, teenagers, 15, 16 years old again, lovely spirited young people that were afraid to go home, they were afraid to go to school, for fear they be arrested and tortured. We met with them, we talked with them in the presence of the bishop, and it takes great courage on his part to allow those young people to stay in his house, in order to escape the oppression of the police.

"He and many others we spoke to feel there is a deliberate policy of genocide, on the part of the Indonesian government against the people of East Timor: Cultural genocide as well as the terrible massacres of physical death that have already occurred. There is full intentions, so it seems, to obliterate the East Timor culture, which is so different from the Indonesian culture. And so, it is so important, so important, that bishop Belo and some others, and you here, myself and all of us, hold up, at least, the hope of independence because even now it seems impossible, even now many of us are pessimist about hope of self-determination, given the power of Indonesia, none the less it is most important that the light of hope and freedom be held up against whatever arms, and this is the reason why bishop Belo and others speak out for self-determination whatever the price might be.

"My wife and I, we said them: "Isn't it wrong to get people's hopes up when the situation is so bad?." And they said: "Well, this is the only thing in which the young people can have spirit, this is the only way to make the young people proud of themselves." And so I feel it is important for the light of hope and freedom to be held up in East Timor and in the world.

"We were very fortunate in being present at the dedication of the Cathedral. The Pope had already blessed it but this was another dedication. It happened at 7 a.m. in the morning, we went to the cathedral and the whole courtyard was full of thousands and thousands of people. The East Timorese are very devout Roman Catholic people. We were standing in the crowd away in the background, trying to look inconspicuous, (...). And then an acolyte from the bishop came over and got us by the hand and lead us over and we walked in procession with the bishop, up the aisle and we sat in the front row next to Benny Murdani, which was rather ironic.

"But we were proud to be there and it was a great privilege to be present at this beautiful service. One thing that is off the subject but for someone from my country it was very impressive at the time of the offertory procession, which is when the bread and wine is bought up the aisle as an offering to God, and often money as a collection is brought up as an offering to God. At this event, they brought up chickens, they brought up pigs, they brought up native costumes, they brought musical instruments, it was just beautiful, and all the people were dressed in their native costumes and again they gave us a feeling of the pride of the culture of that place, and how the Church is an institution that can preserve any licit of that culture.

"I would like to conclude by making a few remarks. We were deeply, deeply moved by the courage of the people. I have been around the world in many different places over the years, as my wife was, in Africa, Japan, Nicaragua and so forth, Russia, but I have never seen a people who impressed me more than the Timorese with their courage, their spirit, their compassion, their gentleness and the way in which they welcomed us.

"It seemed to me that several things are most important. First of all, until such a time as East Timor can be free, it is most important for all of us to do what we can to help in the education of the people there, to support the schools, especially the schools run by the Catholic Church, which I just mentioned, by the Salesians, where there is great need for resources, where the government does not allow new priests to come in from the outside to teach, they are short-handed, they need all the help they could get, because that future generation must be educated now, so that when freedom comes they will be able to govern their country, and even freedom is long in coming, it is most important for the Timorese young people to be educated, so that when Indonesia develops Timor, which may mean hotels, industry, better

agriculture, whatever that development may be, that the Timorese people are educated enough to be involved in it and, receive the benefits from it, rather than having people from outside come in and exploit Timor and bring the money away.

"And unless the people are educated there and this is what is going to happen, and the people of East Timor will be servants to the people from the outside who will be developing the industry or the tourism or whatever. SO, I THINK EDUCATION IS ENORMOUSLY IMPORTANT.

"The second thing that is important is to repeat what I said before, it is to alert the international community in every way possible, in conferences like this, hearings in front of the United Nations, hearings in Portugal, hearings in the United States, hearings in Australia, for all of us and all over the world to say again and again and again, that East Timor is small but is desperately important to the humanity and all the civilized world.

"I am very ashamed, and I say this frankly, I am very ashamed of the role of the United States of America has had over the last several years. I understand that we condoned the invasion of East Timor by the Indonesians, I understand that Henry Kissinger was present in Jakarta just a few days before this took place, he must have condoned it. I understand from my reading that much of the military equipment that was used was United States+guns and so forth. We still object officially to the human rights problems there, our ambassador did recently on a visit, however we have not taken any sanctions against Indonesian because of their treatment of East Timor, and I believe that the United States should bring pressure of whatever kind, so that Indonesia would change its policy and I think we have a right to do that and I don't think that the fact that its oil and military importance should keep us from that policy for human rights and this would be true also, and even more true perhaps of Australia.

"Thank you for these few minutes to tell you about our recent visit and I am most honoured to have been here and Brenda and I am here to learn as much as we can about East Timor, so that when we go home we can talk to senators and congressmen and the State Department to see whether or not the United States can do its part in changing the policy of Indonesia."

THE TIMOR GAP AGREEMENT

This is a synopsis of the presentation made by Sasha Stepan, assistant of the Political Department of Monash University [Australia] and author of the thesis "The Timor Gap agreement and its international implications."

The Timor Gap Zone of Cooperation Treaty between Australia and Indonesia was signed in a mid-air ceremony during a flight over the Timor Gap in December 11, 1989 by the the respective Australian and Indonesian Foreign Ministers, Senator Gareth Evans and Mr. Ali Alatas. It has been hailed by both countries as a creative and peaceful alternative to a protracted delimitation dispute, <<... establishing a long-term stable environment for petroleum exploration and exploitation...>> which <<... would not prejudice the claims of either country to sovereign rights over the continental shelf...>> and would not <<... preclude continuing efforts to reach final agreement on permanent seabed boundary delimitation.>>

It has also been claimed to have successfully removed a <<potential source of bilateral and regional friction>>. Yet this latter statement may well be misguided, for amidst the self congratulatory statements echoing around Jakarta and Canberra, one fundamental aspect is being ignored: the plundering of the rights of the East Timor people. The only hope for the East Timorese in respect of this matter is for Portugal to take decisive action on their behalf as the U.N. recognized administering authority."

History of Timor Gap Negotiations

The region known as the Timor Gap arose as a result of international boundary agreements struck between Australia and Indonesia in 1971-1972 that left a gap in the boundary opposite what was then Portuguese Timor. In 1974 - 1975 discussion between Australian and Portuguese authorities concerning a closing of the boundary gap took place, but these talks stalled and were still unresolved in December 1975 at the time of annexation. It was feared that if Canberra opposed Indonesia's incorporation of East Timor at the U.N., Indonesia could retaliate by freezing the boundary talks.

After having quoted the telegram of August 1975 from the Australian ambassador in Indonesia Dick Woolcott calling the attention of his government for the advantages it could have if it negotiates the "Timor Gap" with Indonesia instead with Portugal or an independent Timor, Sasha Stepan continues:

Although nine rounds of negotiations have occurred since 1979, Australia and Indonesia have been unable to agree with regard to permanent delimitation of the seabed because each country takes differing views as to the principles of international law Australia's and Indonesia's seabed rights extend from their coastline throughout the natural prolongation of their continental shelves which end in the deepest part of the Timor Trough.

Indonesia's position has been that there is one shared continental shelf between Australia and Indonesia and accordingly a boundary equidistant between the two coastlines (the median line) would be appropriate. Indonesia also argues that new Exclusive Economic Zone concept with seabed rights out to 200 nautical miles, supports the median as the appropriate principle.

Due to the difficulty of reconciling the two countries' competing claims, both countries began exploring the possibility of a provisional "joint development zone" to operate pending final delimitation. Detailed discussions on this proposal were held in mid 1985 when Senator Gareth Evans visited Indonesia as the then Minister for Resources and Energy. In October 1988, on his first visit to Indonesia as Minister for Foreign Affairs and Trade, he and Indonesia Foreign Minister Ali Alatas announced an interim agreement on the Zone of Cooperation proposal. On December 11, 1989, the Treaty was formally signed.

The Treaty

Part I of the Treaty establishes the Zone of Cooperation in an area between the Indonesian province of East Timor and Northern Australia, which comprises Areas A, B and C, a total of approximately 61,000 square kilometres.

Area A is to be jointly controlled by both states with equal sharing of the benefits of exploitation. Area A contains the highly prized but geologically unknown "kelp" structure, which has been estimated to hold potentially several billion barrels of oil.

Area B is to be administered by Australia, with 10% of gross resource Rent Tax given to Indonesia.

Area C is to be administered by Indonesia, with 10% of Contractor's Income Tax given to Australia.

The Northern extent of the Zone of Cooperation is delineated by the maximum Australian continental shelf claim. The southern extent of the zone is delineated by the 200 nautical miles line measured from the Indonesian baselines (i.e. the maximum Indonesian EEZ claim). The eastern and western sides are delineated by "equidistance lines."

The Treaty does not purport to finalise the seabed boundary, under article 2 Clause 3 of the Treaty each party reserves its respective sovereign rights claimed in the Timor Gap.

Continuing to describe the treaty, Sasha Stepan explains that the responsible authorities for the area are a Ministerial Council (with an equal number of ministers for each of the governments) and a Joint Authority.

This Joint Authority will have, among others, "the responsibility for environmental protection, safety, search and rescue, and any action required "in the event of terrorist threat to vessels and structures engaged in petroleum operations in Area A."

After describing the clauses on the way of acquiring property rights over the oil, the applicable legislation, the ways of judging possible conflicts and of implementing the treaty, Sasha Stepan describes how the Australian government faces the criticisms which have been made to its policies.

Australia's response to Portuguese criticism of the Timor Gap Treaty

The signing of the Timor Gap Treaty can be held to be a violation of international law in respect of the denial of the East Timorese peoples right to self determination and their sovereign right to their resources. In signing the Treaty and preparing to divide up the spoils of the Gap between themselves, Australia and Indonesia are conveniently ignoring the fact that Indonesia's military annexation of East Timor, which gives it sovereignty to negotiate the treaty, was illegal and that the continuing occupation of East Timor is illegal. Thus any treaty, depending on Indonesia's illegal sovereignty can thus be argued to be void at international law, violating the right of the East Timorese to self-determination, a preemptory norm in international law.

Yet Australia rejects claims that its actions are inconsistent with established international law and Senator Gareth Evans has stated publicly that should Portugal seek to initiate any action in any forum, Australia would defend its position <<with vigour and determination>>.

Australia's rejection of Portuguese criticism is as follows:

Firstly, Australia maintains that there is no binding legal obligation not to recognize the acquisition of territory acquired by force.

Secondly, conclusion of the Timor Gap Treaty does not signify Australia's approval of Indonesia's original acquisition of the territory of East Timor.

Thirdly, Australia claims that in international law, the legality of the original acquisition of territory has to be

distinguished in subsequent dealings between the state acquiring that new territory and other states.

Fourthly, Australia has never conceded prior to 1975, any Portuguese interest in the area of the seabed forming part of the Zone of Cooperation. Consequently, Australia does not accept the assertion that the East Timorese have any permanent sovereign rights over seabed resources in the Gap.

Finally, Australia maintains (with an interesting twist of logic) that the "East Timor issue" is a matter quite separated from the Timor Gap Treaty, which concerns maritime boundaries between neighbours. Australia asserts that its conclusion of the Treaty in no way impedes its efforts in continuing to support discussions between Portugal and Indonesia at the U.N. to resolve the East Timor issue.

All of these points are clearly debatable and would no doubt be subject to vigorous scrutiny at the International Court of Justice. The Australian Government's view reflects an interpretation of international law that acts of aggression can be ignored and that violators of international law can obtain good title to territory which they seize. It condones violations of the U.N. Charter and many U.N. resolutions dealing with both political and economic self-determination.

In short, it is a view unlikely to gain approval from the International Court of Justice.

EAST TIMOR: POSSIBLE SCENARIOS FOR THE 90'S

This is a synopsis of the presentation made by John G. Taylor, writer and teacher of London's South Bank Polytechnic.

The author starts with five hypothetical scenarios, under the presumption that the Indonesian regime survives, to describe in the end a scenario that implies a change in the regime.

"Firstly, there is the possibility of an Indonesian military victory over Fretilin. (...) Publicising this defeat internationally, Indonesian diplomats insist that the East Timor issue be brought back to the United Nations General Assembly, in which an even weaker resolution than the one carried narrowly in 1982 is defeated.

In the international field the question fades away.

"Church opposition is neutralised by the Vatican agreeing to the transfer of Bishop Belo and the removal of priests who have acted as mediators between the Indonesian army and Fretilin groups."

John Taylor regards the first scenario most unlikely, not only due to the capacity of Fretilin to continue the fight skillfully, but also due to the interest of many

Indonesian military for a protracted war, with a similar low intensity like the last years, in order to have a training field for its troops and possibilities to earn money and fast promotions by virtue of Timor military campaigns.

"Similarly - turning to a second scenario - it is unlikely that Fretilin forces will be able to defeat Indonesia militarily. Estimates of Fretilin's current strength vary considerably, but a reasonable figure seems to be around 2,000 active troops, located mostly in the eastern and southern zones, armed with weapons captured from the Indonesians.

"The only developments which might enable Fretilin to make a breakthrough militarily would be either a significant upsurge by separatist movements in areas of Eastern Indonesia, such as West Irian, or a prolonged conflict between military factions in Java itself, related a succession crisis to Suharto's Presidency. Neither of these seem likely in the immediate future.

"A Third possible scenario is that of the Indonesian Government organising a referendum in East Timor, whose carefully orchestrated outcome would be a vote for integration.

"Such an outcome in East Timor could be used to legitimise integration internationally, particularly if the military could secure limited U.N. involvement or, even better, a Portuguese presence during the referendum. To a certain extent, Indonesia has already floated this suggestion, both in 1982 and in 1987, when it was argued by government officials that the results of the elections for East Timor's Provincial Assembly gave some guide to the level of support for integration.

(...) "Several factors currently mediate against it. Most seriously, perhaps, is the point that Shuarto and his immediate entourage seem to be oppose to it, arguing that it would entail a greater opening up of East Timor, and enable opposition - and particularly the catholic church - to give full vent to its criticism of the occupation. They cite events surrounding the Pop's visit in October 1989 as a small scale example of what could happen. Furthermore, since the international community is by now well aware of the methods used by the military to secure the West Irian result, many governments would be unhappy accepting the outcome of a referendum, whilst others would re- open the West Irian case as a means of criticising Indonesia."(...)

"A fourth scenario might be a variation of what the Indonesian officers involved in negotiating the 1983 ceasefire termed the "Sulawesi Solution." This would begin with a negotiated ceasefire.(...)

"Under present circumstances, such developments seem rather remote. There is little sign of any lessing of Indonesian brutality, or of any serious intention to involve East Timorese in the running of the political system or the organisation of the economy."

A fifth scenario presented by the author relates to the changes in the international community and in Portugal, in the direction of a general acceptance of the fait accompli provided that the human rights, religious freedoms and the preservation of the Timorese cultural identity were guaranteed.

"Currently, this outcome seems far less likely than it did in the early eighties, since the Portuguese Government has repeatedly stated the necessity for an act of self-determination. (...) For the moment, however, Portuguese policy probably constitutes the most effective thorn in the side of Indonesian diplomacy.(...)

"In drawing up these scenarios, we have assumed that the present regime remains in place in Jakarta. Clearly, if this were to change, it could have a profound effect on the conflict. Scenarios which we have assessed as unlikely - notably the referendum and the <<Sulawesi Solution>> - might well."

After referring to the problems of succession of President Suharto which is a crucial problem in Indonesia due to the role he played in the destruction of the political parties and due to his skillfull manouvers in turning one military faction against the other, John Taylor quotes from the Asian Wall Street Journal on the First family:

"In recent years the Suharto sons (of which there are three) have put together a maze of businesses giving them a stake in almost every important commodity or service in the country. In most cases these businesses originates from and thrive on state contracts, government decrees or licences giving concerns tied to the Suharto sons and their associates special rights to handle the import, manufacture or distribution of such goods or services."

According to the estimates quoted by several magazines and several newspapers (Far Eastern Economic Review, Sydney Morning Herald, Asian Wall Street Journal) in the eighties the wealth of the Suharto family and its associates would mount between two and three billion dollars.

Due to the authoritarian oldfashioned character of the regime, The Economist, in its annual analysis of the economic perspectives of developing countries considered (20/12/86) Indonesia as high- risk country for investments. Therefore John Taylor concludes that:

"If Indonesia is to change such perceptions, then a number of crucial issues

need to be dealt with urgently in the nineties, and in many of these it would seem that Suharto Government forms part of the problem rather than the solution.”

John Taylor analyses afterwards some of the main economic problems of Indonesia, concluding:

(...) “We are witnessing a growing conflict between the increasing needs of the Indonesian economy for modernisation based upon deregulation and diversification, and the entrenched interests of monopolies supported and sponsored by companies aligned with the Suharto family.(...)”

“Indonesia similarly faces serious environmental problems, whose impact will intensify during the next ten years.” These problems, related to deforestation(...)“cannot be discussed without also mentioning the related issue of transmigration. Policy in this area aim to move millions of landless poor from the central island of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok to the less densely populated island mostly in the east” (...).

“Transmigration has involved widespread human rights abuses, including forced resettlement, as has been rigorously documented by many commentators. The government has made it clear that an additional aim is to undermine non-Javanese societies and cultures. Hosting a meeting on transmigration in Jakarta, Minister of Transmigration, General Martono, promised that, <<by way of transmigration, we will try to realise what has been pledged, to integrate all ethnic groups into one nation, the Indonesian nation. The different ethnic groups will in the long run disappear because of integration, and there will be one kind of man>>. Current estimates for the period covering the present Five-Year Plan put the loss of tropical rain forest resulting from the clearing of transmigration sites at 3,3 million hectares. In addition, many transmigration sites have proved totally unsuitable for farming, and their settlers have abandoned them for surrounding areas thereby causing further deforestation.

“The Indonesian Government’s gandering of the environment, its transmigration policies, and its treatment of its minority peoples have all led in recent years to growing opposition, both domestically and internationally.

After referring to the growing role of Indonesian NGO’s (since political parties are controlled by the government) and the appearance, among the armed forces, of factions that wish to demilitarize the regime and let the exercise of politics mainly to civilians, John Taylor concludes:

“Consequently, the president should either retire or step down, to be replaced by a more civilian-influenced regime, if

Indonesia is to modernise in line with other AESAN states.(...)”

“A post-Suharto regime may adopt a less brutal and exploitative policy towards East Timor. The limited degree of autonomy allowed by such a regime might then enable the independence movement to pursue its aims in a situation which is no longer dominated by the dreadful brutality and carnage that has been imposed on the East Timorese people for the last fifteen years.”

INDONESIA: WINDS OF CHANGE

Synopsis of the presentation made by Liem Soei Liong, Indonesian political refugee, Chemical Engineer, author of the book “War Against East Timor” (1984), co-author of the books “Muslims on trial” (1986), “West Papua, the obliteration of a people” (1988), “Die Molukken” (1989), co-editor of “Tapol Bulletin” (The Indonesian Human Rights Campaign) and the monthly “Indonesia Feiten en Menigen.”

Characterization of the Suharto’s regime

(...) “The Suharto government has over the years survived many crises, has changed policies and general strategy and in the end has remained as one of the oldest dictatorships on the globe today. In this quarter of century, 1965 to 1990 Suharto has proved himself to be a very skilful and cunning operator, willing to change policies if needed while at the same time sticking to certain principles.”

After referring to the scheming way how Suharto maintained his predecessor Sukarno as a figurehead President during three years, while eliminating about one million alleged members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI), of trade unions and of other organisations, Liem Soei Liong affirms:

“The purge of anybody with leftist inclinations or ideas and the constant vigilance (in general: the security approach) has become the first and most constant factor of Suharto’s government. Another constant factor in Suharto’s rule is the gradual centralisation of power into his hands; starting with a loose coalition with military fractions, the regime gradually transformed into a Suharto dictatorship. Over the years the structure of the Suharto rule has increasingly become a vertical top down structure. The third consistent factor is the depoliticisation of the Indonesian society.

“Next to the constant factors, the Suharto rule can be describe through features of change. One important factor of constant change is the relationship between Suharto and the ABRI, the Indonesian armed forces. Another important factor of change is the gradual emergence and growth of Indonesia

as a corporatist state. And last but not definitely not least is the swift and drastic changes in the economy. (...)

“Until 1974 Suharto could still rely on the support of the majority of ABRI, starting the mid seventies a period of uncertainty emerged as several important opposition groups within ABRI started to challenge his leadership. Since 1983, Suharto’s fourth presidential term, his rule became increasingly personalised. It could well be argued that Suharto in this period reached the peak of his power, at the same time recent history has taught that accumulation of power contains a grave danger, being at the top of the pinnacle can only mean descendance or a abrupt fall.”

(...) “The use of provocation methods may be the most consistent feature in Indonesian politics. Practically all the major political conflicts in Indonesia are immersed with a strong element of provocation. Suharto’s closest aides up to 1987 have been intelligence officers and it is a public secret that many allegedly subversive plots were deeply infiltrated by intelligence agents and subsequently provoked to perform unlawful acts. It could be argued that the Indonesian armed forces has a pitiful record as a pure military strike force but as an intelligence outfit is doing a very effective job. The territorial concept of the Indonesian army possesses a strong security component. Leaked documents from East Timor (the military manual) is a proof of population control.”

After describing in detail the permanent characteristics of the regime and reminding that even today 1.4 million of ex political prisoners (ex-tapol) are obliged to use identity cards with the initials ET and are object of discrimination, Liem Soei Liong presented finally the prospects of change.

“The prospects of change”

“Although the presidential elections are still more than two years away, it was President Suharto himself who started the discussion of succession. In his highly controversial autobiography, published in 1989, Suharto indicated that this fifth term (1988-1993) will be his last one. In the meantime the discussion of Suharto leaving office or more general the fate of the New Order government, has escalated into a national issue. Strange enough, in contrast with other Asian countries where succession is prepared for a long time, Indonesia’s preparation for succession seems to be totally absent. Suharto has not disclosed any viable candidate or concept about the transfer of leadership. (...) Many leading politicians have tried by launching trial balloons about the succession but so far the President has kept his lips sealed.

“A few possible scenarios of change have been discussed in Jakarta none of them overall convincing, not in the last place due to lack of proper democratic structures and outlets. (...) As political forecasting has great risks and uncertainties, scenarios based on deep knowledge regarding the power structures can also fail, proved in 1965 when the politically relatively low profile officer called Suharto emerged as the undisputed leader.

“The most possible scenario is a relatively smooth takeover from Suharto by a group of generals. The most powerful group of officers are assembled around a triumvirate of General Benny Murdani, General Rudini and General Edi Sudrajat. In particular Murdani and Sudrajat enjoy a lot of support within the army, Murdani paved the way for the present generation to lead ABRI while Edi Sudrajat the present army chief-of-staff is seen as the representative and spokesperson of the present generation of officers. This group are very much contesting Suharto’s leadership but their views on the succession are widely known. While they take it for granted that Suharto will step down in 1993, Murdani has reiterated on many occasions that the succession will be performed in a constitutional way. Chief of Staff General Sudradjat has backed Murdani’s words by announcing the preparation of 422 military companies during this election period to keep the security and order. Murdani’s constitutional concept is an implicit warning to Suharto to step down in a orderly way, albeit more forceful methods will be used.

“This scenario is better known in political circles in Jakarta as the “Kopassus scenario,” the red berets scenario. Kopassus is the notorious red berets commando that have played an instrumental role in 1965 during the red drive and in 1975 during the invasion of East Timor. All the three generals are former red berets and of bear the same grudges against the excess wealth and fortune of the Suharto family. Although in objective terms the Murdani group possesses enough muscle and firework, it is still to be seen whether they can mobilise enough support outside the armed forces. With the decline of the political fortunes of ABRI, their access to special funds also declined. Many of the military corporations have been closed down due to mismanagement, corruption and incompetence while their connections with the large business groups is still far from satisfactory.

“There are strong indications that a group of young officers is getting restless and want to step up the pace and create a showdown situation already prior to 1993. Murdani has been criticised strongly of not showing

enough criticism and defiance towards Suharto. The option of showdown has been strongly rejected by Murdani, who wants a smooth succession along constitutional lines. As a long time Suharto loyalist, Murdani has shown enough caution and like nobody else recognises the cunningness and ruthlessness of Suharto. regarding style of leadership, views or political culture Murdani shows many resemblances with Suharto. This is much less the case with Rudini and Edi Sudrajat who don’t have a long enduring relationship with the President.

“Many political observers will argue that Suharto will not resign voluntarily. Even if the three generals give the solemn guarantee that the vast wealth and property of the Suharto family will not be confiscated, experiences with the Marcos of the Philippines and Chun Do Hwan of South Korea, will make Suharto very cagey.

“The relatively good prospects of the economy will be beneficial for Suharto, if a kind of succession scenario is being implemented by the trio of generals. Although nearing his seventies, Suharto looks to be in good health and many observers are convinced that he will opt for at least another term. If this is going to happen it is expected that Suharto will make some manoeuvres to boost and regain his influence within ABRI. The most likely efforts will be to neutralise his opponents by appointing loyalists in the ABRI general staff. So far Suharto did not manage to interfere in the appointments at the top, but promising lucrative offers to ABRI generals could easily jeopardise the plans of the three generals.

“In both options, the smooth succession or a sixth term for Suharto, the position of the civilians, in particular the technocrats and the Muslim mainstream groupings, will gain importance. In the “battle of wits,” both Suharto and the other side will give generous offers to these two important social groupings to get them on their side. Again, the president has the advantage to be able to offer more, either financial gains or positions in the administration.

“The weak spots of Suharto”

“As explained earlier, Suharto’s strength lies in the fact that he is able, if needed, to change policies. It does not mean that he doesn’t have weak spots.

“On the domestic front, land conflicts have been very sluggish and have created instability on national scale. Although the handling of land affairs has now been transferred from the Department of Agriculture directly into the authority of the president’s office, the conflict has only grown in quantity and intensity. Several

ABRI generals have shown open sympathies with the pledge of the peasants or demonstrating students. The presidency does not have an answer how to decrease the tensions. If exploited by the military, it can create an explosive situation. The other problem mentioned earlier is the equitable distribution of wealth. The fast pace of economic boom has not benefitted large sections of the urban poor. The problems of employment remain endemic while at the same time Suharto has to repay huge amounts of external debts.

“Criticism inside and outside Indonesia concerning violation of human rights, the aggression over East Timor and West Papua and environmental degradation, are consistently growing and parrying criticism has become a major share for the Indonesia diplomats.

“The globalisation of the world and the increasing interdependency of nations cannot but affect Indonesia.

“A new generation of human rights and environmental activists has emerged on the Indonesian political scene, rejecting all the scenarios described above. They demand the uphold of human rights and the establishment of a democratic system. At the end this is the only viable alternative.”

EMILIA GUSMAO: WHO DOES SHE REPRESENT?

Sabado, October 16-22, 1992 Original language: Portuguese

The statements of Emilia Gusmao, ex-wife of Xanana Gusmao, upon her arrival in Lisbon last week caused confusion among the Timorese political leaders.

To whom does the money from the solidarity movements in Portugal belong? Who does Emilia Gusmao represent?

Those are question that cannot be answered, at the moment. The politicians responsible for the main resistance organisations criticised Emilia Gusmao and affirm that she neither represents “nothing nor nobody.”

The ex-wife of Xanana Gusmao, the leader of Timorese warfare, affirmed that the money from the account of “Solidarity with Timor’s People,” about 10,500 contos, will not be handed over to Ramos Horta, Gusmao’s representative. The decision seems to contradict the will of the leader of the resistance, as expressed in a video recently presented by RTP. Xanana’s known position is that the money should be handed over to Ramos Horta to be used in an lobbying operation in the United States.

Ramos Horta reacted immediately and declared that the promotion of Emilia Gusmao’s image, since one year ago, was

“naive.” FRETILIN and UDT, in Portugal, sympathize with Ramos Horta.

CONTACTS

Emilia Gusmao together along with Dr. Alvaro Beleza and Rui Oliveira e Costa of UGT, as the titulars of the respective money, now seems to be, the “point of the lance” of a Timorese pressure group, whose contours and political objective are unknown. It is not a coincidence that Portugal and Indonesia are preparing to have negotiations in December, under the auspices of the UN. One of the most possible questions for the diplomatic negotiations is the Timorese participation, which is eventually to be integrated into Portuguese representation.

Welcomed at the airport by Mario Robalo, journalist of the “Expresso,” and Mari Alkatiri’s wife, one of the Fretilin’s leaders, resident in Maputo, Emilia Gusmao has not partaken in social communication and until the beginning of the week had not answered the demanding requests for meetings which were addressed by the representatives of the Timorese community in Portugal, namely Abilio Araujo, of FRETILIN.

Mario Robalo, a specialist in Catholic Church matters, who has written on the Timorese question was in the meantime, publicly accused by Ramos Horta of having an unclear attitude. Contacted by Sabado, Robalo says that he has nothing to do with the polemic around Emilia Gusmao’s arrival in Portugal and that he went to the airport to welcome her “because I am her friend and I went there like I go to welcome any other Timorese.” However, he added “there are Timorese sectors that support me and one day it will be seen who (missed).

Last year Mario Robalo was able to get into Timor, via Jakarta, where he was received by Francisco Lopes da Cruz, a Timorese advisor of general Soeharto. In his return from Dili, the “Expresso” journalist carried a letter of Xanana Gusmao to the recent President of the Republic Assembly, Victor Crespo. Emilia Gusmao’s arrival to Lisbon has been prepared by the two titulars of the account. Emilia Gusmao was presented, about a year ago, to Oliveira e Costa and to the other supports of the solidarity campaign by Ramos Horta and Abilio Araujo.

OLIVEIRA E COSTA

Rui Oliveira e Costa says to Sabado “about two weeks ago I received a call from a common friend of mine, saying that Emilia Gusmao wanted to come to Portugal to talk to the Timorese, Portuguese political authorities, and church officials and to deal with the “Caixa Geral de Deposito” account.

Oliveira e Costa did not want, however, to reveal the identity of his “common friend.”

As we found out, Emilia Gusmao has developed several contacts. Last Monday, she met Timorese residents in the capital. On Thursday she took part in a lunch, in Gremio Literario, attended by the titulars of the CGD account, Antonio Rebelo de Sousa, general Ramalho Eanes, dr. Maria Carrilho, the president of Lisbon Academic Association, Gabriela Seara and Marina Alkatiri.

The CGD account’s raising will, however, be effected only at the end of the month. Emilia Gusmao’s return to Australia is foreseen to be on 28th. At the beginning of the week it was predicted that the ex-wife of Xanana Gusmao will depart tomorrow to Maputo for a meeting with Mari Alkatiri and the other representatives of Fretilin abroad.

MISUNDERSTANDINGS

Emilia Gusmao’s movements can correspond to a strategy of pressure addressed to de-authorise Ramos Horta, according to Abilio Araujo.

In spite of the known divergences between Horta and Abilio Araujo, the appearance and statements of Emilia Gusmao in Lisbon, has already had an immediate effect.... (missed) of those two leaders.

The misunderstanding among the main political leaders abroad and the difficulties of communication with the interior are not accepted by the clandestine resistance and the army in Timor. Timorese youth prisoners in Dili and Jakarta complain of not receiving any support from abroad, including money earmarked to buy food and medicines, in spite of the solidarity campaigns, and say that the support being received is mainly from Indonesian organisations of solidarity that are working in opposition to the Soeharto regime.

SITUATION IN TIMOR

At the end of last June, in a message, from Commandant Xanana Gusmao to UDT leader in Australia, Domingos de Oliveira, subsequently published in full, Gusmao criticised the resistance leaders abroad and appealed for unity. The situation in Timor, meanwhile, continues to be “very bad” according to telephone contact established at the end of last week with a source in Dili.

Last month several persons were arrested, among them two.... (missed) formation of Paulino Gama, of Timorese International Secretary for Human Rights. Indonesia political police arrested, at 9:00 am on September 1, Francisco Xavier Pereira Carlos, an engineer, while he was teaching in a class of Timor Polytechnic University. Also arrested was his brother

Gaspar Xavier Pereira Carlos, student of Kupang University (West Timor), who was on holiday in Dili. Both were accused to be “couriers” of the Timorese resistance and their whereabouts, until now, remains unknown. Accused also of being “couriers” of the Timorese resistance, was Joaquim Moniz, student in Surabaya University, on holiday in Dili and Agostinho Pereira, ex-student of Colegio de Sao Jose.

Established contact.... (missed) in Dili, leads to the aggravation of the situation. Subsequent to the warfare actions in the Viqueque district, the Indonesian army reinforced their presence in the south coast of the island and they are preparing for operations of “compression” against warfare. The recruitment of the Indonesian army activity emerges in the aftermath of the rape, last October 8, of 4 people hosts of the resistance, in the Dilor locality.

Three days earlier, on October 5, a group of warfare confronted Indonesian troops in Baucau, during the celebration of the 47th anniversary of the Indonesian Army. The resistance rebels, still according to our source in Dili, suffered two victims. Casualties on the Indonesian side are still not known.

WHAT TIMOR NEED LESS, NOW, IS THE MISUNDERSTANDING AMONG ITS REPRESENTATIVES

The following correction on names comes from a person who must remain anonymous.

The names of the two brothers arrested, as written in the translation of the Sabado article previously posted in this threat, Francisco Xavier Pereira Carlos and Gaspar Xavier Pereira Carlos, are incorrect. Their correct names are Alberto Xavier Pereira Carlos and Gaspar Luis Xavier Carlos. Francisco is their brother who was killed in the November 12 massacre, according to the Paz ... list of November’s victims as posted by CDPM.

EMILIA GUSMAO IN A CONFUSING NETWORK

*October 10, 1992 Diario de Noticias
Original language: Portuguese*

Emilia Gusmao left some of the resistance leaders astonished by an episode that could affect the solidarity with Timor and lead to scandal. Ramos Horta recognised yesterday that it had been naive to promote Emilia’s figure since last year a mistake that was made out of good faith and generosity: “It was me who took the initiative to talk to her and involve her in the struggle. And it was me who spoke to the leader of PS, Marques da Costa, to support her first arrival. She said that she was the wife of

..... (missed). I believed and still believe that, and I was touched by what happened to her while she was in Timor.”

“It’s a confusion and I don’t know how she will get rid of it,” said Mari Alkatiri, the person in charge of FRETILIN in Maputo, yesterday.

By telephone, Alkatiri said that before the controversy he was also expecting Emilia Gusmao’s visit to the Mozambiquean capital.

However, Alkatiri repeated what minutes earlier he had told to DN, by Abilio Araujo: Emilia Gusmao neither belongs to FRETILIN nor the resistance.

BELO DEMANDS WRITTEN GUARANTEES

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, the head of the Roman Catholic Church in East Timor, Bishop Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, was quoted by the Suara Pembaruan daily as saying he was seeking from the Indonesian military a written guarantee of the safety of pro-independentists who decide to surrender.

He told the daily that he was prepared to include a call for Fretilin members and supporters to surrender in his Christmas pastoral letter, but only if he could get such a written guarantee from the military’s operational commander in East Timor, Brigadier General Theo Syafei.

The Indonesian government has renewed calls for Fretilin members and supporters to surrender to the authorities, backed up with a pledge of amnesty.

The military has said 36 Fretilin members gave themselves up in Same, East Timor on December 1, but there has been no independent confirmation.

ICRC VISITS XANANA!

Remark: Two different wires report on the same event, the first relying on an Antara story. – John

According to a December Kyodo story datelined Jakarta, East Timorese independent rebel leader Xanana Gusmao is now in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta two weeks after his arrest on suspicion of masterminding a massacre in East Timor’s city of Dili November 12 last year, Antara news agency reported Monday.

Antara did not say when Xanana, who is known as a symbol of East Timorese independence resistance to Indonesian rule, was taken to Jakarta.

The official news agency quoted two officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as saying they met

Xanana Monday in his jail at police headquarters in Jakarta.

Pierre Pont, one of the ICRC officials, told Antara they were happy to be able to meet with Xanana but refused to disclose what was discussed with the rebel leader.

He said the meeting came a few days after talks between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and ICRC officials.

Pont said the ICRC hopes to have one or two more meetings with Xanana.

Indonesian military authorities arrested Xanana in Dili November 20. Authorities had sought the arrest of Xanana since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

Armed forces officials earlier said they moved the rebel leader to Denpasar, the capital of Bali, about 1,000 kilometers east of Jakarta.

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, two Red Cross delegates visited detained East Timorese rebel leader Jose “Xanana” Gusmao here Monday, the humanitarian organisation said, but it was unable to shed much light on his condition.

“Yes, I can confirm it that we had a meeting this morning here, in Jakarta,” said the chief International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegate to Indonesia, Pierre Herman Pont, when asked whether the ICRC had met with Gusmao.

The leader of East Timor’s Fretilin pro-independence movement was captured November 20 in the main East Timorese town of Dili.

Pont and another ICRC delegate were the first independent parties to have met with Gusmao, 45, since his arrest.

Pont said the visit was made at police headquarters under the usual ICRC terms for visits to prisoners – with no witnesses, at the place of detention and with the ICRC having the right to make a follow-up visit.

But he told reporters he could not reveal anything specific on Gusmao’s condition or his surroundings.

“You can assume that this person is alive, that he is not missing, that he has not disappeared,” Pont said, adding that the promise of a follow-up visit accorded the detainee a degree of protection.

The ICRC delegate also said he had given the Indonesian authorities a first account of the visit, with remarks and suggestions, but that a complete report would only be handed over to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

The ICRC visit to Gusmao and other suspected East Timorese rebels arrested shortly before, during and in the wake of Gusmao’s capture was discussed on Friday

in Geneva between Alatas and ICRC president Cornelio Somaruga, Pont added.

“After the visit to Xanana (Gusmao), the government of Indonesia will provide ICRC a program, an agenda to enable the ICRC to follow up the visit which took place today in Jakarta and to follow up with visits to the prisoners in East Timor,” Pont said, adding that no dates had been set yet.

Gusmao was last seen in a nationally broadcast dialogue in Portuguese with Jakarta-appointed East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares, during which the resistance leader renounced the cause of East Timorese independence and called on his fellow rebels to surrender.

The ICRC had demanded a visit with Gusmao the day of his capture.

Pont said he believed Gusmao had been taken to the island of Bali shortly after his capture and then moved to at least two different places of detention in Jakarta.

OZ MINISTER TO SUE RAMOS HORTA?

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Sydney, Australia’s Defence Minister Robert Ray said Monday that he is taking legal action over an Australian Broadcasting Corporation interview with an exiled spokesman for the East Timorese resistance, Jose Ramos Horta.

In the interview broadcast Monday, Jose Ramos Horta criticised Ray for allegedly accepting statements by the Indonesians that captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmao had not been tortured.

Ray told the Senate last week that he had been advised by the Australian embassy in Jakarta that Gusmao had appeared in good health when seen on television.

Ramos Horta criticised Ray and other Australian political leaders over their attitude towards Indonesia’s annexation of East Timor and massacre of thousands of East Timorese.

“Australia for the past 20 years has bent backwards to please the Indonesians, almost like a little boy, always eager to please the bully,” said Ramos Horta in the interview recorded in London and broadcast here.

He said Indonesia had paraded Gusmao on television as the Iraqis paraded allied airmen captured during the Gulf War and it was now the opinion of everyone that Gusmao was “subjected to horrendous forms of torture” and drugs.

In an interview broadcast by Indonesian television, Gusmao said he recognised Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor and urged his resistance colleagues to surrender.

A spokesman for Ray said the minister had advised the parliament that he was

taking legal action against both Ramos Horta and the ABC.

Gusmao, 45, who since 1979 headed Fretilin's armed faction, was captured at his underground hideout on November 20 in Dili, the East Timorese capital.

The Indonesian Embassy in Canberra has said Gusmao's interview "showed that the allegation of possible torture of Gusmao during his detention was baseless and completely fabricated to arouse sympathy and to discredit the Indonesian government."

TIMOR LEADER'S FAMILY TORTURED

The Observer (London). 6 Dec 92. By Hugh O'Shaughnessy. Abridged

Indonesian forces occupying East Timor have been abusing and torturing the family of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the Timorese resistance, to make him renounce his cause.

His sisters, Manuela and Armandina, both in their late thirties, have been tortured, according to evidence held by the Portuguese government. Lisbon has called for action by the UN and the Red Cross to halt the ill-treatment.

Xanana has been flown to Indonesia and is held in Denpasar, but has made a statement on television – clearly obtained under duress – calling for Timorese to surrender to Indonesia.

The European Community's close relationship with Indonesia, which has been under strain since reports in *The Observer* last year and film of the massacre in November 1991 of Timorese at the Dili cemetery captured by a British television reporter, is likely to figure at this week's EC summit in Edinburgh.

Meanwhile, the Timorese resistance in Dili is regrouping after the kidnapping of Xanana, says Estevao Cabral, a Timorese leader in London.

"We know Xanana's statement was forced out of him. But our anger and sadness are turning to strength," Cabral said.

Xanana's kidnapping is likely to present diplomatic headaches to the Indonesians as they can hardly kill him in captivity and his survival in prison will be a further focus of international attention.

At a conference at the Law Society in London yesterday Dr. Roger Clark, Professor of Law at Rutgers University, new Jersey, ridiculed Indonesian pretensions to sovereignty over East Timor as "blatantly false."

US CATHOLIC CONFERENCE: FREE THEM!

Original document, Unabridged

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December 1, 1992

H.E. Abdul Rachman Ramly
Ambassador of the Republic of Indonesia
2020 Massachusetts Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20036

Dear Mr. Ambassador:

I write to express the concern of the United States Catholic Conference over the present condition and future well-being of the East Timorese resistance leader, Mr. Jose Alexandre Gusmao, also popularly known as Xanana, as well as that of several other persons recently arrested in apparent connection with the detention of Mr. Gusmao.

You are well aware that the situation of east Timor and the behavior of Indonesian forces there continue to be of deep concern to many in this country. Those of us who consider ourselves both friends of Indonesia and supporters of the legitimate rights of the Timorese people would be very pleased to learn of the immediate release of these detained persons.

We look forward with interest to the talks on the future of East Timor, scheduled shortly to resume under the auspices of Mr. Boutros-Ghali, between your Government and the Government of Portugal. The release of Mr. Gusmao and the others would augur well for the success of those important discussions.

With sincere best wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

Most Reverend John R. Roach
Archbishop of St. Paul and Minneapolis
Chairman, Committee on International
Policy

US CATHOLIC CONFERENCE: FREE THEM!

According to a December 11 story by Religious News Service (RNS) datelined Washington, the U.S. Catholic Conference is pressing the Indonesian government over the fate of East Timorese resistance leader, Jose Alexandre Gusmao.

In a letter to Indonesian Ambassador Abdul Rachman Ramly, Archbishop John Roach of Minneapolis-St. Paul called on the

Indonesians to release Gusmao and other Timorese resistance leaders immediately.

Gusmao, popularly known as Xanana, is the key figure in the the East Timor resistance movement.

Talks regarding the status of East Timor, part of the island of Timor northwest of Australia, are scheduled to begin Dec. 16 under the auspices of United Nations Secretary General Boutros Boutros Ghali. The island was formally ruled by the Dutch and the Portuguese. At independence, the western, Dutch-ruled part of the island became a province of Indonesia but the East Timorese sought independence. In 1975, the Indonesians invaded East Timor.

Since the 1975 invasion, an armed resistance movement, seeking independence from Indonesia, has erupted in large-scale violence. A year ago, Indonesian troops massacred dozens of demonstrators at a Catholic cemetery.

"You are well aware that the situation of East Timor and the behavior of Indonesian forces there continue to be of deep concern to many in this country," Roach said in his letter to the Indonesian envoy.

"Those of us who consider ourselves both friends of Indonesia and supported the legitimate rights of the Timorese people would be very pleased to learn of the immediate release of these detained persons," Roach said.

Last month, marking the anniversary of the massacre, Roach called on the U.S. government to pay greater attention to the plight of the East Timorese.

MASS DETENTIONS IN JAKARTA

According to a December 7 AFP story datelined Jakarta, the Jakarta military commander Major-General Kentot Harseno has called on Moslem leaders to help stem the rising number of mass student street brawls, the Kompas daily said Monday.

Kompas quoted Harseno as telling more than 1,000 Moslem leaders from Jakarta and its surroundings at the military headquarters here Sunday that some of the recent mass brawls here had "tended towards religious confrontations."

"Please help us guide our students so that they do not fall easily prey to rumours or illegal pamphlets inciting brawls. Conflicts with a religious background will only lead to vengeance and would never end and we all will only lose from it," Harseno told the Moslem leaders.

"It would be embarrassing for us, Moslem believers, who are so many in this country, if we fall for incitements and then attack or

make an enemy of our brothers from other faiths," he said.

Jakarta military spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Permana told the same gathering that police Saturday arrested 75 high school students who had started to gather at a large square in central Jakarta with the intention to attack another school.

"The students had fallen prey to rumour that a student had burned a holy religious book, but when the rumour was checked it was untrue, it turned out to be a mere rumour," Permana said.

Harseno said the incitements were likely to be the work of communists, who he said would continue to resort to anything to destabilize the government just for the sake of change.

The government banned the then powerful Communist Party of Indonesia and its teachings in 1966 in the wake of an abortive coup blamed on the party. Indonesian officials and the military have continued to warn people of the possible revival of communism here.

Harseno last month said the Indonesian armed forces will deploy its members to deal with the increasingly violent student street brawls.

Jakarta's police records show that a total of 127 such brawls took place here during the first 11 months of 1992 and led to nine deaths, 12 people severely injured and 19 others lightly wounded.

The figures also show that 968 students had been detained because of involvement in the brawls but that all but 135 of them had been released.

Kompas said that Harseno was planning to hold similar meetings with leaders of the other religions soon.

Meanwhile the Jakarta Post daily quoted Home Affairs Minister Rudini as warning religious groups not to act in ways which could be deemed offensive to others, such as building a place of worship in an area where the faith has no followers.

Indonesia has the world's largest Moslem population with more than 80 percent of its 180 million people following Islam. There have been several reported attacks on Christian churches in East Java and Sumatra since August.

G7 SUMMIT: 'CONDITIONALITY' CALL

Forwarded by Bruno Kahn, Agir pour Timor, Dec 7 1992

The letter that follows was sent today to Dominique Strauss-Kahn, Minister of Industry and Foreign Trade, following his visit and statement in Jakarta last week. A copy, joint to a communique, was sent to a number of NGOs, media political organisations and trade unions.

Agir pour Timor suggests to solidarity groups from a G7 country to enquire about the announcement that Indonesia will be invited to the next summit, and whether this invitation will be conditioned to some respect of human rights.

Paris, 6-12-1992.

Mr Dominique Strauss-Kahn
Minister of Industry and Foreign Trade
139 rue de Bercy
75012 Paris

Dear Mr Minister,

During your visit in Jakarta, last Friday, you stated that the Group of the Seven Most Industrialised Countries (G7) was considering to invite Indonesia to its next summit, in Tokyo from 7 to 9 July 1993 (AFP, Jakarta, 4-12-1992).

You cannot be unaware of the massive repression occurring presently in East Timor, occupied by Indonesia for 17 years, following the arrest of the leader of the Timorese resistance, Xanana Gusmao, on November 20. According to information obtained by Amnesty International, the latter has been tortured under interrogation with electric shocks and is in a disturbing psychological state, expressing himself by broken sentences and being subject to serious losses of concentration. Hundreds of other East Timorese have been arrested, many have been tortured, some have disappeared. One of them, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, reportedly died under torture. Another one reportedly is in the hospital, with broken limbs and hand and feet nails torn out. Two young women, Ligia de Araujo, 22 and Regina Conceicao Araujo Serreno, reportedly were raped in front of their families on November 29. These acts remind us of those of Gestapo against resistants during the Second World War.

Such statements, made a such a moment, are akin to encouraging Jakarta to continue its exactions. 200,000 to 300,000 East Timorese, or 30 to 40% of the population, already died since the invasion in 1975. We are amazed, dismayed and incredulous.

Our amazement is all the greater as your statement occurs at the very moment when

diplomatic efforts worldwide are aiming to refrain Indonesian violences. In France, declarations of Francois Mitterrand to President Suharto during his visit, as reported by press agencies, as well as the interview we had in the Quai d'Orsay [Foreign Ministry] after this visit, let us think that French diplomacy was taking this direction. Your act may ruin all these efforts, thus putting into danger the lives of thousands of other East Timorese.

Sincerely yours etc.

The President,
(signed)

Antonio Dias

Cc: Presidency, Foreign Ministry.

OFFICIALS, RIGHTS GROUPS CONDEMN TIMORESE REBEL BROADCAST

UPI, 2 Dec 92

JAKARTA, Indonesia (UPI) – The government has broadcast a television interview with captured East Timorese rebel leader Xanana Gusmao in which he apparently called on his followers to give up their armed struggle.

But human rights groups and officials in Portugal, of which East Timor is a former colony, claimed the statement broadcast Tuesday night was made under duress and called on the United Nations to intervene to prevent "a violation of the most basic human rights."

In his televised message, Xanana also urged overseas supporters of the Timor resistance Fretilin movement to join him in "understanding the province's current situation, and to avoid being trapped by Portuguese promises."

East Timor, 1,250 miles east of Jakarta, was a Portuguese colony for more than 400 years before Lisbon ended its colonial rule there in 1975.

Indonesia annexed the province soon afterward and declared the region its 27th province in 1976 in defiance of U.N. resolutions claiming the right of East Timorese to choose their own future.

In the broadcast, Xanana was shown chatting with East Timor Gov. Abilio Jose Soares, speaking in Portuguese as the governor translated into Indonesian to the viewers.

Xanana, 45, said he regretted last year's anti-government protest that ended with Indonesian troops opening fire on demonstrators in Dili. The government admitted that at least 50 people were killed in the incident, and 66 remained unaccounted for.

Witnesses put the death toll close to 200. The massacre resulted in widescale international condemnation of Indonesia.

Xanana, who was arrested Nov. 20 by Indonesian troops after eluding capture for 16 years, smiled repeatedly during the interview. A cup of coffee, meals and a red-and-white Indonesian flag appeared on a table between the two men, while Xanana asserted he felt safe in the detention house.

"East Timor belongs to Indonesia," Xanana said as quoted by Abilio as saying.

Responding to the interview, the London-based Indonesian Human Rights Campaign, Tapol, said in a statement, "It is absolutely clear that Xanana was interviewed under extreme duress," and the broadcast interview was "heavily and clumsily edited."

"It is not worthy of serious consideration as the freely-expressed views of a man who has fought the illegal occupation of his country for 17 years," Tapol said.

"The authorities have shown by using this propaganda stunt that they recognize the outstanding position Xanana occupies in the hearts and minds of the people of East Timor," it said.

Commenting in Lisbon, where the interview was also broadcast, Portuguese President Mario Soares said, "This kind of thing can only happen under a totalitarian regime. It is obvious that Xanana must have been coerced or tortured for him to make those kind of statements."

The Portuguese Foreign Ministry said in a statement, "In the face of the incongruity of Xanana Gusmao's recent statement concerning his position over all these years of resistance against the occupation of East Timor, we regard with great concern the situation he is in.

"Everything points to Xanana having been subjected to threats and beatings against himself, his family and his fellow fighters.

"The Portuguese government urges the United Nations, the international community and especially the International Red Cross to act to bring to an end this situation which represents a violation of the most basic human rights."

Ramos Horta of the Maubere National Resistance Council in Lisbon said, "These statements were forced out of him. He has been submitted to all kinds of psychological torture. We cannot believe in what Commander Gusmao said in the interview."

The United Nations does not recognize Indonesia's annexation of East Timor and has pressed Jakarta to grant an act of self-determination. Portugal has led international appeals for Xanana to be humanely treated while in Indonesian custody.

Talks between Lisbon and Jakarta aimed at breaking the stalemate over East Timor are to resume at the U.N. in New York on December 17. The talks will bring together Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and Portuguese Foreign Minister Jose Durao Barroso in a meeting brokered by secretary general Boutros Ghali.

36 GUERRILLAS SURRENDER, SAYS REPORT

The following news are reported on 6 Dec 1992 by 'unday Times, Perth, Western Australia.

Jakarta: Thirty-six members of an East Timor pro-independence movement have surrendered to the Indonesian military after a written appeal from their captured leader.

Unconfirmed press reports said members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretelin) surrendered on Tuesday to the military district command at Same, Manufahi regent, the Jakarta Post quoted East Timor military operational commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

No independent or military confirmation of the surrenders was available but East Timor's bishop said reports of an agreement for the guerillas to surrender at specified churches were "lies."

The Jawa Pos daily said on Thursday that the military persuaded the guerillas to surrender by delivering a copy of a handwritten letter by long-time movement leader Jose "Xanana" Gusmao - captured on November 20 in the East Timor capital Dili - calling them to surrender.

General Syafei was quoted as saying that following Gusmao's surrender Jakarta had offered an amnesty to guerillas who gave themselves up to designated churches.

It said the 36 who surrendered were released after questioning but obliged to report three times a week.

BISHOP BELO REPUDIATES SYAFEI'S LIES (FULL INTERVIEW TEXT.

Source: Publico, a leading Portuguese daily. 4 December 1992. Translated from the Portuguese

"I DON'T KNOW WHAT HAPPENED TO MAKE XANANA CHANGE SO FAST"

An interview of Bishop Belo by Publico, 4 December 1992

[Intro] The Bishop of Dili, Ximenes Belo, believes that if a prisoner makes a statement such as that made by Xanana

Gusmao, this means that he has been subjected to torture.

Bishop Belo consented to a request from Publico to be interviewed by phone yesterday, the first interview he has given since Xanana Gusmao was arrested.

Cautious as always, he said, "we here are living in a different world." Even so, he reiterated his belief in the need for a referendum, he repudiated what the Indonesian military said, and said that the arrest of any individual, even if he is the leader, does not mean the surrender of the entire people.

Publico: Has there been a lot of discussion about the arrest of Xanana Gusmao?

Belo: Not much. People were expecting this to happen, because there was very little space left for him to move. With each passing day, it became more likely.

Publico: Did you know that he often left the bush and visited Dili?

Belo: Yes, I know that he came here last year at the time of the visit of the Expresso journalist, Mario Robalo. Since then, I haven't heard about any visits.

Publico: About the latest statement of Xanana Gusmao: Do you think that he was telling the truth, or lying, or was it because he had been tortured?

Belo: It happened so fast. If he was not telling the truth, he was not speaking like a genuine leader. I don't know what could have happened to make him change so fast.

Publico: Do you believe that Xanana has switched to being in favour of Indonesia?

Belo: I don't know for certain what happened but for the past seventeen years, if any prisoner spoke in the way that Xanana has spoken, it happened as a result of torture.

Publico: It has been reported by Reuters that General Syafei has offered amnesty to those guerrillas who agree to surrender and give up their arms in seven churches and that you will issue a Christmas Pastoral Letter calling on them to do this. Can you confirm this?

Belo: No, I can't confirm that. It's quite false. This was cooked up by the military so that people would believe it. There is nothing whatever about any church being specified for this. I have not yet taken any decision on whether to issue a Christmas Pastoral Letter. It's all lies. We pastors have not taken any decisions on the matter. These are all lies. It's all military propaganda.

[To appreciate the significance of this denial, we reproduce here the report as carried in 'Jawa Pos' of 3 December:

"In line with the persuasive approach, the supreme head of the Catholic Church, Bishop Belo, has prepared an appeal, in the form of a Pastoral Letter. "This letter will be issued in two weeks time, in the form of a Christmas Message," Belo told Jawa Pos at his residence yesterday. "Amnesty is the best way for those still in the forests to come down," he said. The following churches are being made ready for guerrilla remnants to surrender: the parish churches of Bobonaro, Maubisse, Soibada, Manatuto, Uatolari, Viqueque, Becora, the parish church of Baucau, and the parish church of Aileu."]

Publico: So you won't be making any appeal to the guerrillas?

Belo: What should I appeal to the guerrillas about? This is a question of conscience for each individual, isn't it? To call on people to surrender and then kill them all. How could the church take responsibility for that? Each person is responsible for their own survival.

Publico: So you don't want to do that?

Belo: I could only do that after hearing the conditions and the guarantees and after consulting with the Vatican. I can't do more or less than that.

Publico: What guarantees would you insist on?

Belo: That anyone who surrenders will not be tortured, will not be killed, will not disappear, as happened in 1979 and 1980 when many Fretilin leaders disappeared.

Publico: Do you believe that the Indonesian army is capable of complying with the guarantees that they give?

Belo: First of all, I have to be given the guarantees, then I will see.

Publico: Do you think that with the arrest of Xanana Gusmao and the latest statement he has made, the resistance will die?

Belo: I can't say such a thing because Xanana is not the entire people. Xanana is only one inhabitant of East Timor.

Publico: Do you think that the East Timorese people will continue to resist Indonesia?

Belo: You are speaking in Portugal, where you are living in a democratic climate. We are living in a different world. When one speaks about the people you must be very careful (the rest unintelligible to Publico).

Publico: It has been said that the International Red Cross will be allowed to visit Xanana next week. Would you like to accompany the Red Cross when it makes this visit?

Belo: I am very busy here in Dili. Xanana is now in Bali, so how can I do that?

Publico: Wouldn't you like to visit him to know how he is at present?

Belo: I must cope with my duties here, and only after that will I consider such a thing. With Christmas drawing near, I can't think about that.

Publico: How does it feel at the moment to be living in Dili?

Belo: Personally, I feel fine, free before God and before the people.

Publico: Have you abandoned your proposal for a referendum, which you made to the Secretary-General of the United Nations?

Belo: For me, that is the best solution. Whatever anyone says, for me that's the best solution.

Publico: Have you made your opinion known to the Vatican?

Belo: Yes, Sir.

Publico: When was the last time that you sent any communication about this question?

Belo: Several months ago.

Publico: Have you had any thoughts about what you will say in your Christmas Message?

Belo: The Christmas Message is almost always the same: receive Christ, behave yourself, be conciliatory, the East Timorese people should be united and should forgive each other, That's what my message is.

Publico: Up to the present, your messages have not had much effect....

Belo: Not yet....

Publico: Do you think that it is possible to bring about reconciliation between everyone?

Belo: I have my doubts. The bad thing for Timorese is the division between them, in the past, in the present, and I think also in the future.

Publico: Aren't you thinking of visiting Portugal shortly?

Belo: To go there now would be a waste of time. It isn't necessary.

Publico: Don't you want to be in Fatima on the next 13 May?

Belo: On a previous occasion in 1990, several bishops did not want to see me there. My Fatima is here in Timor.

BELO WANTS UN RESOLUTIONS APPLIED

Remarks: Belo makes basically the same points in his interview with an Indonesian newspaper as with Lisbon's Publico, albeit with slightly different wording. His stand

against current military operations and for a UN-based solution are a profoundly important marker of cool-headed thinking from the church in a time of such upheaval and mayhem.

Also, note confusion on wire service reporting of "surrenders" on the one hand and killings on the other. Add to this the disarray about who has demanded the death sentence for Xanana, surrendering guerrillas or long-time pro- Indonesian elements as reported by Reuters and other agencies. Either the wire services can't get their stories right or this is a deliberate ploy of ABRI's propaganda machine. I'd go along with the ploy thesis. One wonders why journalists in Jakarta are not more careful in seeking the threads of truth out of all the confusion.

Everything that comes through reinforces the point made in TAPOL's Press Release yesterday that the army is rounding up large numbers of people, then claiming that they are "members of the resistance" who have surrendered and expressed loyalty.

-- Carmel.

According to UPI on 7 December, Bishop Belo told the Indonesian daily, Suara Pembaruan, that he was still awaiting a written assurance from military commander, Brig.Gen Theo Syafei, that remaining guerrillas would not be killed or tortured on their surrender to government authorities.

Regarding his Pastoral Message, he said it would be about reconciliation, amnesty and peace. He expressed his willingness to help the Indonesian government for (an) international settlement of the question of East Timor.

"I will help, especially on the respect of human rights in order (that) the integration of East Timor into Indonesia (is) internationally accepted through diplomatic solutions, not through military means, and integration applied in line with UN resolutions."

He also said it is time the military operations command in East Timor be dissolved "since Fretilin no longer exists."

UPI also reported that, according to Antara news agency, 200 followers of Fretilin pledged loyalty to the Indonesian government, and said five guerrillas were killed in armed clashes in Manufahi jungle. These were thought to be guards for Fretilin leader Mau Huno. Two weapons were seized. [This is where 36 guerrillas are said earlier to have surrendered, released after questioning and required to report 3 times a week.]

Further according to UPI, one hundred supporters of the captured rebel leader, Xanana Gusmao, had urged the government

to sentence him to death for leading armed rebellion.

Further, according to UPI, reports said that more than 500 other members of the resistance would also denounce the separatist group in the near future. This report, again according to UPI, appears to contradict a recent statement by the military commander that only 100 armed guerrillas remained in the region.

RI WAITS FOR NEW PROPOSAL ON E TIMOR FROM PORTUGAL

Jakarta Post, 1 December 1992. Abridged

The outcome of this month's talks on East Timor between Indonesia and Portugal will depend on the latter's ability to come up with new ideas, says Foreign Minister Ali Alatas. He said, Indonesia's position has not changed.

He said Indonesia does not want to re-open discussions on matters such as self-determination for East Timor, a subject Indonesia considers to be settled. He would attend the meeting as a listener because Portugal has twice cancelled the meeting at the last moment.

He did not think Xanana Gusmao's capture would affect the talks in any way. He sees no reason for Portugal to ask for Xanana's extradition "because this is our domestic affair."

He said last month the fact the talks involve only Indonesia and Portugal and not a "representative" of the East Timor people, as earlier demanded by Portugal, represents a victory for Indonesia.

COMMENT FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL, DECEMBER 8.

Alatas' standard line on the December talks does not mean they have already failed though the odds seem to favor that. He attempts to place the onus for "progress" on Portugal. While Portugal does indeed bear an important burden it has often in the past been unable or unwilling to carry, the real prospect for a breakthrough rests with UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali. It is he who has stirred hopes by an overall more interventionist stance by the UN in crisis spots around the world. It is he who had made two new assistants mainly responsible for dealing with the East Timor problem. It is he who was written to President Soeharto seeking Xanana's release (and who knows what else). It is he who has pushed for some form of East Timorese participation in the talks. And Alatas does not mention him at all. Why? He knows he is not dealing with an uninterested do-nothing Perez de Cuellar bureaucrat but rather an engaged man

pledged not to seek a second term so he can feel free to take on the world's governments if need be. In this context, Alatas' willingness to "listen" may in due course acquire a meaning even he cannot anticipate. – John

AUSTRALIAN PARLIAMENT HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE SUPPORTS TIMOR

ABC Radio, Tuesday, 8 December, 1992 - not verbatim.

The Australian Parliament's Human Rights Committee has called for Australia to push Indonesia to resolve conflicts in East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

The report from the bipartisan Committee says Australia should have been much stronger in its condemnation of the military massacre in East Timor last November.

The two-hundred page document also reports on criticism of human rights conditions in Bougainville, Burma, Thailand, Vietnam, the Philippines, China and Tibet.

The Parliamentary committee called for the creation of a regional human rights forum covering north and south east Asia, the sub-continent, Australia New Zealand and the Pacific Islands. The first task of the forum would be to develop a suitable human rights charter for the region.

On Indonesia, the report urged the Australian Government to push for a United Nations initiative for consultations about the conflicts in East Timor, Irian Jaya, and Aceh.

The report said the Indonesian massacre in Dili on November 12 last year and what followed deserved much stronger condemnation from Australia. The committee said Australia had softened a strong resolution on the massacre drafted by the European Community. This lessened Australia's credibility and would hurt future human rights responses.

SOEHARTO'S DILEMMA

Remarks: Many wire reporters seem to be self-censoring their stories filed from Indonesia, leading to suspicions some may have received official warnings. Some stories, such as this one, convey doubt in much the same way as reportage in the Indonesian press, through such means as juxtaposing contradictory statements, or quoting another open source but declining to affirm the quote, or pointing out what was not said by an official.

The date for Xanana's trial has now apparently been pushed back to 3 months, whereas the most cited figure previously was

2 months. Either rules out his release and participation in the December 17 'tri-partite' talks under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros-Ghali.

There appears to be a related debate on what charges should be brought against Xanana. Focusing charges on his masterminding the November 12, 1991 demonstration in Dili would represent an effort to deflect the self-determination issue.

ABRI Commander Gen. Try Sutrisno announced previously that the trial will be held in Dili, a matter which is not within his purview to decide. But it does indicate again the official anxieties surrounding the decision of the moment to go through the usual subversion or other political crime trial routine which ends with the accused serving long periods in prison (and always the risk of a death sentence). Presumably Try thinks a Dili trial rather than a Jakarta one would diminish the publicity by controls placed on access by media and all other trial observers.

While it would take an extraordinary intervention by Boutros-Ghali to get Xanana released to a personal representative of the Secretary General, escorted by foreign diplomatic personnel on to a flight from Jakarta to New York, and provided the good offices of the US in accommodating him temporarily in New York for any UN-sponsored talks, the Indonesian government's dilemma is precisely to opt for this scenario – now or even after a trial – or else see Xanana turned into a Nelson Mandela figure.

The only hint that Soeharto would contemplate impaling himself on the first horn – release – of the dilemma was an early fleeting remark by Sudomo that inquiries were being made into Xanana's citizenship. If he claimed Portuguese citizenship or statelessness, this could be used as a pretext for 'deporting' him at some point from Indonesia (even though claims of Portuguese citizenship by defendants in demonstration cases got them nowhere).

Soeharto risks the wrath of some command-oriented officers in the Army if he does not go ahead with the second horn – trial – of the dilemma, but he would recover the damage to his credibility as NAM spokesman and polish his fading 'acceptability' to the new Clinton administration and many other governments (including G7) if he began a negotiation process involving Xanana as a major player on the East Timorese side.

Soeharto, and Alatas especially, by now have received so many strong private warnings about Xanana from senior officials of foreign governments that it may seem

more palatable than before to reach toward their shoes and remove the principal irritating pebble in Indonesia's foreign policy. This would likely remove for all parties concerned the possible de-stabilizing threat of a new, long foresworn policy of broad hostility toward an authoritarian Indonesia (even if nothing changes in the short term except the status of East Timor). Foreign governments would prefer to treat Indonesia as a 'partner' or, in some cases, 'ally.'

The danger to Soeharto from the Army if he embarked on a new East Timor policy may have been over-estimated. Moerdani's 'project' would end, but he could simply not be re-appointed to any significant position after the MPR selects Soeharto again as President. A Vice President highly favored by the Army is a formidable card Soeharto holds in his hand. It is not likely Try has the wits or courage to go against a new East Timor policy. Most 'good soldiers' would behave as such. Some 'sospol' and 'intel' Army elements favor very significant regime change – indeed, most of the officer corps has leaned this way for well over a decade now – and very few officers anywhere in the Army favor a violent or any unconstitutional transition of power. These goals would be substantially nearer achievement especially should Soeharto become incapacitated during his next term – as many expect will occur.

In short, Soeharto, prodded – and buttressed – by escalating international pressure, now has sufficient power not simply to free Xanana and other Timorese detainees, but also to free East Timor. The scenario might well be uniquely Indonesian, with a pliant DPR at the center and a pliant DPRD in East Timor passing or ratifying a bill or Presidential decision to 'expel' East Timor from Indonesia or permitting it (and it alone) to 'secede.'

– John

According to a December 8 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Jakarta, Indonesia will put captured East Timorese rebel chief Xanana Gusmao on trial in a civil court in about three months, a senior military officer said on Tuesday.

Air Force Vice-Marshal Teddy Rusdi, top aide to army commander General Try Sutrisno, did not say what the charges would be. He said the government believed Xanana was behind protests which Jakarta says led to an army massacre in East Timor in November 1991.

Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the firing at a cemetery in the capital Dili, while the government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

"We know he was behind it," Rusdi told Reuters, adding that the trial, by a panel of judges, would be final proof that Jakarta was being unfairly blamed by human rights groups for the violence.

The trial is expected to focus international attention on not just Xanana, who led the Fretilin guerrillas fighting Indonesian rule for 16 years, but also the territory's status.

Jakarta annexed East Timor in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognise the move.

The government on Monday finally allowed the International Committee of the Red Cross to visit Xanana in Jakarta, three weeks after he was arrested in East Timor.

"We have nothing to hide," Rusdi said, adding that the media would be allowed to meet him only after he had been further interrogated.

Xanana appeared on Indonesian television after his capture to urge his fellow rebels to surrender, an appeal that the military says was accepted by about 200 followers at the weekend.

It is not clear if those who surrendered were members of Fretilin. The military has recently estimated the guerrillas' dwindling numbers at between 150 and 200.

The weekend surrender appeared to be in response to an Indonesian government offer of clemency.

East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Ximenes Belo, has also been reported by Indonesians newspapers as having offered seven churches where the guerrillas can surrender.

The territory's population is predominantly Catholic.

Its military commander, Brigadier General Theo Syafei, has warned of tough action against those who reject the clemency offer.

A FANTASY FROM JOHN MACDOUGALL

ABRI Information Center Press Release No. 685/1992:

ABRI Commander Gen. Try. Sutrisno announced today that the central government apparatus had brought development and ABRI had brought peace to East Timor. Therefore, Koopskam, the special command for East Timor reporting directly to him, had been dissolved. ABRI's historic mission in East Timor has now been accomplished. The security disrupters have been completely routed. Effectively immediately, therefore, Gen. Try said, he had ordered the remaining 10 battalions in East Timor – only one a combat force –

withdrawn from the territory over the next 3 months. The East Timorese battalions which comprise the Korem forces would remain for now.

According to Gen. Try, these moves demonstrated that ABRI welcomed President Soeharto's plan to put an end to the East Timor problem once and for all. ABRI also welcomed, according to Try, the President's bold and statesmanlike initiative in turning over the captured Xanana Gusmao to the personal representative of the UN Secretary General as not only a humanitarian gesture fully in line with Pancasila, but as a means of bringing into the tri-partite talks led by the UN Secretary General an East Timorese figure who now thoroughly understood Indonesia's good intentions and good will.

Indonesia, Gen. Try said, had never opposed the wishes of the East Timorese people to determine their own future. The ABRI factions in the MPR and DPR solidly therefore supported Presidential Decision No. 89/1992 granting East Timor, through a simple majority vote of its DPRD, the right to separate from Indonesia if it so wished. He believed the vast majority of the DPRD members there agreed that the time had come for East Timor to stand on its own feet. Indonesia, as a good neighbor to all states in the region, would do its best to provide any help requested within its means.

Gen. Try concluded by saying he had full confidence in Foreign Minister Alatas' ability to work out the modalities of separation and welcomed the good offices of the UN Secretary General and states friendly toward Indonesia in implementing them.

.....

Ah, yes, it is just a scenario, mere words. But I put it here to demonstrate the need for such role-playing tools in clarifying our thinking about the constraints faced by all parties involved and what they might have to say and do to bring about a free and independent East Timor.

John

OZ HUMAN RIGHTS SHIP SINKING

According to a December 8 Reuter story datelined Sydney, Australia's muted response to the massacre of East Timorese by Indonesian troops last year damaged its credibility as a defender of human rights, a parliamentary committee said on Tuesday.

After a year-long inquiry following the November 1991 massacre in the Indonesian-ruled territory, the committee castigated

Foreign Minister Gareth Evans for not being more vocal in condemning the killing.

"Given the situation in East Timor, its proximity to Australia... the scale of the massacre and the injustices done to the victims of that incident, it would seem the incident and its outcome deserved much stronger condemnation," it said in a report.

"By softening, as Australia did, the strongly worded resolution on the massacre which was drafted by the European Community, we have lessened our credibility."

Witnesses say up to 180 people were killed in the firing in the East Timor capital of Dili, while the government puts the toll at 50 dead and 66 missing.

The report was compiled by the all-party parliamentary Foreign Affairs and Defence committee.

It urged the government to press for a United Nations' solution to separatist movements in the former Portuguese territory and in the Indonesian provinces of Aceh and Irian Jaya.

The committee criticised Indonesia's lenient treatment of soldiers involved in the massacre, who were jailed for up to 18 months. Timorese arrested after the massacre were sentenced to between a few years and life imprisonment.

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

Committee chairman Chris Schacht later criticised ASEAN, the Association of South East Asian Nations which groups Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand, Singapore, and Brunei. He said its refusal to comment on human rights abuses was in effect condoning them.

"Human rights are unequivocally an international issue. The practice of not commenting on human rights, as is ASEAN's policy, does not solve the problem," Schacht told a press lunch in Canberra.

The London-based human rights group Amnesty International said on Tuesday there were several reports that Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, one of those arrested with Timorese guerrilla leader Xanana Gusmao three weeks ago, had died under torture while in detention.

SARWONO: SUCCESSION UNCERTAINTY

According to a December 8 Reuter story by Moses Manoharan datelined Sydney, the absence of a clear-cut successor to Indonesian President Suharto is creating uncertainty among foreign investors, the Minister for Administrative Reform said.

"You cannot be clear-cut in a complex society, especially since Indonesia is in a growing stage," Minister Sarwono Kusumaatmadja told Reuters after addressing an international seminar on the challenges facing future leaders in the region.

Sarwono admitted that the absence of a named successor to 71-year-old Suharto, who has been in power since crushing a communist coup in 1965, was creating uncertainty among investors. "It affects us in the sense that we will not be attractive in the short-term as other, apparently more stable, Asian societies," he said. "But the hare can also lose against the tortoise."

Suharto is virtually assured of re-election for another five-year term next March, but many investors worry that the lack of an obvious successor means there could be conflict once Suharto does go.

With presidential elections only three months away, there is still no clear sign of who will be his vice-president and, possibly, Indonesia's next leader.

Commander of the powerful military, Try Sutrisno, is a front-runner for the number two job.

General Try's top aide, Air Force vice-Marshall Teddy Rusdi, said the military was best placed to produce the country's leaders but would accept any candidate decided by the People's Consultative Assembly (MPR) which meets in March.

"We would not be disappointed," he added.

But diplomats believe the contest could shape into a test of strength between the military and the growing numbers of Western-educated technocrats in public service.

Sarwono warned that the private sector would soon join the military and the bureaucracy in producing national leaders.

"It will therefore be important for Indonesia to develop meaningful roles for these new emerging forces," he said.

"A wasteful and unnecessary conflict may arise if roles and functions are perceived as being static and immutable," he said, in an apparent reference to the contest for the vice-presidency.

But he added: "You don't have to kick the military out of the leadership system to accommodate the coming leadership."

Economic analysts say the drop in confidence of foreign investors is also due to a series of scandals that have shaken the capital market and the banking sector in the past two years.

Sarwono blamed both the private and public sectors for the poor image, saying the private sector was speculative and shortsighted in its quest for profits, while the public sector was corrupt in areas where it escaped scrutiny.

"That is why in Indonesia, at least, dialogues of public officials and the leaders of the private sector are often coloured by mutual recriminations," he added.

The latest scandal erupted last month when Bank Summa nearly collapsed because it could not meet its obligations at the central bank, forcing its owners to raise funds by selling their control of the country's second largest company, PT Astra International <ASTR.JK>.

Sarwono urged banking authorities to be more vigilant, saying there were weaknesses in enforcing the rules.

OZ GOVT. HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT CONDEMNS OZ GOVT. REACTION TO DILI MASSACRE

Comment: The report, tabled in the Senate today, is called "A Review of Australia's Efforts to Promote and Protect Human Rights," dated December 1992.

ABC-TV News, Dec 8 1992, Canberra, Michael Maher.

Studio Intro: A major parliamentary report on human rights claims that the Federal Government damaged its credibility by adopting a cautious approach to last year's killings at Dili. The bipartisan report argues that the scale of the massacre warranted a much stronger response.

Maher: The Federal Government did condemn the Dili massacre, but, according to Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, not stridently enough.

The report argues the incident and its outcome deserved much stronger condemnation. It claims that by adopting a softer approach we have lessened our credibility, and this, finally, is counterproductive to any future human rights responses we make.

Committee chairman, Labor senator Chris Schacht was ill-disposed towards such tough criticism of the [Labor] Government, but relented for the sake of compromise.

Schacht: I believe that the Government could have been stronger, but that is a matter of degree which we will argue about endlessly uphill and down dale.

Maher: Amnesty International is less equivocal about Canberra's performance on East Timor:

Harris van Beek, A.I: Australia, after years of quiet diplomacy, has to accept that we need to find new ways that will be effective in stopping human rights violations.

Maher: The Government says its response to the Dili massacre was a balanced one, but the report does reinforce a

view that Canberra is far more vocal on abuses in distant parts of the world than it is on incidents closer to home.

XANANA ON VIDEO IN JAKARTA

Forwarded by sahabat@rumah from Australia:

SBS-TV News tonight (Dec. 8) showed video footage, taken by the Indonesian army, of Xanana being visited in the cells at Police Headquarters in Jakarta by two officials of the International Red Cross. He seems to be in good health, if somewhat dazed. He doesn't move his left arm at all, but there were only a short couple of shots of him. He was smoking a cigarette.

His alleged cell appears to be about 2m x 3m in size, with a thin mattress and pillow on the floor. A mat or carpet covers the rest of the floor. There are 2 new-looking suitcases and a new-looking soft bag lying on the floor.

The report also showed army footage of six men and one woman, with dark skin and curly hair, who are allegedly surrendered members of Fretilin. They were wearing neat, clean (new?) clothes and appeared calm. Also shown was a brief shot of an army official, starting to spread at the middle.

The voice-over explains that Xanana has been moved from Bali to Jakarta Police Headquarters and that the time of his transfer is unclear. There have allegedly been more than 340 rebel surrenders since Gusmao's capture two weeks ago, 200 of them last weekend.

WHOSE UN HUMAN RIGHTS CONFERENCE?

Remark: The Vienna meeting agenda seems to reflect broadly the NAM and Indonesian approach to human rights issues. How it all will come out is another story. – John

According to a December 18 IPS story datelined New York, U.N. member states have at last decided on a provisional agenda for the World Conference on Human Rights despite sharp North-South differences over how the principles of human rights should be embraced and implemented.

The Third Committee of the U.N. General Assembly which deals with social, humanitarian and cultural affairs, late last week approved by consensus the provisional agenda for the World Conference scheduled to take place June 14-25 in Vienna.

Austria's Florian Krenkel, chairman of the Third Committee, told IPS today that the agenda generally reflected the concerns

of the developing countries rather than those of the industrialized nations.

"It's not a Western agenda ... because it does not mention things specifically, like disappearances, torture, country situations, and because it has no reference to existing procedures that are used" in evaluating human rights, he said.

"The result is very good because it covers a very wide range and yet is very specific," he added.

For example, Krenkel pointed to the agenda item which calls for consideration of the relationship between development, democracy and human rights, "keeping in view the inter-relationship and indivisibility of economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights."

Another "crucial" agenda item, according to Krenkel, is one which calls for "enhancing the effectiveness of U.N. activities and mechanisms" in the human rights field.

Krenkel pointed out that human rights activities received less than one percent of the total U.N. budget and that this reflected "a certain discrepancy between the importance of human rights and the resources that are allocated to those activities."

Prior to the Dec. 4 consensus approval, divisions over the proposed agenda that had plagued the Conference's September Preparatory Committee meeting in Geneva resurfaced.

Key among the concerns expressed by developing countries during the Committee debate here was "the attempt" by industrialized countries "to impose their values on developing countries" which were still struggling over the question of poverty and the need for political stability.

"There is no argument over the need for human rights and fundamental freedoms ... but over how acceptable standards for human rights would be achieved and who would set those standards," Malaysia's Yahya Baba told the Committee.

To this end, Baba warned the gathering: "It would be a mistake if the Conference was used to pressure developing countries to adopt Western standards of human rights."

And Uganda's Rosemary Semafumu reiterated another major grievance of developing countries when she noted that collective rights had been made subordinate to individual rights and freedoms.

"Political and civil rights are higher in the hierarchy than economic, social and cultural rights," Semafumu observed, adding, "the violation of individual rights to food, shelter, primary health care, safe water and sanitation threaten the right to life as surely as torture, enforced disappearance, or the

denial of freedom of thought and expression."

Developing countries also lamented the trend of industrialized countries who, they say, "employ a single category of human rights as a condition for development assistance."

In fact, since last year, the United States, the European Community and the Scandinavian countries have been gradually linking development aid to multi-party democracy and human rights abuses. As a result, development aid to countries like Indonesia, Zaire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Syria, Peru, Somalia and Burma have either been cut or drastically reduced by some Western Nations.

The Committee's general debate on human rights was further marred by a degeneration of arguments which saw one country after another making accusations of double-standards on human rights records and for dispensing with unsolicited "free advice" and "democracy lessons."

China's Zhang Yishan last week denounced Canada's "vicious" attack of Beijing's human rights record and complained that "the protection of human rights has been reduced to the level of making accusations against others."

"The unique feature of Canada is that its eyes are wide open when talking about others, but are closed when looking at its own situation," China's representative said.

Krenkel noted that the Morocco-sponsored provisional agenda was especially important after the Geneva meeting "because it got people to start talking to each other again and to negotiate on the substance" of the Conference rather than "hiding behind group positions."

But with one more potentially explosive Preparatory Committee meeting to be held in Geneva next April, Krenkel conceded that "anything can happen."

COMMENT FROM DAVID WEBSTER, ETAN/CANADA

Dec 9, 1992

The Chinese delegate's comment that Canada complains only about human rights violation in other countries while ignoring its own (land theft from first nations, etc), is a fair one. But Canada's "vicious" attack on China's record is little more than rhetoric. A few examples: – In 1991, Canada gave China \$73.5 million in aid, second only to Bangladesh (Indonesia, Egypt and Morocco rounded out the top five, which doesn't say much for our government's commitment to linking aid and human rights). – Canada is a primary funding source for the Three Gorges dam, a megaproject that will displace hundreds of thousands from the Yangtze

valley – After Tiananmen, Chinese students studying in Canada were allowed to remain. In many cases, their families have been prevented from joining them because of an increasingly restrictive immigration law. – When HH the Dalai Lama visited Ottawa, government ministers refused to meet with him. All efforts by the parliamentary Friends of Tibet group to change Ottawa's solid support for the Chinese occupation of Tibet are stonewalled. – The government's Export Development Corporation continues to push for Canadian companies to invest in China. EDC-facilitated projects are immune from normal environmental assessments. – Canada refuses to halt the sale of toys made in China using (predominantly Tibetan) forced labour in prisons, despite Canadian policy and law that forbids such goods. (The Canada Tibet Cmte has launched a "toycott" of Chinese-made toys to expose this.)

Canadian policy towards China and Indonesia is virtually identical: strong words, from time to time, on human rights, tempered by a refusal to discuss self-determination issues and a refusal to impose any meaningful sanctions that would back up our government's words. Why? They're massive untapped markets for our coddled multinationals.

A campaign linking Indonesia and China, East Timor and Tibet, might be something to look at.

LEGAL MINDS TACKLE TIMOR

According to a December 8 IPS story datelined London, a group of international legal experts are taking steps to try and break the "conspiracy of silence" surrounding the illegal occupation of East Timor by Indonesia and the brutal treatment of opponents of the occupying regime.

"Indonesia has wrongfully occupied East Timor for the last 17 years; the international community can not just continue to sit back," says Susan Marks, a lecturer in international law at Cambridge University.

Since Indonesia invaded East Timor in 1975, tens of thousands of suspected freedom fighters have been rounded up and tortured or executed in the territory.

One, captured East Timor rebel leader Xanana Gusmao, was shown in a pre-recorded video on Portuguese television last week, apparently accepting the annexation of the former Portuguese colony by Indonesia and calling on his comrades to surrender.

The statement was dismissed by fellow rebels and the Portuguese authorities as being made under duress. "(Gusmao) did not

have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured or threatened," said Portuguese President Mario Soares.

But, apart from a few ripples of international indignation, the world has, for the most part, turned a blind eye to Indonesia's occupation, said delegates to last weekend's conference organized by the Catholic Institute of International Relations (CIIR) and the International Platform of Jurists (IPJET).

In the hopes of provoking an international reaction, the international jurists have fired off a letter to the United Nations, condemning Indonesia's treatment of the rebel leader and urging the release of Gusmao and other political prisoners.

Last year, world attention was momentarily focused on East Timor, when a British television crew filmed a massacre of scores of peaceful demonstrators in the East Timorese capital of Dili.

And East Timor may make legal history if Australia's current attempt to carve up the oil-rich sea bed around the island and share it out with Indonesia, under the Timor Gap Treaty, is rejected by the International Court of Justice.

But international lawyers attending the two-day conference said much more pressure needs to be piled on Indonesia which installed itself in East Timor as the Portuguese were handing over power to the island's citizens, and has since refused to budge.

"There is no question about the illegality of Indonesia's position," says Roger Clark, a law professor from Britain. He joined other legal experts in dismissing Indonesia's claim that the people of East Timor had voted to integrate with Indonesia.

The so-called People's Assembly that the Indonesians insist voted in favor of integration was described by lawyers as a "sham," he says. Voters were hand-picked by the Indonesian authorities and forced to vote in front of a handful of non-Portuguese speaking foreign observers.

"There should have been a plebiscite, ideally under U.N. supervision, not this hand-picked body of voters," said Marks.

The U.N. immediately responded to Indonesia's invasion with a toughly-worded resolution deploring its action. But lawyers said the tone of the resolution was not backed up by political will.

"The United Nations passed more resolutions in the first week of the Kuwaiti invasion than it has ever done for East Timor, and then it went on to pass another 20 (on Kuwait) in the next few weeks," said Marks.

But over the years, the international community has avoided upsetting Indonesia,

close friend and trading partner to many nations worldwide, over the prickly issue of East Timor.

Now Portugal – as U.N. appointed authority in East Timor – has taken Australia to court, claiming that Australia's attempts to do business with Indonesia is in breach of international law.

"The international community certainly has no right to do what Australia has just done. Australia has, in a sense, just reinforced Indonesia's claims to East Timor," said Marks.

Lawyers at the conference this weekend said that Gusmao's case should also be used by the international community to apply pressure on Indonesia.

Gusmao, who leads the Fretilin guerrilla movement, is one of many suspected rebels illegally tried under Indonesian law, they said, adding that political prisoners should either be given a fair trial or immediately released.

CIIR/IPJET CONF ON EAST TIMOR

Indonesia's Occupation of East Timor: Legal Questions

A conference held by the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR) and the International Platform of Jurists for East Timor (IPJET) on 5 & 6 December in London

Letter sent to Secretary General of the United Nations

Lawyers from several countries attending the conference signed a letter to Boutros Boutros-Ghali, Secretary-General of the United Nations. They draw attention to the fact that Indonesia's treatment of East Timor and its people is in violation of non-derogable human rights which appear in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and which are part of customary international law.

The lawyers call for the immediate release of Xanana Gusmao, the leader of the Timorese Resistance, arrested by the Indonesian military on 20 November and since held incommunicado. The lawyers urge the UN to take all necessary measures to bring about the self-determination of the people of East Timor. They ask the UN to make it plain to Indonesia that its actions are in breach of its international obligations and that the individuals responsible for such actions have international criminal liability.

Complete text of the letter follows. For further information contact Catherine Scott or Angela Warren at CIIR. Tel 071 354 0883.

5 December 1992

Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary-General
The United Nations
New York
Your Excellency,

We have the honour to write you as lawyers, experts in international law, drawn from several countries of the world, who have gathered in London to examine the questions of law arising from Indonesia's continued occupation of East Timor, in defiance of the acknowledged right of the people of East Timor to self-determination.

We recall that there are certain non-derogable human rights which appear in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights and are part of customary international law. Under international humanitarian law and under international human rights law, every East Timorese is entitled to due process and fair trial rights.

We have received reports concerning the arrest and detention of Xanana Gusmao on 20 November 1992 and of many other East Timorese both before and after his arrest, as detailed in Amnesty International's urgent actions nos. 366 and 367/92. The reports strongly suggest that Indonesia has violated the following rights:

1. The right not to be arrested under any legal provision introduced by Indonesia which does not comply with Articles 64 and 65 of the Fourth Geneva Convention of 1949, and not to be removed from the territory of East Timor. Indonesia's Anti-Subversion law under which, we understand, he is being held, is not essential to enable Indonesia to fulfil its obligations under the Convention.
2. The right to be promptly informed, in writing, in a language which he understands, of the particulars of the charges preferred against him.
3. The right
 - (a) not to be subjected to physical or moral coercion, in particular to obtain information from him or from third parties; and not to be subjected to any measure of such a character as to cause physical suffering, including torture and any other measures of brutality whether applied by civilian or military agents; and
 - (b) the concomitant right not to be compelled to testify against oneself or to confess guilt.

We are most perturbed that Mr Gusmao has been presented on television, evidently speaking under duress. Moreover members of his family are being held hostage contrary to Article 34 of the Convention, and subjected to inhumane and degrading treatment.

4. The right to all necessary rights and means of defence, in particular:

- (a) The right to present evidence necessary to his defence and call witnesses; and
- (b) The right to be assisted by a qualified advocate or counsel of his own choice, who shall be able to visit him freely and shall enjoy the necessary facilities for preparing the defence.

Mr Gusmao has been held incommunicado since his arrest.

Given the breaches of the above rights, we demand the immediate release of Mr Gusmao and all other detained East Timorese. Such breaches make it impossible for any of the individuals detained to receive a fair trial. Therefore any such trials will be unlawful. We are confident that you will continue to urge the relevant organs of the United Nations to take all necessary measures to bring about the self-determination of the people of East Timor, and to ensure that, pending its withdrawal from that territory, Indonesia will abide by its obligations as a belligerent occupant.

We ask you to use your good offices to make it plain to Indonesia that these matters constitute grave breaches of Indonesia's international obligations, and that the individuals responsible for them have corresponding international criminal liability.

Yours respectfully,

Ian Linden, General Secretary, Catholic Institute for International Relations

Pedro Pinto Leite, Secretary General, International Platform of Jurists for East Timor

Esvao Cabral, Chairman of British Coalition for East Timor

Rosemary White, University of Warwick
Roger Clark, Rutgers University, School of Law

John Taylor, South Bank University
Bill Bowring, University of East London
Susan Marks, University of Cambridge
Gerry Simpson, University of Melbourne
Milly de Bruyn, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, Netherlands

Alain Carrier, Universit Libre de Bruxelles, Belgium

Christine Chinkin, University of Sydney, Australia

Shambhu Chopra, Indian Society for Human Rights, Allahabad, India

Michael Ellman, International Federation of Human Rights

Paula Escarameia, Instituto Superior de Ciencias Sociais e Politicas, Portugal

Andy Fry, Jurist, London

Magda Gonzalez, FEDEFAM, Geneva, Switzerland

Lauri Hannikainen, University of Lapland, Finland

Daniel Machover, Solicitor, London
Antonio Barbedo de Magalhaes, University of Porto, Portugal

Joao Mascarenhas, Lawyer, Macau
Ana Nunes, A Paz Possivel em Timor-Leste, Lisbon, Portugal

Filomena Oliveira, Movimento Cristao para a Paz, Coimbra, Portugal
Jos Manuel Pureza, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal

Vanessa Ramos, Lawyer, New York
Michel Robert, University of Paris I, France
Iain Scobbie, University of Dundee, Scotland
Gaspar Sobral da Costa, Student, Coimbra, Portugal

Manuel Tilman, Lawyer, Macau
Maureen Davies, Carlton University, Ottawa, Canada

Rui Gomes, Council of Europe, Strasbourg, France

AT THE RELIGIOUS ABYSS ...

According to a December 8 AFP story by Pascal Mallet datelined Jakarta, signs of renewed tension between Moslems and Christians in Indonesia prompted President Suharto to abandon his usual reserve Tuesday and remind citizens of their duty to show religious tolerance.

Suharto's remarks came in the wake of attacks on six Christian churches and places of worship in predominantly Moslem areas of Sumatra and Java between August and November – and amid Hindu-Moslem violence that has left hundreds dead since Sunday on the Indian subcontinent.

Several newspapers, including the Kompas Daily and the weekly Tempo, which have been accused by fundamentalists of working for the Christianisation of the country, have reportedly received threats.

Jakarta military commander Major-General Kentot Harseno said Monday that a brawl between students of different religious faiths was narrowly averted recently in Jakarta.

Suharto alluded to these incidents in a speech Monday to the opening of the national conference of the Buddhist Council, the nation's highest authority on Buddhism.

"We should be conscious that if our society falls into the abyss of inter-religious conflict, we will undergo a huge setback, because it will have a wide impact and leave a wound that will take a long time to heal," the army daily Angkatan Bersenjata quoted the president as saying.

The appeal, printed on the front page of a number of Indonesian newspapers Tuesday, came after similar remarks by officials and military leaders and is widely seen here as a warning.

Most analysts interpret the fact that the head of state has now spoken on the issue as an indication that the authorities will not tolerate any lapse into religious violence – such as has been seen in India and the former Yugoslavia – that would threaten Indonesian unity.

The authorities' concern over the possible repercussions of the bloody clashes between Moslems and Hindus in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh is well founded, according to many.

According to witnesses, some Moslem clerics have stirred religious hatred in Indonesia by pointing to the actions of Christians against Moslems in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Warned Suharto: "All religious leaders should be capable of restraining themselves and their flocks."

Since coming to power in 1966, Suharto has always upheld the official doctrine which has made Indonesia, with the world's largest Moslem population, a state neither secular, nor Islamic, but multidominational.

Some 88 percent of Indonesia's 185 million people are Moslems, but they are supposed to live in equality with the country's Christian, Buddhist and Hindu minorities.

One Indonesian analyst said that behind the recent upsurge in religious violence, which is not believed to have caused any casualties, was "the aggressive Christian missionary zeal, especially that of the Protestant Pentecostal sect in predominantly Moslem areas."

But another blamed "a revival of Moslem fundamentalism in an Indonesian society becoming increasingly westernized at too fast a speed."

Others have attributed the increased tension to battles between factions within the armed forces and the government in a period of political uncertainty here.

The 72-year-old Suharto plans to seek and is likely to win a sixth consecutive term of office in March, but his deputy and possible successor has not yet been named.

The favourite for the post, military chief General Try Sutrisno, himself a Moslem but supported by Christians, said Tuesday that "harmony and tolerance between faiths" would be the government's prime goal.

XANANA JAILED IN JAKARTA

Japan Economic Newswire

(JAKARTA, Dec. 7 Kyodo) East Timorese independent rebel leader Xanana Gusmao is now in the Indonesian capital of Jakarta two weeks after his arrest on suspicion of masterminding a massacre in

East Timor's city of Dili November 12 last year, Antara news agency reported Monday.

Antara did not say when Xanana, who is known as a symbol of East Timorese independence resistance to Indonesian rule, was taken to Jakarta.

The official news agency quoted two officials of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) as saying they met Xanana Monday in his jail at police headquarters in Jakarta.

Pierre Pont, one of the ICRC officials, told Antara they were happy to be able to meet with Xanana but refused to disclose what was discussed with the rebel leader.

He said the meeting came a few days after talks between Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas and ICRC officials.

Pont said the ICRC hopes to have one or two more meetings with Xanana.

Indonesian military authorities arrested Xanana in Dili November 20. Authorities had sought the arrest of Xanana since Indonesia annexed the former Portuguese colony in 1976.

Armed forces officials earlier said they moved the rebel leader to Denpasar, the capital of Bali, about 1,000 kilometers east of Jakarta.

The Lisbon government has allowed Portuguese colonies, including East Timor, independence since the April 1974 Portuguese revolution. Portugal has urged Indonesia to admit independence of East Timor.

200 EAST TIMORESE REBELS SURRENDER

(JAKARTA, Reuters, Dec. 6)

About 200 East Timorese rebels surrendered in the former Portuguese colony over the weekend, responding to the Indonesian government's offer of clemency, Antara news agency reported.

Antara said the rebels pledged loyalty to Jakarta, which annexed East Timor in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognize the annexation.

"They also said they were ready to be punished if in future they violated (East Timor's) integration (with Indonesia)," Antara quoted Fretilin rebel Joao Ximenes as saying in a statement read on behalf of those who surrendered.

It is not clear if they were members of Fretilin, whose strength is estimated by the military at between 150 and 200.

Antara said they were clandestine operatives.

The rebels' statement was made to local government and military officials in Bacau

city, near the East Timor capital of Dili, where Fretilin chief Xanana Gusmao was captured last month.

International human rights organizations have expressed concern over the safety of Xanana, who may be charged with masterminding pro-independence protests that led troops to fire at a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery last year to mourn the death of a separatist sympathizer.

Jakarta says 50 people were killed in the incident and 66 are missing, but witnesses put the toll at up to 180 dead.

A group of pro-Indonesia East Timorese urged the government Saturday to punish Xanana and his deputy Jose Da Costa with death sentences.

"Xanana and Da Costa are irresponsible leaders, they are just rebels who confuse East Timor people. We feel that we've been cheated by Fretilin," Gil Vicente de Jesus Guterres, the group's spokesman, said.

Da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

Xanana was regarded for many years as a symbol of resistance to Jakarta's rule and his followers were in bitter conflict with East Timorese who supported the annexation.

ETAN/CANADA WRITES ON G7 AND INDONESIA

9 December 1992

Barbara McDougall
Minister of External Affairs
House of Commons
Ottawa Ont. K1A 0A6

Dear Ms McDougall,

Reports have appeared in the press this week that Indonesia will be invited to attend the G7 economic summit in Tokyo from 7 to 9 July 1993.

This is an appalling idea. As you know, Indonesia's human rights record, both in occupied East Timor and throughout its territory, are among the worst of any country in the world. Indonesia's status as head of the Non-Aligned Movement of states cannot be allowed to excuse its total disregard for human rights and other basic international principals. Its invitation at this time, just after the arrest of East Timor resistance leader Xanana Gusmao, would be an even more appalling precedent.

The G7 summit is supposed to be a gathering of heads of western democracies. Inviting Russia to attend a previous summit was a reasonable extension of this forum. Inviting Indonesia, a country which last year expressed its contempt for democratic principals by refusing to accept aid from the Netherlands (on the basis of Dutch calls for

human rights to be respected in Indonesia and East Timor), is entirely different.

I hope you can re-assure Canadians that Indonesia's President Suharto will not be a guest at the next G7 summit.

Yours sincerely,
David Webster

East Timor Alert Network/Toronto

XANANA UPDATE – DECEMBER 8, 1992

From East Timor Alert Network/Canada

On Dec 6, the International Committee of the Red Cross was finally allowed to see Xanana, who has been moved to Jakarta.

"Yes, I can confirm it that we had a meeting this morning here, in Jakarta," the chief International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) delegate to Indonesia, Pierre Herman Pont, told Agence France Presse, adding "You can assume that this person is alive, that he is not missing, that he has not disappeared."

The ICRC delegate also said he had given the Indonesian authorities a first account of the visit, with remarks and suggestions, but that a complete report would only be handed over to Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas.

This visit is a positive sign and proof that the international campaign for Xanana is starting to have an affect. It is far from being enough, however.

The tendency of western government representatives is to accept the Red Cross visit as evidence that Xanana is fine and leave it at that. It does not address the issue of torture – remember the Red Cross saw Xanana more than two week after his capture, and a week after he was videotaped by Indonesian television – the death of Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, or the torture of others arrested since Nov. 20. And it cannot be allowed to excuse the arrests of hundreds more young Timorese, which the Indonesian press has mis-reported as "surrenders." It only re-emphasis the importance of keeping up the pressure on our government officials for freedom for Xanana and all Timorese prisoners.

PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER STATEMENT

10 December 1992, from Inflight, Indonesian Front for the Defence of Human Rights. Ooriginal text

Statement by Indonesian Author PRAMOEDYA ANANTA TOER on the occasion of Human Rights Day, December 10, 1992

Salam!

On the occasion of Human Rights Day, December 10, 1992, I, Pramoedy Ananta Toer, Indonesian author, just one of a number of people suffering the same fate, between October 1965 and December 1979 (14 years and 2 months), have had stolen from me by the rulers of the State of the Republic of Indonesia:

- a personal freedom
- b labour
- c livelihood, both in respect to myself and my family
- d the right to defend myself from libels and accusations, both formal and otherwise, and both written and oral;
- e the right to an honest and impartial trial;
- f my land, house and all its contents;
- g the best, most productive and creative periods of my life.

And after having been "released" in December 1979 because "according to the law there was no evidence of my involvement in G 30 S/PKI," I have been oblige to report to the military authorities until December 1992 (precisely 13 years) - and without any recourse to a court decision. In addition, I, like others, have suffered:

- a restrictions on my profession and bans on all my books;
- b restrictions on my right to state my personal feelings and opinions
- c restrictions on the right of assembly and right to organise in my own society and on my own homeland
- d restrictions on my right to vote and stand for elections
- e restrictions on my right to travel, both overseas and in my own country
- f discrimination in the form of a special code placed on my official identity card that differentiates me from other citizens.

So I feel the need to make clear the following:

That the theft of ones rights as a human being, without any recourse to a fair and impartial trial, is equivalent to pronouncing us dead under civil law, marginalising us as pariahs, or more precisely it is the same as treating us as cattle.

Remembering that it is the duty of all human beings to become fully human, as was explained by the writer Multatuli, then it is clear that all those who steal the rights of another as well as all those who suffer such theft, have suffered a loss of their humanity.

And so I make this statement:

27 Years is a long enough period of time for the rulers of the State of the Republic of Indonesia or of any state to restore the

rights of human beings as human beings to those who have suffered their theft, whether they be moral or material rights. And 27 years is far too long also for those who have suffered such theft to defend and uphold their rights as human beings through their strength and perseverance alone. And if the rulers of the state do not have the moral strength and courage to make such restoration, then we say too that our efforts to uphold and defend our rights has itself made a contribution to helping the rulers of this state become more fully human beings.

It is no longer the era to deposit the idea that the formation of a strong country can be achieved through cold-blooded contempt for and the theft of the rights of its own people through an apparatus and system of violence. A country is strong because its citizens are strong and fearless. Because when disaster imperils the nation it is the people themselves who will have to face that danger.

And it is out of date rationalising continuously to convince world opinion that human rights in Indonesia "are respected in accordance with the special traits of the national culture," when all this talk is just a form of political manipulation in order to justify the violation of citizens basic rights carried out to preserve the rulers' power, and many other personal interests of the men in power.

And at this time, we demand of all state rulers in whatever country that they let go of the unworthy mentality which leads them to use violence against demonstrators and workers on strike who, after all, wish to do nothing more than conduct a dialogue regarding the socio-economic deprivations they are suffering. We should be pleased to know that there are those in society who have the courage to demonstrate and strike. History teaches us that those who fought for national independence during the colonial period educated the people to be courageous, not just in debate and argument, closed or open, against colonialism and imperialism, but indeed in fighting to oppose them. This courage is climaxed in the period of revolution. And so it is not proper now that we are an independent nation to teach the people, through beatings and bayonets, to once again be afraid to state their opinions and feelings. And we especially say that all forms of violence in East Timor should stopped, remembering that Indonesia, through the republic of Indonesia's first president in his speech "To Build the World Anew" before the General Assembly of the United Nations had already stated that Indonesia had no territorial ambitions.

The time has passed for the theft of people's basic rights as human beings to

continue anywhere in this world, nobody should suffer such theft any longer, remembering that such rights are what crown every individuals life. That too is the reason why law is necessary, (and the State of Indonesia was once supposed to be a state ruled by law), so that we can avoid clashes of interest between individuals in the implementation of their rights as human beings.

Hoping for the best for all of us,
respectfully

Pramoedya Ananta Toer
Jakarta, 7 December 1992

Jalan Multikarya II/26
Rawamangun Utara - Utan Kayu
Jakarta 13120

The New York Times printed this piece on its op-ed page today (December 10), headlined "The Theft of Rights."

XANANA CAMPAIGN IN CANADIAN PRESS

Ottawa Citizen, 8 December 1992

Comment: edited version of a much longer article submitted by Citizen foreign affairs writer Louise Crosby.

Canada supporters of East Timor independence are asking Canada to press the Indonesian government for the release of resistance leader Xanana Gusmao.

Gusmao, leader of the National Council of Maubere Resistance, was arrested by Indonesian troops in the East Timor capital on November 20. He is being held incommunicado, and there are fears he may be tortured.

"For us, Xanana is a symbol of unity, the flame that keeps the nation alive. It is devastating that he has been captured but it doesn't mean the resistance is over," Barnabe Soares, an East Timorese living in Canada, said Monday.

East Timor, the eastern portion of the island of Timor, was ruled by the Portugese from 1512 to 1974. On Dec. 7, 1975, just nine days after declaring independence from Portugal, it was invaded by Indonesia.

Since then, the Indonesian military has terrorized the East Timorese.

Roughly 200,000 Timorese – one-third of the 1975 population – have died from violence, famine or disease.

REPORT FROM AGIR POUR TIMOR (FRENCH)

RAPPORT SUR L'ARRESTATION DE XANANA GUSMAO

Version no 7 (8 decembre 1992) remplace toute version precedente

Cette version comporte des modifications importantes par rapport a la precedente dans les parties 2, 3, 6, 11 et 12.

Xanana Gusmao, chef du Conseil National de la Resistance Maubere (CNRM), ete arrete pres de Dili, Timor-Est, tot le matin du 20 novembre dernier (heure locale).

Le rapport qui suit est provisoire. Il est destine a servir de guide a plusieurs interlocuteurs qui nous ont demande ce genre de travail. Etant fait dans un contexte mouvant, il est reactualise regulierement pour le moment.

1. Circonstances de l'arrestation

Xanana Gusmao a ete arrete a Lahane, pres de Dili, chez Augusto Pereira et sa femme, Alianca de Araujo. Cette derniere est la s ur d'Abilio Araujo, le chef de la delegation exterieure du Fretilin a Lisbonne. Un chauffeur de taxi, 'George,' qui vivait dans cette maison, arrete, aurait succombe a la torture et revele la cachette. A l'heure actuelle, nous ignorons pour quelle raison Xanana se trouvait a Dili au moment de son arrestation.

Selon le Jawa Pos du 22 novembre (lie aux services de renseignements militaires et dont les informations sont donc sujettes a caution), les officiels de Kolakops avaient recemment entrepris une operation de verification des cartes d'identite maison par maison, dans l'espoir que cela revelerait des membres de la resistance militaire se cachant dans la ville. Trois jours avant la capture, 15 membres de l'ABRI (forces armees) auraient mis la maison d'Augusto sous surveillance.

Des documents ont ete saisis par l'armee au moment de l'arrestation de Xanana.

2. Lieu de detention

Apres avoir ete detenu pendant au moins une semaine a Bali, dans le complexe militaire d'Udayana, Xanana est maintenant detenu a Jakarta, dans la prison du quartier general de la police.

3. Pas d'accès au prisonnier pendant 17 jours

Mis a part les militaires, personne n'a eu acces a Xanana, sauf tout au debut des medias indonesiens pour de breves periodes, jusqu'au 7 decembre ou la Croix Rouge Internationale (CICR) a enfin pu le rencontrer. Le CICR, qui avait demande cette visite des l'annonce de l'arrestation, se l'etait vu initialement refuser, sous le

pretexte qu'il "n'etait pas arrete." Des declarations ulterieures indiquaient que la Croix Rouge aurait acces au prisonnier lorsque son interrogatoire serait termine. Ces obstructions sont en violation flagrante de la 4eme Convention de Geneve, ratifiee par l'Indonesie en 1958.

Le delegue en chef du CICR pour l'Indonesie, Pierre Herman Pont, accompagne d'un autre delegue, ont rendu visite a Xanana "selon les termes habituels du CICR pour les visites de prisonniers: pas de temoins, sur le lieu de detention et le CICR ayant le droit de faire une visite de suivi" (AFP, Jakarta, 7 decembre). Aucun commentaire n'a ete fait sur la condition du prisonnier - pratique normale de la part du CICR.

Timor-Est etant un territoire occupe, l'Indonesie n'a pas d'autorite legale sur les Timorais qu'elle capture sur ce territoire. On peut cependant noter que Xanana n'a meme pas eu acces jusqu'a present a un avocat, en violation du code de procedure penale indonesien.

3 bis. L'"interview" de Xanana

Le 1er decembre, la television indonesienne a diffuse une cassette video de Xanana en captivite. Une declaration des forces armees ce meme jour indique que le film a ete tourne le 27 novembre, soit cinq jours auparavant.

Le film a ete diffuse notamment sur la chaine portugaise RTP et sur la chaine anglaise Channel 4. L'extrait de la bande son ou l'on entend parler Xanana a ete diffuse notamment a la radio portugaise, et nous avons pu l'ecouter. Le contenu exact de ses declarations n'a pas encore ete traduit en francais.

Selon TAPOL, qui a vu le film (ce n'est pas notre cas a ce jour), il montre Xanana assis dans un bureau sans particularites remarquables, une grande carte murale de l'Indonesie accrochee derriere lui. Il porte une chemise blanche fraichement repasee, mais sa barbe et ses cheveux ont ete coupes tres grossierement. Le "gouverneur" actuel de Timor-Est, Abilio Soares (Apodeti), son "ami d'enfance," est assis a sa gauche avec une assiette d'amuse-gueules enveloppees dans des feuilles de palmier, une grande tasse et une soucoupe en face de lui et un petit drapeau indonesien. La vue de Xanana est obstruee par une boite de mouchoirs en papier qui empeche de voir ce qui est sur la table devant lui. Le cameraman s'approche tres pres de Xanana, qu'on ne voit qu'a partir de la poitrine, visiblement pour prouver qu'ils ne l'ont pas battu. Le visage de Xanana ne porte en effet pas de marques mais il a les traits tires, l'air pale et tres soumis. (Horta declare que le visage montre des signes de torture.) Il ne bouge jamais les

bras ni la tete: seulement les yeux et les levres. Il parle calmement, sans emotion, ses yeux fixes sur Soares, sauf a la fin ou il baisse les yeux.

D'autres commentateurs ont remarque que la main gauche de Xanana restait sous la table, contrairement a la droite dont il se servait pour boire du the. Cela pourrait etre le resultat d'une blessure (Horta declare que son bras gauche semble paralyse) ou, selon un psychologue, un signal non verbal de ne pas prendre ce qu'il dit au serieux. Le meme psychologue observe qu'il est voute et parle lentement d'une voix monotone et malheureuse (c'est manifeste dans l'extrait que nous avons entendu a la radio portugaise).

En l'absence d'une traduction des paroles prononcees par Xanana faite par nous, nous reproduisons celle fournie par Osorio Soares, apparaissant dans une depeche de Reuter datee de Jakarta le 2 decembre dernier, et jugee fidele par un locuteur portugais selon deux depeches de l'AFP egalement datees de Jakarta (nous traduisons donc en francais la traduction anglaise de Reuter de la traduction indonesienne d'Osorio Soares). Ces declarations sont presentees comme un "dialogue ouvert" entre Xanana et Soares.

"Il appelle tous les membres (du Fretilin) a se rendre ... et, avec ceux qui sont deja devenus citoyens indonesiens, a participer au developpement." "Il presse les sympathisants du Fretilin, particulierement ceux a l'etranger ... d'oublier la lutte qui a ete attiree par les mensonges portugais pendant environ 17 ans et de penser a la maniere d'aider a resoudre le probleme timorais." "Il est decu des leaders du Fretilin a l'etranger, y compris Ramos Horta qui a utilise le nom du parti pour son propre benefice." "... (Xanana) se sent en securite avec nous mais il ne peut pas dire qu'il est heureux parce que ses activites ont cause enormement d'ennuis aux Timorais." Il (Soares) a cite Xanana s'excusant aupres des Timorais pour leurs souffrances dans un massacre de l'armee en novembre de l'annee derniere (il s'agit evidemment du massacre de Santa Cruz). "Apres avoir eu des contacts avec plusieurs personnes et avoir temoigne lui-meme (le sens n'est pas clair), il en est venu a realiser ... que Timor-Est appartient a l'Indonesie et que l'Indonesie appartient a Timor-Est."

Selon d'autres sources, Xanana a presente ses excuses aux familles des soldats indonesiens tues a Timor-Est.

De telles paroles prononcees par le leader de la resistance timoraise 8 jours apres son arrestation, contredisant tout ce pour quoi il a lutte pendant 17 ans, sont evidemment surprenantes. La plupart des commentateurs, a l'exception bien sur des

militaires indonesiens et du ministre des affaires etrangeres australien, Gareth Evans, ont exprime au minimum leur perplexite, y compris des diplomates en poste a Jakarta. Le commandant-en-chef de l'armee indonesienne, Try Sutrisno, a juge "insultant" de suggerer que l'Indonesie avait fait pression sur Xanana.

Diverses reactions estiment pourtant que les declarations de Xanana lui ont ete extorquees par la force, au moyen soit de la torture, soit de pressions psychologiques, soit de drogues, soit d'une combinaison de ces methodes. C'est ce qui semble etre confirme par une action urgente recente d'Amnesty International (voir point 5). Mgr Belo, Administrateur apostolique de Dili, a declare a Publico qu'"au cours des 17 dernieres annees, si un prisonnier parlait de la maniere dont Xanana l'a fait, c'etait le resultat de la torture." Le fils de Xanana, Jose Gusmao, a defie l'Indonesie de laisser Xanana repeter ses declarations librement devant l'ONU.

Il est de toute facon notoire qu'on peut faire dire ce que l'on veut a un prisonnier, a condition d'y mettre le prix. Les images et les declarations de Xanana en captivite rappellent celles de prisonniers de guerre americains pendant la guerre de Coree, celle du Vietnam et plus recemment des otages du Hezbollah ou de l'Irak avant et pendant la guerre du Golfe, comme beaucoup l'ont fait remarquer.

Voici un autre type d'argumentation indiquant, si besoin est, que les declarations de Xanana lui ont probablement ete imposees par les autoites indonesiennes (Horta nous a dit au telephone que Xanana semblait lire un texte, peut-etre dissimule par la boite de mouchoirs dont il est question plus haut). Il se fonde sur le contenu de ces declarations:

1) Xanana appelle "tous les membres a se rendre et (...) a participer au developpement." Developpement est un mot-cle de la rhetorique indonesienne. Il serait assez surprenant qu'il vienne naturellement a quelqu'un qui a passe 17 ans dans le maquis.

2) La reference constante au "Fretilin" plutot qu'au CNRM. Personne mieux que Xanana, qui a cree le CNRM, ne sait que c'est maintenant celui-ci plutot qu'un parti politique timorais qui est la structure importante. L'affirmation que Horta a utilise le nom du Fretilin pour son profit personnel est encore plus curieuse pour quiconque connait un tant soit peu la situation (Horta est le representant special du CNRM, pas du Fretilin, et cette designation par Xanana a pour origine une tentative de Horta de creer un secretariat international, initiative qui avait cree de fortes dissensions entre lui et la delegation externe du Fretilin a l'epoque).

Une propagande bien faite aurait utilise partout le terme CNRM plutot que Fretilin. (Malheureusement, il semble que les medias aient encore a apprendre qu'il existe une distinction entre Fretilin, Falintil, CNRM et Convergence Nationaliste...)

Un autre point digne d'interet est le jeu des factions militaires dans le contexte de l'arrestation de Xanana. Le fait que le film ait mis cinq jours a etre diffuse suggere qu'il y a eu au minimum des hesitations sur l'opportunit de le montrer. Un tel film montre a la television indonesienne, outre son effet de propagande, donne un "haut profil" a l'arrestation de Xanana alors que le general Murdani, ministre de la defense, a fait des declarations tendant a minimiser son importance (voir ci-dessous). TAPOL rapproche ceci du fait que Mario Carrascalao, le predecesseur d'Osorio Soares, ait exprime publiquement des doutes sur l'authenticite des declarations de Xanana (!) Carrascalao serait considere comme proche de Murdani, et ennemi de Soares.

4. Quel proces?

Il est tres probable que l'Indonesie jugera Xanana. La question est de savoir de quel type de proces il s'agira. Il semble que l'armee tienne a l'accuser d'etre le "cerveau" de la manifestation du 12 novembre 1991. Il pourrait alors etre juge pour subversion, passible de la peine de mort en Indonesie. Deux des Timorais juges pour la manifestation de Santa Cruz l'ont ete pour subversion, et l'un d'entre eux a ete condamne a perpetuite.

Le gouverneur de la "province" de Timor-Est, Osorio Soares, a declare que Xanana etait un "prisonnier de guerre." Au contraire, le commandant en chef de Timor-Est, le General Syafei, a declare que Xanana n'etait pas un criminel de guerre "parce que nous ne sous sommes jamais battus contre eux." "Il n'est pas un criminel politique non plus. C'est un subversif." Le General Murdani a qualifie Xanana de "criminel des rues" ou de "souris." Ces discordances ne sont pas accidentelles: elles semblent refleter les rivalites existantes au sein de l'armee.

Un analyste indonesien declare que "comme dans les autres cas de subversion, il est pratiquement certain que la sentence a deja ete decidee." Une autre analyste est convaincu que cette sentence sera la mort, sur la base des assassinats de 1965/66 et de l'execution bien avant cela du leader Sud-Moluquois, Soumokil, et du chef de Darul Islam, Sekarmadji Maridjan Kartosuwirjo. Pour le leader de la resistance timoraise, dont l'armee a cause des pertes innombrables aux forces armees indonesiennes, il est difficile d'imaginer la clemence.

Il ne faut pas oublier que diverses factions dans le gouvernement indonésien ont des intérêts divergents (voir ci-dessus). La diplomatie indonésienne, consciente du coût d'un procès spectaculaire, n'est sans doute pas très favorable à une attitude radicale. Les diverses factions de l'armée veulent sans doute toutes "aller jusqu'au bout," mais peuvent jouer des modalités dans leurs luttes d'influence. En dernier ressort, ce sera Suharto qui tranchera. On peut imaginer un scénario où Xanana est jugé pour subversion et condamné à mort, sa peine étant commuée par Suharto en détention criminelle à perpétuité.

Selon nos dernières informations, le procès aurait lieu à Bali. Le général Try Sutrisno, commandant-en-chef des forces armées, a demandé au procureur général Singgih SH de préparer une inculpation contre Xanana. La rumeur en Indonésie est que les militaires ont déjà retenu un chef d'accusation, tandis que Xanana est toujours officiellement sous interrogatoire.

5. Conditions de détention

À part quelques images de Xanana capture vendredi et samedi, qui le montraient pâle mais apparemment en bonne santé, et celles montrées le premier décembre, on ne sait pratiquement rien de sûr sur le sort réservé à Xanana Gusmao en détention. Selon les autorités indonésiennes il est soumis à un "interrogatoire intensif." Selon une action urgente d'Amnesty International du 4 décembre, des sources anonymes du quartier général de la police assurent qu'il a été battu et torturé au moyen de chocs électriques et soumis à des pressions psychologiques sévères pendant son interrogatoire. Il serait dans un état émotionnel inquiétant, s'exprimant par phrases hachées et étant sujet à de graves pertes de concentration.

Selon des informations de source clandestine, Xanana refusait certaines sortes de nourriture au début de son incarcération. Il insistait pour boire non pas de l'eau mais de la bière provenant de bouteilles non débouchées, craignant peut-être d'être empoisonné ou drogué. Son "interview" indique qu'il n'a sans doute pas pu maintenir ses exigences très longtemps.

6. Autres arrestations

Des rafles systématiques ont eu lieu avant et après l'arrestation de Xanana. Des membres de sa famille et de celle d'Abilio Araujo ont été arrêtés. À la mi-novembre, des centaines de personnes auraient été raflees à Dili et dans le district de Manatuto, celui d'où provient Xanana. On pense que des dizaines d'entre eux sont toujours détenus, sans communication avec l'extérieur.

Les listes d'Amnesty International dans ses actions urgentes des 23, 26, 30 novembre et 4 décembre sont: (not listed here)

De nombreuses autres personnes sont arrêtées à Timor-Est, et des indications de tortures et de mauvais traitements sont parvenues. Selon une dépêche de Reuter datée de Jakarta le 1er décembre et la dernière action urgente d'Amnesty International, au moins 20 des aides les plus proches de Xanana ont été arrêtés depuis sa capture. Au moins l'un des détenus, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, aurait été torturé à mort. Un autre, toujours non identifié, aurait été hospitalisé après avoir été sévèrement torturé en détention: ses membres auraient été brisés et les ongles de ses mains et de ses pieds arrachés. Deux femmes détenues à Dili, peut-être Ligia de Araujo, 22 ans et Regina Conceicao Araujo Serreno, 18 ans, auraient été violées par des soldats indonésiens, devant leurs familles, le 29 novembre.

Si les informations d'Amnesty International se confirment, l'Indonésie se retrouvera une fois de plus en grave violation des termes de la 4ème Convention de Genève de 1949, qui protège les habitants d'un territoire occupé (Article 31: "Aucune coercition physique ou morale ne sera exercée contre des personnes protégées pour obtenir des informations d'elles ou de parties tierces").

À Jakarta, les Timorais sont surveillés et suivis par l'armée. Plusieurs changent constamment de lieu de résidence, sont en fuite et/ou cherchent à quitter l'Indonésie. L'ancienne résidence de Jose Antonio Amorim Dias, représentant du CNRM pour la CEE, a été fouillée par l'armée et tous ses documents confisqués. L'officier responsable est le Capitaine Batubara, no 395532 de MABES ABRI (Quartier Général des Forces Armées).

Le 27 novembre, Amnesty International a vu sa requête de se rendre à Timor-Est rejetée par le gouvernement indonésien, malgré l'engagement pris par celui-ci d'ouvrir le territoire aux organisations humanitaires et de défense des droits de l'homme dans la déclaration par consensus de la Commission des Droits de l'homme des Nations Unies de mars dernier.

Selon le Sydney Morning Herald du 28 novembre, les documents saisis par l'armée lors de la capture de Xanana révèlent que des groupes d'Australie, du Portugal, du Japon, de Macao et d'Angola ont apporté à la résistance un soutien financier d'environ 100 millions de Rupiah (50 000 dollars) pour l'année 1992. Nous savons qu'une grande partie de cette aide sert à payer les dessous de table permettant à certains Timorais de quitter l'Indonésie (estimes à

1000 dollars par Timorais en moyenne). Il est à craindre que les réseaux d'acheminement de cette aide ne soient gravement touchés par ces révélations.

Le groupe de résistance clandestine Fitun a été officiellement interdit, et ses dirigeants forcés de se repentir publiquement. Certains d'entre eux ont été arrêtés.

Le CICR aurait demandé à visiter des Timorais détenus à Dili, et cette requête aurait été acceptée.

7. Reactions en Indonésie

Sudomo, ministre-coordonateur de la politique et de la sécurité, Try Sutrisno, commandant-en-chef des forces armées et Benny Murdani, ministre de la défense ont avisé la presse indonésienne de mettre une sourdine à ses comptes-rendus sur Xanana Gusmao. Les peu nombreux articles et transcriptions d'émissions radio qui nous sont parvenus sont tous soit strictement factuels, soit favorables à l'arrestation, soit même contiennent des éléments flagrants de désinformation (citations déformées, informations fausses, etc.) Selon des sources ayant accès à la presse indonésienne, il semble toutefois que la couverture de l'arrestation de Xanana soit bien supérieure, et plus critique, que ce que nous avions laissé entendre dans les versions précédentes.

L'organisation Inflight a publié un communiqué s'inquiétant de l'arrestation. L'Institut d'aide juridique, qui a déjà défendu des Timorais pour les procès de cette année, s'est déclaré prêt à défendre Xanana le cas échéant.

8. Reactions internationales

Les organisations ou personnalités suivantes ont réagi contre l'arrestation, soit par un communiqué, soit par des déclarations, soit par une lettre de protestation: Amnesty International, Asia Watch (USA), la famille de Xanana Gusmao en Australie, Jose Ramos Horta (CNRM), le ministère portugais des affaires étrangères, Mario Soares, Abilio Araujo (Fretilin, Lisbonne), CDPM (Portugal), La Paix est Possible au Timor Oriental (Portugal), Conseil National de la Jeunesse (Portugal), Satsuki Eda (Forum de la Diète japonaise pour Timor-Est), Gareth Evans (ministre des affaires étrangères australien), TAPOL (Royaume Uni), Agir pour Timor (France), East Timor Action Network (Etats Unis), East Timor Alert Network (Canada), Free East Timor Japan Coalition (Japon), Australian Council for Overseas Aid (Australie), Boutros Ghali (Nations Unies), Lord Avebury (Président des Parlementaires pour Timor-Est, international), Lawyers Committee for Human Rights (Etats Unis), la Plateforme internationale des Juristes pour Timor-Est, l'ASTO (France), la

Federation internationale des droits de l'homme, l'archeveque Desmond Tutu (Afrique du Sud), le Revd. Paul Moore (Etats Unis), Congressional Human Rights Caucus (Etats Unis), la CGT (France), le MRAP (France), le Comite de Defense des Libertes et des Droits de l'Homme en France et dans le Monde (France, president: Georges Marchais), United States Catholic Conference. Au Portugal, une lettre adressee a Boutros Boutros Ghali a ete signee par 30 000 personnes, 30 ONG portugaises et deux congres de syndicats.

Les organisations suivantes ont organise ou participe a des actions de soutien: East Timor Relief Association (Australie), Fretilin (Australie), UDT (Australie), Campaign for an Independent East Timor (Australie du Sud), British Coalition for East Timor, East Timor Alert Network (Canada), Agir pour Timor (France), CDPM (Portugal), La Paix est Possible au Timor Oriental (Portugal).

Ces donnees ne representent bien entendu que les informations qui nous sont parvenues.

9. Contexte international

L'arrestation de Xanana survient alors que les bons offices du Secretaire General des Nations Unies, Boutros Boutros Ghali, semblaient se diriger vers une participation des Timorais aux negociations entre le Portugal et l'Indonesie, qui ont repris en septembre sous l'egide des Nations Unies. Aux dernieres nouvelles, il etait question que Xanana Gusmao et Mgr Belo, l'Administrateur apostolique de Dili, representent les Timorais dans ces negociations. Le deuxieme "round" de pourparlers doit se tenir a New York le 17 decembre prochain - s'il n'est pas annule.

Autres developpements

10 Lettre a Bill Clinton. L'organisation anglaise TAPOL, Campagne pour les Droits de l'Homme en Indonesie, a recu le 1er decembre une lettre du Comite Timorais pour la Non-Violence et la Solidarite, datee du 4 novembre et adressee a Bill Clinton. Elle le felicite pour son election et lui demande son soutien a la cause timoraise.

11 Propagande. Selon le Jawa Pos du 3 decembre cite par Reuter, l'Indonesie a offert le "pardon" aux "rebelles timorais" qui se rendraient. Ce grand classique depuis 1975 a deja valu a des milliers de Timorais et de Timoraises d'etre abattus pour avoir repondu a cet appel. Cette fois-ci, toujours selon le Jawa Pos, les "rebelles" pourraient se rendre dans sept eglises situees a Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Aileu, Viqueque, Baucau et Dili. Cette offre devrait etre exprimee dans un message de Noel de l'Administrateur apostolique de Dili, Mgr Belo. Ce dernier a formellement dementi

dans une interview a Publico, publiee le 4 decembre, confirmant les reserves que nous exprimons dans une version precedente. Une depeche

Depuis quelques jours, des depeches d'agences annoncent que des Timorais se rendent en masse aux autorites militaires: 107 le 3 (AP, Dili, 5-12-92) selon une source militaire "anonyme," 30 a une date non specifiee (Reuter, Jakarta, 5-12-92) selon Syafei, 36 le 1er a Same (AFP, Jakarta, 5 et 6-12-92) selon Syafei cite par le Jakarta Post et le Jawa Pos ainsi que le General Nurhadi, porte-parole militaire, 250 jeunes le 6 a Baucau (AFP, Jakarta, 6-12-92) encore selon Nurhadi, 200 le week-end dernier (Reuter, Jakarta, 7-12-92, citant Antara). Ces annonces sont ponctuees de menaces contre ceux des "separatistes" qui ne se rendraient pas.

Un grand vague entoure ces annonces: les 250 jeunes cites ci-dessus feraient partie d'une organisation dependant du Fretilin qui se serait dissoute par "deception," mais dont le nom n'avait pas ete communique a Nurhadi. Selon le Jawa Pos, maintenant celebre pour sa diffusion d'informations douteuses, les militaires auraient delivre aux guerrilleros une lettre manuscrite de Xanana les appelant a se rendre. Ces annonces peuvent refleter de veritables arrestations et des demantelements des reseaux clandestins, ainsi qu'une tentative de saboter les pourparlers avec le Portugal (voir section 9).

12 L'Indonesie au G7! Selon une depeche de l'AFP datee de Jakarta le 4 decembre, le Ministre du Commerce et de l'Industrie, Dominique Strauss-Kahn, en visite a Jakarta, a declare que le groupe des 7 pays les plus industrialises (G7) envisageait d'inviter l'Indonesie a son prochain sommet qui se tiendra a Tokyo les 7 et 9 juillet, en sa qualite de president du Mouvement des Non-Alignes. Cette information est extremement grave car elle donne une caution au regime indonesien et augmente les risques de le voir continuer a donner libre cours a ses exactions.

Agir pour Timor a ecrit et largement diffuse une lettre de protestation a M. Strauss-Kahn, avec copie a l'Elysee et au Quai d'Orsay.

INDONESIA OFFERS TO PARDON REBELS (JAWA POS)

(Reuters, JAKARTA, Dec 3)

Indonesia has offered to pardon East Timorese rebels who surrender following the capture of their leader two weeks ago, the daily newspaper Jawa Pos reported on Thursday.

"The pardon is one of the steps to attract the remaining Fretilin (rebels) to return to society peacefully," the newspaper quoted East Timor military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying in the territory's capital Dili.

Syafei, who did not give any terms or deadline for the surrender, said earlier that the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmao in Dili had broken Fretilin's resistance.

The rebels could surrender in any of seven churches provided by East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop Carlos Ximenes Belo, the Jawa Pos said.

It quoted Belo as saying his offer would be made in a Christmas message to Fretilin guerrillas asking them to lay down their arms in churches in the East Timorese cities of Bobonaro, Manatuto, Ainaro, Ailiu, Viqueque, Baucau and Dili.

The church dominates social life in the predominantly Roman Catholic territory that was invaded by Indonesia in 1975 following the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers.

Indonesia annexed East Timor the following year in a move that is not recognised by the United Nations.

Armed forces spokesman Nurhadi Purwosaputro told Reuters in Jakarta that the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) would be allowed to visit Xanana within a week.

"It is a gesture. We will show to the world that we don't mean any harm. The ICRC report will be objective," Nurhadi said.

Authorities may charge Xanana with masterminding protests that led to troops firing into a crowd gathered at a Dili cemetery to mourn the death of a separatist sympathiser.

The army says 50 people were killed in the incident and 66 were missing, but witnesses put the toll at up to 180 dead.

Some diplomats have complained that while all the focus was on Xanana, few thoughts were spared for the more than 100 other political prisoners believed held in East Timor.

They pointed out that Fretilin deputy chief Jose da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

Xanana appeared on television on Tuesday and urged his fellow guerrillas to give up their struggle. Portugal dismissed the interview as having been made under duress.

"(He) did not have a lawyer or conditions to defend himself and he was certainly tortured and threatened," Portuguese President Mario Soares said after seeing the television film.

"(His declarations) had nothing to do with the will and determination of the East Timorese people who want self

determination and independence," Soares added.

Indonesian authorities say they have also rounded up 20 of Xanana's closest aides since his capture.

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL ALERT: DECEMBER 10

AI FI366/92 EAST TIMOR Arrests

EXTERNAL (for general distribution)AI
Index: ASA 21/24/92
Distr: UA/SC
10 December 1992

Further information on UA 366/92 (ASA 21/17/92, 23 November 1992) - and follow-ups: ASA 21/19/92 of 24 November 1992, ASA 21/20/92 of 26 November 1992, ASA 21/21/92 of 30 November 1992 and ASA 21/23/92 of 4 December 1992 - Legal concern/fear of torture/fear of "disappearance"

INDONESIA/EAST TIMOR: Xanana Gusmao, 45

Rufina Conceicao Araujo (female), 74
Augusto Pereira, 43

Alianca de Araujo (female), 40
Ligia de Araujo (female), 22

Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, 21
Regina Conceicao Araujo Serrano,

(female), 18

Francisco Almeida Araujo, 17
Armandina Gusmao dos Santos
Gilman A. Exposto dos Santos
Olandina Caeiro Alves (female)
Oscar Lima

Americo

Joachim Gusmao Reis, 23

Sandra Gusmao Reis, 21

Victor

Macario

and at least three others

The Indonesian Government permitted representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) to visit Xanana Gusmao at an unspecified location in Jakarta on 7 December 1992. He had been held incommunicado for 17 days before the visit, and there were fears for his safety. At least 39 others, and possibly many more, detained in East Timor since early November, have yet to be visited by the ICRC. They are being held in incommunicado custody and some are reported to have been subjected to severe forms of torture.

ICRC officials confirmed on 8 December that they had visited Xanana Gusmao in Jakarta. A report of the visit will be submitted to the Government of Indonesia but, in accordance with ICRC policy, it will not be published. The authorities have

reportedly promised further ICRC visits to Xanana Gusmao but the timing of the visits has yet to be negotiated.

Amnesty International welcomes the ICRC visit, but notes with serious concern that it occurred 17 days after Xanana Gusmao's arrest, during which time he may have been subjected to physical and mental torture and ill-treatment. Amnesty International believes that it is essential for ICRC representatives, independent lawyers and relatives to be granted frequent, regular access to Xanana Gusmao, if his safety is to be effectively guaranteed while he is in custody.

Those still held incommunicado in East Timor include at least 19 close associates or relatives of Xanana Gusmao, arrested after his capture on 20 November; and at least 20 others, arrested prior to and during the anniversary of the November 1991 Santa Cruz massacre (see UA 367/92, ASA 21/18/92, of 23 November 1992 and follow ups). All are at risk of torture and ill-treatment and there is urgent concern for their safety. The ICRC is seeking to be permitted to visit the Dili detainees in the near future, but it is not known when the visits will take place.

One of the detainees, Jorge Manuel Araujo Serrano, is reported to have died under torture and two of the women have reportedly been raped by Indonesian soldiers (see ASA 21/23/92 of 4 December 1992). Others are feared to have "disappeared." Amnesty International calls upon the Indonesian authorities to act immediately to clarify the fate and whereabouts of these detainees and to allow ICRC officials, independent lawyers and relatives immediate access to their place of detention.

FURTHER RECOMMENDED ACTION:

- Please send
telegrams/telexes/faxes/express and
airmail letters in English or your own
language:
- welcoming the fact that the ICRC has been permitted to visit Xanana Gusmao in detention, but noting with concern that the visit occurred after 17 days of incommunicado detention;
 - urging the government to allow the ICRC, independent lawyers, doctors and relatives frequent, regular access to Xanana Gusmao in detention;
 - seeking clarification of the precise whereabouts of Xanana Gusmao;
 - expressing urgent concern for the safety of the 39 others arrested since early November, and of all political detainees in East Timor; calling on the government to permit ICRC representatives, independent

lawyers, doctors and relatives immediate access to their place of detention;

- calling on the government to release all those detained solely for peaceful political views, or for association with Xanana Gusmao's family.

APPEALS TO:

Brig Gen Theo Syafei
[Salutation: Dear Brig Gen Syafei]
PANGKOLAKOPS
Markas Besar KOLAKOPS/KOREM 164
Dili, East Timor, Indonesia
Telegrams Brig Gen Syafei, Dili, East Timor

Maj Gen Suwardi
[Salutation: Dear Maj Gen Suwardi]
Markas Besar, KODAM IX/Udayana
Denpasar, Bali, Indonesia
Telegrams: Maj Gen Suwardi, Kodam IX,
Denpasar, Bali,

General Try Sutrisno
[Salutation: Dear General Sutrisno]
Commander of the Armed Forces
Markas Besar ABRI
Cilangkap, East Jakarta
Indonesia
Telegrams: Gen Try Sutrisno, Markas Besar
ABRI, Jakarta, Indonesia
Faxes: +62 21 36 1471 (Armed Forces HQ);
+62 21 37 8144 (Army HQ); +62 21 35
6404

PLEASE SEND COPIES OF YOUR APPEALS TO:

Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH),
Jl. Diponegoro 74, Jakarta 10320, Indonesia

STATEMENT OF THE TWELVE IN THE 3RD COMMISSION OF THE UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY

(24 Nov. 1992)

"The European Community and its Member States continue to follow closely the situation of human rights in East Timor. We have done so with special concern after the violent incident last year at Dili, which we strongly condemned, in which many defenceless civilians died at the hands of the Indonesian Armed Forces. We acknowledged the prompt investigation of the Indonesian authorities, but we remain concerned over the lack of clear information about the number of people killed and over the persons still unaccounted for, about the disparity of sentences given to civilians on the one hand and the military on the other, and by the denial of access to the territory by human rights organisations. We urge the Indonesian authorities to honour their commitments and to respond fully to the

consensus statement on East Timor at this year's session of the Commission on Human Rights, in advance of consideration of this item at the Commission's next session. In particular we trust that all those in custody including all opposition figures, will be treated humanely and with their rights fully respected. The community and its Member States fully support the Secretary-General's recent initiative to achieve a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable settlement of the question of East Timor, with full respect for the legitimate interests and aspirations of the East Timorese, in line with the principles of the UN Charter."

COMMENT: EC TIMOR STATEMENT TOO WEAK

From John MacDougall

It will take more than this in view of the apparent now solidified hard line in Indonesia. A strong coalition of states able to carry resolutions in the UN General Assembly and Security Council must be prepared to 'confront' Indonesia explicitly over the basic issue of East Timorese self-determination with all that entails in terms of irrational Indonesian nationalist responses. In this regard, despite the personal involvement of the incumbent US Secretary of State in the Xanana Gusmao case, any change in the broad outlines of US policy toward East Timor must await the new administration. According to a recent WBAI (radio) documentary, President-Elect Bill Clinton has stated, "I'm very concerned about what's happened in East Timor. We have ignored it so far in ways that I think are unconscionable," and Vice President-Elect Al Gore is on record in favor of East Timorese self-determination.

HIROSHIMA APPEAL TO JAPANESE PARLIAMENTARIANS FOR EAST TIMOR LEADER

From Jean Inglis, Dec 10, 1992

Deeply concerned at the arrest on Nov. 20 of East Timorese leader Xanana Gusmao and others, and dismayed by the failure of the Japanese Government to act, citizens in Hiroshima issued an appeal to the members of the upper and lower houses of the Japanese Diet. On Dec. 8 a letter was delivered to each parliamentarian's diet office, calling on him/her to press the Japanese government to use its considerable leverage with the Indonesian Government to secure the release of Xanana and the others and to persuade Jakarta to engage in peace

negotiations under UN auspices to achieve a peaceful settlement of the East Timor issue.

In recent years Japan's economic aid to the Suharto regime has grown to the point where it is now roughly equivalent to Indonesia's defense budget. This year's pledge, \$1.32 billion, is ten times the amount pledged by the No. 2 donor country, France.

The letter from East Timor support groups in Hiroshima City and nearby Kure City refers to the importance of negotiations at the UN on the issue and states that Xanana is "the most appropriate person to represent the East Timorese people" at these talks.

Negotiations between Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to take place under the auspices of UN Secretary General Boutros Ghali on Dec. 17. Mr. Gusmao's arrest and Indonesian authorities' statements that he will be put on trial have cast a pall over prospects for the talks. Over the years the Foreign Ministry has repeatedly stated that its position on the East Timor issue is one of "watching the negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary General." The Hiroshima citizens action is aimed at garnering parliamentarians' support for a more active stance by Japan in support of the negotiations.

In addition to the letter to parliamentarians, the Hiroshima groups have printed and distributed to the public postcards addressed to the Indonesian Embassy and Japanese Foreign Ministry calling for Xanana's release, as have a number of other East Timor support groups in Japan.

Comment from John MacDougall:

Japan's position on East Timor remains essentially, "It is not our problem." Until Japanese officials can be convinced their economic interests in Indonesia, or other strategic interests like the relationship with the US, are more threatened by de facto supporting the Indonesian side on the East Timor issue, basic policy will not change. If the Clinton administration does change US policy toward Indonesia, and follows this with active coalition-building diplomacy on the issue, Japan could conceivably move at least closer to an emerging international consensus, even if its economist interests came under attack by Indonesian nationalist threats. Such threats have truly huge backfire potential for Indonesia in view of the scope of Japanese investment in Indonesia and its role as principal aid contributor in the CGI consortium. It is unlikely the present Indonesian government would sacrifice its national economy to retain East Timor.

BRITISH COALITION FOR EAST TIMOR FUNDRAISING DINNER REPORT

Dec. 10.

A meal organised in London at the weekend to raise funds for the work of the British Coalition for East Timor (BCET), was a roaring success. Timed to coincide with the CIIR/IPJET conference on the legal aspects of the case for East Timor, over 200 friends and activists from East Timor, Portugal, Australia, Holland, Ireland and, of course, the UK attended (and a few more besides).

Peter Carey, a sponsor of BCET, introduced the evening. Jose Ramos Horta then gave a powerful speech updating everyone on the situation on East Timor, the arrest and treatment of Xanana, his family and friends. He made it clear that the struggle of the people of East Timor is still alive and vital despite the arrest. Both speakers celebrated seeing so many people together in the restaurant because of their commitment to the struggle in East Timor, showing clearly the great increase in public awareness and sympathy.

The delicious 10 course Chinese meal was followed by a performance by the Railakan Theatre Group. The Group was formed to mark the anniversary of the massacre in East Timor with a piece of street theatre first performed in Covent Garden. The evening was rounded off with raffle.

The evening was a success in all ways: in terms of money raised, raising awareness (many new friends came knowing little about the issue), forging stronger links with different solidarity groups and, not least, in having a great evening out. A much needed respite for the hard working East Timor activists.

TRAMPLING THE FLAG: INVASION DEMO IN LONDON

7 December 1992

East Timorese exiles living in England trampled on the Indonesian flag in a demonstration outside the Indonesian Embassy in London on Monday. As they shouted for a free East Timor, they waved the flag of the Democratic Republic of East Timor at the embassy officials who peered through the Embassy net curtains.

Around 30 activists attended the demonstration to mark the day Indonesian troops invaded East Timor as well as to demand the immediate release of Xanana Gusmao and other East Timorese captured by Indonesia troops. Jose Amorim, the

newly elected representative of the CNRM living in Holland, attended the demonstration with 3 other East Timorese and friends from Portugal, Australia and England.

XANANA TO BE TRIED IN DILI

Remark: Several differences appear in two stories on Xanana's trial, while vital details remain vague in both.

UPI: trial in 3 months according to a military source.

Reuter: no trial date mentioned by the Attorney General.

UPI: subversion charges will be brought.

Reuter: other charges will be brought under the Criminal Code (KUHP).

On a point where the stories agree – the trial site is Dili – this places special burdens on defense lawyers. Xanana knows very little Indonesian, an additional handicap in his defense. He functions mainly in Portuguese.

The surrender of 1,000 clandestine followers probably refers to round-ups and conditional releases of many leaders and members of two of the most important youth and student groups which supported the armed resistance. It is very likely that certain figures from these groups will be produced as prosecution witnesses at Xanana's trial and testify under coercion. Their testimony and documents seized from Xanana's hiding place will expose persons and groups abroad whose aid they have sought and who have volunteered aid. The Army for sure and likely the prosecution will now depict the East Timorese armed resistance as confined to small bands led by three 'secondary' leaders shorn of most of their internal clandestine support links and the continuing diplomatic struggle abroad as the work of foreigners and some East Timorese with no standing in East Timor. Full Indonesian press accounts now available show that President Soeharto himself ordered Xanana's trial shortly after he received news in Dakar of the capture.

– John

According to a December 10 UPI story datelined Jakarta, authorities said Thursday rebel leader Xanana Gusmao will be tried in the East Timor capital of Dili within three months and that about 1,000 of his followers in the troubled province have surrendered to the Indonesian government.

Military officials have said that Xanana would be tried on subversion charges, which in Indonesia carries a possible death penalty.

"Xanana will be tried in Dili where he committed crimes," said Singgih, the

attorney general, to Antara, the Indonesian official news agency.

Xanana, 45, was captured by the Indonesian troops Nov. 20 after eluding government forces for 16 years. Though an exact date has not been set, the trial is expected to begin within three months, a high-ranking military official said.

Brig. Gen. Theo Syafei, East Timor's military operations commander, meanwhile said he estimated that up to 1,000 members of clandestine groups have surrendered after the capture of their leader.

Meanwhile, the Jakarta Post reported from Dili that 22 officers who took part in the capture of Xanana would receive medals of merit from Army Chief of Staff Gen. Edi Sudradjat.

Indonesia and Portugal are scheduled to discuss the future of East Timor at the United Nations Dec. 17. But Portuguese foreign minister Jose Durao Barroso said earlier this week the prospect of the talks were gloomy.

Barroso said the signals from Jakarta are "very negative" and charged the Indonesian forces had stepped up "repressive measures and intimidation" since the Xanana's capture.

Allegations of continued repression and human rights abuses by Indonesian troops have hampered relations between Lisbon and Jakarta.

According to a December 10 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia will try captured East Timor rebel chief Xanana Gusmao under its criminal law, Attorney General Singgih was quoted on Thursday as saying.

Diplomats said the decision might let Xanana escape a death sentence, which he could have faced had he been tried under the harsher subversion law.

Antara news agency quoted Singgih as saying Xanana, the head of Fretilin guerrillas fighting Indonesia's rule over the territory, would be tried in East Timor's capital Dili where he was captured last month.

The military said earlier that he would be tried within three months. Singgih did not give a date.

He did not specify the charges but a senior police officer said they could include the illegal possession of guns. This charge under the criminal code carries a maximum life sentence.

But there are other charges under the criminal law, including murder, that are punishable by death.

"A lot of us expected him to be charged under the subversion law or both laws," one Western diplomat said, adding that Indonesia unlike many other countries made

a distinction between criminal and subversion laws.

Another diplomat said Xanana had a better chance of escaping the death sentence under the criminal law.

"It is hard to say. First they (Jakarta) may want to see what will be the effect of a death sentence. But I would be surprised if they gave him the death sentence," he added.

Diplomats say hardliners in the government or military may want to charge Xanana with masterminding demonstrations in Dili in November last year.

The trial is expected to focus international attention on both Xanana and East Timor's status. Jakarta annexed the territory in 1976, a year after the departure of its Portuguese colonial rulers. The United Nations does not recognise the move.

Antara also quoted East Timor's military commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying more than 1,000 members of a "clandestine group" had surrendered following Xanana's capture.

Syafei said they would be booked and sent back to their villages under a clemency programme.

He did not say whether they were members of Fretilin, whose strength he had put just a month ago at fewer than 150.

REEBOK RIGHTS AWARDS PRESENTED

According to a December 9 UPI story datelined Boston, the Reebok sportswear manufacturer Wednesday presented its 1992 Human Rights awards to four people, including one jailed in Indonesia, for their work to win human rights for others against great odds.

Winners of Reebok's 5th annual awards were Stacey Kabat, 29, of Boston, Martin O'Brien, 28, of Northern Ireland, Fernando de Araujo, 26, of East Timor, and Floribert Cherbeya Bahizire, 29, of Zaire.

De Araujo received his award in absentia. He is in prison for subversion in Indonesia because he is the founder and leader of an organization that brought human rights abuses in East Timor to the world's attention as it opposes its integration with Indonesia.

The other recipients received their awards Wednesday in ceremonies in Boston.

The Reebok Foundation said the award "recognizes people on the front lines of human rights work who, early in their lives and against great odds, have significantly improved the human rights conditions of the people in their communities."

The foundation gave each recipient a check for \$25,000 for their human rights organizations.

Bahizire was honored for his clandestine work to alert the world to the poor human rights conditions in Zaire and helped form a group known as Voice of the Voiceless.

Bahizire said there's a world of difference between Zaire and Boston.

"From here, I can see roads," he said. "In Zaire, roads hardly exist. Nothing works in Zaire. In 27 years (dictator) Mobutu (Sese Seko) has ruined the country. There is no food, no transportation. Most people, except for those who support Mobutu, are poor."

Kabat, a Detroit native, was recognized for her work on behalf of battered women.

"People don't understand the severity of the violence women and children face," said Kabat, who founded the organization Battered Women Fighting Back! She said their stories "are stories of torture and terror that in any other part of the world would be considered human- rights violations."

O'Brien, a Belfast Catholic, has been working in Northern Ireland for 16 years to improve the relationship between Protestant and Catholics. He is a founding member of the Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and director of the Committee on the Administration of Justice.

He said what both groups try to do is "tackle some of the structural problems that fuel the conflict in Northern Ireland, but also the interpersonal problems and how people actually get on with each other." O'Brien said much of the work of his organizations is to get people from both religious groups to "come together and learn about each other and try to work on the prejudices, the fears and the myths about the other side."

Paul Fireman, chairman and chief executive officer of Reebok International Ltd., a sportswear manufacturer based in Stoughton, Mass., said the recipients show that "one person can make an enormous difference."

JAWA POS: BANNED EAST TIMORESE ORGANIZATION (FITUN) DISSOLVES SELF

17 Nov 92. Dateline: Dili. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Remark: Antara story run unedited in many newspapers. Fitun is Tetun for 'star.' The name conveys the idea it is a ray of light providing motivation for activity in a 'dark' situation.

The East Timorese youth in the organization Fitun which aided the Fretilin security disrupters and planned various demonstrations in East Timor officially dissolved itself Sunday evening in Dili.

An official statement of dissolution and oath by members of Fitun was read out and then immediately signed by its General Chairman Mariano Fatubai Mota, 22, and witnessed by Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col. (Infantry) Syarifudin Zein, religious figures, and local community figures.

They swore to dissolve, not to form a new organization with the same guidelines as Fitun, and to join the youth organizations legally approved by the government and unified state of the Republic of Indonesia based on Pancasila and the 1945 Constitution.

"We take this oath consciously and motivated by the faith of our religious community. If we violate this oath, then we accept religious sanctions, customary law sanctions, and the sanctions of the unified state of the Republic of Indonesia," Mariano said loudly.

He said that if in the future among the former members of Fitun there were those who acted contrary to the oath and statement, that was their personal responsibility and firm action could be taken against them by the authorities based on the laws in effect.

"This statement is made with full awareness. We promise to support all the development programs of the provincial and central governments," said Mariano.

Fitun, which means 'bintang' ('star') in Indonesian, was centered in Dili and had networks in several districts such as Ainaro, Suai (also called Kovalima), Lospalos (also called Lautem), Ermera, Fatumaka (also called Baucau), Ambeno, Manatuto, and Aileu. Moreover, it encompassed some high school and university students in Bali and abroad.

In Dili, Fitun was divided geographically into such groups as Fitun Kuluhun, Fitun Bekora, Fitun Matadoru, and Fitun Bidau Santana.

The membership of Fitun totalled 96 persons, generally high school students, university students, and laborers with ages 17 to 26 on the average.

Fitun was formed on April 20, 1991. Since this time, its activities included often sending aid to the forest in the form of rice and money to buy medications.

The organization planned and carried out demonstrations, among others the ones on November 4, 1991 to welcome the Portuguese parliamentary visit to Dili and on November 12, 1991 at Dili's Santa Cruz cemetery which ended in a bloody incident.

Meetings for demonstration activities were held in Kuluhun village around September and October 1991 in the home of the Fitun General Chairman, Mariano Fatubai Mota and Bovacio Magno.

After the November 12 incident which resulted in 50 deaths and 91 wounded, Mariano moved from house to house in the Kuluhun area to avoid pursuit by the security forces.

By his own admission, he also was once asked by a friend to hold a demonstration in the context of the visit by Amos Wako to Dili. He had also been asked to flee to the forests and to make the June 9, 1992 general elections fail.

"But I rejected all those invitations and never thought about them at all because gradually I was coming to my senses," he said. "What I was thinking about then was how I had return to my parents' home and go back to school as usual," said Mariano.

JAWA POS: VIGILANCE REMAINS AGAINST EX-MEMBERS OF FITUN

19 November 92. Dateline: Dili. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Remark: Report by newspaper's own correspondent, identified only as 'jus' at end of story.

Although the clandestine group Fitun has declared its dissolution, security personnel remain vigilant against its former members. "We still monitor and maintain vigilance on all activities of its former members so that no similar group arises or emerges in the future," said Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col. Syarifudin Zein to Jawa Pos in Dili yesterday.

In his view, the dissolution of Fitun was inseparable from the guidance carried out by security personnel. The guidance took the form of explanations about the importance of a life in common, building union and unity in the Republic of Indonesia, creating understanding of the meaning of East Timor's integration into the territory of the Republic of Indonesia, and acquaintance with Pancasila as the basis of the Indonesian state.

"We are only providing direction. Their conscious dissolution came from the Fitun members themselves," added the Military District Commander. Security personnel had even succeeded in sending back to an upper secondary school in Dili Fitun leader Marlo Mola.

He disclosed that Fitun was the largest Fretilin underground support organization in Dili. While its recorded total followers formally numbered 100, this did not include its supporters in almost every village. Those followers were generally children of school age.

Fitun under Fretilin leadership was turned into a mainstay of the movement's struggle. Fitun was considered to have succeeded in prompting the young generation to join in underground actions as an extension of Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao.

The organization first surfaced in 1990. On its establishment, Fitun immediately got the sympathy of youth circles, including high school students, university students, school dropouts, the unemployed, and civil servants. The pattern of thinking 'Fretilin-style' spread quickly among them.

To enlarge membership, each member was ordered to find a new follower. Split up into cells in this way, Fitun quickly recruited new followers. In less than a year, every village in Dili had a Fitun branch. This included the villages regarded as most troublesome like Becora, Santa Cruz, Bidau Lecidere, Villa Verde, and Fatuhada.

The activities of the clandestine group were detected by security personnel after a report came in from the public which included the photo of a Fitun member with Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao in the forest. Security officers then began to search houses thoroughly and arrest several members of the secret organization. But before that Fitun was able to carry out a series of acts of sabotage in the form of demonstrations and certain actions by businessmen.

LBH: ABRI OFF COURSE

According to a December 10 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's leading human rights group on Thursday urged the government to ease its tough security measures in the provinces of East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Indonesian troops are fighting independence movements against Indonesian rule in each of the three provinces.

"The security approach should be reviewed because it will cause unrest in the society and as a result development may not reach targets," Abdul Hakim Nusantara, head of the Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (LBH) said to mark International Human Rights Day.

He said reports of political repression were mainly in areas where there were separatist movements and that more than half of Indonesia's 600 political prisoners were from East Timor, Irian Jaya and Aceh.

Indonesia annexed East Timor in 1976 in a move that is not recognised by the United Nations.

There are also pockets of resentment in Aceh and Irian Jaya.

Separatist violence in staunchly Islamic Aceh has resulted in the deaths of hundreds

of people in the past two years, according to diplomats and human rights groups.

Jakarta crushed armed resistance to Indonesian rule when it took over Irian Jaya from the Dutch in 1963, but the separatist Free Papua Movement still retains sympathisers.

Analysts say another issue causing resentment in the three provinces is poverty and unemployment.

"The authorities should boost the welfare approach that would enable people in the regions to participate in (national) development," Hakim said.

INDONESIAN FREE TRADE UNIONS PLEA

According to a December 10 Reuter story datelined Jakarta, Indonesia's leading human rights group urged authorities on Thursday to let workers exercise their political rights, including setting up trade unions.

Indonesia has only one state-sponsored labour union, which analysts say is ineffective in protecting workers' interests. It is illegal to set up other unions.

"Workers do not have the chance to exercise their political rights like setting up a union.... It is necessary for the people to have political equality which enables them to participate in decision-making," Abdul Hakim Nusantara, head of the Indonesian Human Rights Foundation, told reporters.

Hakim blamed the lack of rights for a spate of strikes across Indonesia in the past year. He said there were 177 strikes involving about 88,000 workers in the first 10 months of this year compared to 130 involving 65,000 people last year.

The minimum daily wage is 2,600 rupiah (\$1.26) but even this is not observed in many factories, established by regional investors attracted to Indonesia by low labour costs and relative industrial peace.

"The government's attempts to raise the minimum daily wage are not enough because there are still abuses in its implementation," Hakim said.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH: ASIA 1992

According to a December 9 Kyodo story datelined Washington, a U.S. human rights group accused Asian governments and businesses Wednesday of fueling human rights abuses through arms deals, trade, or political pressure.

The complicity of Asian governments in human rights abuses in places beyond their own borders "gave a new twist" to the human rights picture in the region, Human Rights Watch said in a report.

The privately funded group said most of the human rights problems in Asia otherwise remained largely the same as in 1991.

The report cited continued harassment of dissidents in China, political persecution of ethnic minorities in Myanmar, and alleged repression by the Indonesian government in East Timor as among the major features of human rights abuses in the region.

The fall of President Najibullah in Afghanistan in March threw the country into a state of chaos and factional fighting, raising the specter of an "Asian Somalia," the report said.

One bright spot was Taiwan, where it said there is "continued progress toward a more open society."

The group said many of Asia's human rights problems involve more than one Asian government.

By way of example, it accused China and Thailand of compounding human rights abuses in Myanmar, where it said the military government is "kept afloat" by trade with the two countries.

Arms sales from China also help prop up the ruling State Law and Order Restoration Council in Myanmar, the report said.

It criticized Japan for taking a largely hands-off stance on human rights abuses in Asia by not flexing its economic muscle.

"Japan, as the region's largest donor and investor, had enormous financial interests in countries with the worst human rights records in Asia, but it chose not to exert its economic leverage," the report said.

Investors from South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan were also faulted. It cited reports that workers' rights were particularly abused in Indonesia in plants owned or managed by South Koreans.

The group said similar allegations were made about ill treatment of workers in factories in China that were financed with Hong Kong or Taiwanese capital.

Hong Kong is itself a victim of "cross-border" political pressure in its exercise of human rights as China attempts to prevent democratization in the British colony before its return to Chinese rule in 1997, the report said.

Apart from the involvement of governments and business in human rights problems in the region, it said 1992 was marked by a growing trend in Asia to set up formal human rights bodies.

Cited as examples were moves within the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) to set up a governmental human rights forum for the region, and the establishment of a parliamentary committee on human rights in Indonesia.

Dismissing such moves as largely cosmetic, the report said they "appeared to

be more an effort to fend off international criticism than a genuine attempt to ameliorate human rights abuses.”

In 1992, “the underlying message of Asian governments was that while discussion of human rights issues was legitimate, control over the interpretation and implementation of international human rights standards should rest with the governments in question,” it said.

STATEMENT ON OCCASION ON HUMAN RIGHTS DAY DEMONSTRATIONS IN JAKARTA.

Statements released internationally by the coalition of student groups, STUDENT SOLIDARITY FOR DEMOCRACY IN INDONESIA [SMDI], [FAX: 61-2-7804170]

Released in Australia by AKSI - Indonesia Solidarity Action.

JAKARTA STUDENT ACTIONS COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS.

Statement on the occasion of Human Rights rally on University of Indonesia campus, Depok, 9 December. The rally was attended by over 100 students. This is the first student rally at the University of Indonesia for several years and signals the re-awakening of U.I. students, who are now organising through a number of new student organisations, mostly affiliated to the SMDI. Speakers included representatives of students groups from Jakarta, Bogor, Semarang, Malang and Solo. The speakers in particular stressed opposition to the use of force to suppress the increasingly frequent actions by workers, peasants and students.

[A demonstration in front of the Jogjakarta Provincial Parliament was also planned for 10 December. No news has reached AKSI/INDONOW of this action as of AM 11 December.]

Statement

Democracy and the guarantee of human rights are necessary preconditions for the achievement of a better life for the people. Students have proved that they can seize opportunities to play an active role in giving real content to democracy and in upholding human rights. For students to play this vanguard role in an optimum manner certain basic conditions of student life must exist. Students must have freedom of expression and freedom to organise. There must be the conditional right to think critically and to be supported by an independent organisation that can articulate the views of students in an open and democratic manner. The banning of the student publication “Lentera” (published by students from the Faculty of

Letters University of Indonesia) in August, 1990 and “Vokal” (published by Semarang Teachers College students) in October, 1992 constitute evidence of the suppression of the freedom of expression. In addition there is far too much interference by extra-student elements in student affairs. Indeed even the demand for an independent organisation that can openly and democratically express the opinions of students had been responded to with violence and the arrest of activists. The violent dispersal and arrest of students in Bandung, Semarang and at the action of the National Independent Youth Solidarity Committee in Yogya [on 26 October] are facts that are still fresh in our memories.

With this bitter reality in mind as regards student life in Indonesia, so we: Jakarta Student Action Committee, hereby declare:

1. Freedom of expression is a basic human right of students.
2. Freedom of open forum should be guaranteed.
3. The upholding of the freedom of expression needs an independent and democratic student organisation.
4. Decisions affecting students should be based on the active involvement and the aspirations of students.

Declaration of the human rights committee

[This declaration was distributed at rallies on the University of Indonesia campus, 9 December and on Universitas Nasional campus on 10 December.]

The United Nations Declaration of Human Rights announced on 10 December, 1948 represents the universal commitment by mankind in dealing with the problems of humanity on this planet. Violence and brutality arise in the form of the oppression of the strong over the weak. Exploitation of human beings colours social life in such a way that we see only the powerless of suffering. Such conditions exist everywhere and in many countries, including in our beloved country, INDONESIA.

Colonialism, in its outward form has been expelled from Indonesia, but its “character, special features and style” is more and more evident in so many aspects of life. The country’s national economic resources are in the grip of a tiny clique of people, so that the chance of ordinary people having equal access to these natural sources have begun a vane hope, especially those not close to political power, namely the Sons and Daughters of the President. Democracy that is pronounced from above is nothing more than cries becoming ever more cliched reflection of a President’s desire for the status quo. While at the same time not a few people suffer behind bars because they had

called for change and had criticised the repressive system that has continued for so long. The apparatus of the law which should stand side by side with the people to uphold justice has become instead the protector of corrupt power. The expression of free speech, free assembly and the putting forward of critical ideas is seen as being subversive and an expression of opposition to authority. The constitution can only interpreted from above with many interpretations that always put constraints on the implementation of human rights. The political power of the day has given birth to an authoritarian, neo-feudal leadership whose actions are also imbued with fascism. Centralised presidential power determines everything. So defence of human rights is seen as cause for suspicion rather than something that should be upheld.

Considering the above, we, the Student Committee for Human Rights demand:

1. The ending of the system of presidential power which has lasted too long and become too authoritarian, because it contradicts the civilised and just humanity that should be a part of upholding human rights in Indonesia;
2. That all repressive acts end, because freedom is the right of all humankind;
3. The repeal of the 1963 Subversion Law because it is not in conformity with the principle of freedom guaranteed in the constitution; Jakarta, Indonesia, 10 December, 1992.

PERTH SUNDAY TIMES: 36 GUERRILLAS SURRENDER

6 Dec 1992 by ‘Sunday Times,’ Perth, Western Australia.

Jakarta: Thirty-six members of an East Timor pro-independence movement have surrendered to the Indonesian military after a written appeal from their captured leader.

Unconfirmed press reports said members of the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (Fretelin) surrendered on Tuesday to the military district command at Same, Manufahi regent, the Jakarta Post quoted East Timor military operational commander Brigadier General Theo Syafei as saying.

No independent or military confirmation of the surrenders was available but East Timor’s bishop said reports of an agreement for the guerillas to surrender at specified churches were “lies.”

The Jawa Pos daily said on Thursday that the military persuaded the guerillas to surrender by delivering a copy of a handwritten letter by long-time movement leader Jose “Xanana” Gusmao - captured on

November 20 in the East Timor capital Dili - calling them to surrender.

General Syafei was quoted as saying that following Gusmao's surrender Jakarta had offered an amnesty to guerillas who gave themselves up to designated churches.

It said the 36 who surrendered were released after questioning but obliged to report three times a week.

VOICE OF TIMOR IS NOT EASILY SILENCED

Letter in THE AUSTRALIAN

December 3, 1992, p. 10.

It was reported in the news that after the interrogation by Indonesian forces of the captured East Timorese Fretilin leader Xanana Gusmao, an Indonesian army general branded him a "street criminal."

The major governments - including Australia - of the world had little to say (or do) when Indonesia invaded and overwhelmed East Timor in 1975, an act much akin to the invasion of Poland by Nazi armies in World War II.

It appears that just because Gusmao did not weakly submit to the Indonesians, that he is to be treated as a common criminal, merely for fighting for what he and the East Timorese believed in, and regard as rightfully theirs.

The Indonesian general claimed that only Australia and Portugal opposed the takeover. In fact, Portugal and the United Nations opposed and refused to recognise the takeover. Australia voiced its objection later.

It appears that economic, diplomatic and political interests worldwide supersede the rights of the common people.

With the strong worldwide media interest in the subject, I note that President Suharto of Indonesia has largely declined, presumably through embarrassment, leaving it to his general, and even they have got it wrong!

What right have these "gun jockeys" to make public comment, any how, on behalf of their government? I would suggest that in many Third World Countries, and dare I suggest first and second, that the generals are the "street criminals" legitimated by governments with dubious intentions, and by external pressure groups with vested interests.

In the world today with its immense economic and social problems, it is the people who must fight and take responsibility - like Gusmao - for reform. We cannot leave it to governments or their simple puppets, the generals. They are not capable!

The need for the public to take responsibility for their country exists even in Australia. Need more be said?.

IAN R. DOUGLAS
Bateman, WA.

UNDERGROUND EAST TIMORESE ORGANIZATION OJEKTEL DISSOLVED

Source: Suara Karya. 24 Nov 92.

Signed 'Gaudensius Mau' at end of story.

Original language: Indonesian.

Unabridged.

Remark: Suara Karya actually identifies the group as Ojektil, not Ojetil. The translation from the Portuguese acronym also differs. Suara Karya translates Ojektil as Young East Timorese Catholic Students Organization, whereas Ojetil usually translates as Young East Timorese Students Organization. I think the same organization is meant but stand corrected if anyone has more accurate information. There is repeated confusion in the Indonesian press over the names of the various clandestine East Timorese resistance groups.

(Dili) The clandestine youth organization called Ojetil has formally dissolved itself. The dissolution of this organization opposing integration was carried out in Kuluhun village, Dili Timur Sub-district on Friday evening, November 20. This is the second such dissolution since that of Fitun at the beginning of November.

Reacting to Ojetil's dissolution, Commander of Military District (Kodim) 1627/Dili Lt. Col. Syarifudin Zein said the dissolution of this Catholic high school student organization showed the success of security personnel in guiding youth who had joined Fretilin support organizations. "I hope with this dissolution no more groups like it will emerge."

The dissolution of Ojetil was almost concurrent with the arrest of Xanana Gusmao. he was arrested at 6 a.m., while Ojetil was dissolved that evening.

Fitun, Ojetil and some other groups not yet known had often sent food and medicine to fulfil the needs of the Fretilin security disrupters still roaming the forests. When it was dissolved, Ojetil has 45 recorded members, but those present numbered only 24. An Ojetil member said, "We swear loyalty as individuals and as a group. We promise to be loyal to integration and to the Indonesian government. But we also request protection from security personnel for ourselves since by taking this oath of loyalty we will be threatened by other Fretilin supporters." He was reluctant to make their identities known.

As commander of the area, Syarifuddin Zein expressed his willingness to safeguard them from threats by Fretilin figures or followers still in Dili. "I will watch over the safety of you all if anyone tries to threaten your lives," said Syarifudin.

Both the aforementioned organizations operated under the mother organization CNRJT, Young Timorese National Resistance Committee, led directly by Gregorio da Cunha Saldhana, leader of the November 12 demonstration who has already been sentenced to life imprisonment. According to a Suara Karya source in Dili, apart from the two aforementioned groups, there exist similar organizations under the CNRJT which security personnel will continue to try to detect. These two unknown organizations are Renetil, East Timorese Students National Resistance, and UJTL, East Timorese Youth Union.

Fitun had 98 recorded members complete with membership cards, but Ojetil members had no signs of identification. This group was bound an anti-Indonesia emotional spirit. Its members imagined an independent East Timor state. So they always aided Falintil, the Timorese National Liberation Armed Forces, in the forests.

To meet Falintil's need for food and medicine, the CNRJT groups made monthly cash contributions. Using this money, they bought all Falintil needed and sent it to the forests. The donors originated from East Timor and abroad. Everything was organization by CNRJT before it was sent on to the forests. Now this clandestine channel has been cut off and destroyed as a consequence of November 12.

XANANA: EAST TIMOR BELONGS TO INDONESIA (BERNAS)

Source: Bernas. 2 December 92. Signed 'tv/sjw' at end of story. Original language: Indonesian. Unabridged.

Remark: Reading some extensive quotations from the TVRI interview for the first time (as distinct from depending on wire services), it appears Xanana's primary means of signalling that he was under duress was the total repudiation of all his previously known core views. The event must have taken an incredible amount of rehearsal, not to mention acting skill by all parties, since earlier footage of Xanana with his guerrilla colleagues show an animated personality who spoke at great length with a simple eloquence. The Bernas story, unremittingly and uncharacteristically uncritical, is accompanied by a take from TVRI's "Dunia dalam Berita" ("World News") show which screened the 'interview.' Xanana and East

Timor Governor Abilio Soares are seated at a table with coffee and cakes. While a small box near the center of the table partially obscures it, a piece of unfolded paper seems to face Xanana. Bernas' caption remarks that Xanana "looked fresh and a little fat." "While replying to the governor's questions, Xanana, relaxed, enjoyed the snacks and cup of coffee served in front of him." However, the photograph clearly shows a very full coffee cup.

"I regret it." That short sentence fell from the mouth of the chief Fretilin security disrupter Jose Alexandre Gusmao, better known as Xanana Gusmao, 46, in an interview with East Timor Governor Abilio Jose Osorio Soares.

The interview seen by TVRI last night once more proved that Xanana is nothing. He is no great figure proper for a myth. If his followers have mythologized him, that myth truly collapsed when he was captured by security personnel.

Xanana did not only express regret. He apologized to all East Timorese residents, particularly those who suffered due to the November 12 Incident.

He who had wandered for 17 years in the forests of East Timor had finally come to his senses and admitted that what he had done was not right. It was wrong. There was proof. He made an appeal and asked all Fretilin sympathizers in East Timor to surrender immediately at the closest guard posts.

Not only that. The former War Commander of the security disrupters asked Fretilin people to join in developing Indonesia, join in developing East Timor, and join in adjusting the problems of life faced by the East Timorese people up till now.

Xanana also asked all Fretilin sympathizers abroad to forget immediately their struggle which had now lasted over 17 years. He hoped they would join in thinking about and helping with the problems faced by the East Timorese people up till now and join in assisting in the best way in the development of East Timor.

Xanana, who was being interviewed by Governor Abilio, his classmate in lower secondary school tens of years ago, spoke in Portuguese with no aversion to admitting the contemporary facts – that integration and development has very much raised the standard of living of the East Timorese people.

Wearing a white shirt, he even admitted that East Timor was part of and belonged to Indonesia and Indonesia belonged to East Timor. "East Timor and its people belong to Indonesia," he confirmed.

In that calm and way he replied to all Abilio's questions. He seemed fresh and a little fat. While speaking he repeatedly enjoyed the snacks and cup of coffee.

On this occasion Xanana also said that he now felt safer than when he was amidst the East Timorese public. He admitted he could not describe how his activities had made things difficult for so many people. He was also very disappointed with Fretilin people abroad who were now still using the name of the party in their every action, while in fact they were only seeking personal profit.

As an example, he accused Ramos Horta, saying that he always sought personal profit in the name of the party.

Xanana's name began to be much mentioned after he replaced the killed Nicolao Lobato as Fretilin leader. With a journalism education obtained in Australia and his military training, he entered the forest in December 1975 to oppose integration.

Before entering the forest, he lived tranquilly with his wife Emilia who is now in Australia with their two children, Nito and Zenilda Gusmao. His adventure ended after his capture by security personnel on November 20 in Lahane, Dili. "Xanana is nothing." That was the comment of ABRI Information Center Head Brig. Gen. Nurhadi Purwosaputro a little while ago.

BISHOP MOORE: TERROR IN TIMOR

According to a December 11 Reuter story datelined London, Indonesian troops are waging a campaign of terror in East Timor following the capture of rebel leader Xanana Gusmao, according to a New York churchman.

"There have been numerous arrests, Indonesian soldiers and paramilitary forces are everywhere and secret killings are said to be taking place," Bishop Paul Moore of the Protestant Episcopal Church said in a letter to Britain's weekly Economist magazine.

"The situation is so bad ... that church leaders are telling people to be prepared for the worst," he said, citing information he had received from "authoritative sources."

The Indonesian government plans to put Xanana on trial in a civil court early next year. Jakarta has not detailed the charges, but it claims Xanana was behind protests which the government says led to an army massacre in East Timor in November 1991.

Moore called for international pressure on Indonesia to end human rights abuses in East Timor, to allow international observers into the region and to negotiate a just settlement over the disputed territory.

"Given the history of support for Indonesia by many Western nations, Japan and others, in a situation that has claimed more than 200,000 Timorese lives, this is the very least we can do," he wrote.

The full text of Bishop Moore's letter as published in the Economist for December 11, 1992, follows:

Terror in East Timor

Sir – According to information I have received from authoritative sources, the situation in East Timor in the wake of the capture of the independence movement leader, Xanana Gusmao (November 28th (sic)), is one of widespread terror even greater than before. There have been numerous arrests. Indonesian soldiers and paramilitary forces are everywhere, and secret killings are said to be taking place. The situation is so bad, my sources, say, that church leaders are telling people to be prepared for the worst. The Indonesians are reportedly invading the premises of at least some churches.

People of good will should insist that pressure be brought to bear on Indonesia to desist in its violations of human rights, allow full access to international observers, and negotiate seriously with the parties directly involved to bring about a just settlement in accordance with international law. Given the history of support for Indonesia by many western nations, Japan and others, in a situation that has claimed perhaps 200,000 Timorese lives, this is the very least we can do.

Paul Moore
Episcopal Bishop of New York, 1972-89

BISHOP BELO SPEAKS OUT ON XANANA'S DETENTION AND TORTURE

Excerpt from press release by Catholic Institute for International Relations, London, 11 December 92. Omitted material has previously been posted. – John

...
The following information was obtained from church sources inside East Timor on 8 December:

"The tortures are going on every day. There has never been anything like it. Numerous people have been beaten, and some put to death, all of this continues. There is complete confirmation of everything Amnesty International has been saying since the capture of Xanana Gusmao, only things are far, far worse than that. Numerous people have been arrested and a significant number have been forced to betray others after being tortured. The reality is far, far worse than observers see

from the surface. You can tell the whole world that there is no doubt about the torture and atrocities the Indonesians are committing at present. The torture even extends to the private parts of boys and girls, men and women.... The Indonesians continue to call people in for interrogation and torture. In quite a number of cases the torture is so terrible that people defect to the Indonesian side. Many people who are released look like zombies.... The lines to the prisons are tremendous, one after another people are sent in. The beatings and tortures are out of this world."

"Despite all this, the spirit of the young people, their desire for freedom, is more firm than before. When people are not broken by the torture, they are firm in their perspectives. For now, people are only free to pray and think."

Talks under UN auspices are due to take place between the Indonesian and Portuguese governments on 17 December. Portugal has demanded repeatedly that Timorese leaders should be included. There is no more appropriate candidate than Xanana himself, leader and inspiration to the East Timorese struggle for independence over the last seventeen years.

For more information, contact Catherine Scott 071 354 0883 or Steve Alston 071 733 7900

HALL BLASTS RIGHTS VIOLATIONS, WARNS OF REACTION IN CONGRESS

Press release from Representative Tony Hall, House Select Committee on Hunger

*For immediate release, December 11, 1992
Contact: Eric Delinsky (202) 226-5470*

Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-OH), Chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, today lashed out at the Indonesian government over new accounts of widespread terror and atrocities by Indonesian forces in the wake of the capture of Xanana Gusmao, leader of the resistance movement in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, where at least 100,000 people have perished since Indonesia illegally invaded the former Portuguese colony in 1975.

"These are horrendous reports," said Hall. "The United States should not tolerate this kind of conduct by the Indonesians any longer. The international community should make it clear that, one way or another, Jakarta will pay a stiff price if this continues."

Hall reacted to fresh reports on December 10, 1992 from Amnesty International and December 11 from a respected Catholic organization, the

London-based Catholic Institute for International Relations, and other authoritative sources, that many people are currently being tortured and beaten in an Indonesian military effort to break the spirit of the Timorese people. The United Nations does not recognize Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor.

Such sources indicate that there have been numerous arrests in the aftermath of the November 20 arrest of Mr. Gusmao, the Timorese leader. The military has announced that he will be placed on trial within three months, and may face the death penalty. Last week, Gusmao appeared on Indonesian television and renounced his long-held views, eliciting charges that he had been tortured. East Timor's Roman Catholic Bishop, Carlos Belo, has indicated as much. Indonesian authorities waited 17 days before allowing the International Red Cross to visit Gusmao, but other prisoners have not been allowed such visits. Red Cross rules prohibit the organization from commenting publicly on the conditions of the prisoners it visits.

Hall pointed out that there is longstanding interest in Congress in the plight of East Timor, citing letters signed by a majority of the House of Representatives in 1990 and the Senate in 1991. Hall led a successful Congressional effort that ended in October with the suspension of \$2.3 million in American military training for the Indonesian Armed Forces for Fiscal Year 1993. That marked the first time that the Congress cut aid to Indonesia over the East Timor situation.

"Indonesia will suffer in terms of international goodwill and in other ways if Jakarta continues on its hard-line source," Hall said.

300 REBELS SURRENDERED IN EAST TIMOR

Reuter, Jakarta, Indonesia. December 6, 1992.

About 200 East Timorese rebels surrendered in the former Portuguese colony over the weekend, responding to the Indonesian government's offer of clemency and pledged loyalty to Jakarta.

"We were ready to be punished if in future we violated (East Timor's) integration (with Indonesia)," Fretilin rebel Joao Ximenes said in a statement read on behalf of those who surrendered.

It is not clear if they were members of Fretilin, whose strength is estimated by the military at between 150 and 200.

The rebels' statement was made to local government and military officials in Bacau city, near the East Timor capital of Dili,

where Fretilin chief Xanana Gusmao was captured last month.

A group of pro-Indonesia East Timorese urged the government Saturday to punish Xanana and his deputy Jose Da Costa with death sentences.

"Xanana and Da Costa are irresponsible leaders, they are just rebels who confuse East Timor people. We feel that we've been cheated by Fretilin," Gil Vicente de Jesus Guterres, the group's spokesman, said.

Da Costa was captured in January and has not been heard of since.

Xanana was regarded for many years as a symbol of resistance to Jakarta's rule and his followers were in bitter conflict with East Timorese who supported the annexation.